ABSTRACT

GENDER, SOCIAL HIERARCHY, AND THE *KAPU* SYSTEM IN PRE-EUROPEAN CONTACT HAWAIIAN HOUSE SITES

Kirsten Marquise Garwood, M.A.
Department of Anthropology
Northern Illinois University, 2010
Michael Kolb, Director

This project examines the material remains reflective of the relationship between the Hawaiian system of taboo (*kapu*) and the power structure within pre-contact house sites. The research compares archaeological data from excavated house sites on the island of Maui with ethnographic accounts from Hawai'i. The research relies on the theory that midden left behind by men and women differs; this paper compares the discarded material with ethnographic accounts of early Hawaiian practices. Critical analysis of these ethnographic accounts and archaeological data results in further understanding of gender roles. Results from the analysis of the archaeological record support ethnographic research, which observed the separation of the sexes in domestic settings. This assessment also sheds light on the role of men and women within households and how this role differs between higher and lower status families. Women were of a status equal to that of men, and though they were prohibited from being *ali'i nui*, held great social influence. Lower class women were also socially equal through domestic responsibilities, but the families lacked resources and therefore women's houses were not built in lower status households.

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

DE KALB, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 2010

GENDER, SOCIAL HIERARCHY, AND THE *KAPU* SYSTEM IN PRE-EUROPEAN CONTACT HAWAIIAN HOUSE SITES

BY

KIRSTEN MARQUISE GARWOOD

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Thesis Director:
Michael J. Kolb

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgement and thanks must be given to the numerous people who assisted me throughout this difficult but rewarding project. First and foremost, to the archaeologists that provided the archaeological data utilized in this thesis, Drs. Michael Kolb, Ross Cordy, and Patty Conte, my sincere thanks for providing me with a basis for my research. Additional recognition and thanks to my thesis committee, Drs. Michael Kolb, Judy Ledgerwood, and J.D. Bowers for providing me with guidance in my research; most sincerely to my primary advisor, Dr. Kolb, who helped fuel and guide my passion for Hawaiian archaeology. Special thanks to the anthropology staff (specifically Rachel Pierce) and master's students for guiding me in the process of writing a thesis, without whom I would have been lost. Lastly, my sincere gratitude goes to my husband, Justin Vacca, whose undying support motivated the completion of my master's research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> *The challenge of social archaeology is using the static archaeological record to infer the life of a once-functioning society.*
>
> *(Wason, Paul K. 1994:2)*

Pre-contact Hawaiian house sites are vital to current archaeological research regarding social interaction. These prehistoric house sites make evident the social norms by which the Hawaiians lived before Europeans arrived. As early ethnographers such as Malo (1840), or Captain Cook's crew on board the *Resolution* and *Discovery* (1776) suggest, Hawaiians built households that incorporated several structures utilized for various purposes, particularly activities specific to gender. These purposes will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, but are essential to understanding the basic social construction of the pre-European contact Hawaiian society.

The goal of this thesis is to explore the relationship between ethnographic accounts of Hawaiian culture and archaeological data from house sites on the island of Maui and, in doing so, engender Hawai'i's past. Research focused within the household is quite important to understanding gender, for "Microscale archaeology of the social relations of production in pre-history—the study of

residential architecture and household organization and production—is an essential prerequisite for an engendered prehistory…" (Tringham 1991:125). The questions answered by the research are as follows: does ethnographic data adequately describe pre-European contact practices of the Hawaiian people, particularly related to living arrangements? Specifically, can the ethnographic record, composed by individuals who witnessed the end of the proto-historic period, such as Davida Malo and Captain James Cook, account for answers deduced from the archaeological record? Once the accounts of gender activities that occurred at family house sites are established, the data will be used to decipher gender relations and social stratification as defined by the *kapu* (taboo) system, along with the relationship between cultural taboos and hierarchical power. Gender separation features presently visible at prehistoric archaeological house sites could include male houses (*hale mua*) where the men of the household ate and worshipped their gods, female menstruation houses within which women were quarantined during their menstrual cycle, female houses where the women were expected to eat and perhaps performed their domestic activities, and at least two *imu* ovens upon which the food for men and women was cooked separately in order to avoid contamination (Kirch 1985). The research utilizes several ethnographic accounts, comparing these with archaeological remains of house sites excavated on the island of Maui. The archaeological sites utilized in this research are found in the communities of Waiohuli and Keokea. Surveyors identified a total of 219 sites in the project area, several of which included

permanent habitations that will be discussed in this paper. The researcher extrapolates the archaeological data in order to explain how the excavated house sites are cultural manifestations of gender differences within the pre-historic Hawaiian society. According to the ethnographic information reviewed in this research, prehistoric Hawaiians of higher social rank and status possessed additional resources not available to the lower ranking population. Therefore, one can hypothesize that the high-ranking individuals were increasingly able to conform to *kapu* laws and regulations regarding gender separation. The archaeological data analyzed in this paper is therefore used to answer the question regarding the relationship between gender and stratification: does adherence to male-female taboo laws differ depending on the status of the household?

This research is highly relevant to the field of Hawaiian archaeology, as little exploration has been completed on the topic of gender separation within Hawaiian houses. Previous archaeologists have conducted studies on Polynesian households; however, similar research must be conducted on pre-historic Hawaiian dwellings. Dr. Patrick Kirch states, "…a concerted program of research to seek [early settlement sites with important clues] out, before they are forever lost to spreading urbanization, would seem to be one of the highest priorities for Hawaiian archaeology in the next few years" (Kirch 1985: 88). The house sites excavated and incorporated in this research qualify as important early settlements mentioned by Kirch in this quotation, and it remains eminently important to learn as much as possible from the surviving material record.

Documentation of prehistoric Hawaiian cultural practices in general is lacking and if we are to ever fully understand Hawai'i's past, we must critically compare "oral histories, archaeology, and history. All have great usefulness, yet all have weaknesses. Researchers reconstruct the past, knowing the weaknesses and cautiously analyzing the material" (Cordy 2000:96). Due to the absence of a written language previous to the advent of the European missionaries, much information regarding Hawai'i's past remains unknown. Prehistorically, Hawaiians handed down events and cultural practices orally, which, according to Davida Malo (1898), is not consistently accurate. "The traditions about the Hawaiian Islands handed down from remote antiquity are not entirely definite; there is much obscurity as to facts, and the trends themselves are not clear" (Cordy 2000:67). Valeri (1985) shares a similar opinion regarding the usefulness and accuracy of oral traditions: "This material is extremely uneven in value…and must be used with discernment" (quoted in Cordy 2000:67). Additionally, Stokes (1933) believes that "such a chronology [based on oral recounts] at best can only be an approximation" (1933:23-65; see also Cordy 2000:67). Problems with oral ethnographic accounts can be explained through several past events. The arrival of the Europeans brought great tragedy to the islands in the form of disease and death. The first half of the 1800s witnessed a large decrease in inhabitants "with overall population at least halved by the 1830s. Experts died from disease before their time, before their knowledge was passed on" (Cordy 2000:75). Records of past cultural practices, including living arrangements, were certainly lost during

this time. Knowledge of earlier religious and *kapu* (cultural taboo) practices disappeared after the abolition of the Hawaiian religion in 1820. Historic and ethnographic accounts that did manage to survive have either been since lost or suffer from faulty translations and/or poor memory. Cultures tend to change and in Hawai'i, as a result of the passage of time, events were gradually forgotten (Cordy 2000:75). Several errors of incongruence can be found in ethnohistoric documentations of Hawaiian prehistory. For example, Jocelyn Linnekin makes evident a contradiction in Davida Malo's work. Malo originally states that men were responsible for the cooking, then later mentions a wife cooking her husband's food (1993:15). She also mentions in her book *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence* (1993) that the early ethnographic accounts of Hawaiian cultural practices were written by males under the influence of Western thought. This creates issues with current research in that the view of the female role within public and private sectors often is skewed. Archaeological records continue to be our most reliable source of information regarding prehistoric Hawaiian lifestyles due to these drastic and tragic losses Hawai'i suffered. However, archaeological studies also have their drawbacks. Interpretation of findings remains difficult, as archaeologists lack the benefit of speaking with or directly observing the subjects of their research. Instead, they must "interpret or reconstruct behavior from the certain event, often altered by later human actions…and by natural events…" (Cordy 2000: 92). Therefore, determining the previous use of specific structures or features often proves complicated. The best way to resolve the problems

inherent in the use of ethnographic information or archaeological data is to use a comparative analytical method similar to that used for this thesis. In comparing cultural observations with archaeological inferences, one can ascertain accurate pre-historic cultural practices and events. Proper research cannot be conducted without respect/regard for native "ideas, actions, and ontologies that are not and never were our own" (Sahlins 1995:14). This study incorporates archaeological discoveries, historical writings, ethnographic accounts, and oral history in order to better understand pre-contact Hawai'i, which, according to Cordy, is "vital for appreciating Hawai'i's past" (2000:vii).

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Gender Theory

Uncovering the gender currently unknown or poorly understood in pre-contact Hawaiian society remains exceedingly important, not only to this thesis, but also in order to properly understand the distant past. Currently, the predominantly androcentric accounts of Hawaiian culture affect not only our understanding of general domestic tasks, but also of social rank and hierarchy. Like Sarah Milledge Nelson asserts in her book *Gender in Archaeology*, "It may be 'obvious' to us what is male and female within our own cultural context, yet we must be careful not to extend these categories to other cultures" (1997:17). The gender theories utilized in the following research project play a part in working towards the elimination of the biased western view of Hawaiian culture. The following theories combined with recognition of previous biases will result in a reevaluation of current hierarchical understandings and an engendered past.

Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey (1998) discuss gender roles in *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*. An important aspect to remember when studying prehistoric gender practices is that specific gender roles are ascribed aspects of the society's culture in question. No gender practice is

consistent throughout time or across cultures. The differences between genders are outlined in the social construct of society based on cultural perception rather than preconceived gender roles. Therefore, gender is "a process that is constructed as a relationship or set of relationships, necessarily embedded within other cultural and historical social institutions and ideologies such as status, class, ethnicity, and race" (1998:9). This being said, researching pre-contact Hawaiian gender relations also encompasses the hierarchical nature of their society. Much like Gero and Conkey argue in the above quotation, societal gender philosophies result from generations of cultural ideas, beliefs and interactions. As part of such interactions, the power that reinforces social hierarchy plays an important part in how male and female roles develop through time. For example, in her article *Gender, Space, and Food in Prehistory*, Christine A. Hastorf (1998:135) mentions the use of food in aiding and constructing social systems over time. According to Hastorf, dietary practices can act as symbols that reinforce power and hierarchy within societies. According to the previous ethnography discussed, early Hawaiians created and reinforced laws regarding food that was deemed appropriate to eat for men and women. The power ascribed to socially elite individuals for enforcing such rules reinforced the social hierarchy and, as a result, created an outline of gender interactions within house sites.

An article in volume 43 of *American Psychologist* entitled *The Meaning of Difference: Gender Theory, Postmodernism, and Psychology* (1988) also addresses gender theory. The authors, Rachel T. Hare-Mustin and Jeanne

Marecek, discuss previous views and questions related to gender. They address western views of women, stating that individuals reference the term "gender" when referring to or studying the differences between men and women. Furthermore, the reality perceived is not necessarily what actually exists. For example, the way in which early Europeans perceived Hawaiian women does not necessarily accurately portray their status within early Hawaiian society. The western enculturation and life experiences of the Europeans tainted their view, which resulted in biased interpretations of gender interaction. Samwell assumes that eating fish appears to be below high-status individuals due to a high-ranking individual rejecting the Europeans' offer of fish, stating that it was "the food of women" (Beaglehole 1967:1184). However, Samwell proposes no additional evidence regarding this biased assumption. Several explanations exist that could potentially explain this interaction. For example, *kapu* practices may be to blame for the male's rejection of food.

Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1988) further discuss the cognitive process of "alpha bias" (1988:459). When studying the differences that define genders, individuals tend to over-emphasize the differences between groups while ignoring individuality within groups. In western society, men are often viewed as the norm (this was especially true at the time of Captain Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands). Therefore, women as a whole are stereotyped while their individual differences are ignored. This cognitive phenomenon is easily seen in the writings of Captain Cook and his crew. They focus on the individuality of men related to

class, social status, and social responsibility, while under-representing the importance of female activities and societal involvement. For example, Jocelyn Linnekin (1992) calls attention to the lack of documentation regarding female worship. Historians and archaeologists now know that women worshipped the gods of their trades, and Linnekin suggests that females also participated in ceremonial practices that remain undocumented in contact-era ethnography. Although Samwell mentions a female priestess briefly in his journal, he writes this off as abnormal and states that religious affairs were part of the male arena. The ethnographers also ignore the important roles women play in religious ceremonies (such as making the *tapa* cloth with which the idols are wrapped) or the common occurrence of females holding the highest *kapu* (sacred) rank.

The gender research regarding Hawaiian culture previous to European contact is closely related to the work of Jocelyn Linnekin. In her book *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence*, Linnekin discusses previous misconceptions regarding the roles of Hawaiian women and their status relative to men. She states that, "In Hawaiian social organization and gender relations, a major issue remains that of determining what in fact are the rules. Outside the context of the sacrificial religion and the tabu system, it is difficult to find support for the premise that Hawaiian women were considered inferior to men" (1993:5). Linnekin then argues that the early Western view of the low valuation of females in Hawai'i is generally incorrect due to the important role women played in numerous cultural practices. Although Linnekin primarily focuses on the proto-

historic/post-contact era in Hawaiian history, she divulges several important findings relevant to Hawaiian culture previous to European influence. Earlier ethnographers such as Malo and Handy commented on the use of the female menstrual house, suggesting that women were required to stay sequestered from the male family members during this time in order to avoid "polluting" them. Linnekin (1993:17) suggests that this rather negative view of women may be incorrect due to the ceremonial aspect of the menstrual houses. Women were required to remain isolated for the first three to five days of their cycle. After this time, they were ritually cleansed and able to leave the house (*hale pe'a*). Opposed to Malo's (1898) interpretation of menstruating women being "both unclean and unlucky" (1898:51), Linnekin (1993:17) mentions that Hawaiians actually considered the waning days of the menstrual cycle to be the most fertile. In addition to this, the fact that the women did not remain in the *hale pe'a* until the cycle ended suggests that "leaving the *hale pe'a* and ritually bathing seem to be the significant points in determining the women's ritual state, not the presence or absence of blood per se" (Linnekin 1993:12). Linnekin suggests that this practice could indicate that there existed a deeper cultural reason behind the isolation of menstruating women that originated from a special connection the females had with the Hawaiian deities rather than a contaminating factor. She suggests that the food taboos were also evidence of these "special powers or capabilities possessed by women" (1993:19). Other anthropological studies have identified similar menstrual practices. For example, in traditional Chinese society

the blood that came from female menstruation as well as childbirth was thought to be contaminating, but also powerful; "The escape of blood, any blood, from a living body seems to be associated with power" (Ahern 1975:199). Analogous ideas regarding women are present in Thailand, in that certain actions are considered both powerful and hazardous (Eberhardt 1988). Although Hawaiians may have considered menstruating women dangerous, the isolation practice may have developed due to the power associated with their condition.

Sahlins's (1995) research supports Linnekin's claim that another explanation must exist for female isolation during menstrual cycles. In his discussion of the *Makahiki* ceremonial rituals, Sahlins mentions the following practice: "The ruler is immobilized by the rule that he cannot leave the place where he began the Makahiki celebrations, at least until the completion of certain purification rites following the return and dismantling of the Makahiki image" (1995:29). Sequestering the ruler during this period of celebration does not indicate that he or she possesses contaminating qualities, but rather that sacred ceremonial rituals must be carried out. This practice parallels that of the female menstruation period (immobilization followed by ritual cleansing), indicating a deeper cultural meaning for such customs.

Linnekin's discussion of females with the highest *kapu* rank (*kapu* in this case meaning sacred) further supports this hypothesis. As was common in traditional Hawaiian societies, individuals constantly strove to improve their *mana* (Linnekin defines *mana* as "efficacious power" (1993: 242).). This could

either be done through achieving something great, or through marrying someone of higher status (and thus possessing more *mana*). Often, women were of higher rank than their husbands, as they could achieve the highest status, and men were constantly trying to improve their personal status within society as well as the status of their offspring (as seen in Samwell's accounts of Hawaiian women in Beaglehole 1967).

Additionally, sources claim Hawaiian women were of lower status due to their apparent lack of participation within the religious realm of society, a very important aspect of the Hawaiians' lives. However, this assumption does not withstand criticism based on careful research and gender theory. In his journal, Samwell (Beaglehole 1967:1085) mentions a female priestess who conducts a ceremony for the foreign visitors, sacrificing a pig in their honor. He records that this individual exhibited a great deal of influence over the people. Such an account demonstrates the important role women played in Hawaiian religious life. Linnekin (1993) also reveals the lack of attention to the female sphere of religious practice. Women often worshipped goddesses of their trades. For example, she discusses gods of *tapa* beating. She suggests that women did in fact worship within specified houses that have been ignored by previous ethnographers and archaeologists. Women were important in the religious sphere of other Austronesian societies, such as the Trobriand Islands (Weiner 1976). Therefore, the idea of Hawaiian women as important actors in the religious scene of prehistoric Hawai'i is not unrealistic.

Hierarchy Theory

Anthropologists have studied social hierarchy within societies for many years. Theories addressing the cultural phenomenon focus on the function and development of this mode of social organization. Social hierarchical theorists still pose many unanswered questions, such as how the development of social class and stratification occurred. Regardless of the method or theory of development, societies throughout history and pre-history have been divided along lines of religion, socioeconomic status, race, color, and gender among other categories. This research focuses on the hierarchy of gender and the implications of gender status in pre-historic Hawaiian society.

Allen W. Johnson and Timothy Earle examine the development and appearance of social stratification within several early cultures in their book *The Evolution of Human Societies* (2000). Johnson and Earle analyze the highly developed chiefdoms of contact-era Hawai'i, stating that the people were divided into two classes, elites and commoners, based on lineage. Individuals received rank from father and mother, an indication that both parents were considered of equal importance. As previously discussed in the ethnography review, mothers were often trying to find higher ranking men to bear children with, for this would increase the child's *mana*, which in turn increased their rank within society. This practice explains the behavior toward the first Europeans, as the Hawaiians thought of these men as elites based on the "stranger king" tradition of accepting

newcomers as the rulers of territories—a practice common throughout Polynesia. Early Hawaiians reenacted the welcoming of foreign rulers from Kahiki every year during the *Makahiki* celebrations, a ceremonial period that coincided with the arrival of Captain Cook and his crew. This coincidence reinforced the image of Captain Cook as the Hawaiian god *Lono* and his crew as visiting *ali'i* (Sahlins 1995:30).

Wittfogel (1957:241) argues that the Hawaiian political organization and social stratification formed due to the creation of the irrigation system, or *auwai*. His theory requires that managerial systems developed in order to regulate the development and utilization of these irrigation trenches. Service (1962) suggests that social stratification arose from an exchange network built in order to manage the island's resources. However, the irrigation systems were largely self-sufficient (Johnson and Earle 2000:288), and the organization and separation of land into *ahupua'a* allowed families to access all necessary resources. Therefore, both Service and Wittfogel's hierarchy theories are inaccurate regarding pre-historic Hawaiian social organization.

Johnson and Earle (2000:31, 294) argue that the social hierarchy system of Hawai'i developed due to population growth and technological expansion under environmental stress. Initially socially organized within communities, the pre-historic Hawaiian population expanded and agricultural technology further developed (for example, the irrigation system and dry land agriculture), requiring the formation of regional chiefdoms. The organizational system in place gave

land ownership to the ruling class (or chiefs), which required the commoners to work the land in order to survive as well as pay homage in the form of surplus to the ruling chief. This surplus allowed the elites to erect features such as large house sites that required corporate effort. (Johnson and Earle 2000:293) This theory explains the differentiation between the elite and commoner house sites. The elites possessed the resources needed to build the numerous houses required by the extensive Hawaiian religion, whereas the commoners did not. According to Johnson and Earle, this system also created "an ideology of reciprocity between chief and commoner…commoners labored for the chief as a kind of 'rent' for their subsistence plots" (2000:292). Their reciprocal principles can also be extended to incorporate gender relations. Women and men labored equally to provide for their families as well as serve the elites. Women gathered shellfish and wove *tapa* cloth while men fished and grew the crops; all of these tasks were of importance to social life and sustainability.

In his book entitled *The Archaeology of Rank* (1994), Paul K. Wason begins with a discussion about discovering social stratification within pre-existing societies. Archaeologists cannot possibly observe the people they study, therefore must infer social rank from the material record. This also occurs when observing present societal actions—social hierarchy is not a tangible, visible phenomenon but rather something that must be inferred from observing individual actions. In this sense, the interpretation of the artifacts and/or data defines the social hierarchy model. Although using the same data set, researchers can come to

varying conclusions about one culture. As clarified by Wason (1994), hierarchy analysis can only go in one direction. For example, differences in burial rituals indicate status differentiation; however, a system of hierarchy may exist without the people participating in varying burial practices. Similarly, earlier Hawaiian ethnographers and archaeologists inferred that women possessed lower social status due to the traditional *kapu* practices. Such interpretations were based on biased observations and incomplete understanding of the social system; they did not consider the possibility that restrictions regarding gender practices can occur without socially valuing one sex above the other. Early ethnographers also neglected to take into account their ethnocentrism, not understanding that other cultures may view males and females in a different light. A more inclusive perspective leads one to the interpretation that the *kapu* system regulated the social classes and gave security to those in power.

Wason (1994:50) discusses the societal structure that supports chiefdoms. Frequently, chiefs legitimize their power by connecting their genealogy with powerful ancestors. In the case of Hawai'i, the *ali'i* class often traced their lineage to the gods in order to sustain power. Creamer and Haas discuss similar chiefdoms: "without control over production and procurement of major subsistence resources, a chief lacks a true economic power base and the means of establishing an independent physical power base (a specialized police force or standing army)" (Creamer and Haas 1985:740; see also Wason 1994:53). Although pre-contact Hawaiian chiefs possessed control over the political

economy, (in that the commoners annually provided elites with crops and mats along with other material goods), they lacked the ability to build a power base without the use of the *kapu* system. In order for hierarchical systems (such as that present in pre-historic Hawai'i) to work, the commoners must accept their social standing (Key 1996: 96). Due in part to the lack of "direct kin relation to local populations" (Wason 1994:54), Hawaiian chiefs experienced difficulty with individual acceptance of lower-status roles (this includes commoners as well as the smaller chiefs). Therefore, *kapu* rules were used to instill fear in the population, which allowed for superior control: "the taboos of a society revolve around fears and conflicts that the society has difficulties in coping with" (Key 1996:48). The power resulting from the ritualistic practices of the *kapu* system provided legitimacy to the elite role by creating a mystical/spiritual authority that the commoners depended upon.

Wason (1994) further presents an adequate method of inferring social stratification through the archaeological record. He first defines social stratification as "differential access to essential resources, a division among people that might involve restricted rights to the means of producing essential resources, like land and fishing spots" (1994:59). Wason then presents the two-step method created by Jonathan Haas (1981, 1982) that he prefers when identifying stratification from material remains. A researcher must first identify the resources essential to survival within the society under investigation, and subsequently develop an approach to the archaeological record that allows for

identification of the amount of access to these resources that various individuals possessed. Haas also created qualifications that define basic resources; "food, tools used for the physical environment and an antagonistic social environment" (Haas 1981:84-85; see also Wason 1994:120). Hawaiian ethnographies mention subsistence economy consisting mostly of fish. However, the commoners were denied access to fishponds and, although lower-class men were allowed to eat pork, they generally did not due to lack of access to such meat. Other resources denied pre-contact Hawaiian commoners included the *tapa* mats used to pad the floors or stacked to serve as mattresses. Such items found in the archaeological record can assist in determining the status of households.

Artifacts and features can further contribute to the evaluation of the status of households through observation of material goods and physical structures. Examination of such items allows for a better understanding of how individuals led their day-to-day lives and therefore assists with the determination of differences between lower and upper class activities (Wason 1994). Structures offer similar clues to the past. Wason (1994) mentions that Hawaiian elites built more structures within their household compounds. Various features of these houses can also indicate status. For example, Wason suggests that platforms can distinguish dwellings from one another: "They absorb copious effort and rarely have mundane practical functions" (1994:142). Several houses excavated in the Keokea research area were constructed with platforms. Such features can identify upper class dwellings. Analysis of these characteristics along with artifacts within

the structures will then determine the extent to which the *kapu* system was followed. In addition to structural features, material possessions previously discussed in ethnohistorical documentations also can assist with hierarchical identification. Key (1996) identifies a positive correlation between status and amount of clothing worn, "…nakedness is often a sign of inferior social status, subserviency, or submission…(1996:xxx). For example, the garments worn by the elites (mentioned in Clerke's journal) are described as "made of Net work, & feathers of various colours [that] are worked into the mesh of the Net" (Beaglehole 1967:1392). However, commoner men wore very little clothing, often described in the ethnographies as loincloths made of *tapa*. This correlation can also apply to gender in that Clerke describes men as wearing very little clothing, while the clothing worn by women consisted of a piece of cloth wrapped around the middle that extended down, much like a petticoat (Beaglehole 1967:1320). This may be due to other issues such as proper coverage of the body, but can also be used as an argument for the higher status women due to the amount of time and effort consumed in the making of *tapa* cloth. The amount of clothing worn by Hawaiian women also infers status in that according to hierarchy theory, increased bodily coverage denotes increased status. This reasoning explains the intricate robes worn by Hawaiian chiefs.

Cognitive and Linguistics Theory

As Gero and Conkey stated in their article "Tensions, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women and Prehistory" (1998), gender ideology evolves as a product of culture concepts and structures. In essence, culture exists as a cognitive process. In *Psychology and Culture*, Richard A. Thompson (1975) argues that, "…reality *itself* is a mental construct" (1975:3). Humans, as social beings, are raised within a community that produces unique cultural experiences. These experiences instill in each person a sense of community values, ideals, attitudes, and beliefs. Such cultural constructs give us "an integrated perspective on the world about us, a point of view about the significance and meaning of people, places, things, and events. In brief, the world is what culture and experiences have taught us to *think* it is" (Thompson 1975:3). Therefore, the cultural paradigm with which all members of society are provided as they are socialized assists with the understanding of gender. These ideas or viewpoints become explicit through several cultural and cognitive arenas such as language, which is the basis of culture. The way people talk about one another, the descriptive words they use, make evident their mental process or how that person views others. For example, when women are referred to as wives or mothers, they are being defined by their relationship with others. In contrast, men are often referred to as hunters or providers, which defines them by their role in society and actions or responsibilities.

In essence, mental representations of cultural experiences and constructed realities become evident through language (Thompson 1975:8). Not only do cognitive representations affect language, but language affects cognitive representations of culture; "the way we think is conditioned by the language we speak" (Thompson 1975:9). Similar to understanding cultural linguistics within the societal construct, to properly understand cultural perceptions, one must view the actions of individuals within context. Archaeologists must understand the foundation of an individual in order to analyze his or her actions and characteristics. Therefore, superimposing a western cultural construct on native Hawaiian societal ideologies, much like early ethnographers did, results in incorrect conclusions regarding gender roles. In order to properly analyze the existing data, one must study the Hawaiian language and culture within its context and from the native's perspective.

Although we can never be positive that recordings written by the early discoverers are completely accurate, they can give us a relative idea of the Native Hawaiian's view on gender. For example, Samwell recorded approximately 132 Hawaiian words and phrases along with their meaning in his journal. Presumably these are the most common words or phrases heard by the Europeans, and therefore the most important to understand. One of the words conveyed by Samwell, husband (*Hekane*) does not have a parallel word among the list of phrases that describes women as wives (Beaglehole 1967:1231). This may be explained by hypothesizing that the role of husband was more important to the

identity of a man than the role of wife was to the identity of a woman. Similarly, Mary Ritchie Key (1996) hypothesizes in her book *Male/Female Language*, "When the labels for male and female are paired, we see other social structures exemplified. The couplet 'man and wife' instead of 'husband and wife' suggests that her existence is in relationship to the man and implies a subordinate position…" (1996:32). According to this theory, and based on Samwell's records, the Hawaiians referenced men according to their relationship with women—a divergent practice from western tradition.

Contradicting Samwell's journal, Linnekin (1985:61) states that the Hawaiian language lacked words translating directly to husband and wife, only possessing terms for man (*kane*) and woman (*wahine*). This suggests that Hawaiians believed the relationship of husband and wife to be less important than their responsibilities as men and women. Linnekin's (1985:62) research does mention the existence of marriage in the Hawaiian culture (as traditionally defined by western ideals) with one man and one woman committed to each other in a permanent union (*ho'ao pa'a*). However, this type of relationship was traditionally reserved for the *ali'i* class while the commoners practiced cohabitation, which materialized in the form of women and men taking many partners throughout their lives (Linnekin 1985:62). The practice of these divergent relationship styles indicates that hierarchically superior individuals did not require improvement of their status, but rather they needed to sustain their current *mana* for themselves and their children. Conversely, commoners wanted

to improve their standing within society and therefore took several different partners in hopes of improving their children's *mana*. In revealing that both sexes took various partners, Linnekin allows the reader to surmise that equality existed, at least within the realm of sexuality, in pre-contact Hawai'i. The concept of women choosing their sexual partner denotes higher status, a common occurrence in the Pacific.

Each language system is constructed through unique rules based on "generations of social experiences and social interaction" (Thompson 1975:15). In order to comprehend the world around us, humans must organize or categorize items, people, events, or any life experience into useful paradigms. Thompson discusses this practice as it relates to language. He states that experiences are "divided into *classes of like things*" (1975:15). An interesting investigation into perceived gender roles consists of identifying items or tasks within a language system that are identified as male or female. In recognizing these categories, one can better understand cultural conceptions of gender and gender roles. For example, Linnekin (1993) mentions Hawaiian names in her book *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence*. She brings to light the observation that "Hawaiian names are not gender-typed" (1993:97). According to Kahikahealani Wight's Illustrated Hawaiian Dictionary, "Unlike English, Hawaiian does not distinguish the sex of a person being referred to: *'o ia* can mean either 'he' or 'she'" (1997:v). Mary Pukui's Hawaiian Dictionary corroborates this. The entry found under the word "she" states, "1. Possessive, same as his. 2. Pronoun, same as him"

(1986:458). The absence of gender-typed names and gender-distinguishing pronouns suggests that being identified as male or female through language was not an important aspect of early Hawaiian culture.

Hare-Mustin and Marecek discuss the role of language and power in their article "The Meaning of Difference: Gender Theory, Postmodernism, and Psychology" (1988). The individuals in society who control the meaning of language hold a great deal of power. The powerful can also use language to "label, define, and rank" (1988:455). Therefore, labels given to individuals, as well as language composition, can assist with understanding individual and gender rank within society. Utilizing this theory to analyze pre-European contact Hawaiian language may prove useful in discovering the relationship between gender and rank.

Mary Ritchie Key (1996) discusses several prevalent themes regarding the presence of gender within language systems in her book *Male/Female Language.* She initially reminds the reader that gender relations can only be understood when comprehensively studying a culture; this includes reviewing the native language as well as the language system. According to Key, the "Whorf-Sapir Hypthesis" (1996:xvi) states that cultural language systems not only affect gender interactions, but also display proper cultural models of behavior. Gender differentiation within language begins with basic recognition of biological gender differences. This leads Key (1996) to suggest that identification of gender through words began with the institution of language. However, recognizing gender

hierarchy through linguistic studies requires more than knowledge of the linguistic gender differences. Researchers must previously understand cultural stratification systems before properly deciphering the status markers that are present in every language. Such terms include "use of titles, proper names, honorifics on nouns, pronoun use, and many other linguistic forms" (Key 1996:44). Improper identification of high-status individuals could lead outsiders to a false understanding of the social hierarchy, which would result in incorrect conclusions regarding status markers within the language. For example, previous research concerning the Hawaiian Islands inaccurately identified women as possessing lower hierarchical positions than men (i.e. Linnekin 1985).

The use of specific suffixes also delineates words as gender identification tools. For example, the suffix *–ess* is often attached to words in the English language to identify the female version of a male role. The differentiation between male and female Hawaiian chiefs, identified by the casual use of this suffix (Key 1996:67), did not exist until the advent of European missionaries, who were frustrated with the lack of distinction (Wise 1951). The traditional Hawaiian language described chiefs as *ali'i* regardless of gender. This practice implies the lack of cultural concern regarding gender in leadership positions. Perhaps no distinction existed due to the lack of female chiefs; however, numerous ethnographic documentations suggest otherwise. Wise (1951: 117) identifies Hawaiian words for queen (*wahinemoi, ali'iwahine*) and king (*moi*), but the Hawaiian kingdom was not established until after the arrival of the Europeans

(Wise 1951:117). This contact with Western society may have had a great influence on the distinction between male and female leaders. The existence of two words meaning “queen” suggests that the female leadership role held an increasingly important position in society, for the amount of words delineating one meaning is positively correlated with cultural importance.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS

Origins

This chapter seeks to explain the origins of the prehistoric gender relations in Hawai'i. The initial review of earlier research describes various cultural practices of other societies in the Austronesian world that evolved from the same ancestral heritage Polynesian traditions were drawn from. The chapter then describes Polynesian traditions (other than Hawaiian) that also relate to the gender practices analyzed in this paper. The purpose of reviewing this cultural heritage lies in the theory that one can better understand the following research if a knowledge base regarding the cultural heritage of social practices is established.

Social relationships described in Polynesian and Austronesian ethnographic data closely resemble similar Hawaiian interactions. M. J. Meggitt studied the male-female relationships between residents of the highlands in Australian New Guinea. She depicts the interactions between men and women as antagonistic. Meggitt also describes ritualistic activities that illustrate the separation of the sexes in all aspects of life. For example, women cared for pigs while men cared for dogs and cassowaries—this would suggest that men's and

women's houses would exhibit different remains. The same is true of the Polynesian island of Aneityum at European contact. Here, women were charged with cooking, collecting marine foods, and working in the gardens (Spriggs 2007:283).

Toon van Meijl (1993) discusses the various societal taboos applicable to each sex in his article entitled "Maori Meeting-Houses In and Over Time". Jocelyn Linnekin (2003) compares the Hawaiians' gendered tasks with individuals living on other Polynesian islands. She states, "Throughout Polynesia, women's primary work is not food production. In Hawaii as in other island groups, women made mats and *tapa* cloth and personal ornaments while men did most of the agricultural work" (1993:37). Linnekin continues to discuss engendered jobs, mentioning that throughout Polynesia, men are the sole deep sea fishers while women gather marine items such as shellfish and sea weed (1993:39). However, Linnekin clearly states that the Western perception of the male tasks (hunting and farming) being of higher importance than the female tasks (beating cloth or making mats) is inaccurate when applied to the Polynesian culture. Based on previous Polynesian societies such as Tonga, "women's products were categorically superior to men's, which were seen as impermanent and consumable" (1993:40). This comparison supports the theory that women were not the inferior sex as is presented by early Western ethnographers.

Examples of gender equality are present in other cultures of Austronesian descent studied by anthropologists. In Maria Lepowsky's book, *Fruit of the*

Motherland: Gender in an Egalitarian Society (1993), she discusses gender relationships on the Melanesian Island of Vanatinai. Here, there exist considerable overlaps between male and female tasks, and "actions of both sex are considered equally valuable" (1993:viii). The society of Vanatinai also exhibits a matrilineal kinship system, as well as the opportunity for women to contribute and participate in prestige activities such as ceremonial trade or leadership positions. Both genders are seen as possessing the same valuable qualities and spiritual power. Lepoowsky discusses the Vanatinai mating rituals as evidence of gender equality in that both men and women choose sexual partners. Children are encouraged to begin courting in their teenage years, each given the ability to choose the object of his or her affection (1993:99). Lepowsky further illuminates the cultural ideology surrounding bodily fluids, stating that menstruation blood is not necessarily considered polluting, but rather all genital fluids (male and female) are believed to cause harm to crops (1993:100). However, menstruating women and recent participants in intercourse are not isolated from others, they merely avoid the agricultural fields so as not to attract wild animals that would destroy the crops.

Annette Weiner (1976) similarly describes gender relations between Trobriand Islanders in her book *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives in Trobriand Exchange*. Weiner explains the need to properly analyze male and female interactions so that the power of neither men nor women is undervalued. The Trobriand Islanders regard the male and female domain as equally important. Each gender possesses power that stems from their role in

society, consequently equalizing the roles of male and female. The Trobriand Islanders along with the previously listed Polynesian and Austronesian examples of sexual division and equality assist in establishing a firm foundation from which we can better understand the Hawaiian culture as well as the surviving material record. Such societies exemplify the fact that gender roles do not remain static cross-culturally.

Gender Practices

Ancient Hawaiians did not possess an established writing system previous to the arrival of the Europeans. Consequently, individuals passed along historical events and cultural practices orally from one generation to the next, until the European missionaries developed the Hawaiian alphabet in 1822 (Hawaiian Historical Society 2009). Successive written recordings of an ethnographic nature were created, which included information regarding history, traditions, legends, and myths of pre-historic Hawai'i. The most famous of these early ethnographers, Davida Malo (or David Malo), learned to read and write under Reverend William Richards in 1823 (Bishop Museum Press 2009). He records that the Hawaiians "had separate houses for themselves and for their wives" (Malo 1951:122), indicating that gender separation practices did exist. Malo goes on to describe the male task of food preparation, which required the food to be cooked on two ovens (one for the males' food and one for the females' food). The man and wife (or women and men) then ate in separate dwellings during meals and although

women were prohibited from entering the men's eating-house (*mua*), men could enter the women's meal space. Women under the *kapu* system were forbidden to eat several foods, including "pork, bananas, cocoanuts, also certain fishes, the *ulua*, *kumu* (a red fish used in sacrifice), the *niuhi* shark, the sea turtle, the *e-a* (the sea turtle that furnished the tortoise shell), the *pahu*, the *na-ia* (porpoise), the whale, the *nuao, hahalua hihimanu* (the ray) and the *hailepo*" (1898:29). According to C.M. Wise (1951:121) women were also forbidden to handle *ohelo* berries. The prohibition of these foods constituted the need for separate ovens. Malo continues with a discussion of a house within which women were sequestered during their monthly cycle, and then mentions a house used only for male worship. Finally, he describes each house site consisting of a domicile within which the husband, wife, and children slept (Malo 1898:27-30). However, Malo then states that separate houses were primarily utilized by those of higher rank:

> People who were well off, however, those of respectability, of character, persons of wealth or who belonged to the *alii* class, sought to do everything decourously and in good style; they had separate houses for themselves and for their wives.
> [Malo 1898:30]

If the archaeological record supports Malo's observations, the material record may exhibit different floral and faunal remains in houses used for meals by men and women of higher status. For example, the eating-houses of women would lack the bones of pigs or the shells of coconuts, while the male eating-house would contain these important elements of the Hawaiian diet. The record may

also indicate the presence of male worship houses and female menstruation houses. House sites exhibiting chiefly goods (such as carved whalestooth pendants) belong to higher status individuals, while house sites belonging to individuals of lower status will lack such items and, consequently, reveal less extensive evidence of adherence to the *kapu* system.

Captain James Cook describes several observations regarding house sites and gender differentiation in his journals from his third and final voyage across the Pacific Ocean. Captain Cook was the first European to witness the unique Hawaiian culture, and therefore recorded useful descriptions that capture important aspects of the society's social interactions previous to European interference. In *The Journals of Captain James Cook: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780* volume three (which contains the original manuscripts, edited by J.C. Beaglehole), Captain Cook describes the female Hawaiian diet as deprived of turtle, certain types of fish, and some kinds of plantains. However, Captain Cook infers that women would eat pork if they were not in the presence of men, a detail not mentioned in other ethnographies reviewed. He does briefly mention that women were "depriv'd of eating with their Lords" (Beaglehole 1967:624), corroborating the necessity for gender-specific eating-houses.

This book also contains journals written by crewmembers of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* ships, several of which describe Hawaiian houses at contact as well as gender practices. For example, David Samwell (surgeon

onboard the *Discovery*) depicts women as forceful, interested only in intercourse with the foreigners. He repeatedly recorded the resolve they exhibited in attempting sexual relations with Captain Cook's crew, stating that if allurement failed to work, the women often utilized sheer force (1967:1083). Such actions may portray the constant struggle of Hawaiian women toward improving the *mana* of their offspring (the sailors were considered part of the elite class). In his journals, Samwell also illustrates the following female practices:

> They [women] are obliged to loose their fore teeth on the death of the Chiefs and of their Husbands; They are strictly prohibited like the Women of Otaheite from drinking Ava & eating Pork & ripe Plantains, & while they were on board the ships with us they never touch any pork or ripe plantains except privately & by stealth, but then they would eat very hearty of both & seemed very fond of them
> [Beaglehole 1967:1181]

He confirms the eating habits of Hawaiians several times throughout his journals regarding the Hawaiian Islands. While visiting the island of Hawai'i, Samwell participated in a ceremony presented by the natives in honor of the Europeans. He comments on the dining arrangements, stating that "Men eat by themselves here like they do at Otaheite and the Society Isles, the Women are not permitted to eat pork nor ripe Plantains, their Chief food is fish & roots" (Beaglehole 1967:1163). Not only does Samwell's writing corroborate other ethnographic accounts, but also offers a glimpse into the origin of the Hawaiian culinary traditions.

When describing tasks conducted by females, Samwell states, "beating the [tapa] Cloth is the most laborious…the rest of their business is confined to nursing their Children and other domestic Cares…" (Beaglehole 1967:1181).

However, Samwell does mention an older woman performing daily religious ceremonies. He describes her as "mad," performing sacrificial rites and exhibiting a strong influence over the natives (Beaglehole 1967:1085). This account contradicts the common idea that pre-contact Hawaiian women lacked influence within the religious sphere. Samwell further mentions that the "old Priestess performed various Ceremonies & killed several small Pigs by striking their Heads against a Stone…" (1967:1085). This, again, opposes commonly held ideas about early Hawaiian women and pork. Females were forbidden to eat or prepare pork for meals. According to previous hypotheses, this tradition was practiced in order to avoid female pollution (as is suggested by Davida Malo among others). One would then think the sacred practice of sacrificing a pig would be forbidden. This account suggests that women were not polluting, but rather sacred. As Linnekin (1993) theorizes, the food taboos may instead indicate "special powers or capabilities possessed by women" (1993:19). The arrival and subsequent classification of Cook as the god Lono also disproves the common conclusion that Hawaiian women were forbidden from the early Hawaiian religious sphere. Because the Hawaiians believed Cook to be Lono, they thought of his ship as a temple (Sahlins 1995:39). As evident from Samwell's journal, Hawaiian women were often aboard the ship, which according to recorded *kapu* laws was forbidden. The questions remain, were women violating their cultural taboos or were they in actuality an integral part of religious life, a part that has never been recorded?

When describing the women inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands, Clerke writes in his journal about their masculine appearance, seemingly due to the manner in which they cut their hair, "[it was] short behind, almost as close as tho' it was shaved, and…long before…" (Beaglehole 1967:1320). The clothing worn by women (as described in Clerke's journal) consisted of a piece of cloth wrapped around the middle that extended down, much like a petticoat (Beaglehole 1967:1320). King describes Hawaiian females as wearing "feather ruffs round their Necks, made of red, Yellow, & black feathers…" (Beaglehole 1967:1391). This statement negates notions that women were not allowed to have contact with prestige feather goods. King also mentions bracelets worn by Hawaiian women that were strung with turtle shell plates and boar teeth, and necklaces made of shell (Beaglehole 1967:1391). With regards to female activities, Clerke (1778) mentions the dexterity with which the women could manage themselves in the water, a skill equal to the Hawaiian men. Edgar writes about an incident that is also described in Samwell's journal regarding a thief. This entire confrontation is important to the current research due to the fact that the thief was a Hawaiian woman who was armed (1779:1359), suggesting that women may have been equally privileged in the use of weapons.

Samwell described the men of Hawaiian society as warriors, dressed with "Spears, Daggers, short Clubs, bows & Arrows & Slings" (Beaglehole 1967:1181). Clerke writes in his journal that the men of the Hawaiian Islands wear their hair long and don very little clothing. He also mentions their skill in the

water, particularly related to canoeing. (Beaglehole 1967:1320). King describes the robes worn on occasion by certain Hawaiian males as "made of Net work, & feathers of various colours [that] are worked into the mesh of the Net" (Beaglehole 1967:1392). This represents the cloaks that conferred elite status, worn by the chiefs of early Hawaiian Society. Helmets worn by the elite men are also described in this section of King's journal as containing red feathers, the symbol of status conveyed by the color red as well as the feather decorations.

William R. Castle Jr. continued with the documentation of the Hawaiian culture in his book *Hawai'i Past and Present*, published in 1913. He clearly describes Hawaiian houses at the time of European contact. Size varied, dependent upon the rank of the owner (an observation corroborated in Malo's book), but each was of similar construction, consisting of "rough wooden frames, tied together, and thatched over with grass or ti leaves. The doors were low and narrow and there were usually no windows" (1913:21). Castle also recorded the influence the Hawaiian taboo (*kapu*) system possessed in the everyday lives of individuals: "not an act of daily life could be performed without reference to one or more of these divine beings [referring to Hawaiian gods]. It was this far-reaching superstition that gave rise to the tabu system" (1913:17). Castle then proceeded to list cultural practices he believed to be influenced by the Hawaiian *kapu* system, including the prohibition against women eating in the same house as men. According to Castle's observations, "women were not allowed to eat with men or enter men's eating houses on pain of death" (1913:17). Additional aspects

of social life governed by the *kapu* system and recorded by Castle include the creation and use of clothing. Women were responsible for manufacturing *kapa* (or *tapa*), a paper cloth made from bark and used for clothing by the ancient Hawaiians. Women wore strips of *tapa* cloth, approximately three feet wide, wrapped around the waist while men preferred loincloths (1917:22). If Castle's observations prove correct, archaeological investigations of prehistoric Hawaiian households will exhibit artifacts that support these findings—tools needed for the creation of *tapa* cloth should be present in the women's houses and absent in men's. Additionally, any surviving clothing would be significant in that the three-foot-wide pieces of cloth worn by women would only appear in the houses utilized by females while pieces resembling loincloth should only appear in houses occupied by males (unfortunately, this prospect is rare due to the destructive nature tropical climates have on archaeological material). As previously discussed, this separation of material culture should be highly visible in the house sites belonging to the *ali'i* class. Commoner house sites should hypothetically display more of a blending of male and female artifacts due to the decreased adherence to *kapu* law.

E.S.C. Handy corroborates Castle's (and others') writings about the numerous houses found at house sites: "men and boys ate and cooked in a house separate from the eating house of the women" (1965:76). Handy further explains the six different buildings that composed the residencies of wealthier pre-historic Hawaiians: (1965:76)

1) Heiau: used for worship
2) Mua: eating house of men—kapu to women [later described by Cordy (2000:52) as the male house of worship]
3) Noa: where the wife lived, not kapu to the husband
4) Hale aina: the eating house of the women
5) Kua: also kuku, where the kapa was beaten in bad weather
6) Pea: where the wife lived in the period of uncleanness

The author then explains that Hawaiians needed a variety of buildings for various everyday activities due to the restraints enforced by the *kapu* system. These taboos prohibited men and women to eat and work together, or sleep under the same roof. (Handy 1965:77) Unfortunately, material that should be present in the houses such as the *Hale Kua* or *Hale Pea* do not often survive in the tropical Hawaiian environment. The *tapa* cloth, made from tree bark, would have quickly decomposed unless found in an environment suitable for preservation (which, in Hawai'i, is mainly cave systems). Any material record left in the menstrual house would also severely degrade over time. Distinguishing between a house designated for *kapa* beating, a menstruation house, or even a sleeping house may prove difficult. However, the material record, consisting of faunal remains, volcanic glass, and basalt, allow for a better analysis of eating houses as well as temples or shrines. From this evidence, the existence of large house sites and purpose of various structures can be confirmed.

In his book *Under the Hawaiian Skies*, Taylor substantiates Handy's analysis of the various buildings, stating that a man and wife must have separate houses for eating, sleeping, and beating *tapa*. He further comments on the preparation of the food, stating "the cooking and preparing food for the man must be separate from that for the wife" (Taylor 1926:51). The man must also have a house of worship. According to Taylor (1926:51), if the previous taboos were broken, the penalty was death.

Ross Cordy records and analyzes Hawaiian history and culture in his book *Exalted Sits the Chief* (2000). His research on pre-historic Hawaiian houses correlates with the previous authors' observations in that Cordy describes Hawaiian households at the time of Kamehameha as "thatched sleeping houses" (2000:51). These dwellings, used mainly for storage and sleeping, were part of the larger house lots, which also included cooking areas complete with *imu* (or underground ovens) as well as other work areas used in the making of tools and *kapa*. The *imu* were especially important in that women and men were required to cook their food separately. Cordy corroborates earlier ethnographers' observations that eating was separated by sex. Other taboos relating to eating included laws against female consumption of specific foods such as "pigs, bananas, coconuts, and some other items" (2000:51). Additionally, Taylor and Kane state that these foods were taboo to women along with certain kinds of fish. (1926:51, 1997:53).

Linnekin mentions the prohibition of female consumption of sea turtle, porpoise, and whale as well. (1993:15) Men did the majority of the cooking, as was common elsewhere in Polynesia, but took care to cook the female food in separate *imu* so as not to mix the *mana* (or spirit) of the sexes (Linnekin 1993:15, Kane 1997:53). Linnekin does not limit her discussion to food laws, however; she also explains the basic social organization. According to her research (1993:5), the Hawaiians traced descent bilaterally, lacking corporate descent groups. Linnekin argues that although evidence may favor a "patrilineal bias in political and property succession" (1993:5), women still exhibit authority equal to men and were vital to "the transmission of spiritual property" (1993:5).

Linnekin (1993:38) discusses the great amount of effort that pre-contact Hawaiian women invested in the making of *tapa* cloth and mats. Such material goods made by women were important aspects of several religious ceremonies (for example, idols were often wrapped in the cloth made by women). The early Hawaiian females used the mats as chiefly gifts, and the presence of several mats stacked on top of one another indicated a person of high status. Due to the amount of time spent in creating these large pieces (the smallest of articles made, a loincloth, being nine feet in length) Linnekin suggests that the women remained incredibly busy. Accordingly, Linnekin argues that this difficult female task was more highly valued than the hunting and agricultural work of men in that the male resources are not retainable while the goods created by women were kept for long periods of time. Women were not relegated to *kapa* making, however; they could

assist with agricultural work if so inclined (an occurrence that, according to ethnographic accounts, seemed likely in Maui), and they also gathered "shellfish, seaweed, and other products of the reef" (1993:39). The primary responsibility of men, along with agricultural work, was deep-sea fishing. Men also performed most of the religious ceremonies, a fundamental aspect of pre-contact Hawaiian culture.

Religious areas within households were quite important, as the Hawaiian religion was essential to every day life. This aspect of life was also separated by sex: "male-female separation of worship occurred. Men usually had areas within a men's house (mua)…" (Cordy 2000:52). *Mua* were commonly shared between related houses. The kapu system forbade women to enter such areas (Cordy 2000:52). Jocelyn Linnekin's book (1993) supports Cordy's research. She affirms, "women were forbidden from entering heiau 'temples' or the men's house, which served as the domestic shrine…" (1993:15). However, Linnekin also mentions that early ethnographers neglected to record female religious practices or their roles within the larger religious system, an important aspect of the early Hawaiian culture. The early women contributed a great deal to the religious aspect of society in that they often embodied the highest form of *kapu* (sacred). Following the previously mentioned research, one can safely hypothesize that the archaeological record may demonstrate distinct differences between male and female houses. Linnekin and Cordy's research also suggest that women were not necessarily viewed as contaminating, but rather the *mana* of

the sexes could cross-contaminate one another. This implies that neither male nor female *mana* was superior, but rather that they were viewed as different entities.

Architecture

As the first western people to discover the Hawaiian Islands, the Europeans aboard the *Discovery* and *Resolution* ships meticulously recorded early culture and customs. Descriptions of architecture, an integral part of early Hawaiian culture, appeared in these descriptions. Samwell describes the towns as built unevenly with lava rocks: "thrown together having the Appearance of the Ruins of an old Castle…thrown together to form small Dens under ground which some of the Indians use for Houses" (Beaglehole 1967:117). Samwell may be referring to house sites when he describes the "towns," as he states that the houses were built close together with paths zig-zagging around them. Samwell also records the courts outside the houses paved with pebbles used for drying and staining cloth. He then writes that the individual houses were small, on average six to seven yards long by four yards wide, although sizes vary. The houses are as tall as they are wide with small doors that require bowing in order to enter. The low, steep rooftops nearly reached the ground and were "thatched with the leaves of the Sugar Cane" (Beaglehole 1967:1176). Hawaiians wove mats for the floors and made indoor shelves with two long pieces of wood (Beaglehole 1967:1176).

Clerke also recorded a detailed description of the early Hawaiian homes in his journal entry regarding the archipelago. The details mentioned in this sailor's writings closely resemble the descriptors used by Samwell; the people built low

rising, thatched homes with tiny doors, and roofs that seemed to touch the ground (Beaglehole 1967: 1321). Clerke also references the close vicinity of the houses to one another, stating that "here the different families, with their Hogs and Dogs, live in a very sociable manner together" (Beaglehole 1967:1321). Again, this possibly is a reference to family housing complexes, rather than towns.

Kamakau (1976) describes the various structures built and utilized by the Hawaiians in his book *The Works of the People of Old*. He explains that houses differed in size, with the elite class possessing large establishments (1976:96). Such households encompassed structures meant for the following:

> …sheds, men's houses, sleeping sheds, heiau houses, women's eating houses, houses for storage of provisions, houses for cooking, and many other houses…each man had several houses—for wife, children, parents, relatives, and retainers. [Kamakau 1976:96]

Kamakau explicitly details the construction of the houses as well, stating that early Hawaiian structures were primary constructed of stone, while later houses were built of wood. If the house were specifically designated for the male family members, it was constructed with two doors (Kamakau 1976).

Allen Johnson and Timothy Earle (2000) briefly discuss the layout of the Hawaiian house system in their book *The Evolution of Human Societies*. Divided into two classes, the Hawaiian house sites varied depending on social status. Commoners tended to form informal households with several related families living near one another. The more successful farmers acquired neighbors that would cluster around their house site, forming a community (2000:284).

Social Hierarchy

An intricate and important aspect of pre-contact Hawaiian social hierarchy was familial relationships and lineage. Linnekin (1985) identified that Hawaiians traced heredity bilaterally. Although *ali'i* often attempted to trace their ancestry to the gods (in order to maintain power and prestige), commoners possessed shallow genealogies, yet their intricate knowledge of bilateral relationships remains impressive (Linnekin 1985). Hawaiian words do not seem to exist for relatives past the grandparent generation, yet several terms were identified describing siblings, cousins, and others of bilateral relations. According to Linnekin (1985) the closest of these relationships were:

> between mothers and their children… In Hawaiian relationships, solidarity is thought to be invested in intergenerational and cross-sex ties (Howard 1971:47072, 89), but the conjunction of these solidarities does not fully explain the Hawaiian mama culture. …The fathers of the community are not celebrated as are the mothers"
> [Linnekin 1985:99]

In essence, Hawaiian family life was matrifocal in practice.

Not only were females a more intricate and celebrated part of the family, they were also indispensable in terms of hierarchy and rank. Although age was the only ascribed means of social prestige (Linnekin 1985:5), women served as "markers of status and points of access to rights: to rank, among the chiefs; to property, among commoners. Women are the rank-differentiating figures in chiefly genealogies, the points of segmentation between superior and subordinate

lines" (Linnekin 1985:105; personal communication with Marshall Sahlins). Female transfer of *kapu* to her offspring originates with Hawaiian mythology. La'ia'i, the eldest sister of man and god, traditionally inherited all earlier eras of creation (Sahlins 1995:23). This goddess exemplifies all characteristics of the essential cultural role of Hawaiian females. As represented by the inheritance of sacred *kapu* from mother to child, the goddess La'ia'i effectively "turned the divine into human life" (Sahlins 1995:23). This symbolism is illustrated in the Makahiki celebrations through the image of the god Lono—born of an emblematic union between Lono and the Hawaiian women (Sahlins 1995:27). Such importance placed on female members of the Hawaiian society makes thinking of them as "polluting" nearly impossible. The idea of female impurity is negated by this research as well as the concept that all women occupy a lower rank than all men in the social hierarchy.

The social hierarchy of pre-historic Hawai'i consisted of several levels. The top-ranking individuals, the *ali'i nui* class, held ultimate power over the Hawaiian people. They embodied the highest *kapu*, meaning they were the most sacred of all the members of the elite class. The amount of *mana* an individual possessed determined his or her *kapu* status. Lower chiefs were also part of this stratified political system. Commoners composed the lower echelon of society. Marshall Sahlins mentions in his book *Islands of History* that "Hawaiians…do not trace descent so much as ascent, selectively choosing their way upward, by a path that notably includes female ancestors, to a connection with some ancient ruling

line" (1985:180). This comment refers to several practices of the early Hawaiians. As Samwell mentioned in his journals, the women were constantly (and often forcefully) attempting to engage in sexual intercourse with the Europeans. This exemplifies the need to improve their individual status as well as their children's status. The Europeans were considered *ali'i*, most likely due to the long Polynesian tradition of "stranger kings". Due to marriage practices and endemic warfare, *ali'i* were not as strongly attached to *ahupua'a* districts as commoners who tended to live in the same area their entire lives. This tradition contributed to the fragility of chiefly rule; *ali'i* were constantly susceptible to rebellion (an example being the death of Captain Cook at the hands of the Hawaiians, even though they considered him a chief/god). As Linnekin (1993:152) explains, the ruling class "could not have withstood the opposition of…local groups" due to their tenuous relationship to the commoners and the strong local family bonds of the lower class. In order to maintain power over the various districts, chiefdoms used methods of control that included enforcement of *kapu* laws. Those chiefs that already possessed the highest *kapu* rank, however, could not increase their status, but did not wish to lose their ascribed *mana* by marrying an individual of lower status. Therefore, incest was a common practice among the Hawaiian chiefly class. High-ranking individuals often married their half-sibling, nephew, or niece in order to retain their power. Thus, strictly adhering to *kapu* laws assisted with maintaining *mana* as well as power.

Commoners were required to adhere to several *kapu* regulations when interacting with those in the *ali'i* class. For example, Hawaiians of lower status were obliged to prostrate themselves when in the presence of *ali'i nui*, were prohibited from looking at such chiefs, could not cross their shadows, and were required to follow several other laws regarding basic social interactions with higher status individuals. Hawaiians of the chiefly class were in theory required to adhere to *kapu* laws as well, but commoners were punished much more severely for breaking taboo rules. While a commoner woman could be put to death for eating pork, a chiefly woman would either not be punished at all, or chose an individual on her staff to be punished in her place. Chiefly enforcement of the previously listed *kapu* requirements as well as other food and gender taboos reinforced the power that composed the foundation of their status within society.

Based on the previously mentioned hierarchical structure of pre-contact Hawaiian society, men and women holding positions of power as chiefs possessed great influence over the people. Linnekin argues that ethnographic evidence supports the hypothesis that pre-contact Hawaiian women were an equal part of the household as well as the larger community. Johnson and Earle's (2000) research supports Linnekin's findings in that they state that power transferred to proceeding generations through matrilineal and patrilineal lines. This indicates equality between the sexes as far as inheritance is concerned. Although men held the highest positions of authority, they often acquired such rank through marriage to a woman with inherited rights to the chiefdom (Johnson and Earle 2000:285).

CHAPTER 4

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Previous archaeological work done by Ross Cordy (1981), Patrick Kirch (1985), Michael Kolb (1997) and others has determined that pre-European contact permanent habitation sites occasionally were composed of several houses that, according to ethnohistorical documentation, served various purposes for the individuals that inhabited the site. Although not every permanent habitation site contains multiple houses, the material record suggests that differentiation in house site size positively correlates with social status.

The Hawaiian *kapu* system mandated separation of genders, specifically in domestic activities. According to Dixon, Gosser, and Williams (2008), such laws facilitate "archaeological comparison and contrast between residential structures." Current archaeological information on the house system of ancient Hawaiians varies. Although several excavations have been conducted, most researchers tend to focus on the basic structure of the house rather than the cultural function. Cordy's research established that settlement sites dating from AD 300 to 800 were small, located on the coast near good fishing areas. These settlements consisted of multi-household hamlets that lacked elaborate structures and burials (2000:114). Kirch writes about the development of the house structure from that

of a round pole-and-thatch dwelling in A.D. 300, to a structure of rectangular shape by A.D. 1100 (Kirch 1985). However, the Hawaiian culture rapidly evolved and archaeological data exhibits complex settlement patterns previous to European arrival, an observation that is supported by the journals of those aboard the *Resolution* and *Discovery*.

In his book entitled *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, Patrick Kirch reviews current studies of pre-historic house clusters on the islands of Hawai'i. There exist archaeological excavations focused predominately on houses on every island of Hawai'i, with house sites of various sizes and degrees of complexity (Kirch 1985:252). The house site researched by Hendren in 1975 exhibited two separate ovens, correlating with ethnohistoric information regarding cooking requirements for the sexes (i.e. women and men must cook their food separately in order to avoid cross-contamination of the *mana* [Kane 1997:53]). On Maui, the house site at Palauea contained several C-shaped structures (a common house design of pre-historic Hawai'i that appeared around A.D. 1100), one of which was interpreted as a *mua*, or men's house (although Kirch fails to mention the details that led to this interpretation). A late prehistoric house site in the *ahupua'a* (district) of Kawela also included a *mua* as well as a C-shaped cookhouse (Kirch 1985:254). Kirch then corroborates Handy's description of the six houses commonly found at house sites. He also discusses an excavation at the Bellows Dune site that uncovered the earliest known settlement site, with the first occupation dating to 323 A.D. At this time, the house was of the pole-and-thatch style, round, and

with a paved *ili'i* floor. Later excavations presented in his book illustrate the gradual change in style of houses over the proceeding centuries until, by 1100 A.D., houses were rectangular in shape. The material record found at the Bellows Dune site indicates a change in Hawaiian cultural practices over the three periods of occupation (i.e. the presence of chiefly status material in the third occupation period). This exemplifies the development of additionally complex cultural traditions, which could also pertain to gender roles. Such changes should be evident in the archaeological record.

Johnson and Earle mention previous archaeological research in their book *The Evolution of Human Societies* (2000:287-8). They discuss the separate eating spaces for men and women and explain the process of food preparation. The husband was responsible for cooking the food in separate earthen ovens and pounding the taro into *po'i* for the male and female meals. Women were forbidden to eat pork and other foods associated with the gods or enter the men's worship houses. With regards to specialization, men were responsible for growing the sacred *po'i* while women labored gathering shellfish and making the *tapa* cloth. Reciprocity within gender relations prevailed, for "the husband gathered his close kin to collect the timbers and build the house frame, while women collected the thatching materials used by the men and wove the floor mats. While men worked in the taro fields and fished, women grew and collected other plants, such as the sweet potato…" (Johnson and Earle 2000:288). Johnson and Earle's description of the balanced division of labor based on archaeological

research properly exemplifies the equality of the sexes in prehistoric Hawaiian culture.

The tasks primarily assigned to each gender were of equal importance, contributing greatly to family groups as well as the larger community. As discussed by Linnekin (1993), the mats and cloth made by women not only served the family, but were also used in ritual ceremonies and decorated the houses of the elites. The primary diet of the majority of the population consisted of the *po'i* grown by men. However, Johnson and Earle (2000:288) are careful to point out that the division of labor may not have been as stringent as ethnographies lead us to believe. They support the theory that the upper classes exhibited greater differentiation due to their status as gods (or as relatives of the gods). This infers that in order to retain their power, the elites needed to demonstrate proper adherence to *kapu* rituals in living arrangements. Therefore, the primary purpose behind the enforcement of such laws remained retainment of power rather than social devaluation of women.

Archaeological Landscape: Keokea

The archaeological features found at Keokea on the island of Maui represent the variety of houses built by early Hawaiians. In prehistoric Hawai'i, the Keokea region was an *ahupua'a*, or a territory running from the mountain to the ocean, that was ruled by a paramount chief (*ali'i nui*) and lesser chiefs (*nui*). When referencing structures on this land, the term *household* refers to two or

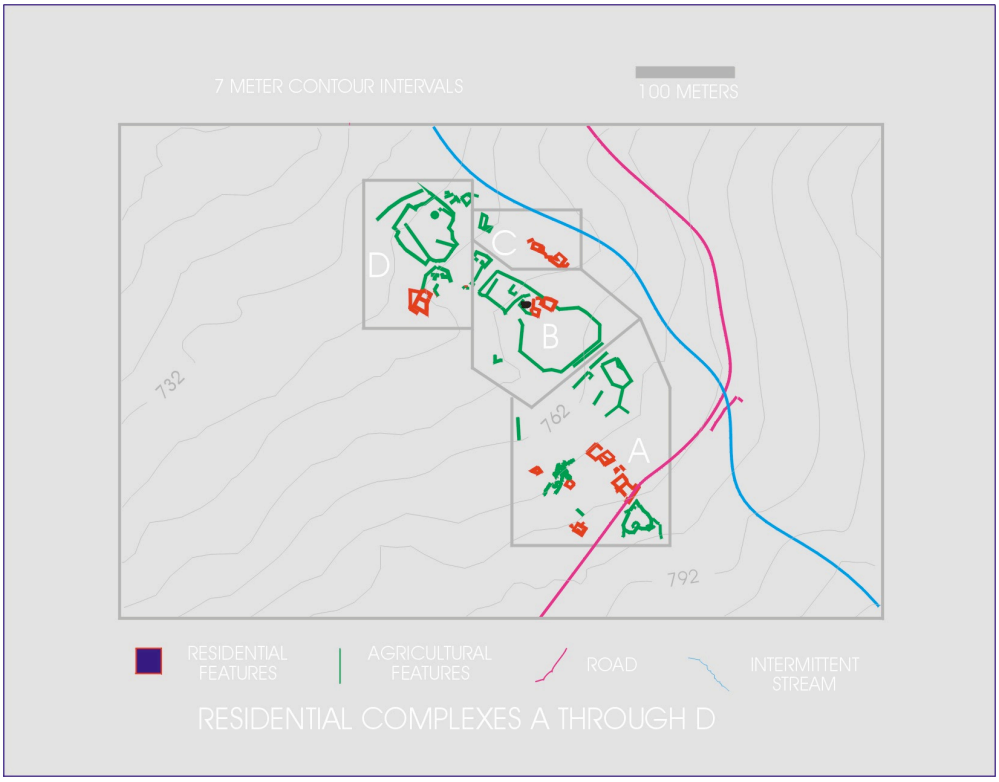
more houses utilized by the same family, whereas the term *house* refers to one structure within the households. According to Conte, Kolb and Cordy (Chapter 3: The Archaeological Landscape of Upland Kula), several residential features were uncovered using test units, the majority of which measured 0.5 m by 0.5 m (102 units). Forty of the units measured 1m by 1m, and the remaining nineteen units varied between 1m by 0.5m and 1m by 2m. Ninety-seven of the test units were placed in permanent habitations, the features that are the focus of this research.

Figure 1 illustrates the archaeological landscape of the Keokea survey area. The red outlined areas represent residential areas while the green lines represent agricultural features. Figure 2 (residential complexes A through D) is a rendering of the final house sites located in areas A, B, C, and D of the Keokea archaeological excavation. The enlarged image exemplifies the numerous addenda to the original houses. One can also better understand the extent of each housing complex in this illustration. The vicinity of various features to one another suggests that these buildings belong to, and are occupied by, one household. Based on the distance between structures, the buildings located in section A (house sites 2091 and 2090) belong to one household. Accordingly, the structures in section B (site 2033) are one household, and section C also consists of one household (site 2084). As the illustration shows, early house sites were built in close proximity to one another so as to form communities (Kolb and Snead 1997). The habitation features displayed are drawn to scale. Several houses have additions that were built over the years as the culture developed and

Figure 1

Keokea Survey Area

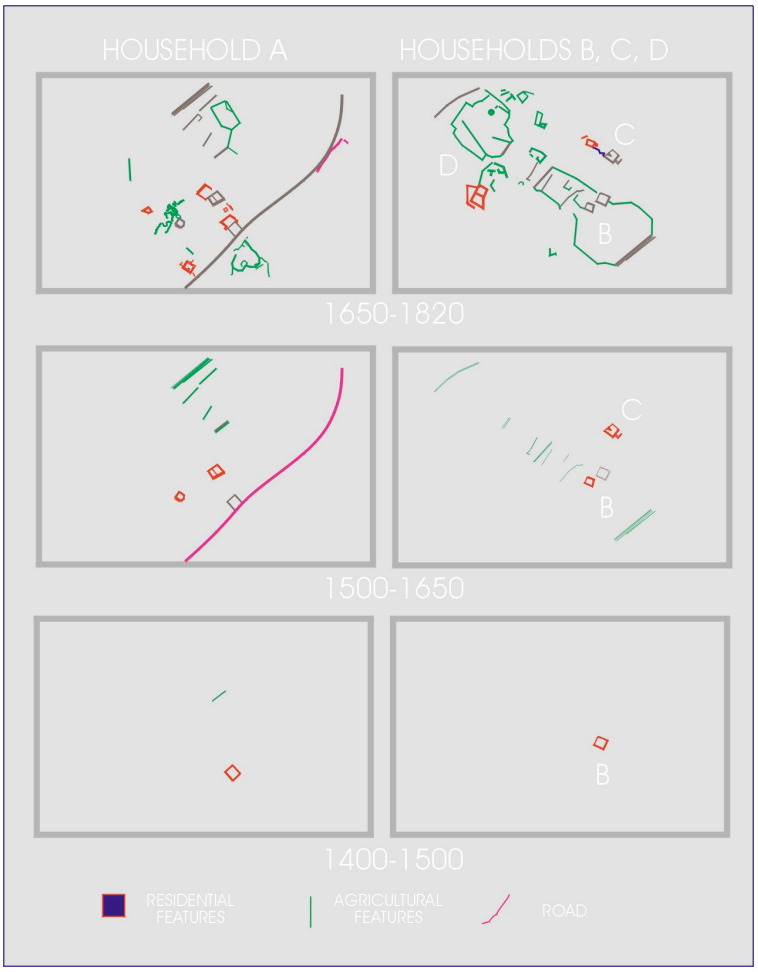
Figure 2



Residential Complexes A through D

grew. As is seen in Figure 3 (Household development 1400-1820), house sites first expanded to include an attached room or building. In proceeding years, several houses were built in the vicinity, which contributed to the house site and most likely were utilized in various functions of daily Hawaiian life as described by ethnographic sources.

Figure 3



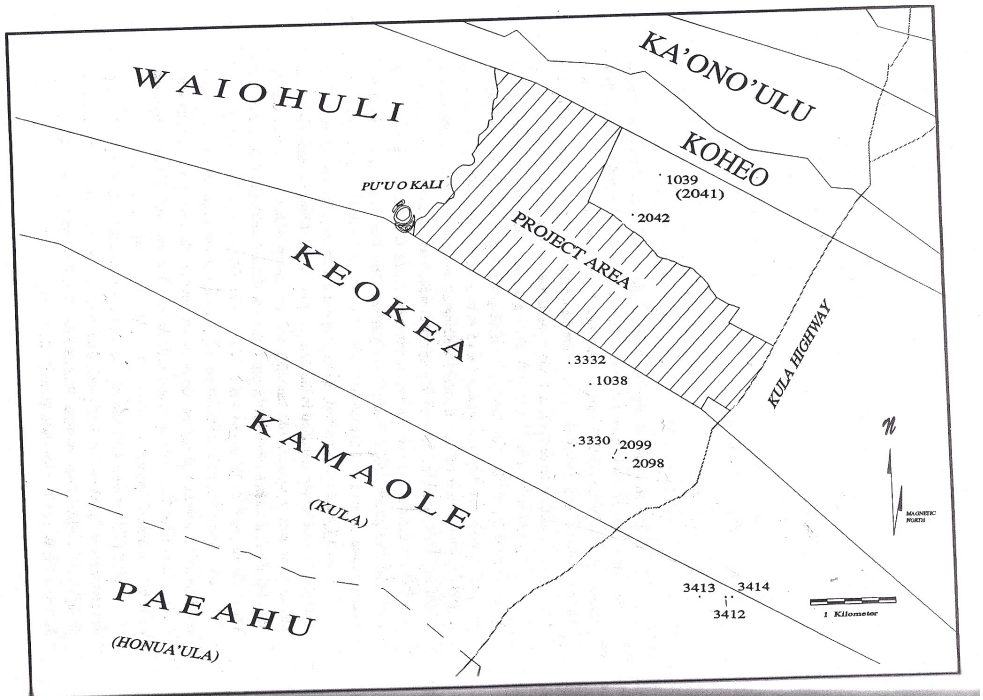
Household Development 1400-1820

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

Michael Kolb, Ross Cordy, and Patty Conte excavated and recorded the archaeological data used in this research project on the island of Maui during the 1997 field season. A five-person crew surveyed the land in the Keokea and Waiohuli regions, the goal being to identify all major features such as rock formations or buildings (for example *heiau,* and houses). Between 1992 and 1993, the researchers identified 213 sites that were composed of 1093 different features. The crew divided the land into sections (subsequently labeled A through K), conducted pedestrian surveys, then mapped and excavated select features (110 features were selected for testing). The various sections that were identified and surveyed can be seen in Figure 4; the number and type of features identified are in Table 1. The researchers identified the permanent habitation sites by using Ross Cordy's model developed in 1981. Cordy's model identified three ranges in size of permanent habitation structures.

Figure 4



Keokea Archaeology Region

Table 1

Table 3.3. Test Units by Functional Type

Functional Type	Number of Units	Number of Features Tested
Agricultural	19	16
Permanent Habitation	97	73
Temporary Habitation	12	12
Ritual	32	8
Burial	1	1
TOTAL	161	110

Test Units by Functional Type

The minimal house sites theoretically incorporate at least one building that the inhabitants utilized for sleeping and other various purposes, and a woman's eating house, as it was quite important for women and men to eat separately (according to ethnography). Cordy (1981) found that such houses "typically range in size from 17/24-66 square meters in area" (from the research of Kolb, Cordy, and Conte). According to Cordy's earlier research (1981), house sites often include larger structures that may be interpreted as canoe houses near the shore and range in size from 42-96 square meters. Habitation features measuring 72-144 square meters meet the historically documented size ranges of men's houses and may also be connected to house sites according to Cordy's model. Such features are further identified through the presence of male artifacts: for example, ritualistic material such as altars or coral, and basalt used in carving.

Cordy's model applied by the researchers utilizes several other features to identify permanent habitation sites. The shape of the structure plays an important role in that structures built with the intent to last often are square, rectangular or polygonal. The corners are soundly constructed and enclosures incorporate "multi-course, bi-faced walls" (Kolb, Cordy, and Conte). Previous archaeological research such as the Bellows Dune site on the island of O'ahu (Kirch 1985) illustrates the inhabitation of permanent house sites generation after generation. However, Cordy demonstrates that the living surface remains relatively constant within permanent habitations (i.e., the hearth stays in the same location and other activities occur within the same areas generation after generation), whereas

temporary structures exhibit constant remodeling of the living space in the archaeological record. Cordy's model, utilized by the excavating researchers, states that previous archaeological data reveals that "commoner household[s] often did not fit the theoretical norm of having multiple, use-specific houses" (Kolb, Cordy, and Conte).

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS

The following analyzes the previously listed house sites according to the excavated artifacts from the Keokea region. Based on Figure 2 (red and green outline of site), there are four house sites in zones A through D. Site 2091 and 2090 combined is considered a high-status house site. This site incorporates two features with two combined buildings connected by a terrace. Five other buildings were part of this house site as well. The basic composition of the site suggests a family of higher status that built and lived in these houses due to the amount of labor required for such a large project. The smaller house sites suggest lower class families. Although each incorporates fewer houses, the lower class sites of B, C, and D zones suggest that the families built two buildings connected to one another. The building phases of these houses can be seen in Figure 3. Based on the research by Johnson and Earle (2000:284), the distance between these houses suggests that the lower class families clustered near one another in order to form a community. The houses are too far apart to be considered one house site, but may be related families.

The archaeological data exhibits surviving aspects of the material record from the region of Keokea on the island of Maui. According to Kirch (1982:457),

pre-contact Hawaiians exploited five major faunal groups: stony corals (used as abraders, files, or religious offerings), echinoids (food resource, spines used as tools), molluscs (food resource), crabs (food resource), and reef and shore fish (food resource).

As illustrated in Table 2, several marine faunal remains were found at the excavated house sites. According to Margaret Titcomb's research (1952), fish composed the primary source of dietary protein consumed by the early Hawaiians. Table 2 demonstrates the amount, and species, of fish bones found at each site. The recorded numbers suggest that site 2091 consists of the larger houses while sites 2033 and 2084 consist of similar, but much smaller structures. Figures 5 and 6 further illustrate these observations. The pie graph (Figure 6) illustrates that the large majority of fish bones were found at site 2091. The specific fish species are present in the bar graph, assisting in the identification of the largest house sites as well as the most commonly utilized fish. Presumable, the larger houses were those of the *ali'i* class while the commoners inhabited the smaller dwellings or house sites. As fish was a common food for all Hawaiians, many species are inconsequential to this research. However, fish that were designated for more specific activities will assist in identifying the purpose of house structures. Figures 7 through 19 look at each house site individually, better identifying the purpose of the houses.

Table 2

Sum of WT	SITE											
SPECIES	2033.C	2033.D	2084.A	2084.B	2084.C	2090.A	2091.A1	2091.A2	2091.B	2091.C	2091.E	2091.G
acanthurid (surgeo	0.1		0.2		0.1		3.8	2.4	2	0.2		0.2
balistid (triggerf							0.15					
belonid (needlefis									0.2			
calotomus sp (parr					0.15			0.1	0.4	0.9	0.5	
carangid (jackfish	0.1						52.9	0.6	1	0.8		
cf acanthurid (sur							2.2	0.1	0.6	0.3		
cf albulid (bonefi			0.2									
cf calotomus sp (p								0.4		0.4		
cf carangid (jackf							3.5	0.2	0.4	0.2		
cf congrid (conger							0.8					
cf diodontid (spin							0.3					
cf fish							4.7	0.1	2.5	0.8	0.2	0.1
cf holocentrid (sq												0.1
cf labrid (wrass)							0.1	0.2				
cf marine eel							0.4					
cf mugilid (gray m							0.1	0.1				

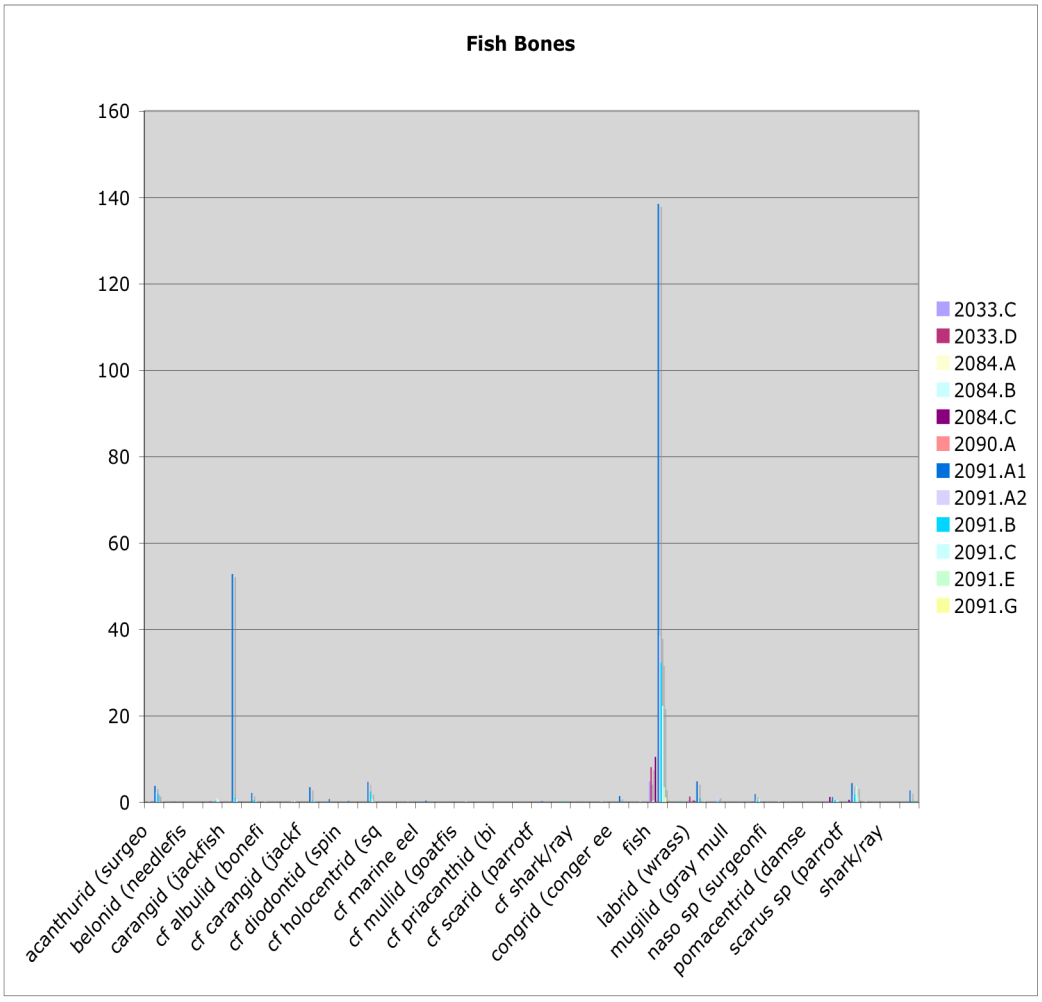
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains

(continued on the following page)

(Table 2 continued)

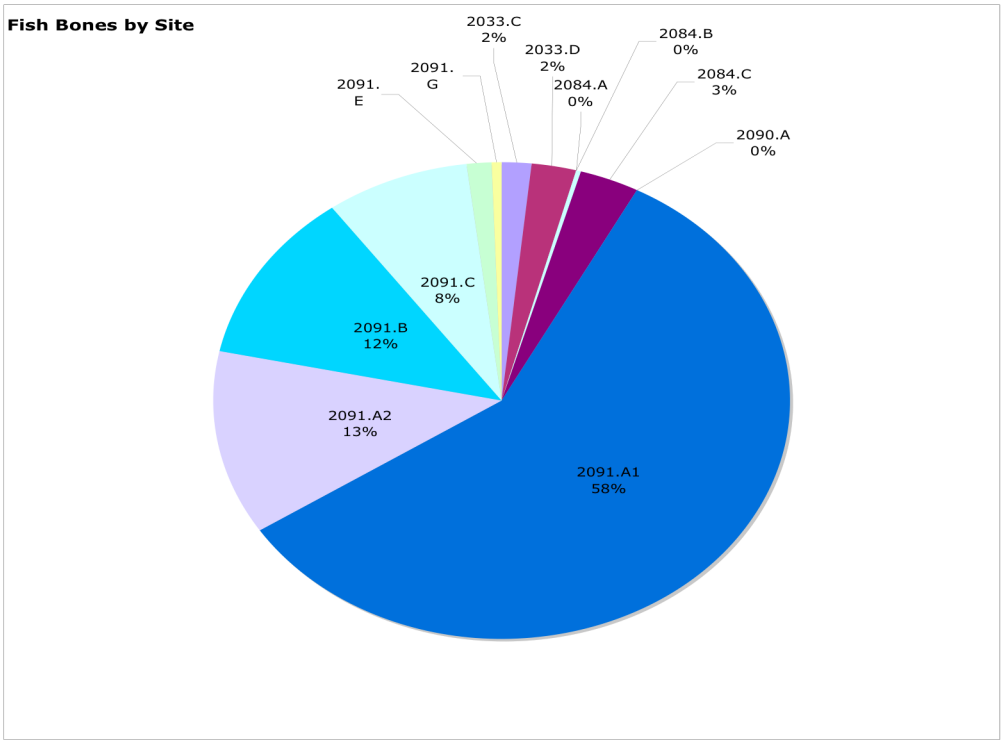
cf mullid (goatfis								0.3				
cf parupeneus sp (									0.1			
cf priacanthid (bi									0.1			
cf ray									0.2			
cf scarid (parrotf							0.3	0.1		0.1		
cf scarus sp (parr								0.1	0.3			
cf shark/ray							0.1					
cirrhitid (hawkfis								0.3				
congrid (conger ee							1.4					
diodontid (spiny p								0.7				
fish	4.8	8.1	0.3	0.5	10.45	0.3	138.5	38.6	32.3	22.3	3.5	1.1
holocentrid (squir	0.1								0.3			
labrid (wrass)	0.45	1.3			0.4		4.8	0.6	0.9		0.1	0.2
lutjanid (snapper)								1.7	0.4			
mugilid (gray mull	0.1						0.1			0.1		
mullid (goatfish)	0.4				0.1		1.9	0.6	0.4	0.8		
naso sp (surgeonfi							0.1			0.2		
pervagor sp (filef							0.1					
pomacentrid (damse								0.1				
scarid (parrotfish					1.2		1.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	
scarus sp (parrotf	0.15			0.1	0.6		4.4	1.6	1.8	3.8	1.2	
shark	0.1		0.2		0.1							
shark/ray									0.2			
tetraodontid (smoo							2.7		0.3			
Grand Total	6.3	9.4	0.9	0.6	13.1	0.3	224.55	49.3	44.9	31.4	5.9	1.7

Figure 5



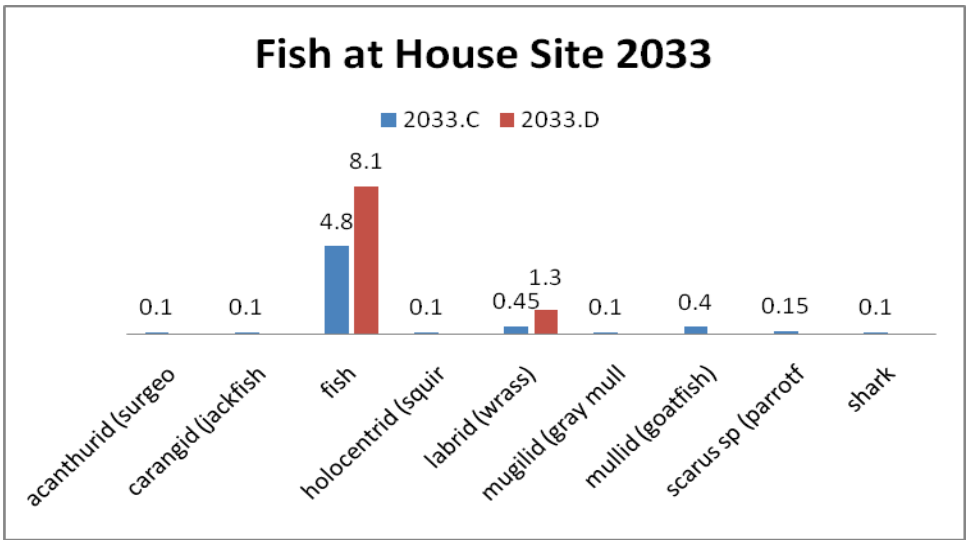
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains

Figure 6



Fish Remains by Percent

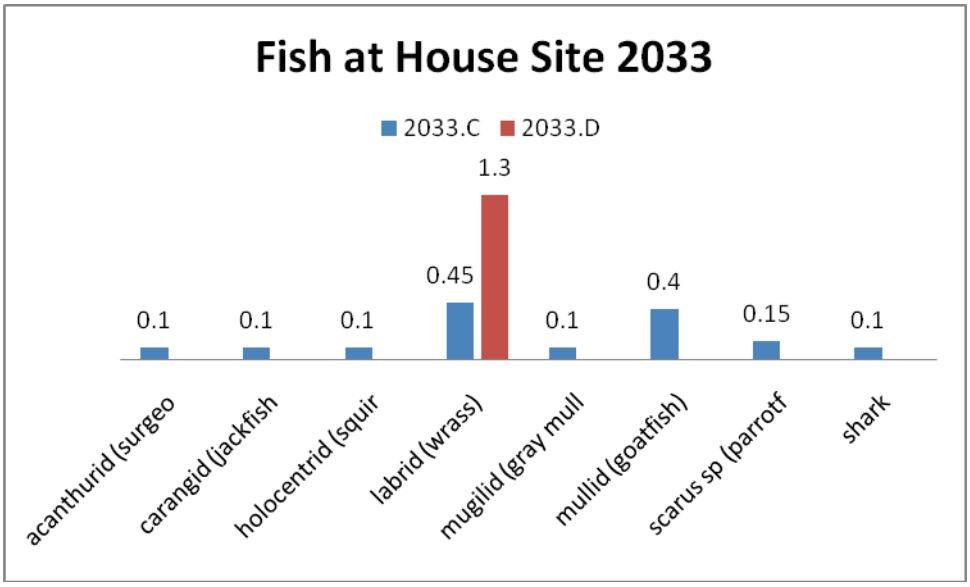
Figure 7



Sum of Weight of Fish Remains House Site 2033

Figure 7 displays that the largest proportion of remains belongs to the general fish category. These remains were identified as such due to lack of evidence regarding species. If the category "fish" is removed from the analysis, the labrid (wrasse) becomes the most prominent fish present at house site 2033, as seen in Figure 8.

Figure 8



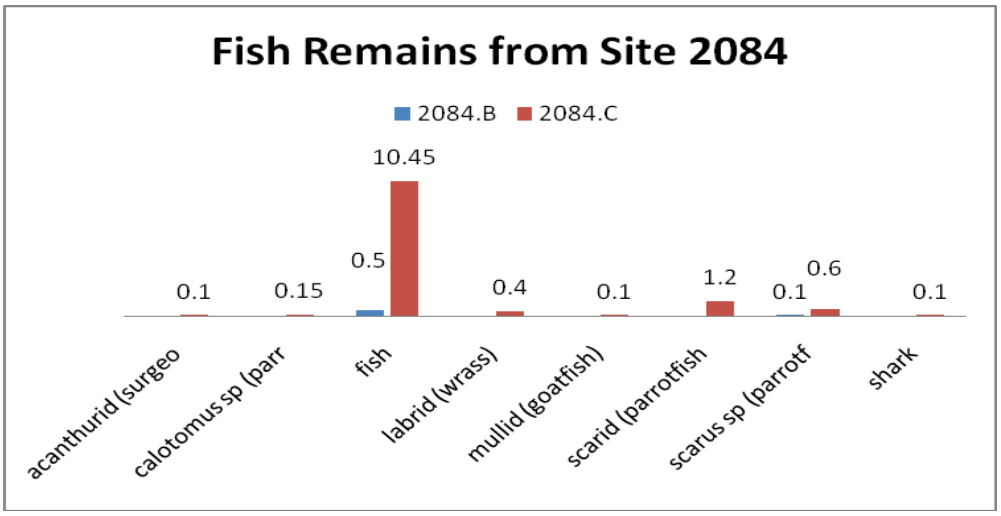
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Revised House Site 2033

According to Margaret Titcomb (1952), the wrasse fish were some of the most common fish on the islands, and were not utilized ceremonially. This suggests that site 2033 was inhabited by commoners in that wrass was readily available to all. However, Kirch (1982:469) suggests that the type of fish found at sites also is indicative of the fishing strategy used. In this case, the large amount of wrasse (labrid) implies the use of hook and line (Kirch 1982:469). Based on ethnography, structure 2033.D exhibits the features of an eating house due to the large amount of wrasse present. If early accounts of the taboo system are in fact

accurate, feature 2033.C exhibits evidence of a male house. The large variety of fish could be a result of the men fishing and bringing catches back to this structure. The small amount of remains from each species indicates that the fish were not used as food, but rather for ceremonial purposes. The species present also indicate ceremonial use. For example, Hawaiian fishermen worshipped the god Ku'u'a, but gave thanks to their *'aumakua*, or personal gods (Titcomb 1952:33). These personal gods were "spirits but they usually chose a particular plant or animal as their physical embodiment. The physical form then became tabu to the worshipper…" (Titcomb 1952:33). The men worshipped their '*aumakua* daily in the form of prayer and food offerings. This practice often occurred after the men returned from a fishing outing as a means to give thanks for the good luck and fortune they received that day (Titcome 1952). The large variety of remains found within structure 2033D could represent such sacrifices. However, the miniscule amount of each fish suggests the inhabitants were commoners.

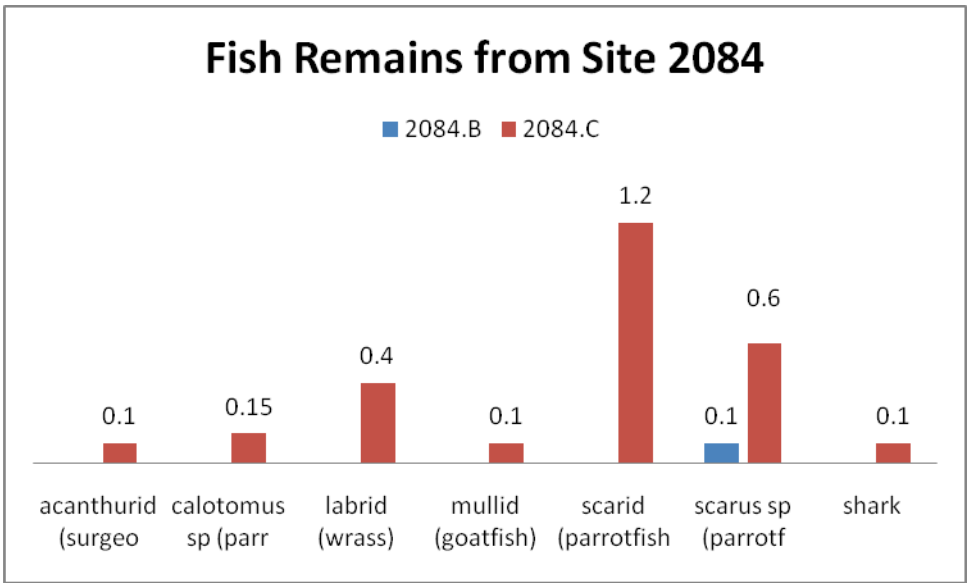
House site 2084 consists of two structures as well. The fish remains found within these structures is illustrated in Figure 9. Again, the general category "fish" displays the largest amount of remains. If this category is removed from the analysis, parrotfish become the most prevelant, as seen in Figure 10.

Figure 9



Sum of Weight of Fish Remains House Site 2084

Figure 10

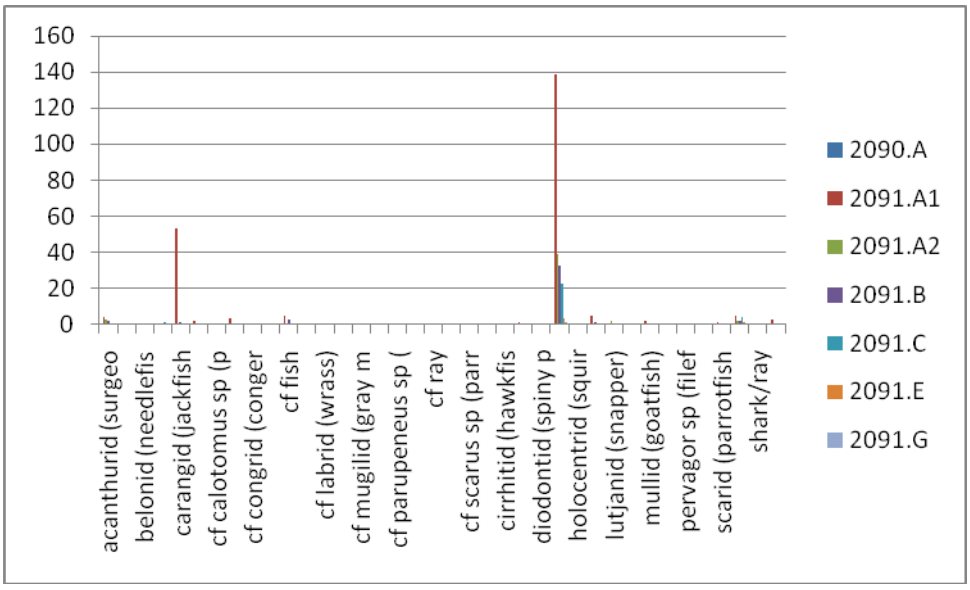


Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Revised House Site 2084

The parrotfish compose the largest category at site 2084. According to Titcomb (1954), parrotfish were rare, considered a delicacy at native feasts. The Hawaiian parrotfish were also connected with several pre-contact Hawaiian myths, one of which suggests that an *Uhu* (parrotfish) was the "parent of all fishes" (Titcomb 1954:127). This suggests that house site 2084 belonged to higher class individuals, possibly lower-ranking chiefs, due to the relative rarety and delicacy of parrotfish. However, the remains could also indicate that the fishermen in this household were simply more fortunate than others, or utilized nets and spearing rather than hook and line (Kirch 1982:469). The parrotfish were most likely utilized as a food source, though ceremonial activity may have occurred in this structure. Based on ethnographic research, the evidence found in 2084.C could be interpreted as a male house. Due to the reletively nonexistent fish remains in feature 2084.B, this structure was not used for food-related activity. The small amount of parrotfish remains most likely washed down from the above structure (2084.C).

The largest house site excavated, 2091, consists of several buildings. Due to the proximity of site 2090 to site 2091, the researcher has deduced that this structure belongs to the larger house site as well, and therefore will be included in the analysis. Figure 11 illustrates the amount of fish bones found within the structures of site 2091 and 2090.

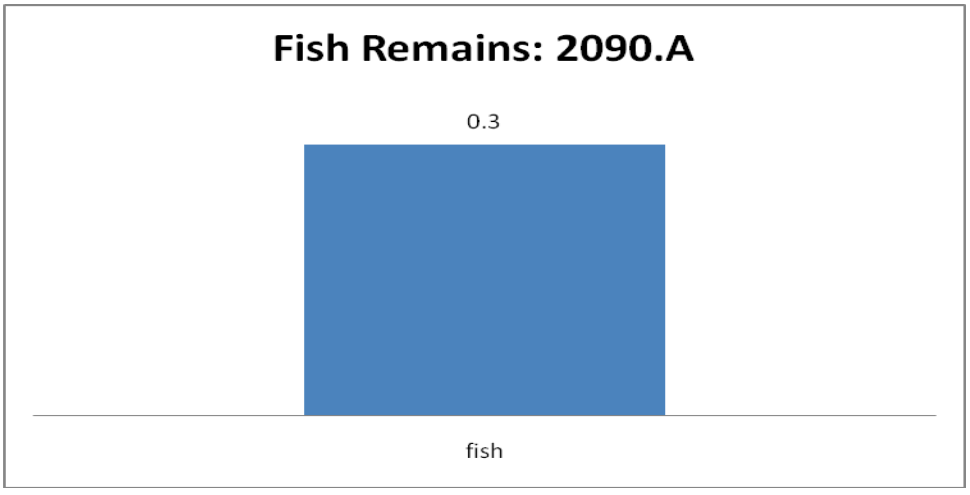
Figure 11



Sum of Weight of Fish Remains House Site 2091

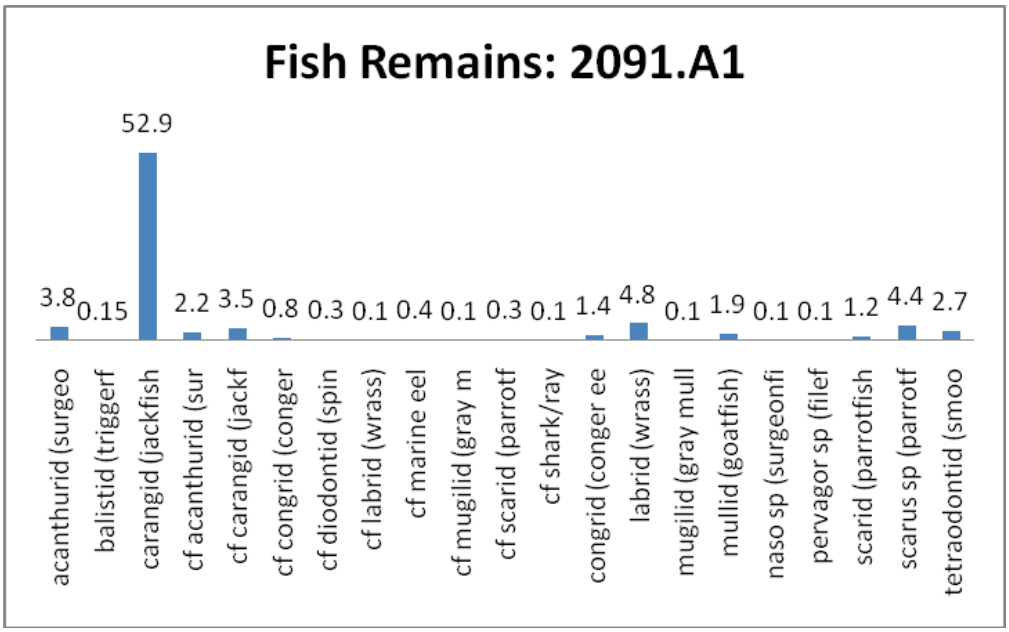
In order to better analyze the remains, Figures 12 to 19 break down the data by structure:

Figure 12



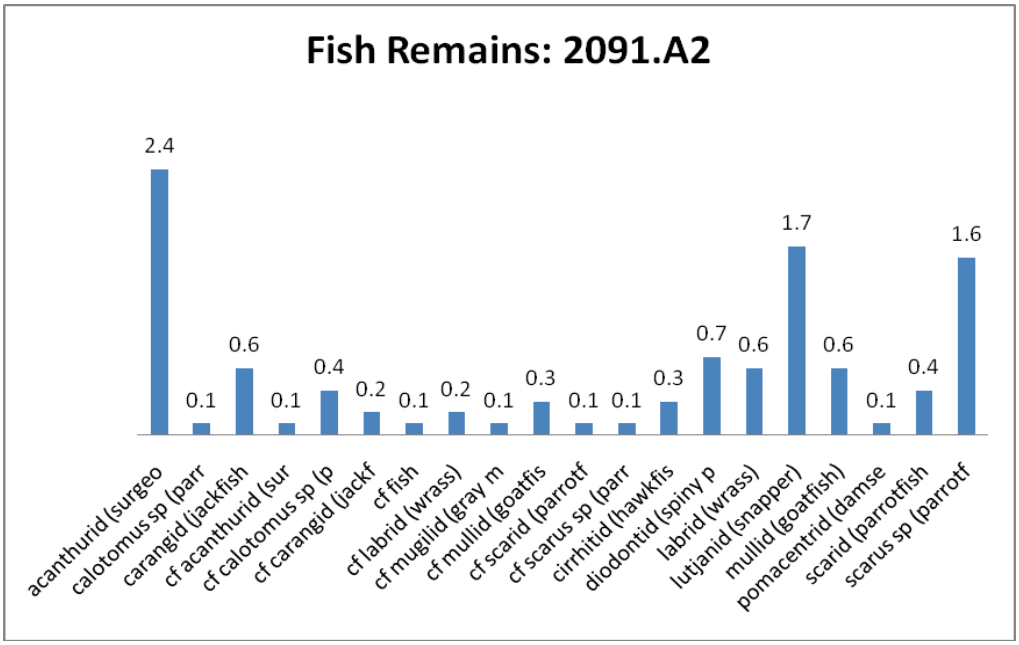
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Structure 2090.A

Figure 13



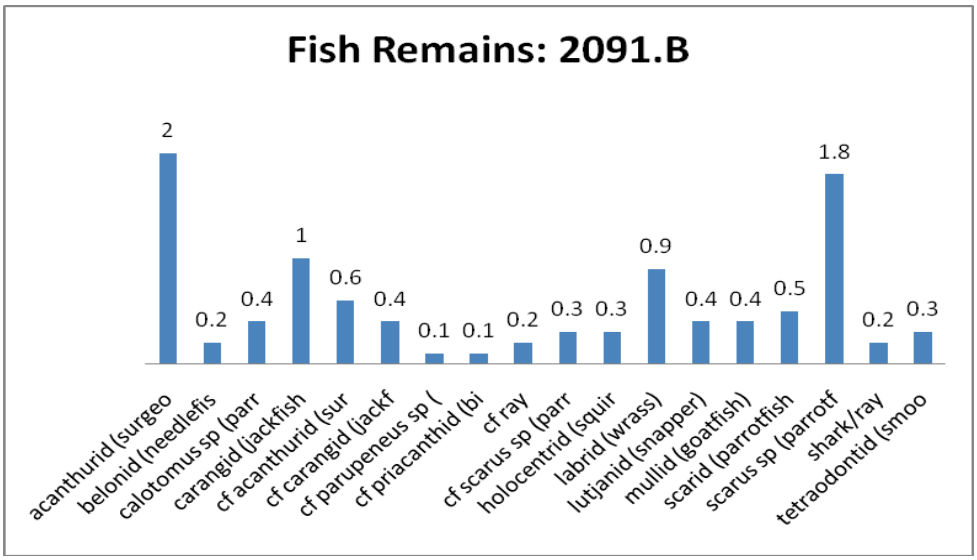
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Structure 2091.A1

Figure 14



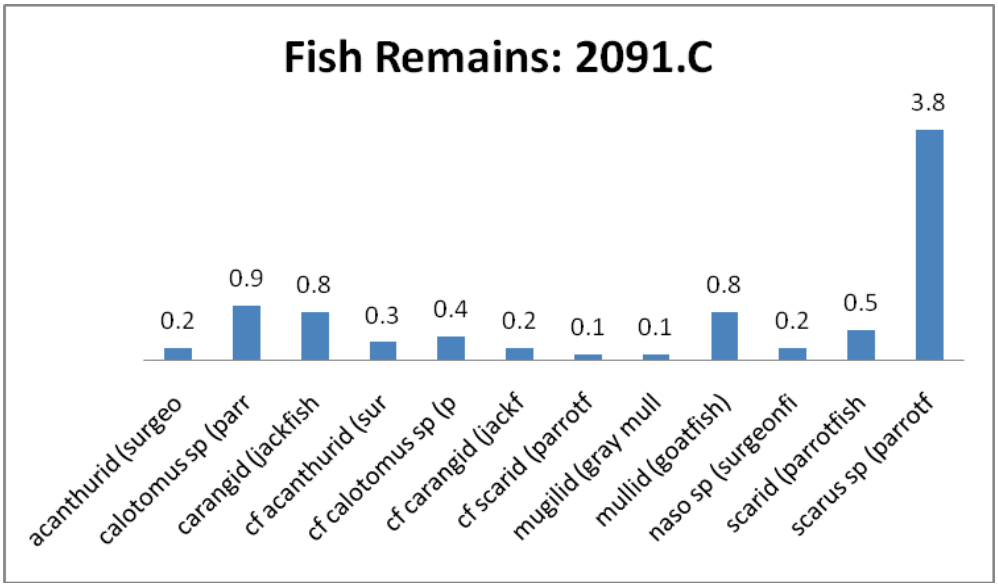
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Structure 2091.A2

Figure 15



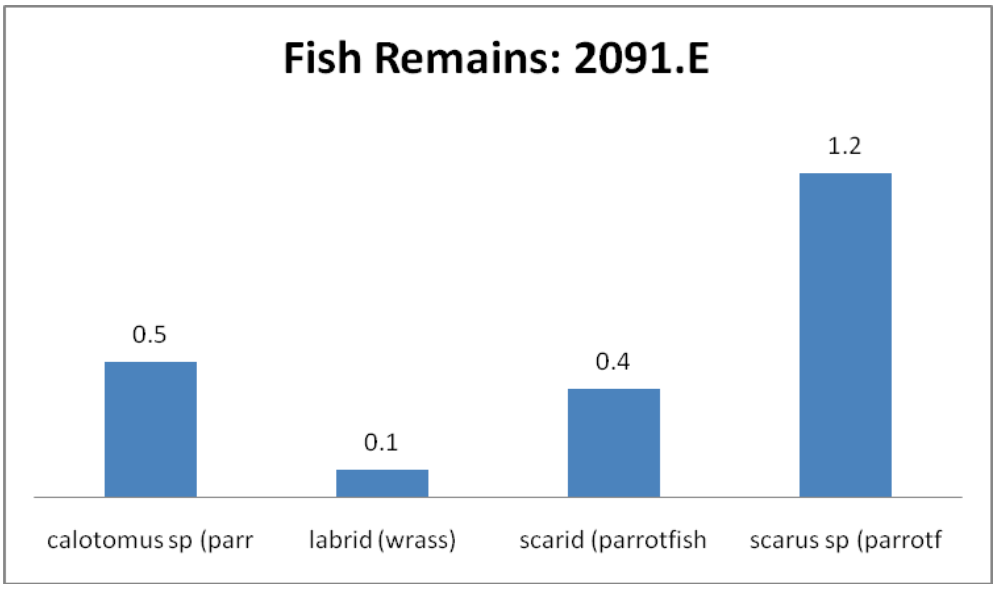
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Structure 2091.B

Figure 16



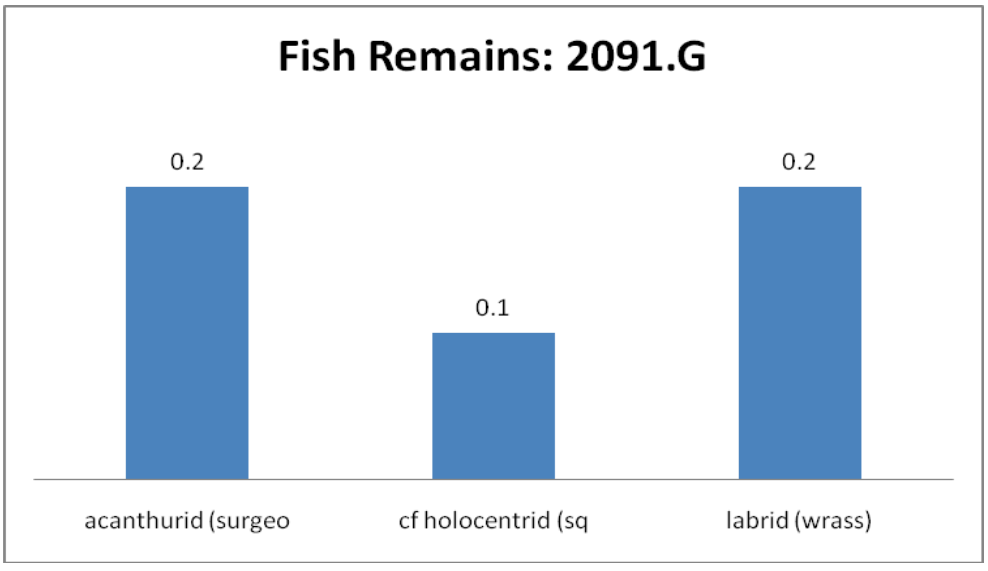
Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Structure 2091.C

Figure 17



Sum of Weight of Fish Remains Structure 2091.E

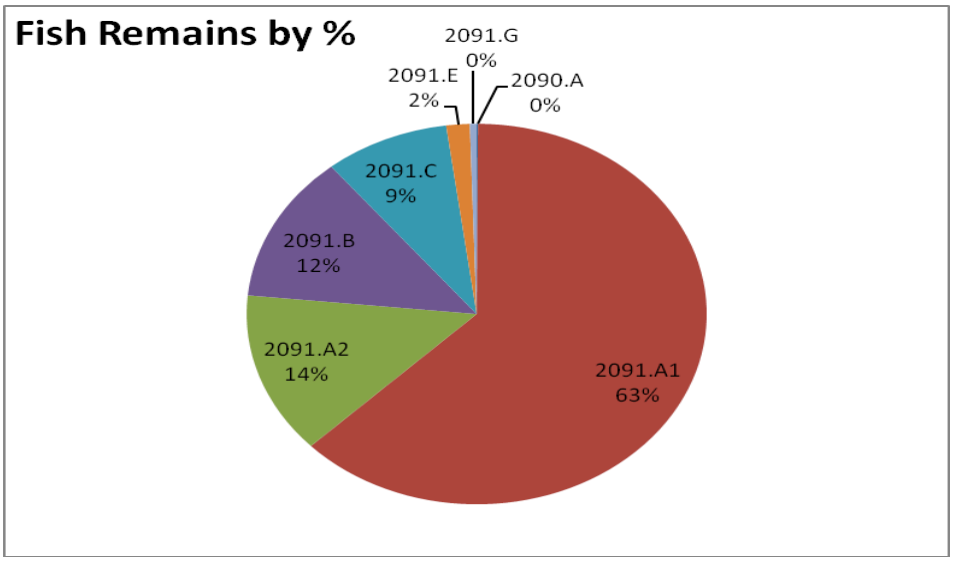
Figure 18



Sume of Weight of Fish Remains Structure 2091.G

The largest amount of fish remains were uncovered in structure 2091.A1, as illustrated by Figure 19:

Figure 19



Fish Remains by Percent House Site 2091

As the bar graph for fish remains in structure 2091.A1 (Figure 13) illustrates, the most predominate fish remains in this feature is that of the jackfish (*Carangidae*, in Hawaiian—*ulua)*. According to Titcomb (1952), many of the carangid species were of particular use as subsistence foods to the early Hawaiians. J. T. Nichols states, "The principal Hawaiian food fishes in this family are probably four species of the genus *Caranx*" (Titcomb 1952:132). He identifies the four principal species as *"Caranx ignobilis, sexfasciatus, melampygus,* and *stellatus*" (Nichols 1948 in Titcomb 1952:132). *Ulua* were eaten raw or cooked, although often preferred raw. The preferred way to eat the *ulua* was to stuff the eyeballs in the belly of the fish before cooking the meat on the *imu*—however, the Hawaiians

believed the true delicacy to be the liquid surrounding the eyeballs (Titcomb 1952). This information suggests that house 2091.A1 was utilized for eating purposes, and the large amount of remains present from the jackfish family corresponds with the theory that this feature belonged to an elite household.

Pork was a delicacy not often enjoyed by the commoners of pre-contact Hawai'i. Pigs were most commonly used in religious ceremonies or eaten by the elites. As noted in the ethnography, only men were allowed to partake in such feasts; it was *kapu* for women to eat pork. Knowledge of the amount of pig remains excavated within each house site may assist with identifying the purpose of the structure (i.e., male house or female house), and also identify the status of the family/families that previously inhabited the site. Table 3 illustrates the faunal weight in grams of what can be interpreted as pig remains from every house site. Figures 20 and 21 illustrate the distribution of these faunal remains. Figure 21 suggests that the majority of the pig remains were found at site 2091.A1, which supports the earlier findings that this particular house was most likely used as a place to eat for an elite group of people –the pig remains further suggest that males utilized this structure. A more accurate analysis of the remains would be possible if the ambiguous categories were removed, as is seen in Table 4 and Figures 22 and 23.

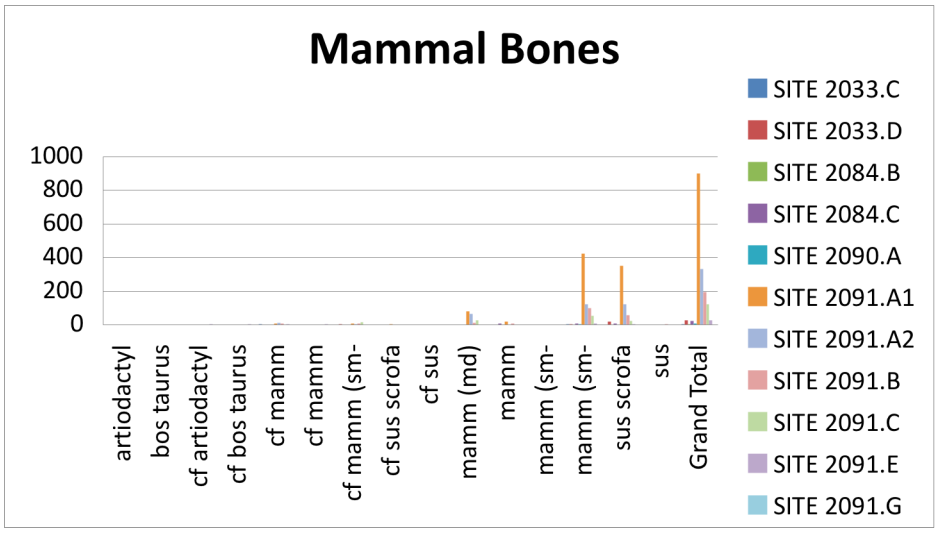
Table 3

Sum of WT	SITE					
SPECIES	2033.C	2033.D	2084.B	2084.C	2090.A	2091.A1
artiodactyl (md)						
bos taurus						1.7
cf artiodactyl (md						0.9
cf bos taurus						
cf mamm (md)	2			0.7		7.9
cf mamm (md/lg)						
cf mamm (sm-md/md)		2.6	1.8	0.4	0.3	9.4
cf sus scrofa		0.5			0.3	2.7
cf sus scrofa/arti						0.4
mamm (md)			1.5	0.8	1.1	79.8
mamm (md/lg)				7.4		19.6
mamm (sm-md/lg)						1.5
mamm (sm-md/md)	2.2	2.8	0.4	6.1	4.6	425.55
sus scrofa		20.4		8.8	1.1	350.6
sus scrofa/artioda			0.3			
Grand Total	4.2	26.3	4	24.2	7.4	900.05

	2091.A2	2091.B	2091.C	2091.E	2091.G	Grand Total
artiodactyl (md)		0.3				0.3
bos taurus						1.7
cf artiodactyl (md				3.2		4.1
cf bos taurus				4.5		4.5
cf mamm (md)	13.3	7.7	0.2	2.6		34.4
cf mamm (md/lg)	1.6			2.5	0.2	4.3
cf mamm (sm-md/md)	4	6.8	16.6	1.5		43.4
cf sus scrofa	1.7	0.4	0.3	0.5		6.4
cf sus scrofa/arti						0.4
mamm (md)	63.3	13.1	28.3			187.9
mamm (md/lg)	1.3	8		1.1		37.4
mamm (sm-md/lg)						1.5
mamm (sm-md/md)	123.5	98.8	53.6	8.3		725.85
sus scrofa	122.2	57.6	23.7	2.3	0.1	586.8
sus scrofa/artioda		2.7				3
Grand Total	330.9	195.4	122.7	26.5	0.3	1641.95

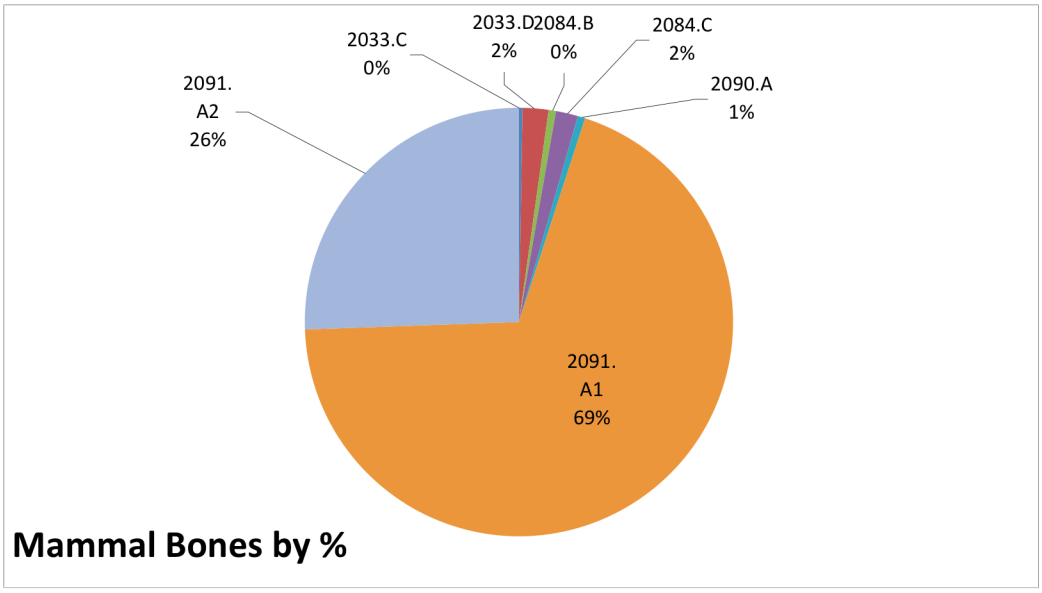
Sum of Weight of Mammal Remains

Figure 20



Sum of Weight of Mammal Remains

Figure 21



Mammal Remains by percent

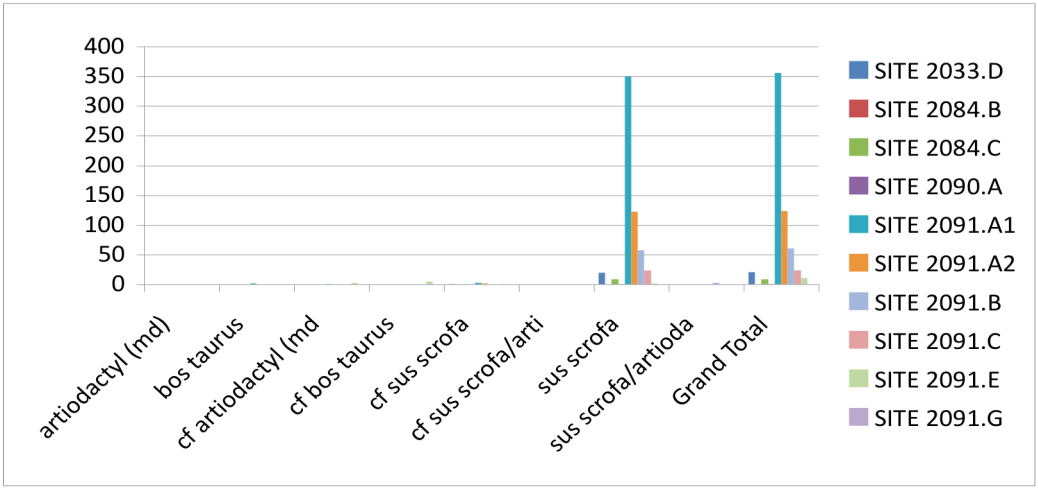
Table 4

Sum of Weight	Site				
Species	2033.D	2084.B	2084.C	2090.A	2091.A1
artiodactyl (md)					
bos taurus					1.7
cf artiodactyl (md					0.9
cf bos taurus					
cf sus scrofa	0.5			0.3	2.7
cf sus scrofa/arti					0.4
sus scrofa	20.4		8.8	1.1	350.6
sus scrofa/artioda		0.3			
Grand Total	20.9	0.3	8.8	1.4	356.3

Sum of Weight					
Species	2091.A2	2091.B	2091.C	2091.E	2091.G
artiodactyl (md)		0.3			
bos taurus					
cf artiodactyl (md				3.2	
cf bos taurus				4.5	
cf sus scrofa	1.7	0.4	0.3	0.5	
cf sus scrofa/arti					
sus scrofa	122.2	57.6	23.7	2.3	0.1
sus scrofa/artioda		2.7			
Grand Total	123.9	61	24	10.5	0.1

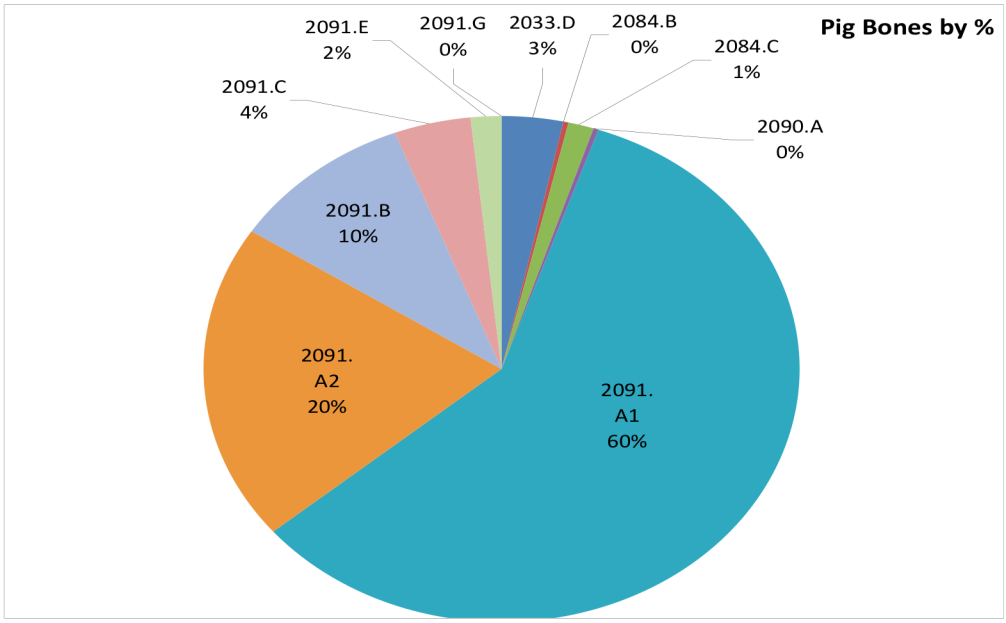
Sum of Weight of Pig Remains

Figure 22



Sum of Weight of Pig Remains

Figure 23

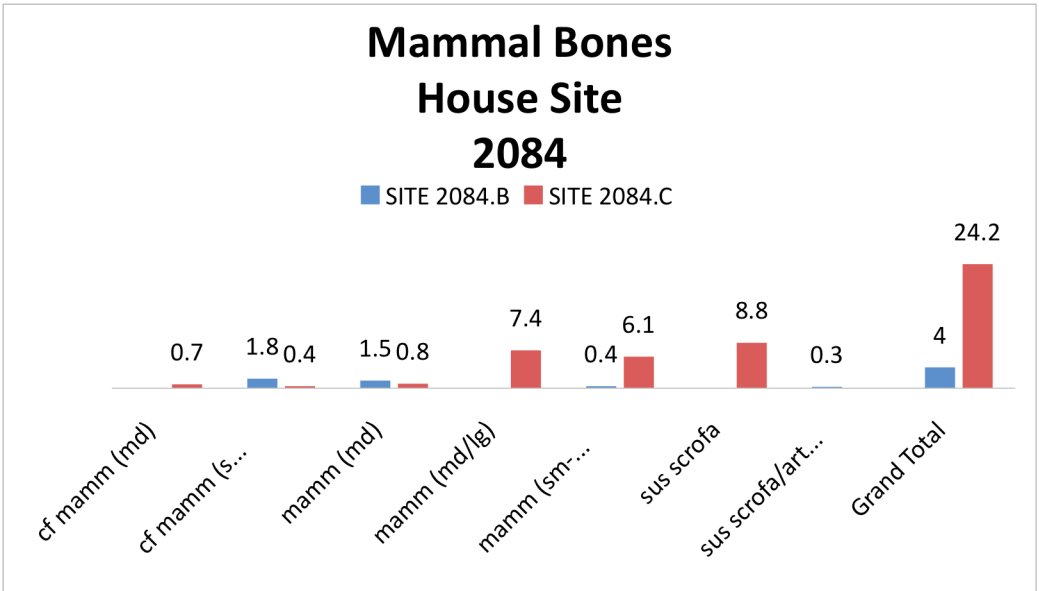


Pig Remains by Percent

These graphs again exemplify that the majority of the pig remains were found at site 2091.A1. If viewing this site from the perspective of earlier ethnography, this structure may be interpreted as an elite *hale mua*.

Looking at the smaller house sites, it is possible to theorize which of the dwellings were utilized by the men of the community.

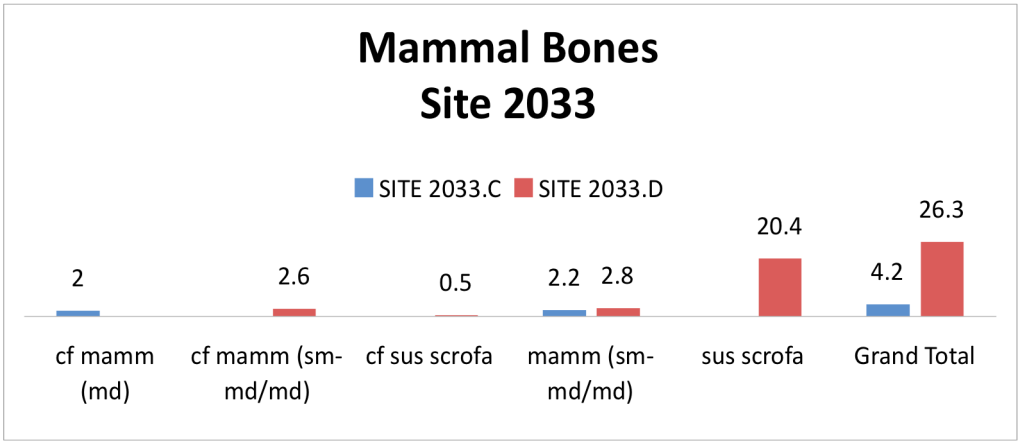
Figure 24



Sum of Weight of Mammal Remains House Site 2084

This graph illustrates that feature 2084.C possessed the greatest amount of pig remains, therefore suggesting that the males utilized this structure. Similarly, Figure 25 supports the theory that feature 2033.D was more likely than feature 2033.C to be utilized by the men.

Figure 25



Sum of Weight of Mammal Remains House Site 2084

The small amount of pig/mammal remains found at sites 2033 and 2084, however, implies that the individuals living here could not afford pork and were therefore members of the lower class.

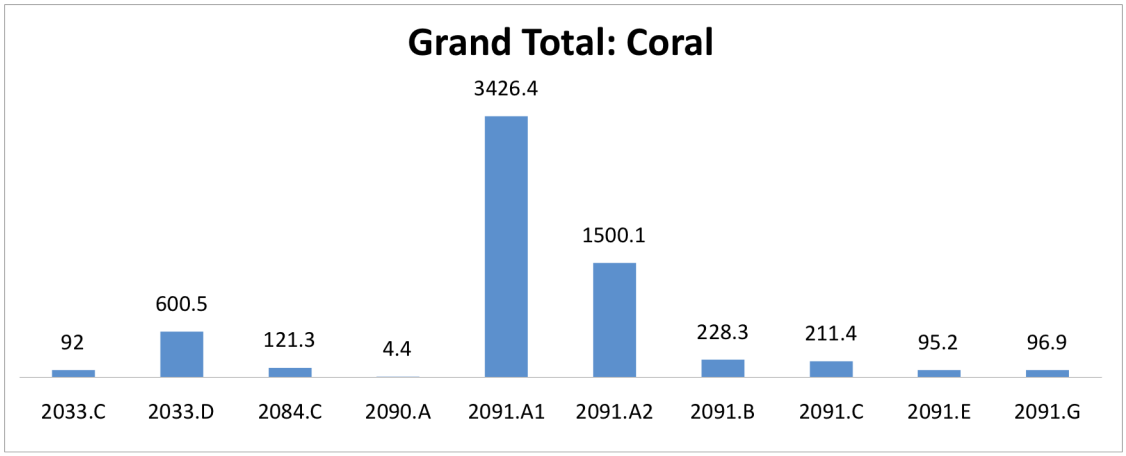
Additional artifacts uncovered and recorded by the researchers that will assist with identifying the specific use of each building include coral and basalt. Both of these material remains indicate male presence in the area, as Hawaiian men worked with basalt to carve wooden images or other items, and utilized coral in ritualistic practices. A high count of either material compared with the ethnographic record may indicate that the archaeological feature served as a *hale mua*. Tables 5 and 6 and Figures 26 through 29 detail the amount of coral and basalt found at each site.

Table 5

SITE	Coral Sum of Weight
2033.C	92
2033.D	600.5
2084.C	121.3
2090.A	4.4
2091.A1	3426.4
2091.A2	1500.1
2091.B	228.3
2091.C	211.4
2091.E	95.2
2091.G	96.9

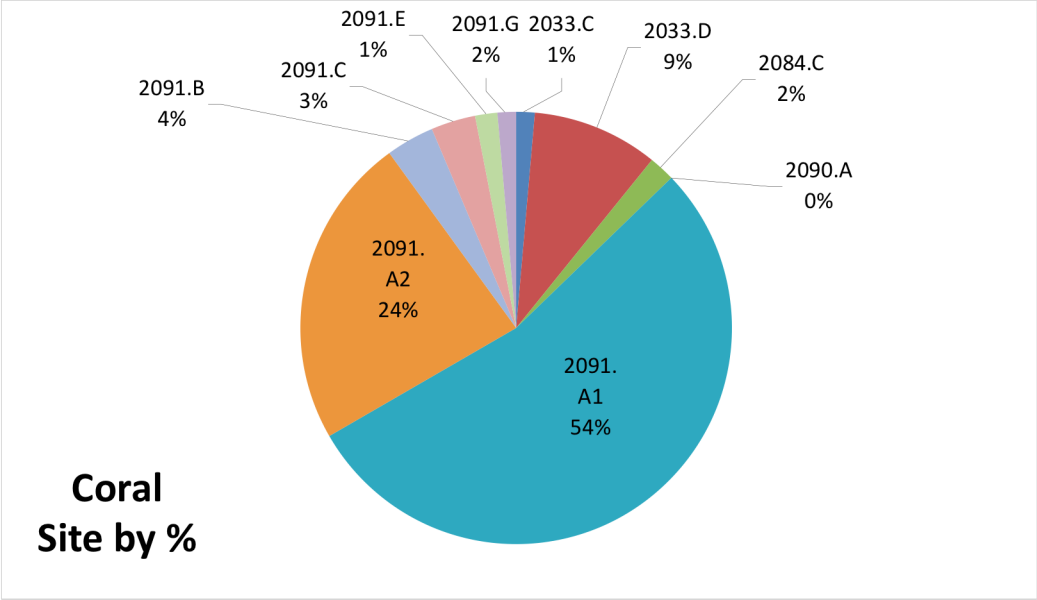
Sum of Weight of Coral

Figure 26



Sum of Weight of Coral

Figure 27



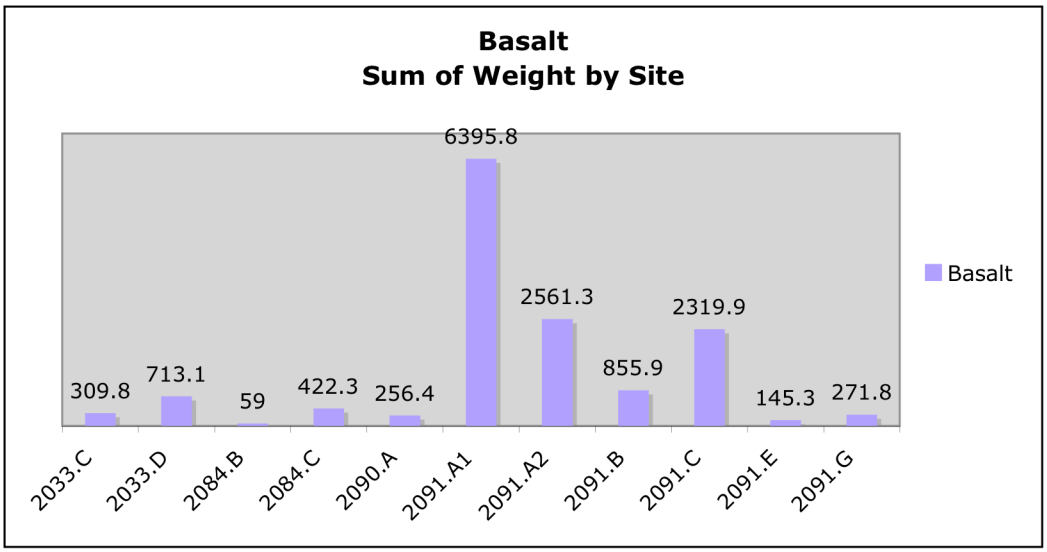
Coral by Percent

Table 6

Sum of Weight Site	Basalt
2033.C	309.8
2033.D	713.1
2084.B	59
2084.C	422.3
2090.A	256.4
2091.A1	6395.8
2091.A2	2561.3
2091.B	855.9
2091.C	2319.9
2091.E	145.3
2091.G	271.8
Grand Total	14310.6

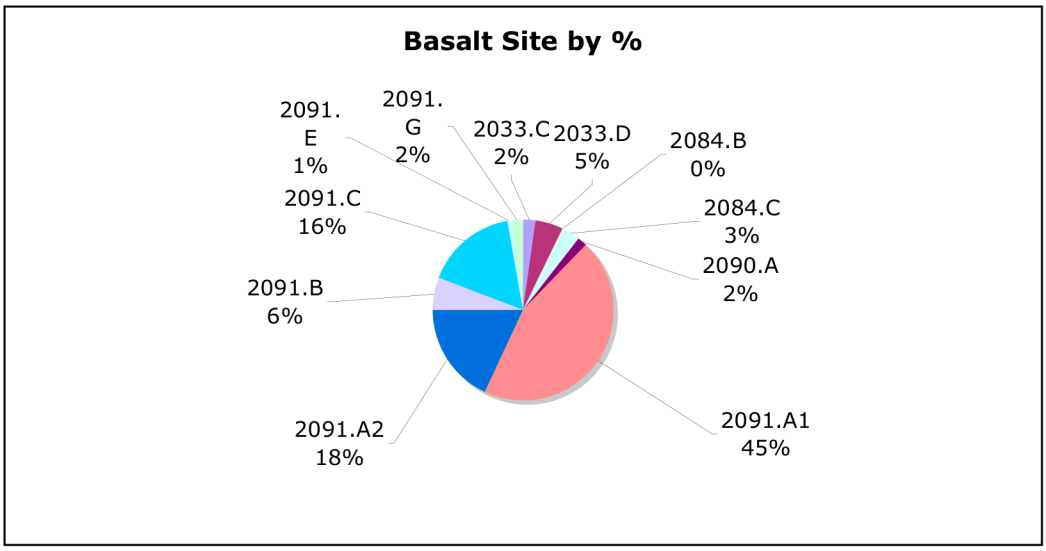
Sum of Weight of Basalt

Figure 28



Sum of Weight of Basalt

Figure 29



Basalt by Percent

The majority of basalt and coral was uncovered at site 2091.A1. This further supports the hypothesis that men utilized this structure—prehistoric Hawaiian men used basalt and coral as tools when participating in activities such as carving idols or making fishhooks. The majority of basalt and coral at the smaller house sites is again present in 2033.D and 2084.C, further supporting the hypothesis that these were the male-dominated areas of the households.

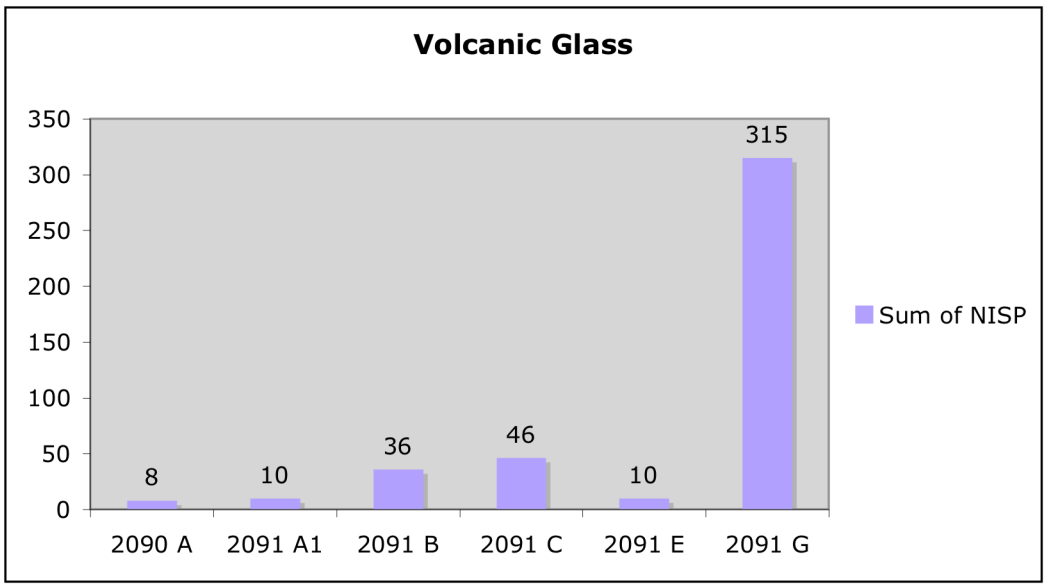
Volcanic glass (often called obsidian), also considered a mineral, serves adequately as material for tools due to the ease with which it can be worked as well as the sharpness of the edges. Prehistoric Hawaiians may have used this material when building houses/walls or as hunting tools. Table 7 and Figures 30 and 31 detail the findings of volcanic glass at the Keokea sites.

Table 7

Site	Volcanic Glass: Sum of NISP
2090 A	8
2091 A1	10
2091 B	36
2091 C	46
2091 E	10
2091 G	315

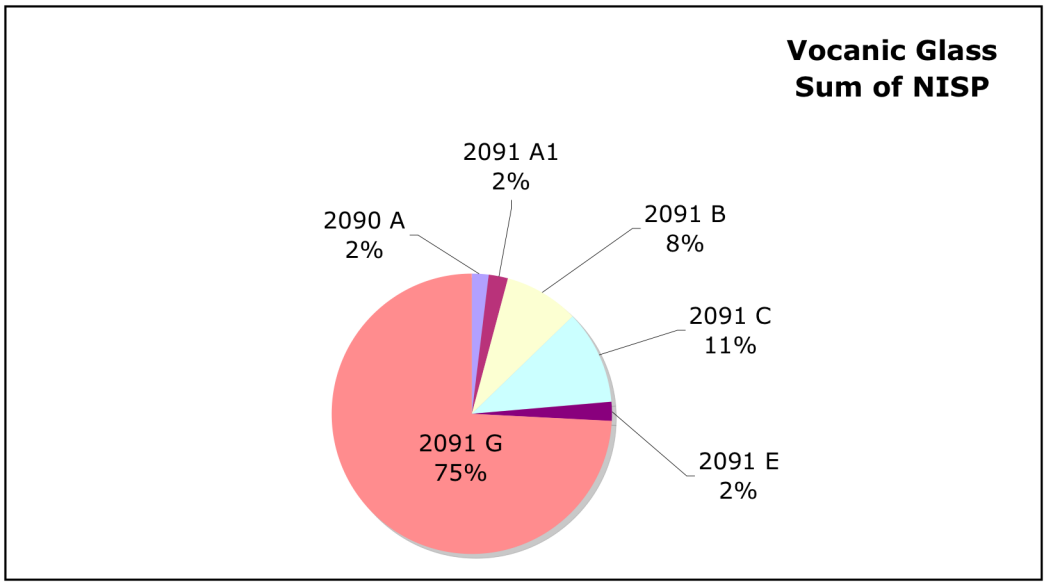
Sum of NISP of Volcanic Glass

Figure 30



Sum of NISP of Volcanic Glass

Figure 31



Volcanic Glass by Percent

Building 2091.G possessed the greatest amount of volcanic glass by far, while feature 2091.A1 had the least amount of volcanic glass. Several explanations exist for the placement of volcanic glass at this site. Obsidian was a rare and highly prized item, especially in this area where it was not naturally present, requiring importation; therefore the placement at this larger house site corresponds with the theory that the elite possessed more resources (and further supports that this grouping of houses is an elite household). The placement in 2091.G could suggest that this is where they stored and worked volcanic glass. This building may also have been newly constructed and therefore the tools implemented in this project were left on site.

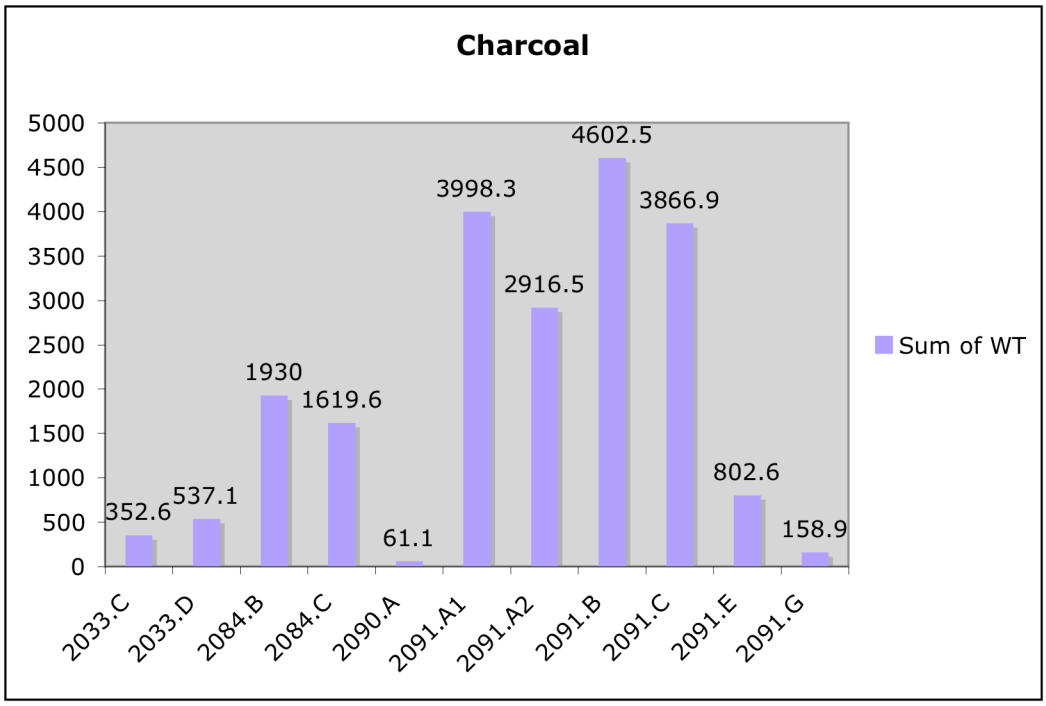
Charcoal often is an indicator of human activity, especially when found in or around living areas. Generally, the presence of charcoal indicates fires, which suggests that individuals were cooking food, maintaining warmth, or burning the land as part of the agricultural process. The context of this site suggests fires were used for cooking or warmth. Within household 2091, the majority of the charcoal was located in structure 2091.B. Researchers recovered the majority of the charcoal for household 2033 from structure 2033.D, and the majority of charcoal in 2084 was located within 2084.B. Such findings could indicate that prehistoric families cooked meals within these buildings, but the lack of *imu* ovens suggests that these were simply the houses within which the families lived and slept, using hearths to keep warm.

Table 8

Site	Sum of WT
2033.C	352.6
2033.D	537.1
2084.B	1930
2084.C	1619.6
2090.A	61.1
2091.A1	3998.3
2091.A2	2916.5
2091.B	4602.5
2091.C	3866.9
2091.E	802.6
2091.G	158.9

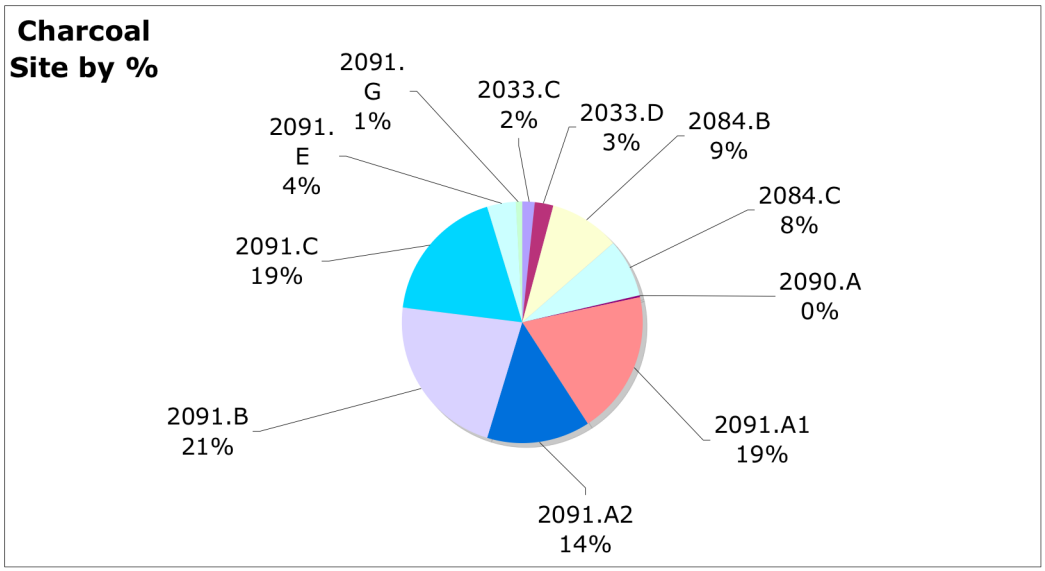
Sum of Weight of Charcoal

Figure 32



Sum of Weight of Charcoal

Figure 33



Charcoal by Percent

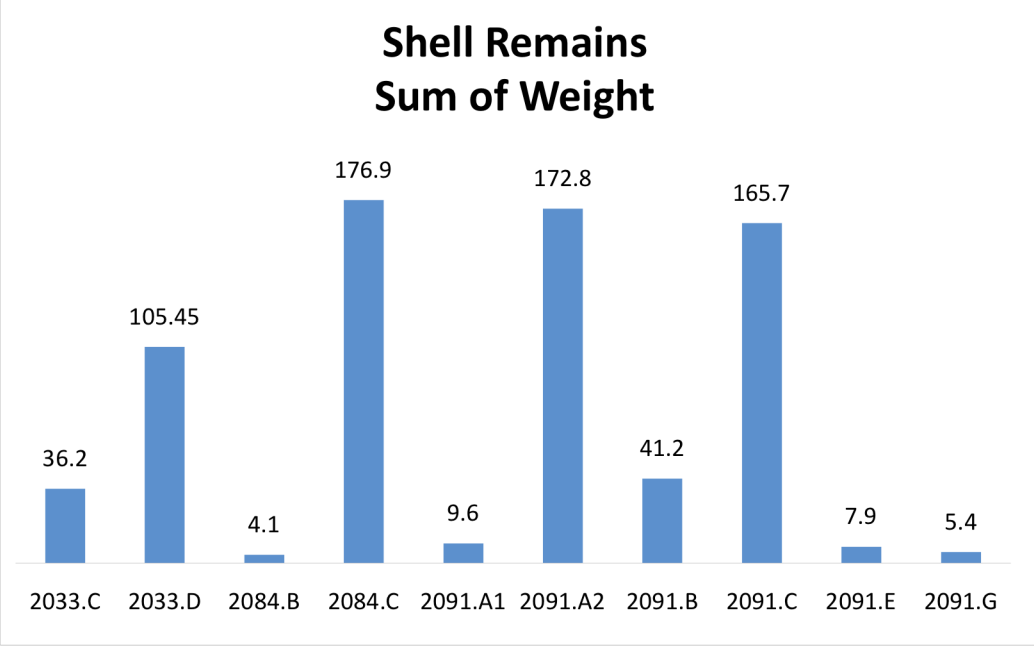
Shells were utilized as tools or for ornamental purposes. This explains the large quantity of shells in houses 2091.A2, 2091.C, 2084.C, and 2033.D. The amount of shell in each of these houses corresponds with the sum of weight of coral in these features, suggesting that coral pieces were used as abraders—smoothing and polishing the shells for jewelry. Ethnographic reports mention the women wearing shell jewelry—bracelets especially. This suggests that women worked in the houses possessing large amounts of shells. Women also worked collecting shellfish for sustenance; therefore the shells would be present within their workspace. Men may also have used shells as offerings within their houses/temples, which explains the existence of the shells in 2091.A2, coinciding with the other artifacts found within this space.

Table 9

SITE	Shell Sum of WT
2033.C	36.2
2033.D	105.45
2084.B	4.1
2084.C	176.9
2091.A1	9.6
2091.A2	172.8
2091.B	41.2
2091.C	165.7
2091.E	7.9
2091.G	5.4

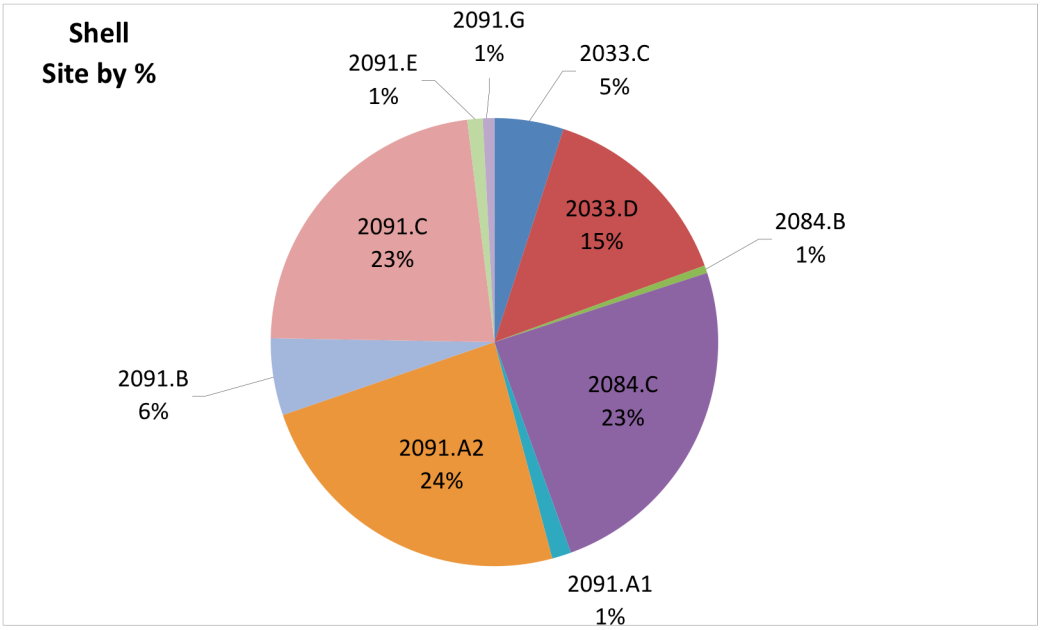
Sum of Weight of Shell

Figure 34



Sum of Weight of Shell

Figure 35



Shell by Percent

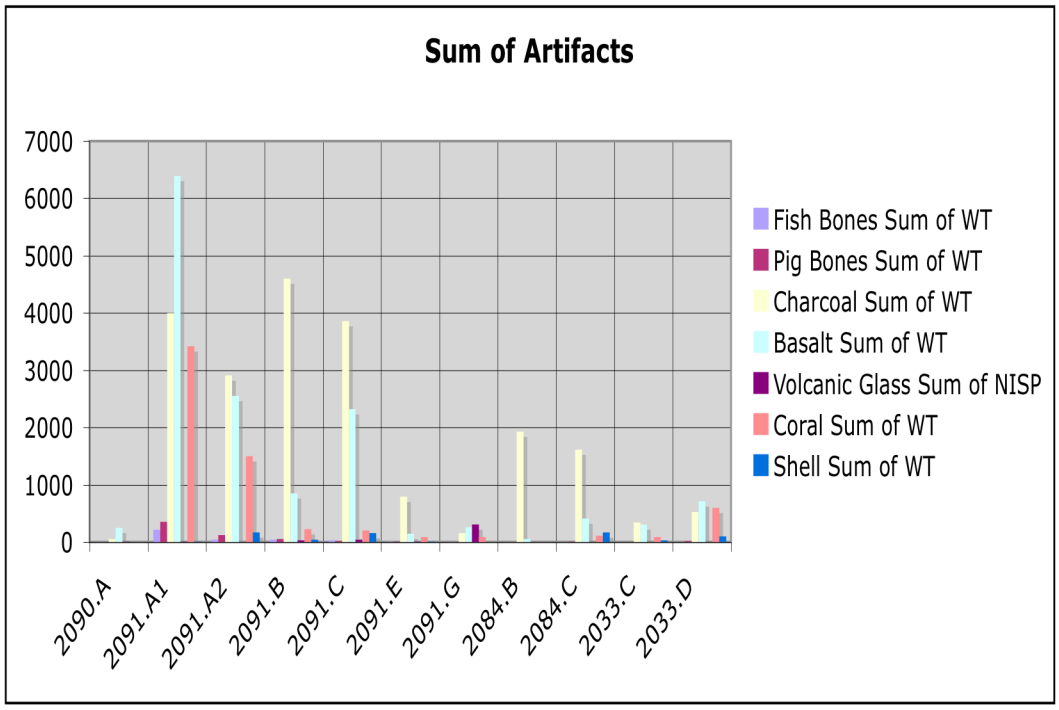
By comparing the ratio of the above-listed artifacts between sites, one can further hypothesize the use of a building. Table 10 and Figure 36 compare all of the artifacts previously discussed in order to better speculate activities that occurred within each structure.

Table 10

SITE	Fish Bones Sum of WT	Pig Bones Sum of WT	Charcoal Sum of WT	Basalt Sum of WT	Volcanic Glass Sum of NISP	Coral Sum of WT	Shell Sum of WT
2090.A	0.3	1.4	61.1	256.4	8	4.4	0
2091.A1	224.55	356.3	3998.3	6395.8	10	3426.4	9.6
2091.A2	49.3	123.9	2916.5	2561.3	0	1500.1	172.8
2091.B	44.9	61	4602.5	855.9	36	228.3	41.2
2091.C	31.4	24	3866.9	2319.9	46	211.4	165.7
2091.E	5.9	10.5	802.6	145.3	10	95.2	7.9
2091.G	1.7	0.1	158.9	271.8	315	96.9	5.4
2084.B	0.1	0.3	1930	59	0	0	4.1
2084.C	2.65	8.8	1619.6	422.3	0	121.3	176.9
2033.C	1.5	0	352.6	309.8	0	92	36.2
2033.D	1.3	20.9	537.1	713.1	0	600.5	105.45

Sum of All Keokea Artifacts

Figure 36



Sum of all Keokea Artifacts

Table 10 and Figure 36 clearly illustrate that the majority of artifacts found within these three house sites were located in house 2091.A1. The household containing the largest amount of artifacts was area 2091 (which also includes 2090.A). This indicates that a family with increased resources lived here (such as elite members of society)—further supporting the hypothesis that the prehistoric Hawaiian elite consistently conformed to the *kapu* system in order to maintain their power.

Within household 2091, structure 2091.A1 possessed the greatest amount of basalt (6395.8g), pig bone (356.3g), and fish bone (224.55g), along with a large percentage of coral (3426.4g) and charcoal (3998.3g). The increased amount of pig bone compared with the other houses at this site suggests that women were not a part of the activities that occurred here (due to the pork taboo). The pig and fish remains also suggest that meals were consumed in this location. Hawaiians utilized pig as a common sacrifice in their ceremonies; according to Kamakau (1976:133), each household built a men's house, which encompassed the *heiau ipu-o-Lono*—these were "for the increase of plant foods" (Kamakau 1976:133). Other rituals may have also been performed in these domestic heiau that included sacrificing pigs. There is an increased possibility that the food was cooked in this area or sacrifices given due to the high amounts of charcoal found; however, this could be due to a hearth that kept the house warm. Basalt in such quantities indicates that people worked here, carving tools (such as *o'o* digging sticks) and other cultural necessities. Basalt could also be made into tools such as adzes used

in building canoes (Kamakau 1976:122). Additionally, basalt was an important part of prehistoric Hawaiian fishing methods. Kamakau explains the method with which Hawaiians caught octopus, stating that a stone was attached to a stem and cowry (1976:68). As basalt is a predominant rock in Hawai'i, it would have been useful for this purpose in fishing lures. Such lures were made of bone, which could explain some of the remains in this house. The presence of coral and absence of shell implies that they used coral as sacrificial gifts to the gods. According to tradition, the combined evidence would indicate that structure 2091.A1 served as a *hale mua,* or men's house. Structure 2091.A2 shares similar qualities with 2091.A1. According to Figure 36, 49.3g of pig remains and 123.9g of fish remains were found in this house, which also indicates that individuals (most likely male) ate within the structure. Shell remains were also high at 172.8g along with charcoal at 2916.5g, which suggests that food was either prepared or eaten in this building. The coral remains were present (1500.1g), again indicating that coral was used ceremonially, or that the inhabitants abraded shells with coral pieces. Basalt was also found within this feature, though not to the extent that it was present in 2091.A1. Due to the similar artifacts found within this structure and the close proximity to structure 2091.A (the two houses were connected), 2091.A2 also met the traditional qualifications of a men's house. As previously mentioned, Handy (1965:76) identified six different houses that the early Hawaiians utilized within their households. He differentiates between the house of worship (*heiau*) and men's eating house (*mua*). Although most

households probably combined the two activities as is described by Kamakau (1976), there still exists the possibility that two houses were utilized by the men of the household for their societal and domestic tasks.

Structures 2091.B and 2091.C share similar artifact compositions with one another as well. The sum of weight of the pig bone present in these houses was significantly less than the men's houses (61g and 24g respectively), indicating that women were more likely to utilize these two domiciles. King (one of Captain Cook's men) observed that prehistoric Hawaiian women often wore bracelets and necklaces strung with decorations such as boars teeth or shells (Beaglehole 1967). This explains the large amount of shells found in 2091.C (165.7g). Shells would also have been used in the decoration of tapa along with pig jaws, which accounts for the small amount of pig remains (Kamakau 1976). Tapa making also accounts for the large amount of charcoal present in 2091.B (4602.5g) and 2091.C (3866.9g) as well as the presence of basalt in both houses. According to Kamakau (1976), charcoal was often used to dye the tapa cloth. Women could have utilized basalt as a stone with which to pound the material when making tapa. Sustenance for prehistoric Hawaiian women was predominantly attained through shellfish, fish, dogs, birds, and agricultural goods. Therefore, the shell and fish remains found within these houses could be from meals consumed within.

Researchers excavated the least amount of artifacts from house 2090.A (which, due to its proximity, was included as part of household 2091). Several

plausible explanations exist, one of which could be that this structure served as a female menstrual hut (*hale pe'a*). The lack of material within the structure supports this theory in that the house would not have been consistently occupied, only during the female menstrual cycle. A small amount of charcoal was present (61.1g), most likely from a fire meant for keeping the women warm throughout their isolation period. Basalt was also present (256.4g), which could indicate one of the following explanations: women worked during their week of isolation, the basalt was material from building the house, or it could have served a different purpose currently unknown. The pig remains were minimal in this house (1.4g), suggesting that these were coincidentally in this area and not part of a consumed meal. The same can be said for the fish remains, with only 0.2g found within this structure. However, the faunal remnants may also have served as sustenance during the short periods of isolation. Volcanic glass (315g) and coral (96.9g) were also present in this house, again suggesting that the women worked, keeping themselves preoccupied during their isolation. This could also suggest some form of ritualistic practice, as the women worshipped deities that represented female tasks. According to Figure 3, 2090.A was one of the last structures built for this household (between 1650 and 1820 AD), which further supports this building being the female menstruation house. As the Hawaiian culture evolved, they developed increasingly ritualistic cultural practices, which included the seclusion of females for one week during their menstrual cycle until the cleansing ceremony

was completed (Linnekin 1990). Therefore, this house would logically have been one of the last houses built on site.

Structure 2091.G, the smallest of the houses within household 2091, could potentially have served the purpose of a storage shed where the crops and agricultural tools were kept (Kirch 1985). The proximity of the structure to the agricultural fields along with the artifacts found by the archaeologists supports this theory. According to Figure 2, 2091.G is approximately 20 meters from the agricultural feature found within this house site. Charcoal (158.9g), basalt (271.8g), volcanic glass (315g), coral (96.9g), and shell (5.4g) together composed the artifacts found within this storage shed. Charcoal was often part of the agricultural process while basalt, coral, shell, and volcanic glass were important tools for the prehistoric Hawaiians. This feature was one of the last built along with 2090.A—indicating that the hut was not needed until more resources were available.

Archaeologists found charcoal (802.6g), basalt (145.3g), coral (95.2g), pig (10.5g), volcanic glass (10g), shell (7.9g), and fish (5.9g) in 2091.E. Due to the wide variety yet small amount of artifacts present in this feature, the inhabitants could have utilized this as a sleeping house (*hale noa*). Sleeping houses were the structures in which prehistoric Hawaiians spent their time sleeping and socializing. The family living in this household would have brought the small amount of artifacts from another location as they returned from their daily activities. Charcoal, the most abundant artifact, was present as a result of a fire

used to heat the household when necessary. Kirch (1985) describes these houses as sleeping sheds, which correlates with the size of feature 2091.E. This hut was built around the same time as female house 2091.B (from 1500-1650 AD). This suggests that structure 2091.A1 was initially the house that the family lived and slept in and was later converted to the *hale mua* as the family gained resources and were able to build the extra houses on their property. The necessary houses (according to *kapu* laws) were built next—the women's house (2091.B) and the replacement sleeping hut (2091.E). House 2091.E was not as significant to cultural customs and, therefore, had a smaller structure than the men and women's houses.

Unfortunately, without properly observing the inhabitants of this household, it remains impossible to distinguish beyond a doubt every activity that occurred within the structures. However, house site 2091 exhibits binary characteristics that suggest segregated gender activity. Houses 2091.A1 and 2091.A2 closely resemble one another in artifacts uncovered at each location as well as the size of the structures. When reviewing the archaeological evidence from a purely objective standpoint, the structures seem paired so that each was utilized for a similar purpose, but designated for male or female activity. Houses 2091.B and 2091.C also mirror one another in structural design, which indicates binary building practices. For example, 2091.A1 and 2091.A2 may have both been places of worship for the family inhabiting this household, yet women would have utilized one of the structures and men, the other. Although early

ethnography downplays female participation in the prehistoric Hawaiian religious sphere, evidence presented in this paper suggests another reality within which female houses of worship could have existed as part of a household. The binary building practices of this elite house site further support this theory.

The family that inhabited house site 2033 possessed fewer resources; this observation is based upon the fact that the household consists of two buildings. The family lacked the ability/assets to build the necessary houses required by *kapu* traditions. House 2033.D, the second structure built on this land, is the most plausible candidate for the men's house due to the presence of pig remains (20.9g). This house was the second to be built (between 1500-1650 AD), indicating that the family gained resources and were therefore able to follow proper *kapu* regulations, building a men's house (the most culturally significant of the houses). Coral, basalt, charcoal, and shell were also found here in higher quantities than in 2033.C, which is to be expected in a *hale mua*. Feature 2033.C, the first house built on this site, would have served as the sleeping hut as well as the site of other necessary activities including the female eating house. According to Kirch (1985), sleeping huts belonging to the lower class members of society were small, with the fireplace near the head and the poi dish by the feet. Members of the household made do by taking turns sleeping, as not everyone could fit inside at the same time. This correlates with house site 2033 in that the male house (2033.D) was larger than the sleeping hut (2033.C). The family built structure 2033.C first with fewer resources, as having shelter was necessary. They

would have then built 2033.D in an attempt to fulfill cultural and social requirements. However, resources kept the family from fulfilling other taboos, including the construction of a female menstrual hut, or *tapa*-beating house. All domestic and cultural activities would have been conducted outside. This house site further illustrates binary construction in that the household is composed of two similar structures divided by gender. The artifacts differ, which is to be expected if hypothesizing that activities were engendered.

Those living in household 2084 additionally belonged to the lower class. There were two similar houses built on this land, 2084.B (the sleeping hut) and 2084.C (the *hale mua*). Like household 2033, the sleeping hut from 2084 was smaller than the men's house. Structure 2084.C is the most likely candidate for the *hale mua* based on ethnographic data due to the increased amount of pig remains (8.8g compared to 0.3g in 2084.B), charcoal (1619.6g compared with 1930g in 2084.B), basalt (422.3g compared with 59g in house 2084.B), coral (121.3g compared with 0g in house 2084.B), and shell (176.9g compared with 4.1g in house 2084.B). As previously stated, pig, charcoal, coral, and shell remains were all important ceremonial components. The primary artifact recovered from house 2084.B, charcoal, could be a remnant of the fire intended for heating the sleeping hut. Like the others, the structures composing this household were built as a pair and divided by gender. The percent of each artifact listed next to the sum of count and weight exhibits the relationship of the artifacts within the households in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11

Site	Fish Bones Sum of NISP	%	Pig Bones Sum of NISP	%	Charcoal Sum of NISP	%
2033.C	74	1.28%			3989	1.55%
2033.D	84	1.46%	6	0.63%	4386	1.70%
2084.B	6	0.10%	1	0.11%	21555	8.35%
2084.C	268	4.65%	16	1.69%	10957	4.25%
2090.A	1	0.02%	3	0.32%	1192	0.46%
2091.A1	2267	39.32%	711	75.24%	50004	19.38%
2091.A2	1987	34.46%	89	9.42%	39923	15.47%
2091.B	580	10.06%	91	9.63%	63726	24.69%
2091.C	433	7.51%	18	1.90%	52600	20.38%
2091.E	36	0.62%	9	0.95%	7955	3.08%
2091.G	23	0.40%	1	0.11%	1769	0.69%
Grand Total	5760	100.00%	5829	100.00%	258056	100.00%

Site	Basalt Sum of NISP	%	Volcanic Glass Sum of NISP	%
2033.C	37	1.49%	0	
2033.D	142	5.70%	0	
2084.B	15	0.60%	0	
2084.C	137	5.50%	0	
2090.A	154	6.18%	8	1.88%
2091.A1	454	18.23%	10	2.35%
2091.A2	492	19.75%	0	
2091.B	296	11.88%	36	8.47%
2091.C	608	24.41%	46	10.82%
2091.E	92	3.69%	10	2.35%
2091.G	64	2.57%	315	74.12%
Grand Total	2491	100.00%	425	100.00%

(continued on following page)

Table 11 (continued)

Site	Coral Sum of NISP	%	Shell Sum of NISP	%
2033.C	82	3.09%	182	1.59%
2033.D	74	2.79%	1452	12.71%
2084.B	0		2	0.02%
2084.C	224	8.45%	1838	16.09%
2090.A	4	0.15%		
2091.A1	1106	41.72%	16	0.14%
2091.A2	679	25.61%	4415	38.64%
2091.B	313	11.81%	430	3.76%
2091.C	132	4.98%	2976	26.05%
2091.E	17	0.64%	106	0.93%
2091.G	20	0.75%	9	0.08%
Grand Total	2651	100.00%	11426	100.00%

Sum of Artifacts by NISP and Percent

Table 12

Site	Fish Bones Sum of WT	%	Pig Bones Sum of WT	%
2033.C	6.3	1.62%	0	
2033.D	9.4	2.42%	20.9	3.44%
2084.B	0.6	0.15%	0.3	0.05%
2084.C	13.1	3.37%	8.8	1.45%
2090.A	0.3	0.08%	1.4	0.23%
2091.A1	224.55	57.82%	356.3	58.68%
2091.A2	49.3	12.69%	123.9	20.41%
2091.B	44.9	11.56%	61	10.05%
2091.C	31.4	8.09%	24	3.95%
2091.E	5.9	1.52%	10.5	1.73%
2091.G	1.7	0.44%	0.1	0.02%
Grand Total		100.00%		100.00%
Site	Charcoal Sum of WT	%	Basalt Sum of WT	%
2033.C	352.6	1.69%	309.8	2.16%
2033.D	537.1	2.58%	713.1	4.98%
2084.B	1930	9.26%	59	0.41%
2084.C	1619.6	7.77%	422.3	2.95%
2090.A	61.1	0.29%	256.4	1.79%
2091.A1	3998.3	19.18%	6395.8	44.69%
2091.A2	2916.5	13.99%	2561.3	17.90%
2091.B	4602.5	22.08%	855.9	5.98%
2091.C	3866.9	18.55%	2319.9	16.21%
2091.E	802.6	3.85%	145.3	1.02%
2091.G	158.9	0.76%	271.8	1.90%
Grand Total		100.00%		100.00%

(continued on following page)

Table 12 (continued)

Site	Volcanic Glass Sum of WT	Coral Sum of WT	%	Shell Sum of WT	%
2033.C	not available	92	1.44%	36.2	4.99%
2033.D	not available	600.5	9.42%	105.45	14.54%
2084.B	not available	0		4.1	0.57%
2084.C	not available	121.3	1.90%	176.9	24.39%
2090.A	not available	4.4	0.07%		
2091.A1	not available	3426.4	53.73%	9.6	1.32%
2091.A2	not available	1500.1	23.53%	172.8	23.83%
2091.B	not available	228.3	3.58%	41.2	5.68%
2091.C	not available	211.4	3.32%	165.7	22.85%
2091.E	not available	95.2	1.49%	7.9	1.09%
2091.G	not available	96.9	1.52%	5.4	0.74%
Grand Total			100.00%		100.00%

Sum of Artifacts by Weight and Percent

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

Prehistoric Hawaiian women were eminently important in their society. Socially, they had the potential to hold the highest level of *kapu* status. Women worshipped female deities and performed ritual activities (Beaglehole 1967). Domestically, they were responsible for several important tasks equal to those of the men. Women spent numerous hours making *tapa* clothing and mats for their households as well as for chiefly gifts given to those in charge of their *ahupua'a*. However, the social status of prehistoric Hawaiian women has remained questionable since the first ethnographic writings of the Europeans. Female status remains debatable due to previous translation of the meaning of taboos enforced upon them according to traditional Hawaiian practice. The original European writings suggested that women held lower-status positions then men due to their inability to lead or be a part of ceremonial practices. Captain Cook's men also wrote about the small amount of work conducted by women, stating that men were responsible for the majority of domestic and cultural tasks. Subsequent researchers suggested that *kapu* laws were practiced so that the elite could maintain power. Researchers also have written about the large amount of domestic and social responsibilities performed by the women. The question

posed remains, were the taboo laws established with the intent of reinforcing the elite's power, for the purpose of creating an inferior social status for the Hawaiian females, or both?

This thesis has discussed several key points that address the previous question of status and power within the prehistoric Hawaiian society. The combined analyzed research brings us closer to answering the question of female status and elite taboo enforcement. The theories applied to this paper examined hierarchical theory with regards to gender in prehistoric Hawai'i. According to the work of previous researcher Wason (1994), prehistoric Hawaiians exhibited hierarchical status markers—for example, the lack of clothing worn by commoners delineated them from the elite and the platforms added to elite houses exhibited the ample resources available to them. Additionally, Key (1996) discussed hierarchy theory, implicating that *kapu* laws were instituted and enforced in order to instill fear in the general population, which reinforced the elite power. Creamer and Hass (1985) corroborate this theory, stating that chiefs lack the ability to maintain a power base without a means of procuring production and subsistence resources. The *kapu* traditions were their method of obtaining such resources, leading to the stabilization of their power.

Linguistics theory was also applied to hierarchy and gender in Hawai'i. Thompson's work (1975) indicated that cultural paradigms provided by societies determine the individual's view on gender. Linguistics, therefore, is important to this process in that language is the basis of culture, determining how people

interact with one another. Linnekin (1985) discussed the Hawaiian language, stating that there existed no terms for husband and wife, only man and woman. Therefore, individuals were not defined by their relationship to others, but by who they were as members of society. Furthermore, Linnekin (1993) mentions that prehistoric Hawaiian names were not gender-typed. Pronouns also lacked gender in that the same word was used for "him" and "her" as well as "he" and "she" (Pukui 1986, Wight 1997). This suggests that there existed some level of equality between the sexes, in that it was not eminently necessary to know someone's gender when learning their name.

An important element that must be remembered when discussing the ethnography concerns the western bias regarding the early interpretations of the pre-historic Hawaiian society. Captain Cook and his men were the first recorded Europeans to come in contact with the early Hawaiians (as previously discussed in Chapter 3 of this paper). This occurred in the 18th century, a time when women were considered of lower status than men in European society; therefore the men writing about Hawaiian women held preconceived ethnocentric notions that all cultures valued men more than women. An example found within the journals of Samwell (Beaglehole 1967) perfectly illustrates this bias—he first mentions that women were prohibited from conducting or participating in religious ceremonies, then describes one such ceremony led by a spiritual woman. Samwell dismissed this incident, describing the female as insane, but subsequently stated that she held great power over the surrounding individuals. Although women of the

western world have achieved higher status throughout the centuries following Captain Cook's travels, this patrilineal western bias remains in several works regarding Hawaiian women. Such ethnocentrisms must be taken into account when attempting to answer questions regarding status and women in pre-contact Hawai'i. Samwell's observation begs the argument that women were in fact spiritual leaders. If the scene is interpreted accordingly, then one can imagine a different type of spiritual activity than previously described in prehistoric Hawai'i: one that involved women worshipping in Heiau and handling pork along with other ceremonial goods. If this were indeed the case, archaeological remains would require reassessment in order to acquire an increasingly accurate picture of pre-historic Hawai'i.

The ethnographic research analyzed in Chapter 3 of this paper discusses the tasks performed by prehistoric Hawaiian women. Contrary to previous beliefs, prehistoric Hawaiian females contributed a great deal to society (Linnekin 1990). They spent numerous hours beating and weaving *tapa* cloth for their households as well as the elite households. Women occasionally worked alongside their husbands in the agricultural fields (although this was still considered a male task) and assisted with the gathering of seafood (although they did not participate in deep-sea fishing). Women were also largely responsible for the children, although the father had a hand in their social development. According to this research, women were by no means dependent upon the males in their life.

With regards to status, women were proprietors of the highest *kapu* (sacred) level. While they could not hold the highest position of *ali'i nui,* such high-ranking wives often advised their chiefly husbands on how to proceed with their territory. Elite women were obliged to closely follow taboos. The Europeans occasionally witnessed lower-status women eating forbidden foods, but elite females never (or very rarely) participated in such taboo activities. However, if they were caught in such an act, the punishment was much more severe for lower-class females than their elite counterparts. Elite households also followed *kapu* regulations more closely with regards to buildings included in their household. Their properties included separate structures for male and female tasks, a sleeping hut, canoe hut, and supply sheds among other necessary buildings according to taboos (Kirch 1985).

Archaeological investigations of the households discussed in Chapter 6 exhibited several findings, supporting the hypothesis that elite households possessed additional resources, allowing them the ability to build the necessary structures as outlined by Kamakau (1976). The material remains uncovered in the Keokea excavations allowed for an initial analysis of the structures on this land. As was discussed in the analysis section of this paper, the artifacts supported the hypothesis that the elite households were able to follow the *kapu* principles, building structures for male and female activities. The general structure of the buildings also identifies the households as belonging to elite or commoners—the commoner households were composed of two structures each, while the elite

household included at least seven structures, some of which were built with platforms. The archaeological investigation of the Keokea region illustrated binary data that supports pre-contact gender differentiation within the household. Although difficult to ascertain the exact purpose of each house based on archaeological remains, the data clearly illustrates that early Hawaiians built dual structures as a physical representation of the social dichotomy of gender.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Hawaiian women held important and powerful positions within their prehistoric social structure. The evidence brought forward in this paper is indicative of this power held by females. The early European visitors were biased in their views of society, but offered important clues as to the true standing of women as well as the purpose of the *kapu* system. Hierarchy theory applied to the prehistoric Hawaiian society further indicates that the *kapu* system was established as a method of enforcing elitist power. Linguistics evidence additionally supports relative female equality within the context of the overall system of hierarchy in early Hawai'i. The work required of women further established them as important and indispensable members of society. Archaeological evidence from the Keokea region of Maui corroborates hypotheses regarding hierarchical functioning in prehistoric Hawai'i. However, the status of women appears dynamic across status boundaries. The commoner women, although punished more severely for their indiscretions, were freely able to choose their sexual partners. Chiefly women were not able to freely choose marriage partners due to the need to perpetuate their high status and the chiefdom. Therefore, the social hierarchy took precedence over gender in determining status

to a point. Elite women still possessed power, but their freedom in decision-making was increasingly limited.

Captain Cook and his crew may have been ethnocentric in their views toward Hawaiian women, but offered clues about the true nature of their status within society. Samwell describes a scene witnessed on the islands in which a female conducted a religious ceremony. He stated that this woman seemed to hold great influence over the people and was highly revered and respected. Samwell and other seamen describe the tasks conducted by women, mentioning *tapa* beating and agricultural responsibilities. Such records allow us today to analyze female status. The combination of the *Voyager* and *Discovery* journals, and subsequent ethnographic works (such as Kamakau and Linnekin) indicate that female tasks were considered equal to male tasks. Each sex was highly valued for the work they contributed to society. The fact that women were responsible for creating sustainable items such as *tapa* cloth (as opposed to food items that were quickly consumed) indicates that their products may have been valued over male products. The Cook journals also indicate that women were spiritually valued, an idea that is not often recognized.

Linguistic theory indicates that women and men were of equal importance due to the lack of distinction through language. The absence of sexual dimorphism in the language is very suggestive of the Hawaiian mental process in that if this did not materialize through the language, it was not present in their mental reasoning, meaning prehistoric Hawaiians did not define individuals based

on gender. Hierarchy theory, particularly that of Creamer and Haas (1985) indicates that the *kapu* traditions were established in order to empower the elite. In order for the elite to maintain power, the commoners needed to accept their social standing. Due in part to the lack of "direct kin relation to local populations" (Wason 1994:54), Hawaiian chiefs experienced difficulty with individual acceptance of lower-status roles (this includes commoners as well as the smaller chiefs). Therefore, *kapu* rules were used to instill fear in the population. Although many of the taboos were addressed toward women, such rules were ultimately meant to keep the powerful in power. The authority resulting from the ritualistic practices of the *kapu* system provided the legitimacy to the elite role by creating a mystical/spiritual authority that the commoners depended upon.

The appearance created through the building of additional structures required by *kapu* gave the elite the legitimacy they needed, supporting their position in society as previously discussed. Numerous buildings excavated from household 2091 support this theory, in that the artifacts infer rigorous adhesion to *kapu* principles. The commoner households (2084 and 2033) only encompassed two structures. Here, the material remains indicated that some taboos were followed, but many were forgotten due to the lack of resources. The archaeological investigation as a whole was suggestive of prehistoric Hawaiian hierarchy. The material record exhibited that the majority of recovered artifacts were found in the elite household, supporting previous information regarding increased access to resources for the powerful. Archaeological research also

suggests that women were of equal importance to men in elite households, in that structures presumably designated for them were equivalent in size to the men's structures. Figure 3 illustrating the houses built over time indicates that the structures most likely utilized by men were built first, suggesting that these were the more important houses. This could also be due to the taboo that women could not enter male eating spaces, but men were allowed enter the women's eating space. Therefore, the women could eat in the primary house (sleeping hut), while the men needed a separate structure where they could consume meals and worship. However, the binary data present in the archaeological research indicates the importance of similar male and female structures as the site of engendered cultural activities.

The evidence brought forth in this paper disputes current ethnographic information regarding prehistoric Hawaiian culture, suggesting instead that women maintained a status equal to men in prehistoric Hawaiian society, and may have held an increasingly important role in the religious sphere than was previously suggested. The data further supports the hypothesis that *kapu* traditions were initiated and enforced so that the elite could maintain their power, not for the purpose of impeding female social status. Although current evidence supports these conclusions, several questions still remain: why were women unable to hold the highest position of power (*ali'i nui*)? Why were female deities given pigs as sacrifices while mortal women, even chiefs that were considered gods, could not consume this meat? Why were male houses more highly valued

than female houses? Such questions contradict many of the well-established prehistoric Hawaiian traditions, and though the answers may not assist in clarifying the status of women, they remain important inquiries for future research. Additional research regarding currently unexamined archaeological sites and critical analysis of the material record remains eminently important to the understanding of gender relations in prehistoric Hawai'i.

The research discussed in this paper is applicable to the island of Maui in Hawai'i, as this is the location of the archaeological investigation used in the analysis. However, many aspects of this research are relevant cross-culturally. Future studies should incorporate a similar comparative analysis research method. Theory, ethnography, and archaeology are all important ingredients in discovering the past. Without the ability to actually observe a culture, archaeologists must use all resources at their disposal. The gender studies utilized in this research are also viable for future studies. This paper has illustrated that gender relations and status are not universally static; such social relations are dynamic from one culture to the next. Austronesian cultures share similar ancestry, yet gender relations vary somewhat, and it remains important to study these variations in under to properly understand the culture as well as the past.

REFERENCES

Ahern, Emily M.
1975 The power and pollution of Chinese women. In (Wolf and Witke, eds.) Women in Chinese society, pp.193-214.

Beaglehole, J.C. (editor)
1967 *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyaged of Discovery: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780, Part One and Part Two*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bishop Museum Press
2009 Bishop Museum Press Authors. Electronic document, http://www.bishopmuseum.org/press/authors.html, accessed 12 November 2009.

Castle Jr., William R.
1913 *Hawai'i Past and Present*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

Creamer, Winifred and Jonathan Haas
1985 Tribe Versus Chiefdom in Lower Central America. *American Antiquity,* 50(4), 691-714

Cordy, Ross
2000 *Exalted Sits the Chief: The Ancient History of Hawai'i Island*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing.

2007 Reconstructing Hawaiian Population at European Contact: Three Regional Case Studies. In: Patrick V. Kirch and Jean-Louis Rallu (editors), *The Growth and Collapse of Pacific Island Societies,* pp. 108-128. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Dixon, Boyd, Dennis Gosser and Scott Williams
2008 Traditional Hawaiian Men's Houses and their Sociopolitical Context in Lualualei, Leeward West O'ahu, Hawai'i. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 117(3), 267-295.

Eberhardt, Nancy
1988 *Gender, Power, and the Construction of the Moral Order: Studies from the Thai Periphery*. Madison: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin.

Haas, Jonathan
1981 "Class Conflict and the State in the New World" in Grant D. Jones and Robert R. Kautz (eds), The Transistion to Statehood in the New World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 80-104.

1982 *The Evolution of the Prehistoric State*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Handy, E.S.C.
1927 *Polynesian Religion*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 34. Honolulu.

1965 Houses and Villages. In: *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization: A Series of Lectures Delivered at the Kamehameha Schools*, pp.69-80. Japan: Charles E. Tuttle.

Hare-Mustin, Rachel T., and Jeanne Marecek
1988 The Meaning of Difference: Gender Theory, Postmodernism, and Psychology. American Psychologist 43(6): 455-464.

Hastorf, Christine A.
1998 Gender, Space, and Food in Prehistory. In: Joan Gero and Margaret Conkey (editors), *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, pp.132-159. Oxford: Blackwell

Hawaiian Historical Society
2009 Significant Dates in the History of Hawai'i. Electronic Document, http://www.hawaiianhistory.org/ref/chron.html#gpm1_2, accessed 12 November 2009.

Johnson, Allen W. and Timothy Earle
2000 *The Evolution of Human Societies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Joyce, R., and S. Gillespie (editors)
2000 *Beyond Kinship Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kane, Herb Kawainui
1997 *Ancient Hawai'i*. Hawai'i: The Kawainui Press.

Key, Mary Ritchie
1996 *Male/Female Language*. London: Scarecrow Press Inc.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton
1985 *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

1996 *Legacy of the Landscape: An Illustrated Guide to Hawaiian Archaeological Sites*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

2000 Temples as "Holy Houses": The Transformation of Ritual Architecture in Traditional Polynesian Societies. In: Rosemary Joyce and Susan Gillespie (editors), *Beyond Kinship Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, pp.103-114. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

2002 *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kolb, Michael, Ross Cordy and Patty Conte
N.d. Archaeological Research in the Keokea Region of Maui.

Kolb, Michael J. and J. Snead
1997 Labor, space, and boundary maintenance: Examining the archaeological community. American Antiquity 62(4): 609-628.

Lepowsky, Maria Alexandra
1993 *Fruit of the Motherland*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lindsey, Linda L.
2005 *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective*. New Jersey: Pearson.

Linnekin, Jocelyn
1985 *Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

1990 *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Malo, Davida
1898 *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Meggitt, M.J.
1970 Male-Female Relationships in the Highlands of Australian New Guinea. In: Thomas Harding and Ben Wallace (editors), Cultures of the Pacific Selected Readings, pp. 125-143. New York: The Free Press.

Pukui, Mary Kawena and Samuel H. Elbert
1986 *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Sahlins, Marshall
1985 *Islands of History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

1995 *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook for Example*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sather, C.
1993 Posts, Hearths and Thresholds: The Iban Longhouse as a Ritual Structure. In: James Fox (editor), *Inside Austronesian Houses Perspectives on Domestic Designs for Living*, pp.64-115. Canberra: ANU Printing Service.

Service, Elman
1962 *Primitive social organization.* New York: Random House.

Spriggs, Matthew
2007 Population in a Vegetable Kingdom: Aneityum Island (Vanuatu) at European Contact in 1803. In: Patrick V. Kirch and Jean-Louis Rallu (editors), *The Growth and Collapse of Pacific Island Societies*, pp. 278-305. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Stokes, John
1933 New Bases for Hawaiian Chronology. *Forty-first Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1932,* pp.23-65.

Taylor, Albert P.
1926 *Under Hawaiian Skies*. Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd.

Titcomb, Margaret
1952 *Native use of fish in Hawaii*. New Zealand: Avery Press.

Tringham, Ruth
1991 Households with faces: The challenge of gender in prehistoric architectural remains. In: Gero J M, Conkey M W (eds.) *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, UK, pp. 93–131

Van Meijl, T.
1993 Maori Meeting-Houses in and Over Time. In: James Fox (editor), *Inside Austronesian Houses Perspectives on Domestic Designs for Living*, pp.194-219. Canberra: ANU Printing Service.

Wason, Paul K.
1994 *The Archaeology of Rank*. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Weiner, Annette B.
1976 *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives in Trobriand Exchange.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Wight, Kahikahealani
1997 *Illustrated Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu: The Bess Press.

Wise, C.M.
1951 "'Chiefess'—a Hawaiian word" American Speech 12.2:116-121

Wittfogel, K
1957 *Oriental despotism*. New Haven: Yale University Press