The Ka ihi uiga Rongorongo

by

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The pre-European hieroglyphic *rongorongo* script of South Pacific Easter Island is substantially un-deciphered. As co-author of a previous paper I reviewed translation models--syllabaries, phonetic aids, mnemonic aids or astronomical guides. Amongst available methods, the semiotic/logographic system afforded greatest utility for glyph decipherment. This archetype proposes many *rongorongo* glyphs to be based upon 'iconic signs'—amenable to universal interpretation. I have collaboratively developed, with this model, a sampler's compilation of translation from the *rongorongo Marami* tablet namely The Affirmations of Vakai (folklore) and the well-known Lunar Calendar. This paper completes the anthology with translation of the Ka *ihi uiga* lament—traditionally linked to the *Echancree rongorongo* tablet. Decipherment is feasible because of glyphic similarities between the *Echancree* and *Marami* tablets. Of tangential interest is the chronicle of events by which *Ka ihi uiga* has become associated with the *rongorongo* corpus.

Introduction

At 109° 26' W; 27° 09' S, the remote South Pacific Island of *Rapa Nui* (Easter Island) is 2,500 km from its nearest inhabited neighbours (Pitcairn Island and Juan Fernandez Archipelago of Chile). Between 500 and 1000 AD, Polynesians settled Easter Island. In isolation, they built a successful civilization, remembered for its giant *Maoi* statues (carved igneous-stone monoliths) (Diamond 2005: 79) and its *rongorongo* (hieroglyphic writing system).

Constrained by just 175 square km landmass the Pasquans were fated to wrestle with overpopulation and consequent internecine warfare. Successive European explorers from (Roggeveen 1722) through to Cook (1774) documented this strife—evidenced by the toppling of the *Maoi*. 'Blackbirder' (slave) raids in the 1800s and an ensuing smallpox epidemic brought about complete societal collapse. By the 1860s death and emigration reduced the population of *Rapa Nui* from several thousand to less than 200. From the 1840s onward, missionaries to Easter Island had become intercessors and sources of stability within the devastated society. The cultural cost was high as 'Western' values displaced indigenous ways. Supplanted by the Latin alphabet, the *rongorongo* script was forgotten with the passing of the last Pasquan scribe, Vike, in 1866 (Fischer 1997: 9).

Formally annexed by Chile in 1888, modem day *Rapa Nui* boasts an airport and welcomes tens of thousands of tourists per year. There are a few thousand permanent inhabitants on the island and approximately 70 percent are descendents of the indigenous population (Samagalski 1990: 210-216).

The Rongorongo Script

Rongorongo is possibly a derivative of the term Kohau-Rongo-Rongo "talking wood" (Tumarkin, Fedorova 1990: 110) and indeed, samples of the script are found exclusively upon wooden tablets or sculptures. According to lore, the inscriptions were engraved using a shark tooth or obsidian flake. Early European explorers were either unaware or unimpressed by the indigenous writing. Then, in 1864, missionary Eugene Eyraud noticed script covered tablets in the dwellings of many islanders (Gerard 1992: 166). In the late 1860s, visiting Father Gaspard Zumbohm received a souvenir containing a rongorongo board. His colleague, Tepano Jaussen, drew international

attention to the newfound script and attempted to decipher the neatly inscribed, hieroglyphics of men, fish, birds, astronomical signs and geometric symbols. (Tumarkin, Fedorova 1990: 110,115).

Twenty-six *rongorongo* artifacts are known—catalogued both by the letters of the alphabet and 'common names' typically associated with traditional use or current location. Suffixes '*recto* (r)' and '*verso* (v)' respectively identify front and back faces of each tablet. The total corpus comprises approximately 14,800 glyphs. Prominent researcher Thomas Barthel suspected a core 'alphabet' of approximately 120 unique symbols—agglutinated or infixed to produce upwards of 1,500 to 2,000 ideographs (Fisher 1997: 234). A peculiarity of *rongorongo* is that it is boustrophedon (Greek for 'ox turning') and so, reading must advance left to right to the end of each line and then double back (right to left). Apparent in Figure 1, alternate lines are inscribed upside down such that the tablet must be inverted each time a line is completed in order to properly orient the next line (Gerard 1992: 167).

Whether on account of its beauty of craftsmanship, its Polynesian flavor or its similarity to comic strip illustration (Mizon 1997: 1) there continues to be a high degree of interest in *rongorongo*. It is possible to obtain computer font sets for the script and these are of value for both recreational and research purposes.



Figure 1: The *Echancree Rongorongo* Tablet (*Verso*)

Reading begins bottom left. (From Wikipedia Commons – Courtesy Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary – Rome)

The History of Ka ihi uiga

In 1886, William Thomson, an American visitor to *Rapa Nui*, teamed with Tahitian businessman Andrew Salmon to locate Ure Va'e iko. Nga'ara—a patriarch among *rongorongo* men—had employed Ure Va'e iko as a servant and in this capacity the latter had committed some of the old *rongorongo* chants to memory (Routledge 1917: 248). Greatly reluctant was Ure Va'e iko to violate the *tabu* (taboo) against disclosure of *rongorongo* to foreigners and he hid from Thomson and Salmon "[in] the hills" (Thomson 1891: 514-5). One evening, a severe weather event forced him back to the shelter of his house and there the men found him. They plied the Pasquan with alcohol and persuaded him to read from photographs of the *rongorongo* boards—thereby circumventing the *tabu* against chanting to foreigners directly 'from the wood.' With respect to what subsequently transpired, I quote Thomson (1891: 515) directly:

".. The photographs were recognized immediately, and the appropriate legend related with fluency and without hesitation from beginning to end. The story of all the tablets of which we had knowledge was finally obtained, the words of the native being written down by Mr. Salmon as they were uttered, and afterwards translated into English."

Ure Va'e iko did not actually read the tablets and this soon became evident to Salmon and Thomson. They substituted photographs at intervals during which the Pasquan was distracted--yet his cadence continued unperturbed. From the tablets they copied glyphs; but he could not define these. When confronted with this evidence, Ure Va'e iko explained that (according to Thomson) the "significance of the symbols had been forgotten, but, the tablets were recognized by unmistakable features and the interpretation of them was beyond question." (Thomson 1891: 516). Later, Thomson showed the same *rongorongo* photographs to Kaitae (another elderly Pasquan and possible relative of Maurata--last king of *Rapa Nui*). Kaitae "recognized several of the tablets from the photographs and related the same story exactly as that given previously by Ure Va'e iko" (Thomson 1891: 516). To re-state the proposition of Thomson, tablet physical characteristics or certain key semiotic glyphs 'signposts' were apparently sufficient to evoke memories of the original chants. This is a reasonable hypothesis; it is a fact that a person might recollect songs or musical scores upon the prompting of just a few notes or verses.

Table 1: The Decipherments of Ure Va'e iko-- Presented by Thomson (1891)

Pasquan Folk Story	Rongorongo Tablet	Tablet Designation	Traditional Theme of Tablet
Atua Mata-Riri		R	Creation Chant
Apai	Keiti	E	Folk Story
Eaha to ran ariiki kete	Great Washington	S	Thanks-giving song
Ka ihi uiga	Echancree	D	Lament
Ate-a-renga-hokau iti poheraa	Marami	С	Love Song

Altogether Thomson worked with photographs of five tablets and he matched them to the *Rapa Nui* legends listed in Table 1. Twenty-five years later, another *Rapa Nui* visitor, Kathrine Routledge,

sought to corroborate the work of Thomson—again by interviewing elderly indigenous Pasquans. Her informants were acquainted only with the Atua Mata-Riri and the love song. However, they considered the latter offering to be of popular genre and doubted that it had ever been committed to *rongorongo*.

There is well-founded skepticism regarding the veracity of the translations of Ure Va'e iko (Facchetti 2003: 222). To date, epigraphers have been unable to develop successful mechanisms for relating *rongorongo* glyph sequences to his folklore identifications. Fisher (1995: 311-12) has presented a limited interpretation of the *Atua Mata-Riri* chant but it is in association with the Santiago Staff (Item I) and not Tablet R. Bettocchi (2004) has matched a few glyph 'snippets' of Tablet R to the chants of Ure Va'e iko. Her translations (at odds with those of Fischer) lead one to believe that Va'e iko had simply been describing glyphs by their pictorial likenesses. To that end, the Pasquan transcriptions of Ure Va'e iko are not credible (Thomson 1891: 525). For example, the raw Pasquan version of *Ka ihi uiga* reads as though it were a taunt directed by Ure Va'e iko toward his foreign inquisitors. Though Thomson's final English interpretations of Ure Va'e iko are *prima facie* plausible, the conclusion is inescapable that these translations only attained publishable form after considerable revision by Thomson, Salmon, Ure Va'e iko, Kaitae et al.

Notwithstanding stormy nights, alcohol lubricated readings, taunts, editing and 'translation losses', there remains the extraordinary possibility that Thomson's group did obtain a correct English interpretation of the *Echancree* tablet. By following the semiotic-logographic model, which I have endorsed in previous work it is possible to match *Ka ihi uiga* with a glyph sequence that covers almost the entirety of the '*verso*' of *Echancree*. Previously presented translations of both the *Marami* tablet and Jaussen's List (Guy 1990: 135-149), (Chauvet 1935: Fig. 173-6), (Berthin et al. 2006: 85-98), (Berthin et al. 2005: 1-28) afford bases for decipherment of *Echancree*. The vocabularies are of such similarity that only six of the 114 legible glyphs upon the *Echancree verso* are different from those that populate the translated anthology and calendar of the *Marami* tablet. Such similarity of lexicon begs the conjecture that both tablets may have derived from a common 'school' (Fischer 1997: 553)¹.

It is appropriate to present Thomson's rendition of *Ka ihi uiga* and it is as follows (Thomson 1891: 525):

```
iThe sail of my daughter, never broken by the force of foreign clans.
iiThe sail of my daughter, unbroken by the conspiracy of Honiti.
iiiEver victorious in all her fights.
ivShe could not be enticed to drink poison waters in the cup of obsidian glass.
vCan my sorrow ever be appeased while we are divided by mighty seas?
Oh my daughter, oh my daughter!
vil is a vast and watery road over which I look toward the horizon.
My daughter, oh my daughter!
vil I swim over the deep to meet you.
My daughter, oh my daughter!
```

Table 2: Icon, Rebus and Progressive Forms in the Rongorongo Script			
00 00 00	Glyph Direction: Sign orientations carry logical connotation but exceptions exist. In general, left-facing is past-related, right-facing denotes present/future. Upward facing is 'good' downward facing is 'bad'. Far left: Two Lunar Crescents—horns point left on a 'done moon' (event); horns point right upon a presently occurring (calendar) moon (non-past). Centre Left: Fish down denotes weakening or demise; Fish up denotes engorgement. Near Left – an exception: Opposed Lands.		
<u> </u>	Glyph Agglutination: Glyphs combine to form compounds. 'Cutting ₆ ' and 'deeds ₄ ' yield the agglutinate: 'Deeds of cutting _{4.6} ' (in reference to a rebellion plot).		
CEP P K	Synecdoche Forms: 'Functional' parts of a detailed glyph are used as shorthand expressions of the full glyph. The anthropoid's open hand—short form for 'deed', or 'work' (Krupa 1972: 21) combines with the downward directed fish tail (short form for 'weaken') to form a new compound 'deed of demise' (near left). Thomson's translation is 'poisoning' and the fishtail synecdoche does resemble a cup.		
J. F. F.	Animations (Progressions): Glyphs groups 'enact' a concept. From <i>Ka ihi uiga</i> : "Make way for the frightened Pasquan? Here, here, the Pasquan arrives." (doubled glyph?) Possible Meaning: The fearful man regains composure.		
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	Visual Language: Far left, English visual language 'BiLL' shaped as bird bill. Centre left, <i>rongorongo</i> symbols: Wave: peril. C-shape: begin, bent land, null valued connector. Horizontal fish tail: lateral movement. Near left: 'Begin a perilous lateral movement'— <i>rongorongo</i> particles arranged in the shape of a voyaging canoe.		
6 53y 6 Motif	Motifs: Rongorongo bases are stylized to mimic the forms of well-known glyphs. Left, Barthel 53y in the 'Motif' of Barthel 6. Possibly, the motif sets the theme and the component glyph(s) elaborate upon it.		
	Rebus Forms: – A common noun glyph is a homophone of an abstract concept and substitutes for the intangible form. Far left, the concepts of squatting and unfurling (beginning) 'tuku' are homophones. Near left, 'hu'a rangi' (hatted-sky) is a possible rebus for 'haurangi' – harangue.		
MEN MEN	Metonym 'Icon' Forms: A glyph serves as a proxy for a concept (such as a rabbit to illustrate the concept of speed). In Polynesian mythology, Tane—represented by a stylized birdsupported the heavens (Krupa 1973: 115). His rongorongo function apparently associates to passage of day and night. Far left, two postures of Tane from the <i>Marami</i> Lunar Calendar (Barthel 670). Near left, an agglutinate of Tane glyphs (Barthel 680), presumably denoting the concept of 'always' or 'for all time'.		

Semiotics—-A Template for Rongorongo

Ancillary to a proposed identification of Pasquan folklore upon the *Marami* tablet, Berthin et al. (2005: 18) noted upwards of 80% semiotic derivative among those *rongorongo* hieroglyphics, for which they had proposed a translation. The glyph value seemed to derive logically from the glyph image in a goodly number of circumstances. An observation of this sort renders two epigraphic services. First, if glyphs emulate icons of semiotic derivative, then in certain cases, their interpretation ought to be feasible with some measure of universality. Comprehension becomes achievable on a cross-cultural, or cross-linguistic basis (Sebeok 1999: 387) and it is not limited exclusively to persons fluent in classical Pasquan². Second, developed methods of semiotic analysis become directly applicable to the modeling of *rongorongo*. Indeed, primitive symbols, such as certain *rongorongo* astronomical or anatomical glyphs, are even considered superior to Latin script for development of novel information processing schema such as Artificial Intelligence (Rastier 1998: 313). In other words, the theoretical principles used for development of 'universal' icons (such as those of a computer 'desk top') may well be analogous to the principles available for decipherment of primitive glyphs. Table 2 summarizes the semiotic aspects of *rongorongo*.

On account of their apparent importance within the *rongorongo* vocabulary, it is appropriate to underscore from the Table 2 compilations, two major classes of script extenders—rebuses and metonyms. Those pictographic *rongorongo* noun forms that are homophones of abstract ideas may be substituted as 'rebus' glyphs for phonetically equivalent but less tangible concepts. To suggest an English-language comparison, a picture of a resilient coil (spring) might also be used to describe a small body of fresh water (spring), or a season of new flora and lengthening days (Spring). Metonymic (associational) glyphs—such as the connection of the waning moon *mahina* to the concept of a fully developed narrative--may be relevant only within narrow regional, cultural or folkloric contexts³. To be useful for translation then, icon based models of *rongorongo* must be sensitive to both rebuses and culturally specific metonymic glyph genera. In this paper, I strive to invoke each of these concessions wherever required by the context of the subject narrative.

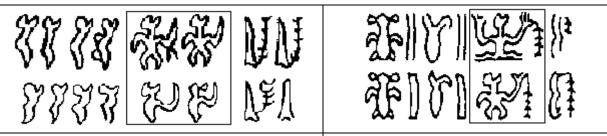
Rongorongo Translation of Echancree

I have co-authored a glossary of symbols to support decipherments upon the rongorongo Marami Tablet (Berthin & Berthin 2005: 1-28). The lexical values derived from that tome, if inserted into the subject Ka ihi uiga glyph sequence, do generate a competent translation. This process is illustrated by Table 3. There, defined values are presented beneath rongorongo inscriptions from Echancree verso. Definitions are linked in prose form--an extension that demands the occasional insertion of articles or prepositions. Noun-adjective pairings are typically reversed on account of differences between Pasquan and English grammars. Glyphs are displayed according to their traditional order of reading. Typically, two rows of my table space are required to illustrate one row of Echancree glyphs. Tablet line endings are identified, in Table 3, by the vertical word Wherever possible, summary statements are included to match my translation to "LINE". Thomson's classic interpretation of Ka ihi uiga. Table 5 enumerates the lexicon of glyphs, which comprise the subject text. To best match Barthel catalogue choices to those glyph morphologies (apparent upon the photograph of the board in Figure 1), I occasionally deviate from the generally accepted glyph-numbering scheme for the tablet. In particular, I choose Barthel 10 for the concept of smallness (or, perhaps, origin) and the morphologically similar (but acute tipped) Barthel 4 to denote the concept of cutting/division. Within the subject text there are numerous doubled glyphs. In Polynesian languages, re-duplication often denotes plural or emphatic form (Chang 1980: 580581). The glyph identification numbers presented in this report are referenced exclusively to the Barthel catalogue.

Worn Tablet Sections

The worn condition of the *Echancree* tablet (Figure 1) is noteworthy because portions of the bottom of the first stanza are obscured. Despite such occlusions the initial line remains amenable to interpretive conjecture. Within this text, it is possible to identify several partial, near-complete, or morphologically conspicuous characters. In other situations, functional portions of glyphs (verbs and subjects) are sufficiently visible to facilitate plausible translation. The missing inferior domains of these characters seem to be focused upon grammatical, adjectival or adverbial qualification. Assuming that the lower glyph echelons present elements of linguistic redundancy rather than linguistic novelty (entropy), then one may offer generalized translation even where information from an occasional underside is neither legible nor derivable through assessment of the upper region of the character. To justify such conjecture it is fruitful to review parallel texts, which have been found upon other *rongorongo* boards. There, it is possible to remark apparently synonymous glyphs for which the membrum inferii are conspicuously dissimilar. The near duplicate inscriptions upon the tablets Great Santiago, Great Saint Petersburg, Small Santiago and Tahua, present such dichotomies and Figure 2 demonstrates them. Written languages usually contain approximately 30% redundancy (Welsh 1988: 101). If the rongorongo script is typical in this regard, then a significant percentage of glyphs or appendages may be removed without complete loss of comprehension. Perhaps the verso bottom line of the Echancree tablet is one of those 'inferior planes' of *rongorongo* that appears to be, per Figure 2, a domain of informational redundancy.

Figure 2
Hominoid Glyph Variation in Parallel *Rongorongo* Texts

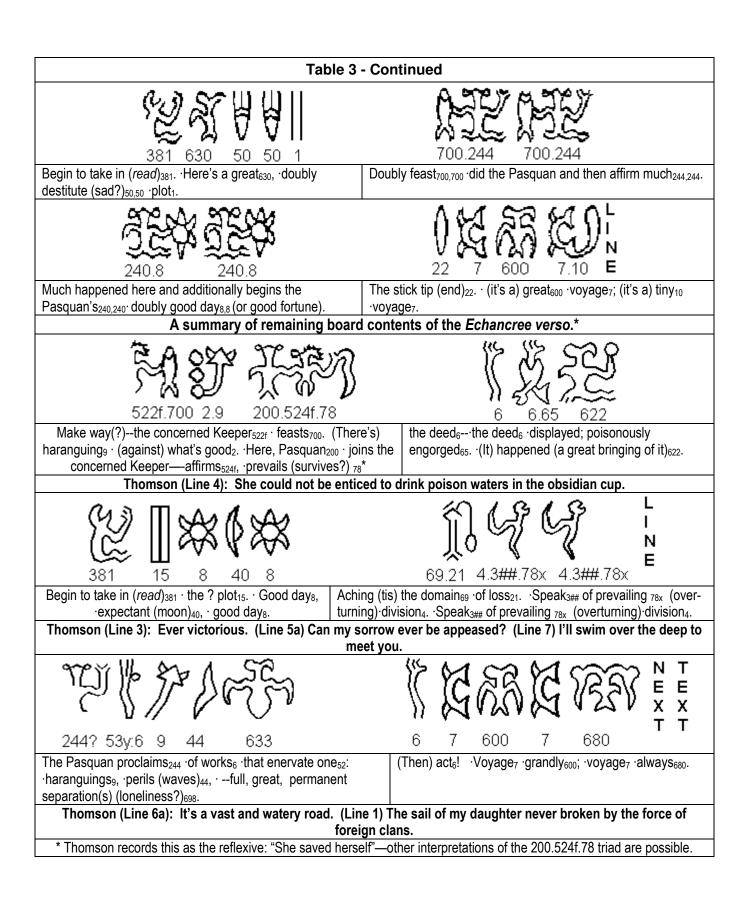


Parallel Glyph Sequences upon the Small St.
Petersburg Tablet (top) and Tahua Tablet (bottom).
The 'short form' Tahua hominoids (within the box, at bottom position) lack membrum inferious—unlike the St. Petersburg anthropoids above them. Yet, both sequences are (presumably) near-equivalent rongorongo communications.

Parallel Glyph Sequences upon the Great St.
Petersburg Tablet (top) and Great Santiago
Tablet (bottom). The two hominoid glyphs
(inside the block) again show conspicuous
modification to membrum inferious. But, once
more, the two passages are suspected to be of
near identical narrative content.

Some illegible glyphs, which are associated with mid-board sequences, are not amenable to resolution. Especially as regards the Echancree series, which seemingly corresponds to Thomson's traditional "Rebellion of Honiti", one is left wanting from the description, the information as to exactly by whom or by what means the rebellion is neutralized. Some Pasquan chipped this priceless detail out of one key character—perhaps over the course of a fishing expedition. (Fischer (1997: 421) reports that the *Echancree* tablet may have been used as a fishing reel during its last days upon Rapa Nui).

Table 3: Rongorongo Translation of Ka ihi uiga 246		
Take in (read), begin to develops:1. The illustrious matter:2. Take in (read), begin to develops:1. The fillustrious matter:2. Take in (read), begin to develops:1. The condemnable; plot, and an intercation in the fights. Take in (read), begin to speak of condemnable; plot, and an intercation in the fights. Take in (read), begin to speak of condemnable; plot, and an intercation in the fights. Take in (read), begin to speak of condemnable; plot, and an intercation in the fights. Take in (read), begin to speak of condemnable; plot, and an intercation in the fights. Take in (read), begin to speak of condemnable; plot, and an intercation in the fights. Take in (read), begin to speak of condemnable; plot, and a	Table 3: Rongorongo	Translation of <i>Ka ihi uiga</i>
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works ₂₄₅ * the plots, and here then the Pasquan ₂₀₀ -weakens ₂₂ . The two plots will be divided. Narrate carefully. The two plots will be divided. Narrate carefully. The efforts ₂ the illustrious matter ₂ . Both (all?) presentations will be good ones. Always read the rongorongo board carefully. Reports deeds ₂₅₀ , · Lands oppose ₂₅₀ , · Reports the deeds ₂₅₀ , · (of) the haranguers ₃ . Acts of great strength ₂₀₅₅ . Deeds ₃₅₀ , · Condemnation (reprobation) ₂₆₃ . Acts of great strength ₂₀₅₅ . Deeds ₃₅₀ , · Condemnation (reprobation) ₂₆₃ . Begin to speak of condemnation (reprobation) ₂₆₃ . Begin to speak of condemnations ₃₅₀ (of) the disturbance a against the land ₁₁ . (It's Now) obscured ₁₁ . An illustrious matter ₂ . (An) plan to put aside, to the reprobation against the land ₁₄ . (It's Now) obscured ₁₁ .	246 1 240.052 371 371	4.346.41 41 342 ?
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The effort ₆₆ —the illustrious matter ₂ . Both (all?) presentations will be good ones. Always read the rongorongo board carefully. 90 25.4 9.6.3 6.06s.3 8.1.6.3 77.58.3 95f.95f shall start the haranguers' deeds ₉₆₀ . Lands oppose ₂₅ , '(divide) ₄ . Report ₃ the deeds ₆ , '(of) the haranguers ₆ . **Report ₃ the deeds ₆ , Report ₃ the tortuous ploty—time of looting ₉₆ ? Many shaking little ones show up _{967.99f} . **Acts of great strength _{966s} . Deeds ₆ '(for) engorging ₇₃ (Hungrys _{97.99f} . Wany shaking little ones show up _{967.99f} . **The condemnable ₆₃ plot ₁ . The condemnable	I ne two plots will be div	rided. Narrate carefully.
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Echancree Narrative Structure

Scholars have noted linguistic structure in *rongorongo* (Krupa 1971: 8-9), (Guy, 1982: 445-447), (Fischer 1995: 311-312). Evidence for regularity of verse is manifest within the narratives presented upon the *Echancree verso*. The technical pattern seeker is sorely impoverished vis-à-vis the epigrapher insofar as the tablet appears to enhance its informational redundancy by offering semblances of written introductions, which summarize the subsequent storylines (see Figure 3). I base my structural analysis upon such information--gratuitously presented by the *rongorongo*.

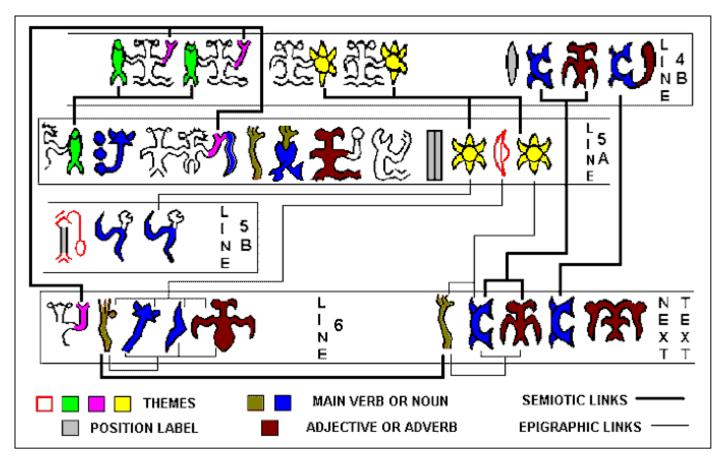
The first line of *Echancree* intimates of passage through two 'past moons' (presumably, narratives). The line apparently concludes with an exhortation to chant (read) carefully. The first 'past moon'—possibly identifying a theme that is similar to Thomson's "Force of Foreign Clans" covers the entirety of line two. The second story—which is of apparent similarity to Thomson's "Rebellion of Honiti"--spans the entirety of line three. Line four offers a summary of lines five and six—foretelling of a ruinous feast, followed by affirmations (open-palm Barthel XY4 glyph) and good days (sun glyphs). It further forecasts (for the end of the tablet) a great voyage followed by a diminutive voyage. Fortuitously the author selected few synonyms. Therefore, semiotic connections spanning lines four through six are *prima facie* discernible. In Figure 3 I delineate several semiotic and epigraphic sign-to-sign linkages upon text drawn from *Echancree* verso.

Line five presents an account of contention at a feast—perhaps associable to Thomson's "Poison Cup⁴." The line concludes by forecasting a trio of plots--literally represented by sunshine, expectant moon and sunshine. One may conjecture that the "expectant moon" is an old *Rapa Nui* idiom to describe a spoiler⁵. This proposal derives from the presence of the bulging crescent between two sun-glyphs--a triad that seems to presage the final contents of the tablet *verso* (line six). The first sun glyph antecedes the noble resolve of the protagonist to *hurihuri* (overturn) the heartache of division (end of line five). The middle bulging crescent associates to the debilitation of arguments, tragedies and loneliness (beginning of line six). The last sun glyph symbolizes reconciliation—achieved (mid line six) through focused, continued, positive efforts (voyage emblem). And Figure 3 graphically illustrates these epigraphic linkages. Note especially the parallelism of line 6. The quartet consisting of the 'weak' hand glyph (Barthel 53y:6) plus foundering arguments and loneliness glyphs (wave, *hau rangi*-form and open winged bird) is juxtaposed against a following triad--a strong hand glyph (Barthel 6) plus ensuing canoe and standard form 'great bird' glyph (exemplifying the resolve of directed action).

Completing the structural symmetry of the *rongorongo*, the five-glyph resolution of the *Ka ihi uiga* text conspicuously re-iterates the canoe/bird glyph pairing (the great journey) that was first introduced upon line four (see Figure 3). Likewise, the 'inconsequential voyage' foretold by the second-place canoe glyph of line four could be semiotically associated with the second (final) canoe glyph upon line six. Unfortunately those adjectives, which modify each of the second-place canoe-glyphs, are near antonyms of each other—"diminutive" as the qualifier of the line four canoe and "ever" as the enhancer upon line six. Whether the dissonance between the modifiers is the result of translation error or dramatic understatement--that matter that will only be resolved with the development of fluency in *rongorongo*. Literary device could easily account for the observed disparity between expressions. Sometimes the longest journeys are those that lead to the resolution of conflicts within the tight confines of the nuclear family.

Figure 3: Evidence for Narrative Re-statement upon the *Echancree Rongorongo* Tablet

Themes upon the Echancree verso are introduced upon earlier lines and developed later in the passage. In this particular text, the orderly, structured linkage that is hallmark of classical rongorongo, serves to segment the text and facilitate inference regarding the basic grammar of the hieroglyphics.



Echancree Epigraphic Notes

Critical epigraphic reviewers may assert that the classification of lines one and four as "Notes to the Cantor" represents an unsubstantiated taxonomy. In fact there is site-specific glyphic modification to support this conjecture. Peculiar to rows one and four, the introductory sequence of the passage contains a single or re-duplicated hominoid glyph having hand placed toward gaping mouth as though eating. Krupa (1972:21) re-iterates Barthel and endorses a definition of 'eat' (take in) or 'read' for this anthropoid form. A hominoid of such posture "takes in" (or reflects upon) the *rongorongo* concepts that follow. Elsewhere in the sequence, the gaping mouth appears in unaugmented form. In that latter form, the representation is consistent with pictorial display of the act of speaking out (see Table 4)⁶.

Most scribed lines of the *Echancree verso* begin new paragraphs (or, at least, the *rongorongo* equivalents thereof). Upon this particular artifact then, the board author conscripted the confines of his tablet as punctuation devices. The application of such a constraint affords some guidance in the interpretation of glyphic text. Each new line shows itself to be more or less independent of the preceding narrative.

Echancree-Ka ihi uiga Text Analysis

Table 3 demonstrates good thematic correlation between Thomson's texts of *Ka ihi uiga* and the *rongorongo* sequence of *Echancree* (*verso*). In particular, the connection between the semiotic glyphs upon the *Echancree* tablet and the keywords of Thomson's *Ka ihi uiga* is remarkable. Apparent glyphic depictions of war spears (Barthel 9), rebellions (Barthel 4.6 and 4.95f), poison cups (Barthel 6:65), swimmers (Barthel 4.3##.78x pair) and waves (Barthel 40) affirm the extent to which *rongorongo* is amenable to 'base-level' semiotic interpretation. Yet this technique, in isolation, is insufficient to attain a translation of the standard of Thomson's *Ka ihi uiga*. For example, <u>none</u> of the Table 3 logographs associated with melancholia or deprivation (69.21, 633 plus the glyph 50 duo) are semiotic. The two "take in" glyphs (Barthel 371) at the start of line one definitely have pictorial resemblance to lamenting women; these may have inspired the exhortation "My daughter, my daughter." Beyond such deceivers, however, there are no further semasiographs to convince 'picture readers' that *Ka ihi uiga* ought to be interpreted as a lament.

If Thomson had transcribed *Ka ihi uiga* so as to approximate the writings upon *Echancree verso* then his written stanzas ought to have unfolded more or less as follows:

```
These are the illustrious texts—a tale of strength; a tale of weakness--read carefully. ibNever broken by the force of foreign clans; iiiEver victorious in all her fights--My daughter! iThe sail of my daughter, unbroken by the conspiracy of Honiti. Ruinous feasting is followed by happiness: At the end, a big passage, then a tiny one. ivO My daughter, who could not be enticed to drink poison waters in the obsidian cup: v Can my sorrow ever be appeased while we are divided? viil'll swim over the deep to meet you. vilt's a vast and watery road. iaThe sail of my daughter--never broken.
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The preceding is a scrambling of Thomson's documented contribution. It matches his publication only when the stanzas are re-arranged so that the introductory subscripts number consecutively from smallest to greatest. Such disarrangement of *Ka ihi uiga* by the American Paymaster affirms the conclusion that he published but a memorized version of a known folklore rather than a glyphic translation of the tablet. On the other hand, the thematic similarity between accounts is more than adequate to support the contention that Thomson's lore was truly—albeit circuitously--derivative of a bona fide ode of old *Rapa Nui* and probable subject of the *rongorongo* upon *Echancree verso*. The literary devices and poignant poetry of *Ka ihi uiga* are also sufficient to affirm the legitimacy of the work. Juxtaposing as it does, the despair of separation with the eternal hope of reunion, *Ka ihi uiga* showcases a theme that is timeless and culturally universal. It is oft presented as a 'poster child' in *rongorongo* articles (Mizon 1997: 1) and deservedly so. Ultimately, the crafting of *Ka ihi uiga* is frontispiece testimony to its authenticity and principal repudiation to conjecture that the lament was an impromptu fabrication.

Table 4: Once Upon a TimeGlossary of Possible Rongorongo Storytelling Synonyms

Glyph	Translation	Glyph	Translation
7	Rongo – The Message (The Report)	\triangleright	Mahina - Past moon (The Happening)
***	Rongorongo – The Long Narrative	***	Ra'a - Sunshine (The good Day, The inspiration)
	Henua – The Plot	(Hotu - Expectant Moon (The Spoiler)
(1) (1)	Kai -Take in, Read (The Meditation)	m	Ohoga (Rei)-The Passage, the walk off
T T	Ma ahu – The Recitation, The Indictment, The Promulgation, The Affirmation	X	Vai –The Libation (The Outpouring, the water)
(?)	Vanaga – The Speech	Œ	Haga i te mea ke - The Dormant Affair (The Legend)
(3 4)	Taketake – The Dispute, The Debate	0	Te inoino – The Past Record (Heritage).

The Synonyms for the Narrative Form in Rongorongo

Augustly one may appraise the highly developed *rongorongo* synonym inventory that relates to the function of storytelling. Drawing reference from both the included *Ka ihi uiga* transcription and the analysis of the Hotu Matu'a anthology upon the *Marami* tablet (Berthin & Berthin 2005: 12-15) I count no fewer than fourteen devices that intimate—either directly or figuratively--of the act of narration. Table 4 enumerates these expressions. Given the parsimoniousness of our forays into the realm of *rongorongo* literature there is no doubt that this inventory of synonyms shall increase as further translations develop. Some scholars (Fischer 1997: 6-7) conjecture that the life of the *rongorongo* script was less than one hundred years. If this is true then the pace of literary development must be reckoned to have been amazing. Technocrats often look condescendingly upon Neolithic societies in regards to their apparently languid pace of development. In stark contrast to such stereotyping, the Pasquans may well have moved from societal illiteracy to fourteen-synonym written eloquence in less than a single century. *They were scarcely slow of wit*.

Rongorongo the Evolving Script – Roles of Rebuses, Metonyms and Phonetic Aids

There remain different theories regarding the fundamental workings of *rongorongo*. Historically, efforts to understand the script have been impeded by inaccurate decipherments. In consideration of the utility of the work of scholars such as Guy (1990: 147), the case in favour of semiotic-logographic translation is both sound and rational. Most written scripts, which have developed *ex nihilo*, have originated from elementary pictographic forms (Boltz 1986: 424). Further along, in the typical history of such writing methods, rebuses and metonyms have been introduced in order to encode abstract concepts and to broaden the utility of the original pictographs. In the specific case of *rongorongo* there is cursory evidence for rebuses and metonyms. Examples of these forms are displayed in Table 2.

A latter phase in the development of a written script is associated with the generation of a set of symbols to encipher all utterances of the underlying language. My analyses suggest that the Pasquans never incorporated this extension. Their indigenous script remained a compendium of icons—extended by rebuses and metonyms⁷. Those concepts that defied expression by way of the meager inventory of basic symbols or agglutinates thereof, were addressed by three possible mechanisms--glyphic animation, memory or chutzpah. A rongorongo glyphic animation manifests itself in the form of a rare single glyph or a short glyph series--intended as a pictographic display of a subject that is outside the scope of feasible vocabulary. Insofar as rongorongo apparently lacked mechanism to indiscriminately encode phonemes, a memorized recitation was seemingly necessitated wherever the narrative demanded a proper name. Cantors of weak memory were forced to rely upon chutzpah under such circumstances. Indeed, all readers may have been forced to improvise upon encountering the Barthel 3 'rongo' glyph. This 'messenger symbol' may well have borne the exhortation to "report it"—that is, to add details to a particular subject. And the challenging glyph appears frequently, both within the confines of the present study (upon Echancree verso lines 2 and 3), as well as throughout the corpus generally. Corollary to any penchant for unwritten elaboration that may associate itself to the craft of writing, there must be the endemic assumption of foreknowledge of the subject of the narrative. Without such, no factual comprehension can be achieved by either the reader or the listener. Detailed indigenous Pasquan lore is no longer passed down to the present day readers of rongorongo. Therefore, epigraphic reconstruction of the unwritten details of the classical glyph sequences is seemingly impossible.

Rongorongo the Storytelling Script - Mnemonic Aids

As a device for transfer of specific instruction, it is a requirement that written scripts have reliable means by which to encode information. But should such imperative for precision of communication be imposed, as an essential attribute, upon every writing system of every civilization?

Within pre-European Polynesia, *Rapa Nui* was by no means a commercial or cultural hub. Yet among the mid-ocean islands, it alone developed an *ex nihilo* writing system. And--as illustrated by Table 4--it was a writing system that dedicated copious resources to the genre of the narrative. What if the principal demand upon the *rongorongo* script was, in the end, no greater than the function of story telling?

Subject to such conjecture, the generality of presentation that seems to be associated with the writing system ought, no longer, to be perceived as a liability: Set the stage and let the storyteller work his craft. This is the ilk of the mnemonic aid hypothesis of *rongorongo*: glyphs are postulated to be no more than memory aids to stimulate the imagination of the cantor. Interestingly enough, two aspects of the script seem to support such a characterization. I shall discuss both.

First, the technique of 'nicknaming' offers itself as a tolerable mechanism of character identification within the *rongorongo* corpus. Berthin et al. (2005: 18) well note that Ure Honu is effectively associated with a 'male' turtle glyph (*Ure Honu*). The probable daughter figure in *Echancree - Ka ihi uiga* is of distinct glyph form, which I translate as 'Concerned Keeper' (based upon its similarity to a form within the Marami Lunar Calendar). Further development of this same glyph plus, perhaps, adjacent affiliates, would surely have been sufficient to specify the folkloric character with unequivocal precision. The Pasquans could have opted for such intricacy wherever they recognized the need to do so. However, with reference to those examples that are available to us—specifically the *Marami* anthologies and the *Echancree* rendition of *Ka ihi uiga*—the bards of Rapa Nui seldom invoked rigor in their identification of characters. Precise determinations were apparently not imperatives, in many cases.

Second, there is dissonance between Thomson's *Ka ihi uiga* and the direct *rongorongo* rendition of the same lore (as it is presented by Table 3). Thomson (or Salmon) elected to massage with their best poetic muse, the folklore delivered to them. Yet despite the popular appeal of their creation, the erudite among English literary critics may, with justification, judge their work to be doggerel. Fischer, for example, dismisses the poem as "a departing child off to the money and mangos of Tahiti" (Fischer 1997 Glyphbreaker: 160). By contrast, the direct *rongorongo* translation of Table 3, clumsy though it may be, does intimate of allegory. The separation between father and daughter is associated not only with physical distance but also with emotional distance (haranguing). The daughter doesn't just fight off foreign clans, she shows herself to be resourceful—devoting energy to food production instead of zero sum internecine warfare. This glyphic account is no superficial tale of a Tahiti-bound island girl—it is about zeal for virtue; it is about conflict resolution; it is applicable for all times and places. And note well that the universality of these themes is aggrandized through the generalization of the glyphic presentation.

In summation, I submit that those indigenous Pasquan communications, which show themselves to be of vague or broad interpretation vis-à-vis the norms for modern prose, may in fact be utilizing deliberate device to mnemonically stimulate the creativity of the cantor. If, as a result of such seemingly ubiquitous service, the *rongorongo* script affords diminished utility as a device for conveying to us, in meticulous detail, the life and history of pre-European *Rapa Nui*; then so be it. Such limitation in no way negates the reality that *rongorongo* shows itself capable of holding stable glyph values and linking concepts with grammatical devices. These attributes entrench with adequacy, its status as a bona fide *ex nihilo* writing system.

Conclusion

In consideration of the ethno-geographic subject matter of known *rongorongos*—the *Marami* Lunar Calendar, the Anthologies of Hotu Matu'a/Vakai and *Ka ihi uiga*—it remains apparent that familiarity with Polynesian science and humanities has heretofore afforded advantage in the translation of the heritage script (Berthin et al. 2006: 97). Frustrating even scholars who are well qualified, existing records may or may not provide sufficient fruitful venues from which to further decipher the corpus. Where the inscribed tablets encode information relating to those Pasquan communications that are not a part of the inherited oral or archeologically inferred tradition, then the barriers to further translation of these *rongorongos* shall remain formidable. Regardless of whether or not we are able to productively utilize epigraphic inference, or other science, to expand our knowledge of *rongorongo*, we already retain a flavour for the writings. This is, in part, a consequence of the translation of the known works such as *Ka ihi uiga*. Could the Pasquan author possibly have foreseen that the final exhortation of his chant would be prophetic of its immortality?

"Voyage grandly. Voyage always."

Table 4: Ka ihi uiga Glyph Lexicon				
LC-Lunar Calendar, JL - Jaussen's List, HV - Hotu Matu'a Vakai Anthology (Berthin et al. 2005)				
Barthel Number, Definitions and References	Glyph Form	Barthel Number, Definitions and References	Glyph Form	
(1) Land, Plot, Domain. Henua. (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 173.		*Note: Barthel XYZ form: Generally, X is a cranium glyph, Y is a body form glyph, Z is a membrum superious glyph.	X X X X X	
(2) That which is good (A construct, generations). <i>Te maitai</i> . (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 175.	000	(77) Tortuous/twisted Plot. Variant of Barthel 1.	*	
(2) That which is illustrious. (Past record, matter finished, heritage). <i>Te inoino</i> . (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 175.	000	(78) Live, life, prevail. Oraga. Berthin et al. 2006: 95-96. ("silver cord") (LC)	~	
(3) Messenger, Report, 'of which'. Rongo. Guy 1990: 146 (LC)	****	(93f) Frightened Pasquan appears (no time/aspect). Barthel XYZ form*: 2·0·[]·f.		
(4) Swordfish, Knife, Needle, the cut, the division, the wound. <i>Iviheheu.</i> (avahi, rara). (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 174.		(95f) Frightened baby appears. Like 93f, above, but cranium is Barthel 8 – baby.		
(6) The work, the Deed, the Act. <i>Aga.</i> Krupa 1972: 21.	<u> </u>	(2YZ-Cranium)* Man, Woman, Person, Pasquan. <i>Tangata</i> . (Widely Accepted as portrayal of a cranium).	77	
(7) 'The turning of the heel', voyage, canoe. <i>Rei, vaka.</i> (JL) Canoe: Rjabchikov 1997: 362, 365.	W	(3YZ-Cranium)* Tell, Say, Speak (take in/eat, if 3X1 series). Vanaga, Parau. Krupa	상	
(8) The sun, the good day, the fortune. Ra'a. (Widely Accepted JL, LC, HV)	X	(6YZ where Y<9 - Cranium)* Great, Grand, Long, Aged. <i>Taha</i> . (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 173.	\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	
(9) Harangue, Fight. <i>Haurangi</i> . Variant of <i>rangi</i> . (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 173.	\$ <u>`</u>	(520 Series - Cranium)* Parent /keeper. <i>Matu'a hâgai</i> . Berthin et al. 2005: 95. (LC)		
(10) Tiny, baby, small piece. Ata, iti. Krupa 1971: 8 (LC)		(XY0-Membrum Superious)* Here (near right) <i>A nei</i> . Now? (far right). Berthin et al. 2005: 22 (HV).	F (r	
(11) Land/Plot obscured/ incompleteKai gaeke, ina, ta'e, infix of Barthel 1. Obscure – Berthin et al. 2006: 95-96. (LC)		(XY1-Membrum Superious)* Take in. Mana'u, kai. Guy, 1990: 147. (LC)	چاً	
(14) Upset (<i>niu</i>) against the land (<i>henua</i>), rebellion. <i>Ké mamaiá, umiki. Are.</i> (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 173-4.	\$	(XY2-Membrum Superious)* Obtain it, bring it, have 'it'. <i>To'o, rava'a</i> . Berthin et al. 2006: 93. (Possession of glyph 21)	J	
(15) Re-doubled or struck thru Glyph 1.		(63, XY3-Membrum Superious)* Reprobation, surreptitiousness. <i>Tapa, piko, tuhi</i> . Berthin et al. 2005: 22 (HV)	J	
(21) It, place. <i>Me'e</i> . Berthin et al. 2005: 22 (HV)	0	(2Y4-Membrum Superious)* Proclaim, affirm, enlighten. <i>Hakahere, hakahiku</i> . Krupa 1972: 21 (offer, recite).	Ĭ	
(22) Stick tip, (end). Oka, oti, pae. (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 174.	Ò	(XY5-Membrum Superious)* Divide, cut. <i>Iviheheu, avahi, rara.</i> (JL) Chauvet 1935: Fig. 174.	$_{\geqslant})$	

Definitions	Glyph	Definitions	Glyph
(25) Opposed Lands? Henua rua. Variants of Glyphs 1 or 15.	(1)	(XY6-Membrum Superious)* Act, Work, Deed. <i>Aga</i> . Krupa 1972: 21	(L)
(40) 'Expectant' moon. <i>Marama</i> . Guy 1990: 139. (LC)	(þ	(XY8-Membrum Superious)* Take flight, permanently separate. <i>Oho-ro-avai</i> . Krupa 1972: 21.	A A
(41) Past moon. <i>Mahina</i> . Guy 1990: 144. (LC)		(X0Z-Body)* Enter (here); Make way, appear, join. <i>Tata mai, popo</i> . Berthin et. al. 2006: 16-17. (LC)	
(44) Wave? Peril? Storm? Pari.	1	(X2Z - Body)* Bring, Obtain. Rava'a, He-tari-mai. Krupa 1972: 22 (messenger carrier).	Z.Z.
(50) Ruin, destitution. <i>Tagi</i> . Variant of Lunar Calendar Glyph Barthel 65/700x.	₩	(X4Z - Body)* [A} Then/additionally [B] . [A] "Gives Birth" to [B] . Krupa 1972: 22.	A ĴŽŜ B
(52) Weakness, weak force (water, wind). <i>Toto, vai</i> Rjabchikov 1997: 362, 366.	# W	(X7Z - Body)* Develop, Swell, nourish. <i>Kaiga.</i>	Q
(58) Scavenge? Pillage? Ra'u	8	(X8Z – Body)* Begin, Unfurl/Seated. Tuku. Guy 1990: 136.	EK
(59f) Hunger. <i>Poremo</i> . Variant of both (empty) paddock—(JL) and Cavity/hollow. Knosorov et al. 1957 (their table 1).	Ø	(X9Z - Body)* Feasting, filled, weal. Hakakai. Krupa 1971: 8.	Ŭ
(64x) Draw in. Strength? <i>Hagu</i> . Antonym of XY4.*	Ϋ́	(522f) The concerned keeper appears (enters) here. Barthel XYZ form*: (520f Series -0.0).	5. Ju
(65), (700x) (fish points down) wound, expire, die. <i>Ika</i> . Guy 1990: 140-141. (LC)	Ĭ	(524f) Appearing here, the concerned keeper affirms. Barthel XYZ form*: (520f Series -0-4).	
(66) Effort, ruck. <i>Nonihi</i> , <i>kero</i> . Near antonym of "disfunction" – see Berthin et al 2005: 23. (HV)	\Diamond	(590) (Here) then, begin the deeds of the haranguer. Barthel XYZ form*: (Barthel 9 -4-6).	
(69) Domain of Aching. <i>Maruaki,</i> hukia. Berthin et al. 2005: 23 (HV).	Î	(600) Great, Grand, Long, Aged. Taha. Butinov/Knosorov 1957: (their) Table 1.	
(73), (700) Engorge, Feast. <i>Ika</i> . Guy 1990: 140-1 (LC).		(606) Great act of strength. Barthel XYZ form*: (600 -0- 6:64x).	
(74) Tasteless, Sour, Immature, Unprepared. <i>Kava, Mata.</i> Derivative of Guy 1990: 140 (LC).	8	(633) Be Greatly, fully, permanently separated (<i>Be overwhelmed by separation</i>). Barthel XYZ form*: (600 -9-8).	
(Affix f) Throbbing, trembling, (active). <i>Remereme.</i> Berthin et al. 2005: 23 (HV).	₹	(680) Always, forever. <i>Avai.</i> Reduplicated time glyph Barthel 670 (LC)(<i>Rongo</i> or <i>Tane</i>). Berthin et al. 2006: 94-95, Krupa 1971: 13.	FA

Endnotes

- 1: Authorship of *Marami* is attributed to Nga'ara (Orliac 2005). *Echancree* derives from Rei Miro (Fischer 1997: 227).
- 2: The feasibility of direct translation from *rongorongo* into English has previously been demonstrated (Guy 1990: 135-149) and, consistent with a semiotic model for the script, the method is theoretically sound. I follow this 'tongue of authorship' practice within the present article. It is expedient--given that English is widely understood vis-à-vis the Pasquan dialect. On the other hand penalties--such as apparent grammatical non sequitur or loss of homophonic interpretationare incurred as a consequence of the direct translation of *rongorongo* into 'foreign' language.
- 3: *Mahina* is of hemispheric specificity. The form that connotes a waning crescent in the Southern Hemisphere would be an astronomical representation of a waxing (growing) crescent in the North.
- 4: The "poison" of this stanza could equally connote poison words and intuit of a falling out between the Pasquan and the Concerned Keeper. Such a clash would make necessary the reconciliation that is presented upon tablet line six.
- 5: The Lunar cycle is approximately 29.5 days. Months alternate, approximately, between twenty-nine and thirty days length. Barthel 40 of the *Marami* Lunar calendar has been associated with the traditional 'night of decision' (*Hotu* moon) during which the Pasquans of old decided whether or not to add an intercalary night to the Calendar (Guy 1990: 139, Thomson 1891: 547). As such, this night was the 'spoiler'—the time at which it was always necessary to make an intervention in order to keep the calendar in proper synchronization to the lunar cycle.
- 6: The "take in" glyph form also presents itself at the end of line 5. Again, I regard the characters following the hominoid as being a "note to the cantor" rather than a constituency of the narrative.
- 7: Guy (1990:144) finds evidence for phonetic component in the Lunar Calendar of *rongorongo*. Berthin et al. (2006: 96-7) illustrate that feasible translation of the same sequence can be elicited even if the phonetic contributions are restricted to full-word rebuses.
- 8: Thomson (1891: 514) himself ascertained that the subjects of *rongorongo* boards included allegories but, in the opinion of this author, failed to adequately convey such dimension in his published rendition of *Ka ihi uiga*.

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