

1. Description

1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family:

Marquesans (Austronesian)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):

MQM/MRQ

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

“Roughly between 8° and 10° 30’ south latitude and 138° 30’ and 141° west longitude”(4 p.1)

1.4 Brief history:

People of probably a western Polynesian origin settled some 2,225 years ago [4]. The settlement of Marquesas is probably by more than one group from many directions [4]. People present by A.D. 300 (4 p.6)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

There were only few institutions in Marquesas which were the church and Commune. Commune has “municipal buildings” in four valleys. “The communal organization is tripartite”[6 pg. 67]. Elected council is led by a mayor and two assistants, and it represents the entire population from all valleys [6 pg. 67]. Following Captain David Porter’s extended stay in the islands there was a substantial increase in racial mixture and venereal disease, as well as the economic effect of trading valuable resources for useless European trinkets.(1)

1.6 Ecology (natural environment):

High volcanic islands; people live in narrow valleys which is separated by mountain tops, central peaks or highlands [6]; “‘Bold’, ‘rugged’, and ‘enticingly forbidding’” Absence of coral reefs. “On the higher islands, wind and rain have formed a distinctly rugged landscape. In the wetter zones, there are erosional amphitheatres”. “Youthful valleys” Average annual temperature of 26 Celsius. “Marked variations in the amount and periods of maximum precipitation were...characteristics of these islands.” (4 p.1-2)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density:

The original population size varies depending on the early European navigators but is estimated to be around 100,000 [4]. But the population in 1971 is 5,593 [6].

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

Breadfruit since it flourished very easily “even on the valleys’ steep slopes” [4]. Breadfruits could be fermented and stored for a long time. Also, a lot of bananas, yams, sugar cane, and kava were grown to sustain the community [4].

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

Fish and shellfish (1)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

“Clubs, lances, javelins, and slings were the weapons of war...bows and arrows were present in the Marquesas in 1595 but had been totally discarded by the late eighteenth century.” (4 p.113)

2.4 Food storage:

“A number of large, deep holes dug into the earth contained stores of fermenting breadfruit paste.” Houses would also have storage huts that would surround them. (1)

2.5 Sexual division of production:

Women produced bark cloth, mats, fans, and twine cord. Women also took care of their homes and children. Some would gather shellfish. Men tended to agriculture, fishing, and the building of houses and canoes. Men were often specialists. (4 p.53) One informant said it’s a husband’s job to feed while it’s a wife’s job to clean [6 pg. 73]. “Gender is taken to be discoverable in sets of recognized activities that are counted as participating in or part of a unitary construct that is associated with but not derived from sexual identity...gender is thus seen as sex-linked but not sexual.” [6 pg. 176]

2.6 Land tenure:

Most owned their own land, while some would become tenants on the land of others. “The provider who only uses local resources to feed and shelter his family when wage work abounds may be seen as shiftless.” [6 pg. 139]

2.7 Ceramics:

Talking about first travelers to Marquesas “...these people either brought pottery with them or manufactured it locally. However, its usefulness must have diminished with time, and it finally disappeared.” (4 p.6)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns

Economically a dependent hinterland [6].

2.9 Food taboos:

“[The common class]... could not eat any food belonging to members of the taboo class. Nor touch...the food bowl of such an individual...” “Nor were commoners allowed to eat turtle and certain kinds of fish.” (4 p.57)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

Outrigger canoe (1)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

Male: 5’ 6”-6’ Female: “Relatively short” (4 p.9)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

“Domestic group usually include one or two couples and their natal and foster children” [6]. Some household was very harmonious and included up to six related families [6]; conjugal family household is preferred since it is considered ‘peaceful.’ [6 pg. 137]

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

No fixed weaning time for babies, with some being fed popoi and raw fish within a few months of birth. As the child grows older weaning is discouraged by the mother rubbing a bitter substance on her nipples. (4 p.72)

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

When discussing marriages for the purpose of forming an alliance—“In such alliances neither the consent nor the age or age difference of the couple to be betrothed or married was considered” (4 p. 77) “Porter claimed that girls seldom married before the age of nineteen or twenty” (4 p.78)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

No numbers, but was very easy “...divorce was said to be a simple matter of a husband dismissing his wife[Crook], although Langsdorff and Lisiansky claimed that such a separation was a matter of consent by both parties” (4 p.79). Widowers maintain their households; decrease in remarriage [6].

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

Polygyny only mentioned once, “Crook explained how the third wife of high chief Teinae...” Marquesan culture also consisted of polyandry where one woman have primary husband in addition to one or more secondary husbands. [7 pg. 65]

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?

“After many trial unions of a passing nature, a Marquesan male would finally select a girl for his wife, sealing the bargain with a series of gift exchanges with her parents” (1) Marriages were typically consenting between the two parties, but if the woman refused the man might go to her parents. If they consented he would have to live with them for a while.

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

“With the probable exception of the landless lowest class, at the birth of a child its parents presented it with an inheritance thought sufficient to give it a degree of security during its lifetime.” (4 p.71) “Land and chiefly status normally descended from the reigning chief to his eldest son” Some exceptions. (4 p.33)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

While young children were treated with ‘tender fondness’, and when they got old enough to care for themselves parental care was relaxed. (4 p.72) Parents and their children often sleep and eat separately—“making distance” [6 pg. 39]. Parents have different views about kids whether they are small or big. Smaller kids are believed to be irresponsible, and the way parents treat their kids differ [6 pg. 130]. Also, Marquesans are cautious about anger.

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

“Homosexuality and other sex play among younger juveniles was considered normal, but after puberty, heterosexual relations dominated the scene.” (1 p.45) Men “who ‘want’ to do a range of activities associated with the female gender” such as laundry work, gossip with women, and wearing female clothing are called *Mahu* [6 pg. 177]. They are not viewed as women by Polynesian people but seen as men who want to act like women. One young man who was termed homosexual danced beside another man but there was no suggestion for him to be placed among female dancers. [6 pg. 178] “No salient stereotype of women who work like men exists...For women, the *vehine mako*, literally “shark-woman,” category seems the analogue to the *mahu* category for men.” [6 pg. 178]

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

“Some betrothals and marriages between the chiefly classes of different tribes were made as a critical element in solidifying an alliance of cooperation and peace.” (4 p.76)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

“Regardless of male parentage, the husband of the mother accepted the newborn child as his own, with all of the privileges that went to an offspring” (4 p.70)

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

It is believed that if “menstruating women climb breadfruit trees the fruit will be spotted” [6 pg. 74]. In conception, paternal and maternal substances and divine action are involved. “During a child’s gestation, the parents are differently involved, but it turns out that they both ‘feed.’ The mother’s placenta feeds the fetus, while the father feeds his wife and may have to indulge special food cravings that come to her during pregnancy...The father works to extract food from the land—and especially, in order to satisfy ‘cravings,’ from the sea and shore—while the mother’s body is the ‘land’ from which her child is nourished.” [6 pg. 171]

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape:

Women who went upland of the villages alone were at the risk of sexual assault [6 pg. 74].

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

“Although women were free to have sex with whom they pleased prior to marriage, any adulterous acts on their part after marriage, except with the *pekio*[head servant], could result in severe punishment by their husbands.” (4 p.78)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

“Keatonue, boasted of having children by other men’s wives; two of them lived in his family...” (4 p.79) This seems to contradict the idea that the husband of a woman is the father of all her children, unless these children were acquired by adoption[see

section 9] Sometimes small gifts such as handkerchiefs and perfume were exchanged as a symbol of continuation of relationship [6 pg. 133].

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

Other households such as relatives often foster the children but legal adoption is rare in Polynesian society [6 pg. 42].

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

4.22 Evidence for couvades

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

Principal husband is considered the father of all children by his wife

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

One informant had to move out from the household of his wife since his children would quarrel with the children of his brother-in-law though his brother-in-law was a pleasant and generous drinking companion. The tension building up between their children leads to separation of household, and the informant and his wife decide to "build their own house nearby and take full responsibility for their own support." [6 pg. 138]

4.24 Joking relationships?

The road mediating the opposition of house and periphery is a place where errant young folks gather and meets strangers, chatting, joking, and playing music [6 pg. 74].

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

When talking about male parentage "regardless of male parentage, the husband of the mother accepted the newborn child as his own, with all of the privileges that went to an offspring" (4 p.70) I don't know if this implies patrilineality or not.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules:

Post-pubertal girls sleep separately from the boys.

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

Yes [Very long description] (4 p.77)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

"A Marquesan woman acquired a new name on the occasion of the birth of her first child." (4 p. 71) "Four sorts of names for persons are commonly found. Family names are transmitted from father to child, if paternity is legally recognized; otherwise the child receives his mother's family name. . . Marquesan names are given by parents, other ascendants, or the parents' friends about the time of birth. These are usually names which have been previously held by ascendants of the name-givers, and the names are felt to belong to the 'families' in which they have been repetitively given." [6 pg. 161] Parents choose Catholic names according to the date of birth. Practice of name-friendship is frequent in Marquesan society [6 pg. 161]

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?):

One informant explained that he was not sure who was "close" and who was "distant" beyond the first-cousin range since he had so many consanguine ties. Desiring "kinswomen" was viewed as shameful [6 pg. 133].

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

Marriage alliances are important in order to gain access to resources and support, and "such political marriages were often arranged between chiefly women and infant husbands..." [7 pg. 73]

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

"War was a way of life among the Marquesans" (4 p. 113)

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

All war was ingroup in that it was between Marquesan tribes.

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

"However, when it came to ownership of land being contested by two high-ranking individuals, a private war could result." (4 p.115)

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

There was a lot of conflict "Families, tribes, and alliances of tribes on a single island found reasons [land ownership, invasion, conquering, or divine prophecy] to battle, and interisland wars, notably between Tahuata and Hivaoa, increased the spread of such potential mayhem" (4 p.113)

4.18 Cannibalism?

Yes, cannibalism occurred among Marquesas. Can be interpreted as a "reactive display"; "...this flaunting of savagery seems instead to have been a gestural protest at a moment of despair in one of the most destructive of Pacific colonial experiences." [5] In addition, as the chiefs tried to dominate neighboring groups, "inter-tribal skirmishing and cannibalism became common, and weak or defeated groups were frequently forced to leave the islands in search of a new home" [4].

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size

By 1300, the Marquesas population probably reached approximately 100,000 [4].

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

Tribal chiefs, with general society categories of tabooed, common, and landless. (4 p.30)

- Tabooed class was a socioreligious class restricted to males, though not all males were tabooed. Higher ranked than the common class, marked by a certain level of “sanctity” (4 p.28) In general, items used by the tabooed class could not be used by lower classes.

- The common class consisted of women and the ka’ioi [male entertainers]

Individuals elevated their social status by establishing hierarchy of “professional priests, artisans, warriors, and advisors” [4]. The “petty chiefs” were able to promote their power and prestige by controlling large agricultural surplus [4]. This in return led to the creation and rise of religious and ceremonial structures [4].

5.4 Post marital residence:

Patrilocal (4 p. 78)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

“The boundaries of their habitations are fixed by rivers and mountains.” (4 p.20)

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (Age and sex):

“Married women may run their households while their husbands work on labor contracts outside the Marquesas for extended periods” [6 pg. 49]. But the house and landholdings normally ‘belongs’ to the male household head [6 pg. 61]. Age division is more prominent than sexual division for household labor [6 pg. 49].

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

Young folks may form close friendships with peers from other valleys at the road mediating opposition of house and periphery, and this friendship is also known as “road friendships” [6 g. 74]. Marquesans believe that “friendships are appropriate between people of the same life stage, and friendships take different forms in different life stages...Kid’s friendships are based...on propinquity and a shared will to play...*taure’are’a* friendships may involve continuing components such as shared secrets.” [6 pg. 143] “Marquesans tend to express more affect and pleasure in talk of *taure’are’a* friends than of mature ones.” [6 pg. 143] One example of formation of adult friendships: “People chat; one man, more playful than others, makes jokes at the expense of another. Gradually the latter feels at ease in the novel setting, and participates in the conversation. Finally he may not only joke but joke “on top of” the first man, matching the earlier mockery. Only then does he demonstrate that he accepts the other’s joking without rancor, and the other’s acceptance of his mockery shows a similar acceptance. Only then are they ‘friends’ who ‘fit with each other’” [6 pg. 143] Interpersonal similarities such as physical similarities and mental component shape the way people of Marquesans form friendships with each other. “‘Friends’ are not ‘made tame’ by each other; instead they ‘become tame’ towards each other.” [6 pg.189]

5.8 Village and house organization:

“The interior of a Marquesan home was divided lengthwise into a rear sleeping area and a front sitting or working space” (4 p.23). People of Marquesas built large fortification complexes on the central plateaus of the islands, and defensive structures such as wooden and stone palisades were made [4].

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses):

Houses, taboo houses [certain people could enter], ma’ae [religious place]

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

Sleeping mats on stone (4 p.23). “Sleeping spaces for post-pubertal children are distinct, boys being separated from girls. The girls may sleep with their parents or apart. Infants sleep with their parents until about age two, when they join other children of the household. Sleeping spaces may be distinct rooms or simply mats; in one farming shelter that a family occasionally used, people slept on platforms at opposite sides of the houses, the space between being divided at night—boys on one side, adults, small children and a post-pubertal girl on the other—by an improvised curtain” [6 pg. 74].

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

Tribes headed by chiefs, chiefly status was usually passed father to eldest son, however if the son was considered weak there were other options. If the people of a village disliked how the chief was doing things he and his family would be run out. For this reason most chiefs placed a great deal of importance on their social relationships. There is no neat division between maturity and old age. [6 pg. 141] To call someone “old woman” signifies that she has been a valued nurturer rather than her age. Old woman is more active than old men. [6 pg. 149]

5.12 Trade:

Income from copra production [6]; “Many men spend less than half the year in preparing their own copra and work on others’ land, receiving one-half to two-thirds of the rice paid for the copra...” [6]; “With only the islands within the Marquesas group as trading partners, transactions were indeed limited...there was little to offer another island that it did not already have.” (4 p.109)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

Common people being unable to use items used by the tabooed class (4 p.28)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

“Although the protection and wishes of the gods, as well as the proper functioning of priests and rituals, were important elements in the lives of those in the higher levels of society, this was not the case among the lower classes. They appear to have shown little concern for these more complex concepts and practices. According to Crook, the forces most likely to affect their lives had to do with human maliciousness and a dread of spirits and sorcery.” (4 p.49) Also church activity was one of the ways people, who lived apart from the “‘envious’ gossip of neighbors and ‘kin,’ interacted with others in their clean clothes. [6 pg. 139]

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

Inspirational priests (4 p.43) were conduits for the atua (gods), also cured curses caused by the atua (4 p.42) “While tau’a [inspirational priests] communicated directly with the world of spirits, the class of priests known as tuhuna ota ogo conducted the formal rituals for appeasing the gods through prayers and offerings.” (4 p.45)

6.2 Stimulants:

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

- Birth: A taboo house is constructed and the pregnant woman is put inside. Depending on wealth an inspirational priest was hired to recite incantations. Concerning presence of men in the taboo house “Should such relations be of the taboo class, they would first render themselves common...after which they would prostrate themselves beneath the sheet covering the women [mother and midwife]. The purpose was to allow the expectant mother to sit upon their heads during parturition” (4 p.71). The husband celebrated by roasting a pig only he could eat. Until the umbilical cord fell off no one could enter or leave the house. After the cord fell off there was a second feast, this time with friends present.

- Puberty: “The genital treatments practiced by Marquesans—including supercision and the use of vaginal astringents—are seen as promoting cleanliness...Beyond normal cleaning, male treatment is limited to supercision, while female care is repeated, often from early in life.” [6 pg. 167] At the age of 8 boys had the rite of supercision, though this was not accompanied by celebrations (4 p.74). Supercision may be done solitary or by group. Usually healing process consists of exposure to heat and seawater [6 pg. 168]. There were, however, celebrations when puberty was reached and the boy could become tattooed. Though these celebrations correlated more with the fact that he was eligible to be tattooed than his entry to manhood. (4 p.74) Great emphasis was placed on sexuality in Marquesan society, both in religious and secular places. “Public sexual play was an important part of many ceremonies,” especially those concerning the fertility of the land [4].

- Death: The corpse is washed and placed on a bier. Women then assembled for ritualized weeping and cutting themselves. After this *tuhuna ota ogo* priests began their special incantations. During this a feast is held. Family members would periodically rub preserving ointment on the corpse until 12 months after the fact. At this time a second feast was held. The remaining bones were put into the *me’ae* [ceremonial/burial house]. (4 p.85)

6.4 Other rituals

“Protestant godmothers are usually kin to the child by consanguinity” [6 pg. 69].

6.5 Myths (Creation):

“[Crook] reported that the natives believed the island of their archipelago had been raised by the exertions of an *atua*, or god, beneath them” (4 p.38) “Babies are conceived through the action of God, a man and a woman. Copulation is necessary but not sufficient for conception; divine power must intervene” [6 pg. 127].

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

“There were kites..., tops..., balls...to juggle in the air, and a... cup and ball game” (4 p.61) “Prior to that date [1813], the only instruments stated to exist were drums and trumpets. “Marquesan dance troupes show the possible forms of bodily display that may be culturally vaporized. Troupes are organized with reference to life stages, as kids’ troupes, *taure’are’a* troupes, and *raka* troupes of young adults. All troupes perform the same types of Tahitian dancing, but with great differences in style.” [6 pg. 157]

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

“Few in number, and including both males and females, *tau’a* [inspirational priests] were said to have obtained their power through inheritance.”

6.8 Missionary effect:

Beginning of church affiliation on Marquesas islands is not well-known. First Catholic missionaries had only few converts and baptisms were few until 1863-64 [6 pg. 70]. Hawaiian Protestant pastor came in 1864 [6 pg. 70]. After French Annexation in 1842 most traditional religious practices were banned.

6.9 RCR revival

“...religious practice is decreasingly a matter of obligatory action sanctioned by pastoral admonition and excommunication...In mixed unions, children are now affiliated to either church, often by alternations” [6 pg. 70-71].

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

All deceased people become ‘gods’. (4 p.38) “God is in heaven” [6 pg. 72].

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

No. Rather many people say they give the name of deceased person so that it ‘will live again.’ [6 pg. 162]

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

All ancestors become gods (4 p.38). Some priests have incredible powers (4 p.41). General belief in curses/sorcery/magic (4 p.41, 49-50)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

7.2 Piercings:

“Although pierced ear lobes were common among men and women, the holes being no larger than about one-eighth of an inch, they were only occasionally used to affix ornaments to the ear.” (4 p.18)

7.3 Haircut:

“A common hairstyle among the men was to shave most of the head except for one long lock on either side.” Hair oil was also common among women. (4p.10)

7.4 Scarification:

Extensive full-body tattooing (2)

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

A well-known image favored by many of Marquesas artisans is Tiki who is recognized as the creator of human race. This image is often carved in clubs, bowls, dishes, canoe paddles and various objects of personal adornment [4]. Tiki has large round eyes, protruding stomach, flat nose, and elliptical mouth [4]. Most of the time, the part of Tiki figure is found on the adornment rather than the complete figure of Tiki [4].

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

During healing time after supercision for boys, they usually wear pareu cloth which is usually worn by women as skirts. [6 pg. 168]

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

“While women refrained from massive tattoo displays, the ideal for a male seems to have been full tattoo coverage of the body from head to foot.” (4 p.12)

7.8 Missionary effect:

After 1838, most aspects of the ‘old religion’ were banned by European invaders.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

During important ceremonial occasions, the animosity was put aside between hostile groups, and all were invited to attend the ceremony. “Traveling craftsmen such as tattooers and canoe builders...were all free to travel unmolested throughout the land” and they were essential in maintaining cultural homogeneity [4].

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

“‘Families’ are recognized entities, but rarely operative ones”[6].

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.)

“Bilateral ties of ‘kinship’ link most members of each valley community,” but these ties are by little group activity [6]. Local communities have almost no formal organization [6]. “‘Kin’ are ‘one blood’” [6 pg. 159]

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- Body hair below the neck was regarded as distasteful, and was removed either by plucking or singeing. (4 p.12)
- Traditional tribal battles did not always result in war. In one example two opposing sides threw rocks at each other from a distance, traded prisoners, then proceeded to have a party. (4 p.121)

After the rite of supercision, it was considered improper to reveal the glans penis in public, even while swimming. On such occasions the foreskin would be tied with bark cloth. (4 p.73)

- Adoption also occurred. When an unmarried woman was pregnant, and an older couple wanted the child. They would send an unmarried son to sleep with her. The child was then regarded as his and adopted into the household. (4 p. 79)
- People of Marquesas played competitive sports such as football and sometimes volleyball [6 pg. 67]. Marquesans believe they live in the “bright world,” and “night” is inhabited by a variety of spirits [6 pg. 72]. Boys and men hunt and go cockfighting on the upland of village areas [6 pg. 73]. When the twins are born, the second-born is thought to be the elder for being further inside the mother [6 pg. 128]. “Marquesans do not speak of a wisdom or cunning that contrasts” with the people’s physical disabilities, “but simply of accomplishment...clubfooted kid who can run with the speed and agility of his agemates is not mocked, although his running style is unusual.” [6 pg. 158]

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