FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

KOSRAE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

Translation of

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Results of the South Seas - Expedition,
1908-1910


by

Carmen C.H. Petrosian-Husa

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Kosrae Historic Preservation Office

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Special Part:

Spiritual Culture.

VII. Sociology.

1. The Immediate Family.

According to their family relationship the Kusaeans distinguish two social groups: 1. the sou, 2. the suf.

Of these the sou is identical with our understanding of family. It is founded by a marital union, so that its center is each couple of parents. Further on the direct descendents of this pair belong to it and besides the circle of relatives created by the marriages of the parents and the future marriages of the children, as far as it remains in the clear memory of the members.

The memory of family connections is not very developed. We discovered this when we recorded the family trees, which were recorded from different families, socially important ones as well as insignificant ones. In order to record them—besides the control, which this measure makes necessary—several people were necessary, because Kusaean families go only a few generations back. Mostly the elder women were the ones best informed about their relatives.

In the relationship of relatives we can still see the need to clearly define in detail the following descriptions that have been recorded partly by Krämer (K.) and partly by the author (S).

Husband = mokul; my husband = m. tamak (K.); wife = matän, my wife = m. kiak (K.); father = tama (K.) or papa (S.); the last term is a local one, which was also confirmed by Lütke’s recordings of the language. My father = tamak (K.), normally papa tamak (S.), mother = ninä, my m. = ninä kiak (K.); child = talek (K.), infant = talek fos (K.); girl 5—10 years = talek matän (K.); virgin = matän fos (K.); boy 5—10 years = talek mokul (K.); young man = mokul fos (K.); son = muän, muan, my s. = muän natek (K.); daughter =än; my d. = än natek; brother of brother (my) = malik (K.); sister of a sister (my) = matäok (K.); brother of sister or sister of brother (my) malouk (K.); father brother (my) = lin tamak (S.); father sister (my) = luon tamak (S.); mother brother (my) = luon kiak (S.); mother sister (my) = taän kiak (S.).

1 Lütke 1835/36, II, p. 358.
With the help of this vocabulary the still missing other terms for relatives were formed, except for the ones following below, for instance: Husband of the father’s sister (my) = mokul luon tamak (S.); son of the father’s brother (my) = natin lin tamak (S.). Other terms are: grandfather on the father’s and the mother’s side (my) = papa mata tamak (S.); grandmother on the father’s and the mother’s side (my) = ninä mata kiak (S.); grandchild (my) = natin natek (K.); father in law, mother in law (my) = talebak (K.); male cousin (my) = natib muän (K.); female cousin (my) = natin iän (K.). I further on have to remark to these terms for relatives that the father’s brothers, mother’s brothers, and their wives or husbands are considered as father and mother and are addressed with papa or ninä. Accordingly, the children of siblings consider themselves as brothers and sisters. This is also confirmed by SNOW, who reports about it a bit unclearly. »If a man has a dozen brothers, his children have as many fathers besides their natural father, and all the children of those mothers are brothers and sisters. All the fathers, sisters or mothers to his children and the sister’s children are brothers and sisters to her brother’s children. The same law holds good on the mother’s side.«

From this we can conclude that the sou family regards itself as a closely related group of relatives without any consideration of the suf, which will be discussed later on.

**Names of persons.** The name is given immediately after the birth of the child, according to the decision of the parents.

For quite some time, names from foreign islands, further English, or American, and biblical names are common besides the native ones. These names are frequently found among the younger generation. This imitation became easier, as people no longer thought about the significance of the local names; their meanings had been lost.

The old Kusaean names have the peculiarity that they are always double names. When in a family tree there is only one name indicted then it is a modern loan-formation, or the other one has been forgotten. The interested reader can inform himself at this point about the different names. Here are some examples of old names:

- Names for women: Sepe-Intalou; Sepe-Insopis; Sepe-Aoä; Kenie-Kitinwuäk, Kenie-Lioke; Kenie-Insout.
- Names for men: Kilafa-Kön; Kilafa-Nä; Likiak-Na; Likiak-Kön.

Already when looking at the names in the family trees, one can see that each natural gender has its own treasure of names. The same name cannot be found among both sexes. Very rarely a name seems to be neutral, as for instance Likiak-Sä, which is the name of a man and is at the same time a rare name for a woman. (?)

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1 DAMON p. 40.
A further regularity is the combination of the first with the second name. The first names were, in most of the cases, used as first ones and the second ones as second names. Although here too, there are exceptions as for instance Alik-Oa and Oa-Kofos.

The natives did not know anything about the development of the double names. They have nothing in common with family names. Relatively speaking there is a great poverty of names so it seems to have been necessary to distinguish each individual more in detail, which is quite natural in a small country where everybody knows everybody.

Only rarely place names are part of the double names, as for instance Kenie-Likinlos = Kenie from Likinlos. Sometimes they indicate the origin, for instance Sepe-Aoä = Sepe of the King, however in this case the name has been created by the mouth of the people.

That the need for distinguishing was initially responsible for the creation of the double names, can be seen in the following. The double name usually was not the name by which somebody was called, but only one of the two names. According to habit, people preferred the first or second name, and in this respect some first names are more common than others. One of my translators was called Alik-Kefas and was mostly called Kefas, though sometimes also Alik. When talking about people not present, for clarity it is necessary to use the double name. Instead the living area of the indicated person is added to his first or his full name, be it the name of the region or the compound, for instance Kefas-Mot = Alik-Kefas from the region Mot; Kilafa-Kön-Jöl = Kilafa-Kön from the compound Jöl. Married people are also identified by the name of their husband or wife; children are defined by a name of the father or their mother. For instance Kilafa-Sepe = Sepe the wife of Kilafa. Of course this habit leads to combinations in which the foreigner has troubles navigating.

The difficulty to figure out the circumstances of names is further enhanced because changes of sound may occur in the before mentioned linking possibilities. Without explanation they are not understandable. For instance Katinlik-Sepe = Sepe, the wife of Lepalik; Talpe-Sepe = Sepe, the wife of Telen; Mikiak- Sepe = Sepe, the wife of Likiak: Alikie-Sepe = the wife of Alik; Sinsalik-Sepe = Sepe, the wife of Salik. From these examples, thus, Talpe for Telen and the fact that Talpe is an existing female name, we can deduce that there are also male and female names. In this section also belongs Su—Sua or Sä (woman), Kön—Kenie, Nelik—Nelikie, where the female forms supposedly are wife of Su, of Kön, of Nelik. Further on I want to leave the interpretation of names to the linguists.

Exchange of names. Judging from the reports of the first expeditions Kusae knew

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1 Kat seems to be a word no longer used for »wife«. 
the custom of name exchanges.\(^1\) When I asked related questions, people denied it. However, when I talked about the examples from the old reports, people were laughing heartily about it. The natives ensured me that the name exchange was not an old now forgotten custom, but it was a joke, as FINSCH already remarked.\(^2\)

**Ban of name.** To utter the name of a person was only then no longer allowed when he became a title holding chief. DAMON already reports this, »The names of the individuals are not changed from the cradle to the grave, unless the person is exalted to become a chief. Then the common name is dropped and he or she goes by the official name.«\(^3\) It seems that the names of the dead were spoken without any shyness.

**Forms of respect with names.** When addressing someone the natives often do not use the common first name, but add an additional prefix Se or Si in front of it. This signifies a sort of title, an indication of honor analogous to our »Mr.« Mrs.« and »Miss«. Here are some examples for it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men’s names:</th>
<th>Honorific Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Honorific Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salik</td>
<td>Sesalik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepalik or Paluk</td>
<td>Selpalik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alik</td>
<td>Sielik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likiak</td>
<td>Silkiak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanra</td>
<td>Sisangra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palsis</td>
<td>Sepalsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su</td>
<td>Sesu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Sesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilafa</td>
<td>Siklafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telen</td>
<td>Sitel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women’s names:</th>
<th>Honorific Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Honorific Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notue</td>
<td>Sinotue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suwä</td>
<td>Sesuwä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sä</td>
<td>Sisä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepe</td>
<td>Sisepe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenie</td>
<td>Sikenie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kät</td>
<td>Sikät</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insanra</td>
<td>Sensanra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talpe</td>
<td>Sitelpe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Compare for instance LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 305; KITTLITZ 1858, II, p. 11.
\(^2\) FINSCH 1893, p. [454].
\(^3\) DAMON pp. 40.
The honorific form is generally not used when addressing somebody. How much it is custom to use it in the relationship of the social strata we will see later on. Lengthy research revealed that, within the family, it is used in the following occasions:

1. Younger siblings talking to the older ones of the same sex and their married husbands or wives and children.\(^1\)
2. The children of siblings talk to children of the same sex of the older siblings.
3. A sister talking to all her brothers, their wives and children.
4. A brother talking to the husbands of all his sisters and their children.
5. All female cousins talking to their male cousins, second grade cousin to male second grade cousins.

On the other, not mentioned occasions the honorific form is not used. Thus the older brother talks to the younger one just using the first name, just like the older sister talks to the younger one, and the brother to his sister. Remarkably, as far as we were told, there also was no precaution towards the parents-in-law. In order to repeat it, children address their parents, with papa and nina, just as nephews and nieces address their uncles and aunts with papa and nina. However, the other way around there is a peculiarly distinct division in-between the actual parents and the sub-parents. While the parents call their children simply by the first name, uncles and aunts have to address their nephews and nieces with the honorific form.

When looking closer at the different occasions we can recognize three motives which are the basis for the custom of the honorific names:

1. Respect for older family members and the families they founded.
2. Respect of female family members towards male ones and the families they founded.
3. Respect of siblings towards their brother-in-law and sister-in-law, as newly acquired family members, and towards their children.

We still have to mention that when talking to third parties the honorific particles Si- or Se became Ni or Ne.

**Age groups.** As we just talked about the effect of the difference in age, I want to insert here some remarks that unfortunately it was not evident how in former times age strata played an important role in social life, beyond the family. That there actually was a division in age groups proves the external characteristic of different tattoos as well as the fact that LESSON cites the met mata = old people as a special »caste«.\(^2\)

**Honorific language within the family.** The use of honorific particles

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\(^1\) Compare in this case also DAMON p. 41.

\(^2\) Compare pp. 76 and p. 316.
is only one side of a certain more general pronunciation in the same 5 above mentioned cases. In a conversation between two respective persons instead of using certain words of the colloquial language other words are employed as the chosen expression.¹ This custom gets more complicated because there exists a full and a restricted language exchange. As I observed the restricted language exchange is only applied in a conversation from uncle or aunt to nephew and niece. It happens in such a fashion that while these use the colloquial language those have employ the restricted language exchange. This circumstance further characterizes the middle position of uncle and aunt to nephew and niece. While they call them father and mother and treat them accordingly, those do not inhabit the same position as the natural father and mother towards their children. However they have a closer relationship to their nephews and nieces, at least in the use of language, than to the younger sisters to the older ones or as the sisters to the brothers.

After time consuming research it was possible to establish the change for the following class of words and words. Those words used in the restricted language-change are indicated with an asterix.

1. Personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>colloquial language</th>
<th>high language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>kom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[he]</td>
<td>äl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (dual, incl.)</td>
<td>kitäl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (3, 4 incl.)</td>
<td>kototäl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (all, incl.)</td>
<td>kot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (dual, excl.)</td>
<td>ketäl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (3, 4, excl.)</td>
<td>ketotäl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (all, excl.)</td>
<td>kem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (dual)</td>
<td>komtäl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (3, 4)</td>
<td>komtotäl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (all)</td>
<td>komos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (dual)</td>
<td>eltal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they (3, 4)</td>
<td>eltotäl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[they (all)]</td>
<td>ellos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The different kinds of the possessive pronouns.

for instance my arm | bouk |
your arm             | boun lout |

¹ According to KRÄMER the colloquial language is called käs basesal = low language, the elevated language käs in senak. According to my research, the high language supposedly was also called käs in lem = »language for the aristocracy«.
3, Indications of body parts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Baul</th>
<th>Baul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>fokle*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>seline*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>sufä</td>
<td>uliöta*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>muis</td>
<td>un in kota*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>limä</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Baul</th>
<th>Baul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>sefali*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>lon</td>
<td>koarino*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell</td>
<td>nok</td>
<td>lot*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>mono</td>
<td>kofenjok*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>num</td>
<td>kofenjok*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>juju</td>
<td>taftöf*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>kaskös)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lay</td>
<td>ona</td>
<td>ani*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get up</td>
<td>tujak</td>
<td>kaskösìak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td>fasot ot som</td>
<td>kaskösot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>faso or took</td>
<td>kaskıso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>motul</td>
<td>anlä*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake up</td>
<td>natailik</td>
<td>salailik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>fak</td>
<td>alök*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring</td>
<td>usä</td>
<td>limä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>care for</td>
<td>liean</td>
<td>sefalẹan*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>kikiäb</td>
<td>kanalök*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry</td>
<td>tan (ton)</td>
<td>koaskoas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>mise</td>
<td>boloki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Adjectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Baul</th>
<th>Baul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>masinsäl</td>
<td>säla*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirsty</td>
<td>malo</td>
<td>sālano*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleepy</td>
<td>metkäl</td>
<td>fokilkäl*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blind</td>
<td>metkun</td>
<td>fokilkun*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dumb</td>
<td>selonkäs</td>
<td>sekoarenọ*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sick</td>
<td>mas</td>
<td>bolok*)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Other classes of words.
Consent to the talk of somebody else (interjections) äok, haok, häok = baje or eao, eaho. *)

Despite much research we could not learn anything concerning further change of language. However, we can safely assume that the mentioned words will not be all. It is quite unnecessary to remark that even today this change of language can be observed frequently, otherwise it would not have been possible to record it. We still want to point out one characteristic in all these appearances. While the change is extended to all forms of pronouns, except for the third one it only happens in the other categories of words when the words refer directly to the person of respect. Here is one example for better understanding: in the high language »my eye« is »mata in luot«, however your eye »foklolos«.

Considering the recorded data, we can make the following general judgment, that the change of language was a very deep one. Nevertheless under certain circumstances it still can change the entire appearance of a sentence. For instance, our common farewell greeting is mata nä som =»stay, I am going«. In the high language this is »kaskös lout ä som«.

Concerning the use of the high language between the social strata see page 339.

Relationship of sister to brother. The fact of an elevated address and language within the family proves that there existed a strictly regulated relationship, a developed etiquette between the individual persons. Obviously this was not only restricted to the language. It was only possible to get more detailed information concerning this in regards to the relationship between sister and brother. This was very regulated and quite one sided. Only the sister had to take care for an extreme reserve towards her brother. She could not directly talk to her brother, but could only do so through a third person, if there was one present. Otherwise she had to wait until her brother started talking to her. Also in the first case her replies had to take the detour via a third person. Doing so she had to converse with her brother only in whispers and with a bent head without looking at him. Further on, she always sat in the house as far away as possible from her brother. When she rose she walked with her upper body bent and left the house on the opposite side from him. It was indecent for her to enter a house where her brother was already present. She tried to avoid an encounter of this kind at all costs, either by hiding or running away. In case it was too late for this she sat down at the side of the road with her head lowered. She did not touch any object, which belonged to him, just like the brother avoided it the other way round. Most of all any physical touch was out of question. It was not allowed to touch small siblings of the other sex on the head. Concerning these restrictions Dr. Pease, the missionary, mentions that a sister
would never sit on the mat of her brother or touch any of the food prepared by him.\(^1\)

The separate sleeping arrangements for siblings, as soon as they were a little bit bigger, are also part of this code of behavior.

In modern times these regulations between the siblings are no longer enforced, even the separate sleeping arrangements are no longer common. All considerations common in the family and within the social strata are called senak. This generally was abolished on January 11, 1884 by the then King, following the influence of the mission.\(^2\)

That similar regulations existed also for other persons can be deduced from the mentioning of the ban to touch the head of young siblings by DAMON.\(^3\)

**Living circumstances of the family members and the servants.** See more about it under construction of a house.

**Form of marriage.** Under the long lasting influence of the mission, marriage has become a monogamous one in the Christian sense. Already FINSCH mentioned this.\(^4\) On the other hand in old Kusae, polygamy was common. However, it was not generally prevailing. Only the aristocracy had this privilege, as DUPERREY states especially for the chiefs.\(^5\) The common people lived monogamous. The number of wives of a noble was also rather small. LÜTKE reported 3 examples of polygamy, where one high aristocrat had three women, and two other had two. This correlates with the statements of the modern natives, according to which the title holding chiefs had 2 to 3 wives. According to KRÄMER’S notes, they had 5 to 6. According to him, the common man, too, supposedly had 1 to 2 wives. In the pre-Christian time known to us, the small number of women in comparison to men made a wide-ranging polygamy impossible (compare pp. 53).

As not otherwise expected, polygamy also showed a difference between main and secondary wives. This can easily be seen because in the aristocracy only the main wife, who is the first wife, also had a title analogous to the one of her husband, while the other wives continued to use their personal names.\(^6\)

**Marriage restrictions.** We only want to mention here that according to KRÄMER’S as well as to my own notes the possibility of marriage started among siblings. Although, according to statements made to me, only when the parents were not brother and brother or sister and sister.

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\(^1\) M. H. 1884, p. 394.
\(^2\) loc. cit.
\(^3\) DAMON, p. 41.
\(^4\) FINSCH 1893, p. [455].
\(^6\) Compare also DAMON, p. 41.
Marriage ceremony. In former times people got married rather early, especially the fair sex. LESSON confirms this. He saw »very young mothers« with infants. In modern times and under the influence of the mission a person has to reach 20 before he or she could marry.

Marriage is preceded by appointments of the loving couple. It seems that the young woman moved into the house of her husband. On the next day this one brought a present of many fruits, fish and meat to his father-in-law. It was consumed by family and friends. The father-in-law reciprocated this present on the same day. This feast was called humor nen ot = »earth oven for the marriage«. According to the deceased King, land parcels were also part of this exchange of presents.

Next to this form of marriage in the old days existed also a marriage where the bride is kidnapped, which supposedly was not a rare occasion. On such an occasion the female lover was kidnapped by appointment by her lover. The kidnapping of married women reputedly also happened, as can be seen in many love stories. Such robbery of women caused warlike entanglements where the family of the girl or the wife tried to wound or to kill the robber. If this was accomplished, then the dispute was finished. It seems that in such a case vendetta was against the local custom. In former times, disputes of such kind reputedly existed constantly. The old King still remembered the following incident. Once upon a time a man from the region Uiä visited for 3 days the village Mäläm on the eastern coast of Ualang. On the third day he stole at night a married woman. Then the Mäläm men started to get on their way to Uiä in a canoe with their weapons. There a fight started, in the course of which it was possible to get the woman back. But people from Uiä thought of a new robbery. At night they went to Mäläm, where the women went over to them. Without shedding any blood they escaped and came back to Uiä. So the people from Mäläm once again left. However now the King ordered his veto. Then the robbed husband voiced his complaint and received the message he should see how he could solve the problem on his own. He now went to Uiä, fell over the robber in his sleep and with his shell adze caused him a deep wound under the shoulder in his chest. With this he consented and left his wife with the other.

In former times divorce supposedly was an easy affair. The husband simply sent his wife back or she ran away from him. With the return of eventually received land parcels the affair was finished. Only the question of where the children should stay caused disputes. These belonged to the father. Only infants remained with the wife. However later on she had to hand them over to the family of her husband.

Pregnancy and birth. As long as pregnancy had not progressed too far, the couple still cohabited. Only two months after birth it supposedly was allowed again. It seems there were no food restrictions for the pregnant woman,
however, after giving birth, for a longer period of time she was not allowed to eat much. On the other hand she was required to drink more ono = medicine. Immediately after giving birth, the woman who has just given birth was rubbed all over the body with yellow root in order to fight a rash and itching.

In former times the chiefs built a special house = imon petäta for highly pregnant woman and for the birth.

Even today, birth is a rather quick affair. Many women do not need any help at all. When birth is about to happen they walk up and down, then stand with spread legs or crouch in a deep knee-bend and catch the baby. Shortly before the expedition arrived the wife of the King had given birth all alone in a deep knee-bend. Right afterwards she came to fetch her husband and to show him the child. She did not lie down before or afterwards. Most of the woman only lay down after birth for one day, due to feebleness. When giving birth again many women do not do this, too. The umbilical cord was cut off with bamboo. Now this is done with a knife or scissors. The placenta was wrapped into a small mat and buried.

Support for birth was restricted to massages of the abdomen. In case the child was in a dangerous position direct measures were taken even in the old days. Such a case happened not long before our arrival. When a leg position was diagnosed—one leg had already passed the cervix—the husband took action. According to his and other people’s statements, he ripped off one arm (!) of the child. The child perished, however the mother was saved. It was reported that in Kusae the husband always could attend the birth. Other operative actions are unknown.

Abortion has always been known and was practiced by young girls as well as by married women. Even in former times one of the reasons for young girls was that a child out of wedlock diminished the value and the respect of a girl. Without any constraint people admitted that this was still widely practiced today. Older woman mostly helped with abortions. As stated the only means for this was massage.

People decidedly denied infanticide as a custom.

Menstruation huts = imon muäsik, in former times each village supposedly had one. The chiefs had a special small hut for their wives in their compounds.

Concerning morals compare p. 67 and pp. 53.

Care of children and upbringing. As reported by LESSON and LÜTKE people showed a lot of love for their children and treated them very carefully.¹ I personally never saw

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that children were beaten, even though it looked adequate at times. The adoptive son of
the King, a boy about 4 years old, misbehaved rather often and in his childish anger even
threw things after his mother, to which she only reacted with a few earnest words.

In former times the children of the chiefs, who were called with the special word
fusäk, received special care. Higher chiefs had a whole crowd of women as female
guardians and wet nurses, there were also male guardians (taman). There were several
special houses for them (imon taman). The infant did not remain in the dwelling house,
but it had a special house for itself (imon koko). Only after the child could walk well,
would it sleep in the dwelling house together with its mother.¹ The large number of
female guardians was necessary because, as has been confirmed by SNOW, the newly
born baby of a chief was not allowed to lie on the ground until it was able to crawl. Day
and night, month for month it was necessary to hold it in the arm and to carry it around.
SNOW adds, »The person holding the child, must allow its neck to rest upon the arm that
when the child is at rest, the head falls back.«²

Due to this care the female guardians had to alternate during the night. Each
morning and evening the infant of a chief was washed with fresh spring water of a spring
on Lölö. The water for this was fetched by a female guardian in several coconut flasks,
and they were carried over the shoulder on a long pole with a cross stick on the upper
end. In this way the mysterious »standard of Sipe« can also be explained. KITTLITZ
regarded it as a sanctuary and FINSCH refers to it as »symbols of the chiefly power«. As
the »remarkable amount of women« in front of the building, in which the standard had
been carried, and who seemed to wait for something there, proves that the wife of
KITTLITZ’ host, had given birth to a child on this morning!³

Usually the smaller children were carried on the hip (this way of carrying = kafis),
the bigger children seated like for riding on the back (this carrying = patok)⁴. Male or
female guardians often carried even the older children of the chiefs.

**Death and funeral. Forms of mourning.** In former times death caused loud
lament. Currently the form of mourning has become much more moderate. People lament
less loudly but silently cry to themselves. When questioned for the reason of this change,
people gave the simple answer that loud lament would be improper. In former times
many had screamed without crying and without experiencing great sadness. However,
now people were sad in their hearts without the pain being any smaller. This
psychological change, which of course has been triggered by the influence of the mission,
is testimony that loud lament was not only a sign of true mourning, but at the same time
custom.

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¹ Compare also LÜTKE 1835/36, I, pp. 379.
² DAMON p. 41.
³ KITTLITZ 1858, II, pp. 52; FINSCH 1893, p. [457].
⁴ Compare KITTLITZ 1858, II, p. 3; LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 302.
From time to time women, especially the older ones, expressed their mourning quite drastically. They behaved, as the natives called it themselves, crazily. They ran around, jumped while shouting, and ripped their clothing mat off their bodies, so that they stood entirely naked. When they saw a person with the sex of the deceased and of his age they ran after him, threw stones after him, held him fast on his hair, and beat him. When questioned why they were doing this, nobody could find an answer. Women, whose mourning was expressed in such a fashion, were called ofos. This is the same name as for the female fishing spirits (see p. 114).

The external symbol of mourning was, that both sexes cut their hair short and no longer treated their bodies with cosmetic means. When a high chief died many relatives, friends and subordinates mourned in such a fashion. Whoever did not follow this custom showed that this death did not touch him internally. Other signs of grief were different taboos, of which we still learned two: A taboo on all fruit trees of the family, which stood close to the graveyard of the family. This taboo had the special name ekäsa. It was not made noticeable by special signs of taboo. It lasted 6 months and longer. On this occasion a taboo was placed also on other fruit trees. A second ban covered fishing. For several months (2—3) the family members were not allowed to fish.

The treatment of the deceased was in the hands of women. He was laid out with the head to the east and his body was thoroughly rubbed with yellow root (eän). The face and the hair reportedly were only oiled. In addition the head and the hair were specially decorated with flower garlands, the ears with bushels of flowers. Other decorations were particularly given to the bodies of children. From the early accounts only LÜTKE and GULICK report on these treatments of the dead. LÜTKE says, »Ils revêtent leurs morts de tous leurs plus beaux ornements, enveloppent le corps de tissus, posent ensemble les mains sur le bas-ventre ….« GULICK reports in addition, »The usual costume is, after death to anoint the body with cocoanut oil, then carefully to wrap it with mats and bind it from head to feet with colored cordage.«

The deceased was laid out in the house for two nights. According to GULICK this happened 2 to 3 days. During this time, relatives and acquaintances gathered and sang old chants of a special kind, called tan mås (»death lament«). According to FIN SCH, when a great person died, a feast lasting four days was held, where dance and singing performances were staged, and in which praise for the deceased was chanted. Women also participated in these laments and everybody joined in the

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\(^1\) Compare also under religion and the tale of LEPANMÄT.
\(^2\) Compare also under religion and the tale PANLIK a. PANIAS.
\(^3\) LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 397.
\(^4\) N. M. 1862, p. 242.
refrain (»Oio«). As far as I heard, there are only chants, no dances, during the funeral ceremony.

In the old days, the burial was a double one, first a ground burial and later on a water burial. In literature this double burial is only mentioned by GULICK, however, he confirms it with certainty.\(^2\)

The ground burial happened in the following way. The corpse was wrapped into 4 to 5 mats and was carried by 6 men, three on each side, with their hands (not on the shoulder) to the open grave. Before the burial, close relatives said good bye with a nose-kiss and the special word of greeting »bas« - »Farewell!«. The burial was done with the body stretched out and oriented to the east. A man with coconut leaves in his hands held a funeral oration in the old fashioned way. It started with the following verses, which are not understandable for the natives;

\begin{verbatim}
»Äna sinipo, äna sinipo
Kiremon, Karemon
Mon siafmon
Masmasi tufeni
Masmasi tufeni
Sa se ke än muän
Sa lepan än muän
Sie tan än muän
Sie tan än jen.«
\end{verbatim}

Afterwards, according to KRÄMER the »smell of sickness« was swept out of the house with coconut fronds (baläla). The funeral ceremony was not yet over. On the contrary, the participants remained a long time, sometimes months in the house of mourning. They sang in honor of the deceased and received every day a lot of food.

Kittlitz did not see any graves, therefore he assumed that the dead were submerged in the swamps.\(^4\) FINSCH also saw none. LESSON reports extensively about it. After talking about the graves of the chiefs on Lölö, which we already critically honored (pp. 247 and pp. 283), he reports,

»Celles du people, moins recherchées, ont quelque chose de bien touchant dans leur sauvage simplicité. C’est ordinairement au milieu des cannes à sucre que se trouvèl’asile des morts; et comme les plantations existent dans la plaine comme sur le revers des montagnes, il en résulte un effet qui annonce de la part des naturels un sentiment réfléchi sur l’influence morale des tombeaux. Lorsque nous longions les côtes de l’île...\(^3\)

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\(^1\) FINSCH 1893, p. [456].
\(^2\) loc. cit.
\(^3\) KRÄMER also noted the first 3 lines. »mon« = breath. It seems the content of it reports about how the dead gather and it also reports about a »male« and »female« place.
\(^4\) KITTLITZ 1858, II, p. 16.
with the Corvette nos regards s’arrêtèrent frequemment sur les toits de chaume, don’t
nous ignorions l’usage, et qui s’élèvent du sein d’une fraîche verdue, non loin de la cime
des montagnes; le plus souvent, en effet, la sepulture d’un pauvre sauvage se trouve
abritée par l’arbre à pain qui l’a nourri, au milieu des tiges de la canne à sucre, près d’un
ruisseau don’t les ondes fugitives coulent du sommet de la montagne en traversant des
bosquets touffus d’orangers, d’ixora; où le liseron flexible étale ses larges corolles
purpurines! … Chaques tombeau est proprement recouvert d’une petite cabane don’t les
parois latérales sont à jours. Très souvent on rencontre d’une petits villages aujourd’hui
habité par les morts, car les naturels d’un même endroit se plaisent à réunir leurs proches
dans le même espace de terre. Des treillis recouvrent le sol de la cabane, quelques nattes
y sont jetées, sans doute pour que le fils puisse venir y consulter les cendres de ses pères;
…

These open grave huts are also mentioned by DUPERREY and DUMONT D’URVILLE and seem to be identical with the »dwelling huts«, which KITTLITZ observed in the fields. People did not tell me about these burial places, however KRÄMER heard about them. According to him, close family members mourned here, by sleeping here for a long time, up to a year.

LÜTKE also describes a grave in the close vicinity of the dwelling house in the village Wukat, »Elle était à côté de la maison d’un parent de défunt, et se faisait remarquer par deux bananiers entiers poses tout de long.«

Just like the graves were in fields in Ualang, they were in Lölö within the compounds. Here they were surrounded by especially low walls. According to KRÄMER, such a grave-yard was called inkaliak (from kal = yard). This custom is partially still alive today. Thus, a few steps behind the house that I had rented was the burial place of the family with 2 graves in form of flat rectangular earthen mounds bordered with basalt columns. Today, the dead are usually buried in the European fashion in a common graveyard.

The existence of family burial places and the location of the grave yards within the compounds certainly contributed to talk about the »ruins« generally as a grave monument.

We also want to mention here that in the grave yard of each family in Lölö a ringing-stone, in form of a flat basalt slab, was situated. It was called käsaka and supposedly was rung in order to announce the birth of a child to the neighbors. (Compare also the tale »Olful«.) Each hamlet on Ualang had such a ringing-stone, for the same purpose. On it also the King announced his arrival in a hamlet when he came to Ualang. Supposedly then he first went to the ringing-stone, where he broke a piece of kava root and which he personally sounded.

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2 A. M. 1828 II, 1 p. (635): RIENZI II, p. 150. DUMONT D’URVILLE calls the huts lomsi, which seems not correct because lomsi = »a house«. According to him they were 6—8 feet long and 4 feet wide.
Burial objects. Besides the already mentioned objects LESSON considered also adzes and looms as such, as he found them in the grave huts. However, more correct they must be regarded as the tools of the mourners, who spent the nighttime here.

Water burial. While today, according to Christian ways, a funeral is finished with the burial in the ground, in former times a water burial succeeded it. GULICK reports about it, »Within two or three days it is buried in a grave and left for about three months, when it is dug up, the bones are carefully washed and tied together and then sunk in a particular spot in the waters of the harbor.«¹ This statement correlates completely with KRÄMER’s and my enquiries. I want to add: According to KRÄMER the exhumation was called Kosanon and was combined with a feast and food and the exchange of presents. The bones of the dead were carefully cleaned of all attached remains of meat, they were rubbed with oil and yellow root, wrapped in mats and from a canoe they were lashed to a basalt stone and sunk in the sea. According to KRÄMER, before the water burial, the bundle was first hung for a few days in the house.

The water burial did not take place on the open sea, but on the reef. In Lölö, an easily recognizable depth right before small reef island Jenas and in the vicinity was destined for it. Initially people said that only Lölö submerged its dead in the sea. As we later found out this supposedly was a common practice. Thus, the water burial place for Utua region was the depth of Kepat in the passage of Utua-Harbor. However, while writing this down, I start having doubts about the general practice of water burials, because the reef in great parts cannot be used for it, as it is too shallow, or maybe many regions buried their dead on the open sea.

We still have to mention what the deceased King remarked concerning this custom: the bones of the deceased were later buried at sea in order to protect them from mutilation, something that had happened in the wars between Lölö and Ualang.

Special kinds of treatment of the dead and burials existed besides the described one only for the high aristocrats of Lölö.

Thanks to GULICK, we know of the tradition that the corpse was not only kept for a few days, but for weeks, in the house. When visiting the royal compound he remarked, »The next house within the royal enclosure made of high reeds and flooved with the same, was where the dead body of the king’s daughter was kept, who had died three months before. Ten women, the king himself told us, as he escorted us about the premises, watched and anointed her body, and kept up a fire day and night. He requested us, not to pass before the front door of the house, and his whole aspect in speaking of his bereavement, which he did in broken English, was with a refined sadness that quite won or hearts … During the period of embalming and watching,

¹ N. M. 1862, p. 242.
all the high chiefs live and eat in the king’s yard. It was from the king’s special affection for his daughter that she was kept unburied.«¹ STONEHEWER COOPE also confirms this long storage and artificial preservation of the body. According to him, it could even last a year. He says, »When a chief died, they make a mummy of the body and swath it in coloured bandages. It is watched for a whole year, a fire being kept beside it, which is never allowed to go out.«²

We have to add that finally the body is interred and in the end was submerged into the water.

The same motives, which are the basis of the preservation of the body in the air, seem also the motive two other customs.

Instead of the grave yard, the aristocracy sometimes buried their dead in the house with a stone fence around it. Prof. KRÄMER also heard about this custom. People told me an example from the relatively recent times. The wife of the title holding chief Sesa, the mother of a Kusaean woman who is still alive, was buried in such a fashion. The custom is thus, obvious, as people saved themselves the troubles to preserve the corpse in the air, and still had the dead around them.

Further on in one of the tales, it is mentioned that the queen did not bury her child but kept it wrapped in mats hanging in her house, until it had decomposed. Then she cleaned the bones and hung them up again. When recording this story, it was revealed that this was also one of the kinds of burials of the nobles. However, people did not know anything about hanging the bones up again like they had hung before. Moreover, they supposedly were always submerged into the water.

Thus, in Kusae quite a number of different kinds of burials were practiced at the same time. It seems to be difficult to prove that they were, without exception, elements of different cultural layers.

Funeral meal. As we have seen, in former times in case of a death, there was not only one funeral ceremony, but it was common to have several. These are:

1. hum sael (hum = earth oven, small feast, sael = funeral ceremony) this is the actual still practiced funeral meal. When the body is laid out and during the interment, relatives and acquaintances gather, who, according to the prevailing custom, all bring something and add. For the aristocracy these funeral ceremonies lasted a long time, when individual people stayed for weeks, and supposedly even for months in the house of the dead. This is also confirmed in GULICK’s last cited passage.

2. Funeral ceremony when cleaning the bones. Unfortunately the name for it is not in my notes.

3. sael in moul. This is the name for a strange ceremony, which is held while a sick or weak old person, whose days were considered numbered, is still alive (moul = alive).

¹ loc. cit.
² STONEHEWER COOPE, II, p. 267.
In such a case the oldest son decided on the ceremony, for which he and the acquaintances prepared festive dishes and brought them into the cooking house. According to the explanation of the natives, such a feast should honor the sick person and it should give him the chance to see himself once again surrounded by relatives and friends on a festive occasion, as was explained by the oldest son on the day of the feast. Maybe the remark of DEMON relates to this celebration, »If one is sick or in distress, or needs help in any other way, then it is the duty of the tribe to which he belongs to render that help. They, as speedily as possible, gather about those in distress and remain with them until relieved, or removed by death. If removed by death, they continue the attentions, supplying all the necessaries for four days of feasting after death. This is a law of the tribe, and it alereth not.«

2. The suf.

Earlier indications. Besides the sou, there was also another organization of relationship. However, its character was not yet fully understood. We already heard about it in the first sources. LESSON and DUPERREY consider it, still together with the social differences, the ones in age, and in business, summing them up in 7 »casts«. LESSON even compared them with those of India. He lists the following »casts«: 1. Urossse, 2. Pennemé, 3. Lisigné, 4. Siné or Signué, 5 Lias or Néas, 6. Metkao, 7. Memata. Of these groups only 3 belong here: Pennemé, Lisigné, and Néas. Urosse is the Marshallese word for chief; Metkao is probably identical with met-koa = fishermen of the high chiefs; Metmata = met-mata = old man. What the group of Signé means cannot be determined. DUPERREY mentions the same »casts«; only in his list the Metkao-group is replaced by the Metkos. According to a note of KRÄMER, this was a term for the population of Ualang. DUMONT D’URVILLE, contrary to LESSON and DUPERREY, reports the correct four groups and their names: Ton, Penmai, Lissinguai, and Néas. However, he, too, thinks they are »casts«. Already LÜTKE refused this assumption by calling these groups more correctly »tribus ou générations qui serves à diviser le people«. However, he does so without realizing clearly their character, as he admits himself. Further on he only mentions 3 groups: Pennemé, Tone, and Lichenghé and remarks explicitly that he did not hear about any other. KITTLITZ follows LÜTKE and reports about a division of the population into »3 tribes«. We only receive more detailed information from the missionary SNOW. He reported as the person about the four groups, which he calls Peinuui, Tou, Lisuge and Neus, and comments on their character as groups of relatives (»clannish tribes«) with matriliniarity. In addition we learn from him for the first time the local common

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1 DEMON p. 41
2 LESSON 1839, II, pp. 490.
3 DUPERREY in A.M. 1828, II, 1, p. (637).
4 RIENZI II, p. 155.
6 KITTLITZ 1858, II, p. 13.
term »se-uf« and he also gives us a definition of the individual names. According to him Tou is the name of a holy eel, Peinuii = true or correct, Lisuge = dividing, Neus = river.\textsuperscript{1} According to FINSCH, in the year 1880 »the division into tribes was hardly preserved«.\textsuperscript{2} Currently the four big groups of relatives are more or less meaningless, even though their names can still be obtained without any problem. We placed much emphasis on collecting all available material about the suf because of its significance. This it absolutely necessary in order to understand the old social circumstances, This was only possible with a great sacrifice of time on repeated trips to and around Ualang when all the oldest still existing natives of the male and female sex were extensively interviewed about this subject. Little by little the information flowed. By the end of my stay it nevertheless formed a more or less sufficient general picture. We now want to present mainly the collected material.

The four main-suf. In former times the entire population of Kusae was divided into four big groups of relatives, called suf. As far as tradition is concerned there never were more than four. Their names are:

1. Ton,
2. Pénmä,
3. Lisneï,
4. Nias

Today people still understand these suf as four big families, each of which goes back to a common ancestor. The kind of this descent is not known, except for the suf Ton. This one considers the fresh water eel ton as their common mother of the tribe, after which it has its name. The 3 other suf do not know anything about their common ancestor. Their names do not give any information about it, too. Nothing was known about their meaning. We want to mention already here that the four suf were nearly always mentioned in the above order. More about the reason for this later.

The sub-suf. The social organization is not yet finished with the four main-suf. Only after a residence of several weeks the important result became clear that each of the four main groups was divided into a number of sub groups. Only a few old people, most of them women, still knew about their existence. Initially we were only able to learn the subgroup of one person to which she personally belonged. Supposedly there was no common name for these subgroups. They were also called suf. The subgroups belonged to the four main groups, which could still be established.

I. suf Ton

1. Ton-Jämual,
2. Ton-Wukat,

\textsuperscript{1} DAMON p. 40.
\textsuperscript{2} FINSCH 1893, p. [454].
3. Ton-Kimo,
4. Ton-Nemuot,
5. Ton-Likinos,
6. Ton-Lüslüs,
7. Ton-Nono.

II. suf Pénmä
1. Pénmä-Biskof,
2. Pénmä-suf-on-muon,
3. Pénmä-Kaität,
4. Pénmä-Katinkürom.

III. suf Lisnei
1. Lisnei-Süs-Newuä,
2. Lisnei-Koa,
3. Lisnei-Kalisik,
4. Lisnei-Fasfas,
5. Lisnei-Küsük,
6. Lisnei-Näas,
7. Lisnei-Simälil.

IV. suf Nias
1. Nias-Bouwuä,
2. Nias-Boumälil.

It is unlikely that all the formerly existing subgroups are represented in this list. We can deduce from the extraordinary decline of the population in the second half of the 19th Century that individual sub-suf have died out and therefore have been forgotten. Nevertheless I gained the impression that the subgroups of the first three main-suf were quite complete as all their names were more or less often mentioned and when dealing more intently individual persons could remember several subgroups. Both subgroups of the main-suf Nias had been nearly completely forgotten, their names were only mentioned two or three times. The 6th subgroup of the main-suf Lisnei is very doubtful. Its name had only been mentioned once. It seems that there is a case of confusion with the main-suf Nias.

The subgroups get their special meaning from the fact that formerly each one of them had their tribal legend. Unfortunately it was no longer possible to get them for all the subgroups. As far as it was possible, we mention them here for the better understanding of the character of the suf and its social organization.

The suf-legends.
1. Legends of the suf Ton.

I. Ton-Jämual.

Once upon a time a woman, Iäka-Inso, lived in Lölö at the place Inso. She had many children. One day she went fishing with her daughters to the place Fenmüisin in Lölö. One daughter did not pay attention with her masa-net. She did not know how to use it correctly. In her case all the fish got through it so that not a single one
was caught. Then the mother got angry and hit the girl. The girl ran away to the hamlet Jämual, actually to Infoude and stayed with the people living there. These people gave the girl food and were good to her. One day the girls saw a young Ton-eel in the river. She fed it and went there each day for the same reason, until it was big. Then one day she found a small girl on the riverbank, who had been born by the eel. She took it home with her and brought her up. It grew into a beautiful girl with a light shiny skin. When she had grown up people talked a lot about her beauty and about her descent and the tidings also reached the King in Lölö. Thus, he sailed to Jämual and had a look at the girl. He like her very much, took her with him to Lölö and made her his queen. He chased away his first wife. The highest ranking and most respected part of the suf-Ton stems form this girl. In former times the kings always married woman from this suf.

2. Ton-Wukat.

A ton-eel in the river Infäl-Sisik in Wukat gave birth to a girl. When she had grown up she was very beautiful. One day she made a head wreath from wild, red taro blossoms. People passing by, on their way to Lölö, saw her. There they told the King about the girl and her beauty. He left immediately and had a look at the girl and made her his wife.

3. Ton-Kimo.

A man called Nikon in Pötak had a wife with the name Ninap. He lived with her on a small island in the mangrove channel of Pötak. One day Nikon said to Ninap, »I want to go upriver and will work there. When I throw something into the water do not fish it out. Actually, do not fish at all in the river during my absence.« But the woman did not listen to the words of her husband. He threw an old basket into the water, and it drifted downriver. Ninap fished it out of the water and took it home with her. She went into the house through the side entrance. When she looked into the basket, she saw a small kimo-shell inside, which turned into a girl. Then the woman got angry. She knew now that her husband had gone into the mountains because of this girl. Kimo jumped out of the basket and sat down at the left door that led to the house’s front wall of the gable. She said, »I am Ninap and you are Kimo.« However, Ninap replied, »No, I am Ninap, you were a small kimo-shell.« They squabbled about which one of them was Ninap the wife of Nikon. Ninap finally sat down and did not say anything anymore. When Nikon returned home, he turned his wife out of his house and married Kimo. Both went to the other small island near by and lived there. Kimo gave birth to 5 children. Once Kimo said to Nikon, »Make a hum I want to go and visit Ninap.« She went and took some freshly cooked breadfruits and

\[1\] Usually the secondary wives of the high chiefs, especially the ones of the king and of Kanko were called Ninap or Kason Ninap. Nikon supposedly was a second title for the last one.
taro for Ninap with her. When Ninap saw Kimo coming, she turned into a pretty, young girl with shiny skin and she also made her child beautiful. When Kimo saw her in this way, she said to Ninap, »Oh, what a beautiful woman you are, and how beautiful your child is! With what are you washing yourself?« Ninap replied, »I take fish intestines.« She had two cups with intestines of kepat-fish ready.¹ Ninap said, »When you come to Nikon tell him to give you two such bowls of kepat-intestines. Then you wash yourself first with the content of their first bowl and then with the one of the second.« When Kimo came home Nikon had to get her two bowls filled with such intestines. Then she, together with her youngest child, immersed herself first into the first bowl, then into the second. Yet, when she had done that, she and her child got a rash everywhere and their skin itched constantly. Both of them called for Nikon, »Come, scratch me, scratch my side, scratch my back!« While Nikon scratched his wife the child cried and when he scratched the child then his wife called for him. Thus it went day by day. Finally Nikon got tired if it. He took his healthy four children with him and put fire to the house in which his wife and the youngest child still were, so that both of them died. Afterwards he regretted what he had done and constantly had to think of it. This made him melancholic. He lost his hair and died.

Once a canoe passed the island, on which Nikon’s daughters still lived in order to go to Jöla. Then Nikon’s oldest daughter stepped into the canoe and called out to her siblings, »I go with them to Jöla!« In Jöla she got married. One day her husband went into the mountains in order to plant bananas. His wife though went to the mouth of the river to bathe there. She was a very beautiful woman with a shiny skin. In that moment the King passed by. He ordered the woman to step in and said to her, »I take you with me to Lölö and will make you my wife.« When they arrived in front of the King’s residence at the landing place Penkom, the King said to her, »Go now to Inkal-sisik.« She replied, »No.« The King said, »Then go to Inlokpus.« She replied, »No.« The King said, »Go to Mununlos.« The woman replied, »No.« Thus, the King asked her, »Where do you want to stay?« She answered, »There!« Let a place be cleared for me there, I will call it Kenjöla, because I am coming from Jöla. The King had a house built for her in this place and she lived there. The queen however was angry about the concubine, and she got sick and died. Then the King made his concubine to be his queen and brought her to Pösal.

When the woman was queen, one day a külüü-bird came flown from Jeïr and said to her. »Our family sends me, you should come to Jeïr.« When the King came home his wife told him and he replied, »Good.« Then the queen jumped on the back of the bird and flew with it to Jeïr, to the island Taroa and lived there with her family until she died. Later on two relatives sailed in two canoes

¹ This supposedly is a black bad smelling fish.
from Taroa to Kusae, in order to visit their relatives there. One canoe landed in Safoirä, the other one in Pilijoil.

The three other children of Kimo, a man and two women, remained in Kusae. The suf Ton-Kimo has two mothers, one is the kimo-shell, the other is the külül.

4. Ton-Nemuot.

The tribal legend is unknown. The suf has only been mentioned once by an old woman in Täf, who also had named the other groups correctly. Nemuot is a region on the south coast of Ualang.

5. Ton-Likinos.

A long time ago, people sighted a canoe from abroad by the small passage Dukunso in front of Likinlöläm. There it met a fishing canoe from Kusae. The foreigners asked which suf the kings of Kusae belonged to. People answered them, »The suf Ton.« The foreigners replied, »We are also Ton and want to stay here. We will call ourselves Ton-Likinos.«

The name supposedly points out that the suf got the name outside (likin) of the surf (os), or has come froms outside the surf on the open sea.

6. Ton-Lüslüs.

The tribal legend is not known. The name was defined in the following way: lüslüs = »surround, fence.« The suf was a »low« group, which surrounded the »higher« Ton-groups.

7. Ton-Nono.

The tribal legend is not known. This group, too, has been mentioned only once. Nono, supposedly is the name of a variety of tree.

II. Suf Penmä.

1. Penmä-Biskof.

The tribal legend is not known. The suf supposedly came from abroad, from the Jipan = the Marshall Islands. According to another statement they supposedly are descendents from the water (kof). The meaning of this, if they come from the water or from overseas, could not be learned.

2. Penmä-suf-on-muon.

The tribal legend is not known. The mother of this suf was sük = the frigate bird, therefore, its name suf-on-muon = »bird-suf«.

Insomuon, a compound in the ruins of Lölö was mentioned as the old seat of this group. The name of this compound supposedly means »stump« and seems to come from the fact that once upon a time members of this suf cut off the wings of their »mother«, the frigate bird, so that she died. She was buried in the compound. This act caused a dispute in the family in the course of which a faction moved to Ualang, actually to Jämual, Läl and other regions. Since then the two factions were
in conflict, over which one of them would be the older and »higher« one. Each one maintained the other one had been brought to Kusae by them. Once upon a time the suf supposedly arrived in a canoe.

Although the frigate bird was taboo for its members, they could kill though not eat it. According to the story about the compound this also seems not to have the fact in former times.

3. Penmä-Kaität.

Once upon a time, two canoes from abroad came into the vicinity of the south coast of Kusae. Over the long sea voyage Kaität-shells had attached themselves to the bottom of one canoe. When people in the other canoe noticed this they no longer wanted to travel together. Therefore, the first canoe sailed alone up the east coast of Ualang and landed in Sialat, where it still lies turned into stone. The other canoe, however, landed in Nefalil and lies there turned into stone. The passengers of the Nefalil-canoe went to Wukat and lived there in the place Jesla. Later on, some of them came to Lölö and married into the aristocracy. The Penmä-people of the other canoe lived in Sialat, later they also came to Lölö and married into the aristocracy. This last group did not have a special name.

In former times, the members of the suf Penmä-Kaitat killed a girl of the nameless Penmä group and buried her in a place in Lölö, which people still know today. Therefore, these two suf live on constant animosity.

The female storyteller added: All Penmä are one big family and came from abroad.

4. Penmä-Katinkürom

Once upon a time, this suf came in a canoe from the island Tona in Jeir and landed in Tafojat. Among the passengers was a woman called Katinkürom. The descendents of this woman spread to the regions Piljoil, Mäläm, Tenuak, Pok, Sänsik and over Lük on Lölö. The members of this suf were not allowed to eat the kind of dove mulä, as it was considered their »mother«. When a pregnant woman of the suf just touched a mulä-dove her child became spotted like the legs of the dove.

III. suf-Lisnei.

1. Lisnei-süs-Neoa.

God Söap lived on the island Jap. Once upon a time the süs-bird tried to steal bananas, which had been planted on a mountain peak of the island, which belonged to the god. Then Söap chased the bird away. This one flew away from Jap to Kusae and sat down on a basalt block in the river Innem. The suf Lisnei-süs-Neoa is descended from it.

2. Lisnei-Koa.

Once upon a time a royal canoe with workers of the King sailed to Limes1 in order to work there

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1 Situated inland on the channel of Pötak.
A koa\(^1\) lived there and smelled sugar cane in the canoe. It tried to climb into the canoe, however it always crawled across the platform and fell into the water on the other side. When the workers came back they placed the koa into the canoe and sailed with her to Jalos in the region Pikisik, where they lived. The koa lived there among them like a human being. It had two daughters Nikois and Biäna. Each of them, in turn, gave birth to one daughter. However, Nikois devoured the child of Biäna. Then Biäna moved away and went to Bokobat in the region Mäläm. There she gave birth to a second daughter. Once this girl was playing in the river with a leaf of makak-grass, which she left floating. However, the leaf with the girl on top drifted to the open sea to the island Muäë, an island of Jipan. Nakalen and his wife Likinmuäë lived on Muäë, they both belonged to the suf Penmä. Their daughter found the Kusaean child on the beach. She said to it, »I take you as my sister.« She grew up and later on convinced her foster parents and their daughter to sail with her to Kusae and to live there. They sailed there and made landfall in the region Sialat. The canoe, turned into stone, is still there, lying on the reef.

The older sister of Biäna, Nikois had stayed in Kusae and moved to the place Fenkoror in Lölö, in order to live here.

The sea cucumber koa was taboo for this suf. As she is not considered to be a desirable animal, she was also not eaten by the other suf.\(^2\)

3. Lisnei-Kalisik.

Once upon a time a kalisik-fish lived in a spot on the reef in Lölö in the region of Wukat. One day the fish swam to Fenolof, the neighboring region of Wukat. There it gave birth to a girl with the name Nikäwuak. The girl lived in Fenolof and in the place Käwuak, she gave birth to a son. Therefore, he was called Käwuak. An old man called Kiräwuan found the girl right after her birth. He took her with him to Wukat, gave her a clothing mat, as she had been completely naked before, and he married her. As his wife she gave birth to many children.

4. Lisnei-Fasfas.

Once upon a time, a girl lived on the place Matansem in Lölö. She was very beautiful. Two men saw her and told the King about her beauty. He immediately wanted to have a look at her. As people were just then preparing fafa, he ordered them to finish it quickly. Therefore, the fafa-cooks did not pour any elis-broth\(^3\) over the fafa, but

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\(^1\) Red, thick sea cucumber, as is common on the outer reef.

\(^2\) The deceased king, who at the time of the expeditions lived on Kusae, belonged to this suf. He contradicted this fact and counted himself a member of a suf called Lisnei Dagolos. According to him, this suf also migrated from Jipan (the Marshall Islands) and landed in-between Sialat and Pikisik in a place called Jalos, where the canoe, turned into stone, is still lying. Like him, his old sister also denied their membership of the suf Lisnei-Koa. However, several people assured me, strictly in confidence, that this was not true. A suf called suf Dagolos had never existed, this was only another name for Lisnei-Koa, which the members of this suf had invented because they were ashamed to descent from such a detested koa. Dagolos supposedly has the meaning of »descent«.

\(^3\) Red sauce made of sugar cane and pressed out coconut milk.
only with pressed out coconut milk. The King ate quickly, went to the girl and because he liked her very much, he made her his wife. The suf Lisnei-Fasfas\(^1\) is descended from her.

5. Lisnei-Küsük.

The rat (küsük) was the overseer of a field of sugar cane in heaven. Once, when it was on guard in the sugar cane, it suddenly heard the sugar cane worm eating in the cane. As it did not know how this sound was created, it placed its ear to the cane to hear well. As this also did not give it any information, the rat bit into the cane, at the spot where it rustled. Up to this moment the rat had never eaten any sugar cane. Now it suddenly made the discovery that sugar cane tasted very sweet. From then on, it no longer cared about the plantation but started to eat it up. When god Nälok came there and saw the disaster, he became angry and scolded it severely. He bound the rat and gave her a beating, bashing out all its teeth, then he chased it from heaven to earth. He threw it onto a stone on the mountain Matanneneā in the region with the same name in Ualang. The stone is still there and it is called et in küsük (»stone of the rat«). Here a man found it. As the rat had no teeth, he inserted new ones, made from pieces of the midrib of coconut frond, two on top and two below. Now the rat lived on the stone until one day she gave birth to a small girl with the name Insonlan. During the day the girl remained with her mother, the rat, though at night she went to the sandy beach on Pisin, where the children from Lölö used to play akuak. She hid behind a stone on the reef that is still laying there and watched the children. When, in the course of the play they passed first in front of the stone and then in the back of it, the girl joined them unnoticed as the last one. She was a very beautiful child, however, she had a tar tail. In order to cover it she wore a long clothing mat. Because of her beauty everyone soon noticed her. People talked about her and the King, too, heard about her. At night he went there to watch the game and to look at the girl. She seemed so beautiful to him that he fetched her from among the players and brought her home as his wife. As he had already a wife he took her as kasoa Nimuā.\(^2\)

She now tried to hide her rat-tail from the King, because she was very much ashamed of it. However, one night, when they were playing together and loved each other the King noticed it. Thus, he decided to leave her. He gave her a coconut shell, in which he had made a small hole and asked her to fetch drinking water from the spring in the place Silatu on the side of the harbor of Lölö. The woman filled the shell, yet halfway back it had emptied, so she ran back to the spring to fill it anew. However, it always had the same fate as before. In the meantime the King had called all the people together.

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\(^1\) Fasfas = white. It seems the group is called like this because the king ate that fafa with white pressed milk instead of red elis-broth.

\(^2\) This means a woman which is not befitting somebody’s social standing. Nimuā = Ninap? Remark p. 319.
and left Kusae with them in many canoes, in order to leave the woman back there alone. When she saw the canoes sailing away, she ran to the passage of the harbor, to the black stone there, which is called after her, Nimuā. There she just met the last canoe. It was the one of Sebas. She jumped in, but the canoe was too small and sank. Thus, she jumped again into the water and swam back on shore. There she plucked a big koja-blossom and hit her front with it, so that the blossom opened up. Then a boy called Näbas came out of it ........................ 1


The name of this subgroup was only mentioned once by a woman who in reference to it pronounced the name of the suf Nias like Näas. It seems that this is a confusion of the suf Nias with the suf Lisnei, which the woman however denied. In addition, she only knew to mention that this subgroup had come to Kusae from abroad.

7. Lisnei-Simälil.

The group came in a canoe from an unknown place and was shipwrecked on the northern reef of Lölö-Harbor’s passage. All the passengers drowned, apart from 2 women who were saved by people from Lölö. Their names are Sügub and Bedago, their Mother had been called Simälil and was a crab. The daughter of Sügub was also a crab with the name Köräs. The whole group descended from the 2 women.

IV. The suf Nias.

1. Nias-Bouwuä.

Bouwuä, a big salt-water crab, came from Jipan (Marshall Islands) to Kusae, actually the region Nefalil. There she gave birth to 8 children. All of them moved to Lölö, where they lived in Maräka. At this time, all eight siblings were kings. The real King of Lölö, who lived in Jat asked, »Who has made them kings?« They do not belong to Kusae, they belong to a foreign island!« In those days the suf Ton was the royal suf. The King sent his man to Maräka and had the 8 brothers killed. To their children however, he sent the message that they could continue to stay in Kusae, though a member of the suf Niäs would never become King of Kusae. Later on, the children dispersed to all regions of Ualang, some also remained in Lölö.

The crab Bouwuä was eaten by all Kusaceans, however, members of this suf were not allowed to eat it.

2. Niäs-Boumälil.

The tribal legend had been forgotten. The suf takes its name after a small sea crab called Boumälil. According to the definition of the natives

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1 As a comparison, still made in Kusae, revealed, the last parts of this legend are combined with a legend about a spirit, which Prof. KRÄMER had recorded. Unfortunately, people were not able to tell the real ending of the suf legend. Concerning the legend about the spirit see under ‘Legends and Fairy Tales’.
bouwuä mualil supposedly = »the crab, which gathers«. These crabs are very numerous where the reef is bare at low tide. Then they always appear in hordes.¹

Members of this suf could no longer be identified, they supposedly are extinct.

**General concerning the suf-legends.** The cited legend is unfortunately not complete. From only 13 of the 20 suf do we have tribal legends, or at least a short report about their descent, of which the last ones obviously have only a fragmentary character.

The material speaks for itself that these tales are old legends of Kosrae, even though it is only backed by a few informants, so that we do not have to speak further about it.

Several legends report beyond the concerned subgroup, statements about other subgroups, without defining them in more detail. We can hardly deduce from this, as the natives did, that these were nameless subgroups. As long as I only knew a few subgroups by name people always asserted that the other known ones had no special name.

It is also meaningless that, according to the legend of Penmä-Kaitat, another Penmä-group claims the same coral rock in front of Sialat as their canoe, like the group Lisnei-Koa.

Important is the remark, that the natives called the suf-legends »samsam« = tales of a historic kind, their content being based on real events.

**The suf as a totem group.** According to the tribal legends and the attached and added remarks the understanding for the character of the suf is strongly supported. At first the legends betray a strong totemistic character.

In this respect, the special place of the main suf Ton must be pointed out once again. Without any doubt, all subgroups venerated the ton-eel as a totemistic animal. Even now people assured us of it, just as it is also expressed in the name of all ton groups. Even the fact that only 2 of the 7 subgroups have legends where they originate from that eel cannot change anything, or that the legend of the Ton-Kimo introduces a second and even a third totemistic animal in the kimo-shell and the küülü (= beach runner*). The circumstance that the küülü appears as a messenger from abroad points out that it had not been native to the group in Kosrae. Due to the common respect and veneration of the same totem animal, all ton groups certainly form

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¹ The same word seems to be in Simälil (Lisnei-Simälil).
a unified totem group. The veneration of the ton-eel as a common nina (=mother) also concerned the ban to touch it, to kill it, or to eat it. FINSCH further reports that dead eels, when they were found, were carefully wrapped in mats and buried with the same ceremonies and honors as high chiefs.\(^1\) Conspicuously, the veneration of the ton eel did not stop at the border of the suf. It is the only animal, venerated in the same way by the entire population. However, a historic tradition accounts that once the taboo of the eel was broken and it had been eaten during a great famine, caused by a severe typhoon. The general acceptance of the taboo in the entire population indicates the special social standing of the suf. The taboo of the eel and the reluctance to break it is still observed to the present time. However, when Europeans were breaking it, this seems not to have insulted the natives. They did not bother when FIN SCH was catching holy eels and also did not show any displeasure when KITTLITZ, still in the heathen times shot one of them.\(^2\) Although the natives do kill eels today, as I have seen myself, and they also offer them for sale on the ships, however they cannot be coaxed to eat them. People barricade themselves behind excuses that they do not taste well or that it was an old tradition. At this point, we also want to mention that contrary to this the totem animals of the other groups forfeited their taboo in the present time, with the exception of the knowledgeable people, who still know their special totem animal.

Within the main suf Ton the individual subgroups behave in this respect like independent totem groups, as for instance the legends for Ton-Jämu al, Ton-Wukat and Ton-Kimo, when they prove their descent from different eel-individuals or as in one case (Ton-Kimo), from another animal.

The special totemistic conception of the main-suf Ton and their subgroups has no counterpart in the other 3 main suf. There is no clue that Penmä, Lisnei and Nias represent three big totem groups. The definition, as has been given by SNOW (see on top of p. 317) are a reason against it. It is different with the individual subgroups.

Of the 4 Penmä-groups none has an actual totem-legend, however, for 2 of them the character of a totem group has been established, for the Penmä-suf-on-muon with the descent-mother sük = the frigate bird and for Penmä Katinkürom with the descent mother mulö = the dove.

Of the 7 subgroups of the suf Lisnei the totemistic descent has been ascertained for 5 of them. These five groups and their totems are:

Lisnei-Süs-Neoa with the totem süs (Mycomela rubrata, Less.; Zyrnyris rubrater, KITTLITZ).

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\(^1\) FINSCH 1893, p. [456].
\(^2\) loc. cit.
Lisnei-Koa with the totem koa (kind of sea cucumber).
Lisnei-Kalisisk with the totem kalisik (kind of fish).
Lisnei-Küsük with the totem küsük (rat).
Lisnei-Simälil with the totem simälil and koräs (crabs).

We could not learn anything about a taboo on these 5 totem animals for the respective groups.
The Main suf Nias with its 2 subgroups only shows a totemistic descent for the subgroup Nias-Bouwuä. Its nina is bouwa, a big saltwater crab and it was taboo for its descendents.

After this overview, and considering all the Ton-groups the totemistic character of 15 of the 20 sub-suf has been established. Without hesitation, we can also add the groups Nias-Boumälil and Penmä-Kaitat. The name of both of them indicates this, for the second one also the suf’s relationship to the Kaität-shell. If we leave the group Lisnei-Kaität aside due to doubts, then the number of suf amounts to 17 of 19 subgroups. Nothing indicates the totemistic character of the two remaining groups Penmä-Biskof and Lisnei-Fasfas. However, when we consider that this does not even have to be indicated by the name, as the example of Penmä-Katimkürom proves and if we also consider the deep far-reaching decline of the local culture, then, under the pressure of these circumstances from 16 to 18, there should be no reservation to draw conclusions, that in former times all sub-suf were totem groups.

In adition, we have to remark that the totems of Kusae were all animals, only the name of Ton-Nono supposedly refers to a tree.

The suf as a place group. As one more characteristic of the suf as a totemistic group we want to cite a remark by LÜTKE, »Les urosses de la seconde classe et les individus du people son toujours de la même classe que l’ urosse principal, don’t ils dependent.«¹ This remark refers to the respective suf of the mayors of the villages and to one of their chiefs, the way LÜTKE came to know the circumstances in the village Läl. This remark states that each village represented the place group of a certain suf. Considering the present meaninglessness of the suf and the current trait to form smaller villages, we no longer can examine if this remark is correct. However, some circumstances indicate this: The descent from certain region of the suf-groups, indicated by their names or by the legends. The scarce number of villages and their small size. Further on, the statement that the plot of land Insomuon is the family seat of the Penmä-suf-on-muon. However, there are serious doubts against it. First of all, the statement that at marriage a woman followed her husband

¹ LÜTKE 1835/36 I, p. 350 »The urosse of the second calss and the common people are always of the same tribe as the principal urosse on whom they depend.« R.+R. 1982, p. 113.
and that the oldest son was the heir and manager of the plot of land the house stood on. Consequently, inheritance of the suf on the mother’s side makes a geographical communal living of the suf-members, just like the existence of tribal seats, impossible. According to LÜTKE, the village Läl belonged to the suf Penmä, however, according to KITTLITZ, the wife of the mayor of Läl obviously was a Lisnei.¹ KITTLITZ already points to a contradiction in LÜTKE, too. According to him, all high chiefs only belonged to the suf Ton and Penmä, however, this would be impossible if the villages were place-groups of the suf and their high chief belonged to the same suf. These contradictions dissolve once we assume that the possession rights, which were strongly connected with matrilinearity, were already in conversion to patrilineal ones.

Matrilineage and the suf. The natives contradicted each other answering this question. Belonging to a main or sub-suf was without any doubt according to the mother. SNOW already testifies this for the 4 main-suf.²

Marriage limitations and the suf. In this question the natives contradicted each other. They consent in so far that there was no marriage ban between the individual main-suf. However, it is quite certain that even between the subgroups of the same main-suf, people were only unable to marry within the same sub-suf. SNOW’s statement does not contradict this custom, but we have to keep in mind that he only knew about the 4 main-suf, »The Kusaiens marry in the most indiscriminate manner possible.«³

When afterwards, in historical time, the main-suf and the sub-suf, were still exogamous marriage-groups, only as individual groups, then, without any doubt the actual meaning of the structuring in suf was contained in this. A comparison with the closely related neighboring areas can still reveal how the relationship of the upper–groups and the sub-groups were regulated and how far a class distinction existed.

Origin of the suf. While we could not learn more about the common historic fate of the main group beyond the statement that they each were a big family, the existing material about the sub-suf contains a strong historic moment, concerning their descent and the migrations. When the natives consider the suf-legends as »historic« accounts, we might as well consent.

From the 7 subgroups of the suf Ton 3 claim to be native from Kusae. We probably can also include here the subgroup Ton-Nemuot that does not have a legend. In an analogy with other groups its second name also indicates a region of Kusae as its place of origin. Two subgroups of Ton have

¹ Compare KITTLITZ 1858, II, p. 13.
² DAMON p. 40.
³ DAMON loc. cit.
immigrated to Kusae: Ton-Likinos and probably also Ton-Kimo. Concerning the first one, we do not learn anything about its former place of origin. The second part of the name is completely identical with the name Lukunor, however there is no reason to deduce from this close relationship, a conclusion other than the explanation of the natives about the development of this name (compare p. 321).

Concerning the Ton-Kimo, we have a contradiction in the local descent, and the sudden statement of relatives in the Taroa (Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands?). One daughter of Kimo emigrates there and after her death her relatives move from there to Kusae.

Within the main group Penmä the statement of descent for the subgroup Penmä-Katimküron is especially remarkable. Here we have, for the first time, a historic reminiscence for quite an incredible distance. There is hardly another explanation than that Tona, situated in the South, is the Polynesian island group Tonga. This special standing is quite remarkable. Even other groups have kept the memory of their immigration, without calling them »foreigners« and giving them privileges. Nobody had an explanation for this. Maybe it is possible to explain it when we consider the term »foreigners« in the sense that these two groups did not come from islands situated within the well known geographical horizon, with which people had contact and felt connected due to family relationships. People could easily bestow special privileges to such immigrants who did not know the perception of the Kusaeans concerning their custom and tradition. This combination is definitely well supported for Penmä-Katinkürom, due to their descent from far away Tonga. However, concerning the group Ton-Kimo there is a difficulty. Based on this combination, its roots in Kusae were not well established. It certainly had connections to relatives in the south, while the like are not mentioned again with any of the other groups.

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1 Jeir = south.
2 This subgroup was the first one I learned about. By its investigation I actually came to discover the existence of the subgroups. My translator Kelafa-Kön belonged to this subgroup. One day he told me that in former times there had been many Tona-people in Kusae. In a later discussion with his mother, my suspicion, that there had been a Tongan settlement at the time of the whalers proved to be wrong.
All this seems to indicate that already, at an early stage, the Kusaeans lost the awareness about their relationship with the south, which, considering their culture, they must have had.

Penmä-Kaitat also comes from »abroad«.

Concerning the other 2 subgroups of Penmä, we only have the statement of origin Jipan = Marshall Islands for Biskof. Maybe this is the unclearly identified Penmä-group, which is mentioned in relation to immigration from the island Muäe, in the legend of the suf Lisnei-Koa. Similar is the subgroup Penmä-suf-on-muon. Here, too, the memory of immigration is still kept without mentioning the former home island. Maybe it is identical to the Penmä-groups, which arrived at the same time with Penmä-Kaität, but separated from it when they arrived. We also heard about disputes of Suf-on-muon with another group.

According to the legends of the 6 known subgroups of the suf Lisnei 3 have immigrated: Süs-Neoa, Küsük, and Simäll. The legend of the first one mentioned leads us, for the second time, beyond the neighborhood of Kusae, 3000 km away, to Yap as their place of origin. The fact that the island Jap of the legend is characterized as a mountainous island, proves that it can only be the island Yap. If the suf Penmä-Katinkürom bridged Micronesia with Central Polynesia, then the legend of this suf brings the east and west end of the Carolines into an immediate family connection (compare also p. 220).

The group Lisnei-Küsük indicates that their home is heaven. This general statement can maybe be made more precise by considering the following 2 moments. The analogy in the beginning of the legend with the one of the tribal legend of Süs-Neoa is undeniable. In both cases the totem animal sinned against the gods by stealing from their plantation. This correlation in 2 subgroups of the same main-suf creates the supposition, that both legends are staged in the same place, in Yap. In this we are supported by the fact, that Yap plays a special role as the habitat of the Kusaean gods.

The place of origin for Simäll is not mentioned.

The 3 other subgroups of Lisnei, L.-Koa, L.-Kalísik, L.-Fasfas supposedly are from Kusae.

From the 2 groups of the suf Nias the group N.-Bouwuä is not local but immigrated from the Marshall Islands, while we have no information about the other one.

Unfortunately, an overview of the origin of the individual suf-groups shows many gaps. Nevertheless, the material is rich enough to allow a few conclusions about the settling of Kusae:

Of the 7 groups the suf Ton 6 have a place of descent. Of these 4 (including T.-Kimo 5) are considered local, one, T.-Likinos (2 with T.-Kimo) have immigrated.
All the 4 groups of suf Penmä have immigrated, 1 from the south (Tona), 1 from the east (Muäe), 2 from unknown places of origin.

All 6 groups of the suf Lisnei have a place of origin. 3 supposedly originated in Kusae, one, L.-Süs-Neoa came from Yap an another, L.-Küsük probably also from there. The last came from an unknown place of origin.

From the 2 groups of the suf Nias, one comes from the east (Marshall Islands).

Accordingly we can state, as far as it is still known, that of all the 4 main suf only subgroups of Ton and Lisnei claim to have originated in Kusae. This means these 2 suf seemed to have been regarded, within some of their groups, as the oldest inhabitants. In Ton this is the most prominent. This seems to have to do with the view that this suf is considered the noblest one of Kusae. It is always mentioned first and the entire population considered its totem animal taboo. In contrast, all existing information about the descent of the suf Penmä and Nias reports about immigration, this means, their members considered themselves as younger settlers of the island.

Concerning the direction of origin of the main-suf, as far as it is proven for their subgroups and after having surveyed all the information, we can say the following: Ton had immigration from the south, according to the legend of Ton-Kimo. Penmä only knows immigration from the south (Tona) and east (Marshall Islands). Lisnei reports about immigration from the west (Yap). Nias talks about immigration from the east (Marshall Islands).

Thus, we have the result that Kusae was settled from two sides. On one side from the other Caroline Islands and from the Marshall Islands, Gilbert Islands and Polynesia on the other side. The places of origin the farthest away are Tonga and Yap.

We do not want to forget to mention that Capt. HAMMET en passant states in his report that, according to the legend, the natives had come many years ago from Banaba (Ocean Island).

Besides immigration to Kusae we can also notice emigration. A legend, see further down, of the suf Ton, talks about emigration to the west, the legend of Kon-Kimo and emigration to Muäe in the Marshall Islands, and a later immigration back.

The emigration of Kusaeans to the west is also confirmed by other testimonies: First by a legend about a lucky war against Ponape and settlement of the island. In addition to the west, beyond Truk, there are families on different island, who claim to be descendents of Kusaeans (compare p. 221).

We still want to mention here the remark of the old King that all 4 main-suf of Kusae also exist in the Marshall Islands.
The collected material does not say anything, besides the statement of a common
descent, about the development of the suf and especially of the main-suf. In several
cases the separation in subgroups seems to have been caused by the different historic fate
of individual female ancestors or also because of family disputes.

3. The Classes.

Besides a structure in groups of relatives there existed a strong division of the
population into 2 social classes, the aristocracy = lem and the common people = met
sisik. It was not possible to learn the meaning of the word lem; met sisik means literally
»small people«.1 As important as both these classes were for the people, in present time
there are only traces left of it.

1. Origin of the classes. For the understanding of the origin of the two classes, first
of all, it is important that the difference between them was most of all based on a
difference of place. The small island Lölö was the residence of the aristocracy, the main
island Ualang and the other secondary land on the other side was home for the met sisik.
The aristocracy never took permanent residence on Ualang, Lölö on the other hand was,
besides them, also inhabited by met sisik. Both currently uninhabited districts Safoirä and
Lük were inhabited by them.2 These are two regions, which are geographically
unfavorable. Both are far away from the harbor and form the small shore area in front of
the northern and eastern slope of the mountain that is especially steep here.

One more reason for the origin of the two classes could be their relationship to the
suf. The natives correlate in their statements that the members of the suf Nias belonged
exclusively to the met sisik. However, this simple allotment did not exist within the other
suf. On the contrary, each of the three other main suf as each of their subgroups were
supposed to comprise, at the same time, aristocrats and common people. In other words:
The two classes were in these 3 suf related by the bond of the suf. Therefore, it cannot
have been that, for instance, a certain suf was only found on Ualang as well as on Lölö.
The content of some of the suf-legends correlates with this, where the respective suf
stretched over Ualang and Lölö, and it even became lem in the last place. With reference
to this we can also remember LÜTKE’S remark, that the villages on Ualang supposedly
were place groups of the suf and stood under the power of a chief of their suf, who lived
in Lölö (p. 328). Considering all this we come first to the conclusion, that besides

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1 Concerning age groups compare p. 303.
2 In KRÄMER’S notes we can find a message that the population of Ualang was called met kos (p. 316). I
had never heard this expression, however already DUPERREY already counted the Metkos as a »caste«,
who probably is identical with the metkao of LESSON (compare above p. 316.). If met kos is a synonym
for met sisik or if the met sisik from Ualang or indicates a special stratum among these, remains to be
seen.
the Suf Nias the division of the population into classes did not have anything to do with a recognizable membership according to suf.

We can cite one more account of the natives to support this statement. In former times, when people from Ualang visited Lölö, and especially on the occasion of feasts when many of them came, there were often disputes, where people from Ualang did not recognize the superiority by birth of their suf relatives. Some people from Ualang even insisted to stand above them by birth, because they originated from the older line. This shows that suf and classes did not correlate. However, we can also state, that the difference of the classes stood in contradiction to the opinion of the people about the natural privilege of the first born. This is very strongly developed in the closer family. Also the geographical division of the estates also supports this. It would be difficult to explain the origin of the aristocracy from older family lines. It also seems the estates did not develop on this natural basis either.

Thus, as an explanation, we only have the geographic division of the two main islands or better the restriction of the aristocracy on Lölö. These striking circumstances could easily lead to the assumption that the Kusaean aristocracy is a foreign element of population, which settled on the secondary island. Due to their industriousness they became the people dominating Ualang. With this theory people already tried to explain the ruins on Lölö. The natives violently disagree and there is not the slightest hint for it in their tradition.—It is obvious that an invasion of a foreign race, as things are, would have caused wars, and this could not easily have been driven out of memory. Therefore, the distribution of the different suf over the entire island of Kusae, including Lölö and the family ties between Lölö and Ualang, in other words, between the aristocracy and the common people, do not indicate such a hypothesis. Consequently, there must have been another reason and a very powerful one, which caused the two classes, the strict social division between the two islands, by which even the connection of the suf were disregarded and broken. In our opinion, it lies in the natural economic difference between the two islands. Here is not the place to elaborate on it. We will come back to it when we discuss the circumstances of the state.

Nevertheless, the exceptional position of the suf-Nias in comparison to the three other main-suf, by only having met sisik members, must be explained. We seem to find the reason in the legend of the suf Nias Bowuá, according to which an unlucky rebellion against the existing circumstances of the state excluded them forever from the »throne«.

We still have to remark that a statement of LÜTKE could
lead to the conclusion that the suf Lisnei also consisted only of met sisik. LÜTKE said once that he never met a title holding chief, who totally derived from the aristocracy, coming from this suf. Contrary to this we can cite the statements of the natives as well as historic facts of recent history, even a statement of LESSON. According to him, this suf forms a »still honored caste«. We also do not want to keep silent that, according to DUMONT D’URVILLE, there were chiefs of the suf-Lisnei as well as of Nias. However, he did notice the low standing of this last suf.

**II. The aristocracy.** Before we talk about the external relationship of the two classes we want to get better acquainted with the character of the aristocracy. According to the statement of the natives, it was a nobility by birth, which was formed, as we had already mentioned, by the individual families of the three suf, Ton, Penmä and Lisnei. It seems they really stayed closed off and strictly avoided marriages with the other population.

As the aristocracy has as good as died out in present time, we cannot be surprised if the natives are no longer able to give precise information on all the related questions. Thus, we still do not know whether only individual subgroups of the three suf formed the aristocracy. It can be deducted from the suf legends and other stories there were marriages between the aristocracy and the inhabitants of Ualang. Even the King did not restrain himself to marry female beauties from among the common people. People even knew to tell general stories, besides these legendary examples, that in former times the aristocracy often kidnapped women from Ualang. Yet they kept these women mostly as secondary wives and concubines. Nevertheless, the legends and tales report lawful marriages of these two classes. Generally, however, it could have been that in the heyday of Kusae such marriages were considered misalliances and that children who were born from a morganatic marriage, between a lem woman and a met sisik man, were considered met sisik. In the other case it was a question of the influence of the father, if he could save his children or not, from the fate of the stigma of a low birth. If he was able to do so, it supposedly did not last beyond the span of his life. According to the opinion of the people, such offspring were not considered as pure lem. Therefore, once the influence of the father was gone, the veneration, which was expressed in front of the aristocracy, was stopped.

We recorded genealogical tables of the noble families in order to examine the characteristics of the nobles as an aristocracy by birth, further on, to gain insight into the powers of the still existing aristocracy, which was considered small. First, we found that the old Kusaean aristocracy is now few in number. Therefore, it is no wonder if in recent times the aristocracy was forced into marriages with the common people and pure nobles no longer exist. As such there are only
King Telen-Sa, who reigned at the time of the expedition, and his sister Suä-Nämo and their children (plate III). In addition the wife of the title holding chief Sesa and their children (plate V). However, people repeatedly reported to me in secret that the family of the current King contained low blood. The offspring of these two families are already married to members of the common people, so that the aristocracy certainly faded away in the youngest generation.

Assessing the aristocracy as a hereditary nobility the genealogical investigation created strong doubts. We gained the conviction that aristocracy could be gained as well as lost. For the first we cite the following 3 examples:

1. (see plate V.) Palik-Su’s father was King Aoä Nesa V. He, as well as his wife, were and are still considered as lem. In the same fashion, his two sons Paluk Nää and Palik-Kön. However, people do not consider the three children of the last one as nobility, although they have a non-aristocratic mother. The reason is not the low status of the mother, but because »their father and grandfather no longer had a state title«.

2. Telen-Su, the son of the King Aoä Nelkiak, did not hold a title, yet, he was still considered an aristocrat. His sons however not so, because »their father died before the were grown up«.

3. (see plate VI.) The children of Aoä Nesa from his 3. marriage, which was not befitting his social standing, were still considered nobles. His grand children, however, are no longer regarded as such, »because their mothers are of low descent«.

Contrary to these examples there are other, where the aristocratic standing had to be gained.

1. The wife of the reigning King at the time of the expedition was of low decent, however, since her marriage she was regarded as an aristocrat and was also treated as such.

2. (see plate I.) The women of Paluk-Nää, the King who reigns since 1910, and his brothers are also of low descent and, according to the opinion of the people, therefore not nobles, however are treated as such.

3. (see plate IV.) King Aoä Neoa had a wife of low descent. His son received the state title Sesa, which was later on transferred by chance to his grandson. The last one married a lem-woman, an offspring of the highly regarded »King George«. According to the opinion of the people all children from this marriage are aristocratic.

A critic of these examples shows first the conviction that the opinion of the population, in regard to how aristocracy is allocated to persons and families, is not logical. On one occasion nobility is lost because of a marriage with a woman from the common people, on another, it remains intact. Yet, among other points of view this contradiction also holds an explanation. As a basic view it becomes clear that low descent
of one or the other part of a marriage is of minor importance for the loss or the preservation of nobility. The existence of a state title in the family seems to be more important. To bestow somebody with such a title, especially with a high one, also helped the not befitting partner to be considered an aristocrat, in the eyes of the people. On the other hand, the lack of such a title caused the social decline of the family and the loss of the aristocratic privileges over generations. This obviously is also the meaning of the statement of the natives cited on p. 335 assessing the offspring from morganatic marriages according to their class. If we also consider the important social and economic meaning a state title brought, then such a point of view seems only natural. Although all the examples are from the recent Kusaean history, we nevertheless cannot assume a great change in people’s opinion, making it completely different from the former one. Even though the nobles were more numerous in former times and could emphasize on marriages within their class, nevertheless marriages between the aristocracy and the common people happened even then, as we have pointed out.

This result shows, at the same time, a criterion for the Kusaean aristocracy in general. If the natural economic contrast between Lölö and Ualang helped Lölö to gain their position of supremacy in Kusae, then the power connected with state titles could obviously lift the titleholders and their entourage above the rest of the population and secure them the privileges of aristocracy. Besides the above-mentioned explanation, there are also other circumstances pointing to this fact. For instance, the fact that Lölö was settled by aristocrats and common people at the same time, that titles were not hereditary, and the special high standing, that is gained by the individuals of title holding families despite their descent. Finally, the general consideration that a clear awareness of descent from families with titleholders represented the only external diploma of aristocracy with which the opinion of the people could work. As explained on pp. 333 the membership of a suf was not authoritative.

All together, we can say that the perception of the natives of the aristocracy as a nobility by birth has to be taken cum grano salis.\* The aristocracy was a nobility by title and by birth at the same time. In the eyes of the people a state title kept in a family for a longer period of time gave it the aristocratic rating. For its secure preservation it was necessary to renew it by bestowing the title anew. The origin of formerly important families was important. An example from the most recent Kusaean history shows this. A met sisik man in Lölö, still living at the time of the expedition, had been appointed Sefisa by King Aoä Neoa. However, in the eyes of the people he was in no way considered an aristocrat.

III. To appreciate and to understand the relationship of the two classes to each other in more detail

\* [Latin term, with a grain of salt. Comment CCHPH.]
is only possible when we first explain the circumstance of the state, because this is the foundation on which the entire position of the aristocracy is based on. This was the real power, which was placed into its hand together with the state title. To be a candidate for it was the privilege of the nobles. This is clearly expressed in the term, under which the state titleholders were grouped together: lem moal = aristocracy with title (lem = aristocracy; moal = state title). This privilege of the aristocracy also perseveres even though there are 3 examples in recent history where met - sisik became titleholders. One of them we have just mentioned. Further on, the same King Aoä Neoa chose another met-sisik with the priestly title Neku as a chief. Before Aoä Nelepaluk I. had already appointed a priest with the title Selem to become chief, by bestowing upon him the region Piljoil on Ualang. This was his royal way of saying >thank you« because the priest had spent 2 months there supervising the production of banana fibers, for loom weaving, for the King. Since then the title Selem was simultaneously a priestly and chiefly title. These examples can also be attributed to the decline of the state and the aristocracy, however not without restrictions. It is remarkable and unknown for how long, that the title Nisapuän has simultaneously been a priestly and chiefly title. According to the analogy of the former example, we may assume a similar case from much older times, because priest were not aristocrats. Thus, we gain one more confirmation for our opinion how the Kusaean nobles developed from an aristocracy of civil servants. This shows that also in the old times, under certain circumstances, it was not impossible for a met-sisik to break through the border between the common people and the aristocracy or even to become a title holding chief and thus an aristocrat, as the name lem-moal for the title holding aristocracy proves.

Despite these cases a deep gulf in-between the two classes, lem and met-sisik, exists. This proves already their geographical division in the two islands, Lólō and Ualang. By the way, we have to limit ourselves here to the external form of traffic between the two classes. Between them exist similar expressions of respect, as we have seen already in the family versus certain persons. When a met-sisik met any lem, man, woman, or even a child, he greeted them, by stepping aside from the path, standing with the upper body bent, hands on the upper thighs and let them pass. He entered the house or the house of an aristocrat only after having been called and then quickly sat down. In conversation, he waited until he was addressed and he had to talk softly and reserved. When addressing somebody by name, he had to use the address of respect, as he had to use the elevated language in conversation with a lem. It could attract attention that the old authors do not mention the external relationship of the met-sisik to the lem. The reason for this seems to be that these expressions of respect in front of title holding chiefs were too subtle and escaped their attention and that the existence of
2 big classes remained, in general, unknown. These social differences represented for them most of all the strong contrasts between the title holding chiefs and the common people in addition to the lack of clarity about the suf. By the way, even LESSON already noticed the difference in language, «Elles nous paraît évidemment composée de plusieurs dialects parlés chacun per les diverses castes.» * This is one topic that contradicts his predecessors and is wrong, because he had missed the peculiarity in the language.

**IV. Further social differences between Lölö and Ualang.** We cannot reproach the old authors in any way because of the imprecise collection of the social appearances. Besides restricted means of communication and their short stay, the differences of the classes were not so easy to understand as we present them here. Next to the contrast between the nobles and the common people another one existed between Lölö and Ualang. According to my informants, the met-sisik of Lölö moved around the aristocrats a little bit more freely than those from Ualang. Thus, only they were allowed to just bend the upper body when meeting an aristocrat. In front of any lem people from Ualang, they supposedly, had to step to the side of the path with a lowered head and sit down. Language wise, there was also such a difference between Ualang and Lölö. Each met-sisik had to use the full language change in front of an aristocrat, however, the met-sisik from Ualang also used the elevated language when dealing with compatriots of his own class from Lölö, though only the restricted language change. He also addressed him with the formal name of respect. Besides the met-sisik people from Lölö seemed to have felt superior as they also used the restricted language change in conversation with each other, just like the aristocracy communicated in the full language change and addressed each other with the formal name of respect. Of course this does not relate to the way of talking within the close family.

Generally speaking, the etiquette of communication appears of the classes of the people to be like a projection of the circumstances of the closer family. Therefore, it seems that is has been adapted, although the origin of the estates does not seem to be related with the circumstances of the family.

For the outsider the question of etiquette, the way it was handled, must have seemed especially complicated, as it was also determined by other moments as have been mentioned so far. For instance, by the prestige of the individual suf and the immediate family, which once again was related to state titles. In addition, we have to say, that the forms of communication should not be seen as rigid, taught rules but, obviously, were dictated by a well developed and trained sense of tact. Its intentional or serious breach was considered an insult, its unintentional and less serious breach was embarrassing for both parties.

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* [«They seem comprised by several spoken dialects, each one for a different caste», translation CCHPH.]
4. The State.

I. The state titles. In former times, just like today, Kusae was a single state system, with a well-developed authority of the state. The government culminated in the monarchy, however, it was not entirely in its hands. Actually, the King had quite a number of persons of state assisting him, who usually were recruited from the nobility. Therefore, the home of all these persons of state was the small Lölö. Because of this, the small island got the character of a residence and of the navel of Kusae. According to its importance, the settlement on Lölö was therefore the main village, »the capital« of the entire island group, where in this small space an excessively high population crowded together. The compounds of those in power were all in the districts Jat, Infäl sisik, Mitais and Te, the regions where the ruins of Lölö are situated. A special residential compound existed, the compound Pösal in the district Jat. It seems that until present time all kings lived here.

The persons of state, including the King, had a special title. They were no longer mentioned or addressed with their personal names, but only with their title. However, they gave up this title as soon as they resigned from their position. The titles for these chiefs, as we are going to call them, correlated simultaneously with titles for their wives, but only for their main wives. These titleholders are grouped together under the name met moal = title human beings (met = human being, moal = title), or lem moal = title aristocracy.

At the time of the Hamburger Expedition, there were only three bearers of state titles. All the others had gradually disappeared over time and therefore the titles had been half forgotten. Occupying themselves with their own past, the natives started to remember them again. Thus, with the exception of a few female titles we could assemble them again.

Within the state titles 2 groups or classes of rank were differentiated, the moal folät = »high titles« and the sifolät = »low titles«. The first was divided into 4 classes of rank. These rank differentiations and the individual title of the chiefs and their wives are as follows:

A. lem folät = »high titles«:

I. 1. Tokosa = King. ..................... Kasoa Nisäsa = Queen
II. 2. Kanko .............................. Kasoa Ninap

III. kekasa-titles:
3. Sipa ..................................... Sipäpei
4. Sikera ................................... Semenluk
5. Sesa ..................................... Sikät
6. Simareko .............................. Sinaluk
IV. fää-Titles:
7. Sinä………………………… ?
8. Selik………………………… Selikie
9. Selem………………………… Sekol

B. sifolät = Low Titles:
10. Siken………………………… Sinken
11. Sefisä………………………… Sinefusa
12. Seku………………………… Sekupei
13. Semuta………………………… Katinmuta
14. Seua………………………… Sela
15. Semom………………………… Simarekopein
16. Seua sisik…………………… Sinua sisik
17. Sesufo………………………… ?
18. Sisapuän…………………… ?

KRÄMER recorded a slightly different list of state. He only distinguishes high and low titles. Therefore, we also include it here.

I. High Titles.
1. Tokosa ............................ Kasa in jäjä
2. Kanko .............................. Kasa ninap
3. Sipä ................................. Sipäbe
4. Sesa ................................. Sikät
5. Sikera .............................. Semenlek
6. Seumarko ........................... Seumarkeben
7. Sikäin .............................. Sinekän
8. Sefujo .............................. Sinefuja
9. Säku ................................. Sekupä
10. Sää ................................. Seniäj
11. Sämota ............................ Säkatinmota
12. Selik ............................... ?
13. Seua ............................... ?
14. Seua sisik ........................... ?

II. Low Titles.
15. Sälem ............................... Nifaea
16. Sina ................................. Senina
17. Sikaus .............................. Sinekaus
18. Sisaol .............................. Semenyola
19. Sesaso .............................. Sekatinsefo
20. Sesaboän .......................... Sekatinsabän
21. Sebas .............................. Sebasbo
22. Seumom ............................ Senuom

The spelling aside, both lists contain the same titles with a few exceptions. Krämer's list contains, in addition, the titles Säaj, Sikaus, Sisaol, Sebas. According to my investigation, Sikaus is only a priestly title. The title Seäs was always born by the oldest son of the King, just like his oldest daughter had the special title Sefu. However, both titles were supposedly only used in childhood years.

A comparison of both lists reveals the natives no longer knew if one or another of the low titles did not belong to the high ones. The high titles indicated in the first list can be regarded as such with high certainty, as they have been controlled several times.

Titles from the older literature, especially the titles mentioned by Lütke, can all be found in each of the lists above. In the writing of Lütke these are: Tokoja, Kanka, Sighira, Sipé, Simouarka, Séza, Sélik, Séoa.

It is doubtful if besides the classes of rank among the high titles there also were such among the low titles. Judging by the two titles Seua and Seua sisik (= »small Seua«) this seems to have been the case.

Concerning the way to address somebody, we still would like to remark that with the kekasa- and fää-titles the word Kekas respectively fää was used.

The natives could not give any etymological meaning of the titles.

It is easily visible that all, with the exception of 2 titles (Tokosa and Kanko), have been combined by the article of respect Se and another word. With some of them it is quite evident that they are individual names like Sesa, Sinä, Siken (ken = Kön?), Seua. In the same fashion, maybe even the biggest part of the remaining titles might have evolved from old personal names.

Concerning the royal title Tokosa, we obviously have here an analogy formation in accordance with central Polynesian titles Tuitonga, Tuifiji etc. However, the modern Kusaean language no longer knows the word to or tui. Though Kosa is obviously Kusae, which traditionally is sometimes still called as such. By the way, this title Tokosa is only born by the reigning King of Kusae. For all the former kings there is the special name Aoä, that is only used in connection with the form of respect of the individual name, for instance Aoä Nesu = King Nesu. In a similar fashion, people were talking about Kanko Nesu, as a former bearer of the title Kanko. This was not practiced with the other titles.

II. The question of inheritance of titles only meets difficulties concerning the title of the King. In the younger history we no longer can talk about a law-governed succession to the throne. As far as we can see it seems very irregular. This is also the judgment of Snow: »This office is not hereditary.
Though not quite elective among the near relatives of the deceased Sachem of the same tribe, yet in the prospective demise of the Tokusa or king, there is a good deal of what American politicians would call log-rolling, for the King-ship, and after all is done, the chief of another tribe may succeed to the throne, if the popular feeling among the people sets strongly in that direction. A son of the former Tokusa or king may succeed to his father; so also the son of a brother, or a sister of the Tokusa, although there is no law in regard to such course.«

To better understand the succession to the throne, we first determined the succession of rulers. In this way, it was possible to collect a number of 15 kings, to which, since 1910, the 16th was added. They more or less comprise the time period of one century. One of the results that we produced was that the 15 rulers belonged to different suf, actually 3 to the suf Ton, Penmä, and Lisnei. Thus, in modern times, the royal title was no longer attached to a certain suf. This definitely had not always been the case. The population still has the memory of the suf Ton as the old royal suf. However, this might have been caused because the first 5 kings, from the list known to us, belonged to this suf. It is conspicuous that, after the first King, there were immediately 4 brothers, followed according to their age. Further on, in the tribal legends of the sub-suf Ton-Likinos and Nias-Bouwuä Ton is mentioned as the royal-suf. The reputation of this suf as the first and most noble indicates this, like the general veneration of its totem animal in the entire population and, therefore, its high age in Kusae. Finally DUPPEREY also confirmed that the »chef superieur« was always from the »class of Tone«. Accordingly, we can hardly doubt the former inheritance of the royal title, in a matrilineal fashion, within the suf Ton.

Concerning the question which subgroup then had the royal title, we only have indications that it was the group Ton-Jämual. An old woman mentioned it to me with certainty as the royal suf. In fact, the rulers 2—5 belonged to this subgroup, while the membership of the subgroup of the first King was no longer known. According to the natives, Ton-Jämual is certainly the highest among the Ton-groups, too. The statement in an old legend that »all Kings took their wives from this group« is perhaps still a vague memory of its former position.

If in former times the royal title had been hereditary, this must have changed already before the Europeans permanently settled. The natives cannot give any information about it or the cause for the change, nevertheless, in all likelihood, we can still recognize it. At the time of DUPPEREY and LÜTKE, Ton-Jämual were still in power. Surprisingly, of the other title holding chiefs, of who LÜTKE learned, only one still belonged to the Ton-Jämual, while 8 were Penmä. The way the King was bestowing titles,

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1 DAMON p. 40.

* [»High chief«, CCHP]
which we still have to discuss, this relation gives the impression that the male line of Ton-Jämual had then been about to die out. Looking at the genealogy table from the times around 1850, people were only able to point out one single woman from this subgroup, the wife of the then reigning King Aoä Nelepaluk I. Therefore, the conclusion is obvious that, after the last Ton-Jämual there was no other male heir apparent from the actual royal family. This assumption is also supported by the fact that the next King, a Penmā and son of the last Ton-Jämual, declared himself King, against the will of the title holding chiefs. Soon afterwards, he was toppled in a revolution led by the sons of his own sister. Nevertheless, the natives mention as the reason for this revolution only the unpopularity of the ruler and of his son.

In any case, since that time we can no longer recognize the connection of the royal title with a certain sub-suf. Though the next 7 rulers after the last Ton-Jämual are Penmā, there is one interruption when once again a Ton-Jämual appears.

As a guiding principle of this new succession to the throne, the inheritance of a suf, although the suf-Nias was never eligible, is less important than the relationship with the family of King Aoä Nelepaluk, who had become very popular, and the desire to still have a noble as a King. However, this basic idea was not always followed. The quick decline of the nobility and the influence of the title holding chiefs prevented that.

From time immemorial the title holding chiefs, due to their powerful position, had influence in who would succeed to the throne, even at the time when the royal title was still hereditary, then they simply eliminated the unwanted candidate. In this respect, the [oral] tradition reports that those 4 consecutive kings of the suf Ton-Jämual had an older brother, whom the chiefs rejected as king, because he was a gruesome man. Because of their resistance, the revolution about the throne, which was entirely warlike, started against the successor of these 4 brothers. Once again, the influence of the title holding chiefs is shown in a drastic manner in the year 1874 and around 1880, when they simply dismissed two kings. In modern times, the voice of the title holding chiefs became generally more and more decisive. This can also be read in the initially cited passage from DAMON where the way of the succession to the throne has been compared, not incorrectly, with the American »log-rolling«.

In the light of lack of the common people’s independence, in which they were kept by the title holding chiefs, we certainly do not see any part for them in pre-European succession to the throne. If, as the oral tradition of the natives reports, that the 1837 revolution for the succession of the throne, split the main island Ualang in 2 factions, then we have to understand that the people took one of two sides and the title holding chiefs sided with the regions under their dominion. Just in recent time the people became more and more predominant when the gulf
between them and the aristocracy gradually faded, the last ones becoming rarer and the number of title holding chiefs smaller. Thus, when the King was dismissed in 1874 and 1880 the population was actively engaged. Currently, they are the ones who are decisive.

Nevertheless, we would not really do justice to this topic if we would call it a democratic elective monarchy in modern times. Real elections as happened in 1874 and 1880, are still unique. According to an account of the deceased King, the procedure is rather so, that already at the time when the King was still alive, one or several people were recognized as the future candidates to the throne. When the King died then it all depended on whom the majority of the population gave their sympathies to. The people simply went to him and proposed him to become King. The succession of Kings and the opinion of the people prove that in this regard the tradition is still strong enough that people cling to candidates from the rare and in their purity, questionable noble offspring and relatives of King Aoä Nelepaluk I. It is a telltale sign that in 1890, according to the wish of the people, the new King, after a long absence from his home island, was summoned by his sister’s letter, from Hawaii, as he had been chosen to become King of Kusae, because he was one of the rare aristocrats.

A direct offspring of Aoä Nelepaluk I. and actually the only proven existing Ton-Jämual is today the wife of title holding chief Sesa, who was still alive in 1909. Secretly, she therefore enjoys more prestige within the population than the current royal family, and already her husband has been offered the royal title twice. He however, declined each time. In 1910, when the people elected the nephew of the dead King, this happened, not only because of his origin, but because he was an important member of the church and the future preacher of Lölo. Consequently, under his reign Kusae is now a sort of Christian theocratic monarchy. This xwis interesting insofar as in the old times it also had been a theocracy.

In summery, one can say about the succession to the throne in historical times, the monarchy developed from an old hereditary system to an elected monarchy, under the influence of the title holding chiefs and in the most recent time, under the common people. However, people had not freed themselves yet from the view that the title is hereditary and that the aristocracy has privileges.

In contrast to the monarchy, nothing contradicts the inheritance of the other titles. They were bestowed by the King among the nobility in Lölo. Once a title was vacant another titleholder could be bestowed with it, but he then lost his old title. Normally, the new title was a higher one. In this fashion, an aristocrat was able to attain the highest office of the state. Usually the kings, too, had such a career. From the 16 kings the following had other titles before they ascended to the throne.
1. Aoä Nelikiak was first Sipa, then Tokosa
2. Aoä Nesu III. was first Kanko,
3. Aoä Neoa was first Sesa,
4. Aoä Nelepaluk II. was first Semuta then Kanko.
5. Aoä Nesalik II. was first Sipa,
6. Aoä Nesu IV was first Sikera,
7. Aoä Nesu V. was first Seku, then Kanko,
8. Aoä Nelepaluk III. was first Seku, then Kanko,
9. Aoä Nesa II. was first Simareko.

Therefore, these titles are titles of civil servants. As only the aristocratic families of Lölö are candidates for it, we cannot really talk about inheritance of certain titles, but can say they were inherited within the aristocracy. It is natural that the search for candidates was among the aristocratic families who already held high state titles. We therefore saw the significant points of view for a judgment of the nature of aristocracy in this generally close combination of titles and nobility.

III. The significance of title holding chiefs for the state. In former times, state titles obtained their real meaning, that they were simultaneously connected with sovereignty over one or several regions on the main island Ualang. Each one of the many regions (fäld) was subject to a certain title holding chief. There can be no doubt about it, even after the oldest testimonies in literature. LÜTKE talks about the high chiefs, »auxquels appartiennent toutes les terres«. LESSON reports about them, »Ils commandent les divers districts de l’île«, and KRITTLITZ talks about the leaders, »among whom all the ownership of the land is distributed«.¹ According to the natives, a title was not connected with a certain region, but it was up to the Tokosa (King) to distribute the regions to the title holding chiefs according to his likening. This is also obvious, if in the course of his life a title holding chief could receive different titles one after the other. This is also clear from the following fact. The old King, who reigned at the time of the Hamburger Expedition, still remembered, from his youth, the sovereigns of certain regions. In those days they had been differently distributed, as had been the case at the time of LÜTKE, who left us a long list of regions and their title holding chiefs. Now we may assume that usually the higher title bearers would own the more important regions and a greater number of them, than the lower ones. The King reserved some regions for himself, without taking more than he gave to his vassals. According to LÜTKE he then owned only two regions, while others (for instance Sesa) had half a dozen.

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¹ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 345; LESSON 1839, II, p. 489; KRITTLITZ 1858, I, p. 355.
It is a special question if all the title holding chiefs had been bestowed with regions or only the higher ones. According to my information, the former was the case. Nevertheless, LÜTKE only mentions 10 chiefs, in his actually, rather incomplete list of regions. Of these 7 are higher title holding chiefs, one (Sesa), according to our list a lower chief, while two are only mentioned in the respective passage and also in the text, never with their title but only with their individual name, we do not understand why.¹

KITTILITZ does not talk about 10, always only of 12 »owners of the land«.² In 1853 Capt. HAMMET reports again about »10 of the higher chiefs« besides the King »who were the only ones, to own land«.³ In 1863 the mission talks only about 7 chiefs besides the King.⁴ In the last case, the small number is certainly caused by the extinction of the aristocracy and the decline of the state.

After these many testimonies, it can hardly be doubted that only the higher title bearers had land rights. Nevertheless, this does not correlate that, according to the detailed account of the old King, under Aoä Nelepaluk I. the priest Selem only became a title holding chief because the region Piljoil was granted in fee to him. Thus, the entire position of the low title holding chiefs, regarding their nature and what they encompassed, remains unsolved.

Just like the regions of Ualang, according to LÜTKE, the 6 districts of Lölö also had their title holding chief.⁵ According to a statement of the deceased King, this is only the case for the two districts Lük and Safoirä, which were inhabited by met-sisik. In his youth actually each of them was subject to two chiefs at the same times (Tokosa and Kanko; Tokosa and Sesa). According to LÜTKE, such a joint administration by 2 title holding chiefs was also the case for certain regions in Ualang, at least he mentioned for a number of villages Kanko and his son Nena as chiefs.

About the economic significance of state titles, the income that the chiefs received from their regions.⁶

IV. The position of the King. As the holder of the first state titles, the Tokosa was in the circle of title holding chiefs primus inter pares. According to the opinion of the natives, his power far surpassed the one of the other chiefs. He was considered the actual, one and absolute master over land and people. Missionary SNOW accordingly calls him an »absolute monarch«,⁷ Capt. HAMMET as »the sole governor of the island«,⁸ just as LESSON recognized him as »Chef supreme«. In their position towards the King the other title holding chiefs were mere vassals who owed their important position to him.

¹ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, pp. 343, p. 350.
² KITTILITZ 1858, I, pp. 355; II, p. 2, 11, 13, 47.
³ N. M. 1854, P. 63.
⁴ M. H. 1870, p. 151.
⁵ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, 343.
* [Sentence is incomplete; comment CCHPH.]
⁶ M. H. 1870, p. 151.
⁷ N. M. 1854, p. 63.
⁸ LESSON 1839, II, p. 489.
In accordance with the right to appoint, the King also had the right, under certain circumstances, to dismiss a title holding chief, if the natives gave him the right. For this we still have an example from the old times. After the revolution for the succession of the throne in 1837, the son of the last of the 4 Ton-Jämual and brother of the toppled King called Paluk-Nä, who first had been Sipa then Kanko, was stripped of his title, which had been the highest title next to the royal one, by the new King Aoä Nelepaluk I, because he had been a supporter of the party of his brother. He received as a fief the low title Sesufo. DAMON reports generally about the powers of the King. »So far as Mr. SNOW has been able to learn from observation or inquiry, the duties of the Togusa are not confined to affairs of peace. In a war which the natives had with some foreigners in 1857, who endeavored to get possession of the island, the Togusa was commander-in-chief of the tribes. Nothing could be done without his permission or direction. When peace was made by the arrival of the Morning Star the Togusa was the sole executive in the crisis though there was previously held a convention for consultation among all chiefs.«

To define the position of the King in more detail, especially his relationship with the title holding chiefs, was unfortunately, not easily possible. Considering the nature of the state, it is however easily apparent that his power was defined in a high degree by his personality. It is quite obvious that the title holding chiefs represent quite a limitation to his supposedly absolute power. Only a tiny percentage of the entire land and population was directly under his supremacy. At certain times, some chiefs owned more land than he. These circumstances as well as his appearance, not indicating anything, even seduced LÜTKE and KITTLITZ, contrary to LESSON, to deny the Tokosa the royal title. They considered him equal to the other high title holding chiefs and because of his high prestige tried to attribute to him, some sort of religious position.²

The institution of title holding chiefs must be fertile ground to form alliances among each other and against the King, which reduced his absolute power, too. This becomes evident in the succession to the throne. In historic times, they positively held the roles of Electors. They did not hesitate to revolt against an unpopular ruler or to dismiss him themselves. In doing so, they brought with their regions the weight of their people to alter the balance of power.

Under these circumstances it is only natural, when concerning important matters, the King first listens to the opinion of the competent title holding chiefs, as we have seen in the example of DAMON. Nevertheless, an energetic ruler, as the former King George had been, will not be hindered, to be apparent as the only executive power.

1 DAMON p. 40.
Naturally, it is a phenomenon of decline under European influence when we hear around 1869 about a sort of regular parliament, with the participation of representatives of the people, »Arrangements were made and the people were allowed to choose seven representatives, from the seven districts of the island, to sit once a month with the King and the seven chiefs to deliberate concerning the civil affairs of the island and to enact laws and regulations for the general welfare and prosperity«.¹

In order to judge the old distribution of power, we should also not forget that with the right to grant somebody something in fee, the King had a powerful tool to break existing resistance and to centralize his power. This could be achieved by primarily bestowing family members with titles. And this Aoä Nelepaluk I. did in a demonstrable manner. He declared nearly all his brothers and brothers-in-law to title holding chiefs. Only one of his 6 brothers was the exception, who for unknown reasons, did not live in Lölö but in Utua on Ualang. Of the others, the oldest one after the King was Kanko, two had Kekasa-titles, the next higher ones the other two fää-titles so that the brothers alone held 2/3 of all high titles. Next to the personal nature of the King, it must have been these circumstances if he held the power of his reign so firmly clasped in his hands, that he is still remembered today as most well-known of all the the kings and that to be related with his family brought great prestige and the right to the royal title.

Generally we still have to say, that the superior influence of the title holding chiefs, as the recent history of Kusae shows repeatedly, cannot be regarded as a phenomenon of decline at all. Next to other characteristics the high ideal status of the Tokosa, even in modern times, speaks for itself. Already the expeditions of DUPERREY and LÜTKE, bring us this knowledge. Both only became aware of the special position of the Tokosa during their excursions to Lölö, although in their reports we clearly get the impression of an inner resistance, based on his actual power and the way he looked, that was already recognizable in their days. KÖTTLITZ gives us the most descriptive picture. He met the King in the compound of the title holding chief Sikera, »Suddenly the congregation was sort of electrified by the appearance of a specially dignified gentleman, who seemed to have come without any company and unnoticed. The attention for him was so great that immediately the circle of people was changed into a semicircle, the center of which was only he. This change happened in lightning speed and in utter silence. The old imposing man seemed to us for a moment like the head of a monarchy of the very existence of which we no longer thought because here everything had the traces of the rule of those 12 equal persons. Iros Sipe silently made us understand that we should not forget

¹ M. H. 1870, p. 151.
to give some presents to the Iros Togrsha—this was his name. We did this as good as we could and he took our small things politely, however with so much equanimity, that he hardly looked at them. Soon afterwards, after he had asked us several short questions, which we could not answer, due to our lack of knowledge of the language, he removed himself again. After his departure everything remained in the gathering as it had been before and the ideas we had had so far about the essential aristocratic form of the local constitution were restored. Actually, the name Togrsha had often been mentioned among the other leaders and every time without any remark about something particular concerning him. We also knew that he only owned 2 land estates, Kepple and Tauuat, while the other ones usually had 4—5, and even more. Thus, he did not even seem especially rich. Though what concerns the eye-catching veneration which had been shown to him it seems quite probable that it stands in connection with the religious tradition of the people. Maybe, according to this one, he has a spiritual rank, maybe it is just the origin of this man, because his name is mentioned in the toasts, which are murmured during the feast with the pressed juice of the root of that kind of pepper (Çeka).«

We also want to report word-for-word a part of DUMONT D’URVILLE’S description of his visit in Lólö and with the King. »En approchant des rives de Leilei, une nouvelle scène de détail se présente à nos regards; de belles cases entourées de hautes murailles, des rues bien pavées, et sur la plage la population entière de Leilei, au nombre de huit cents personnes au moins, rassemblées pour assister à notre débarquement. Ce qui était surtout digne de notre admiration, c’était l’ordre et le silence parfaits que gardait cette foule composée d’individus de tout âge. Les hommes étaient rangé d’un coté, les femmes de l’autre, tous entièrement nus, et n’ayant pour vêtement que l’étroite ceinture qui couvre leurs riens et qui porte le nom de tol. Quand nos pirogues accostèrent la plage, deux ou trios urosses se détachèrent de la foule, et nous conduisirent gravement et en silence à cent pas du rivage, dans une case immense, qui me parait detinée aux ceremonies publiques. Elle était ouverte de toutes parts, et un petit coin seulement, pourvu d’une cloison, semblait réservé pour la station du chef principal. Nous fumes conduits dans cette appartement, où l’on nous laissa seuls, tandis que la foule entière se tint accroupie sur les genoux en dehors de la case, gardant le silence le plus profond. Un chef seul resta près de nous, sur le seuil de notre appartement. Nous attendimes quelque temps sans voir aucun mouvement parmi ces naturels. Enfin, fatigué de notre isolément, qui commençait à me paraître assez bizarre, je demandai au chef assis auprès de nous oùétait l’urosse ton, ajoutant que nous désirions le voir. Le chef me répondit avec

\[^1\] KITTLITZ 1858, II, pp. 47; compare also LESSON 1839, II, p. 489; LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 324; DUPERREY in A. M. 1828, II, I, p (636).
beaucoup de civilité que l’urosse-ton habitait dans une maison voisine; qu’il allait venir, mais qu’il fallait prendre patience, attendu qu’il avait beaucoup de pâine à marcher.

Au bout de quelques instants, nous vîmes paraître ce haut personage. Sopn corps affaisé, son air decrepit, son extreme maigreur et sa demarche chancelante, annonçaient un octogénaire. A son approche, par un movement involontaire de politesse, nous nous levâmes tous pour le recevoir, mais un murmure sourd et general, dans toute la foule sdes spectateurs, nous apparit bientôt que nous avions gravement manqué au ceremonial de l’île. En effet, l’etiquette veut que tout subalterne se posterne devant son supérieur, et devant l’urosse-ton tous les front doivent rester courbés contre terre. A son aspect, tous les assistants et les urosses les plus puissans s’étaient humblement inclines, aussi tous parurent-ils surpris de la conduite de ces étrangers, qui ne craignaient pas de se lever à l’approche de leur suprême monarque. Le people murmura, les grands s’indignèrent; le vieux chef lui-même resta un moment interdit et indécis sur ce qu’il devait faire. Ayant reconnu norte gaucherie, je me rassis sur ma natte, et fis signe à mes compagnons d’en faire autant. Alors le trouble s’apaisa sur–le-champs, et le vieux urosse vint s’asseoir près de moi, d’un air bienveillant. Chacun de nous s’impressa de lui faire divers présents, tel que verroteries, miroirs, couteaux, clous, mouchoirs, et ces largesses le mirent de si belle humeur, que le bon vieillard rit, causa, et s’ébattit même comme un veritable enfant. Dans sa joie, il distribuait à chacun de nous sa faveur royale de la maniere laq plus comique. A l’un il pinçait la jou, à l’autre les jambes; il frappait sous les épaules et sur les cuisses d’un troisième, tout cela pour nous témoigner son contentement. En un mot, nous devîmes les meilleurs amis du monde.«

Once again, the veneration of the King was visible in external signs of respect, very similar to the ones mentioned in p. 338, however, they were more numerous towards him and strictly [followed] and all the people including every one of the chiefs was subject to them. Before,* LESSON observed already among others that the name of the King was only spoken with veneration and obsequiousness, as if it would be holy.¹ Further on, the etiquette was the following:

Everybody approached him crawling on all fours and went away from him like this. Nobody could stand in his presence except he himself. In his presence people talked with soft voices and addressed him avertex their gaze,² so that he often had to ask twice before he understood the answer. Only by the good offices of a title holding chief a man from the common people could talk with him or have a conversation with him. Upon his approach people immediately left all work and sat down at the side. With the head bent they let him pass on the path and with a bent upper body they passed his house.³ If people wanted to hand him something

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* [Sarfert actually writes davor = from it. This seems to be a misprint, it should be davor = before; comment CCHPH].
1 LESSON 1839, I, p. 480.
2 Compare DUPERREY in A. M. 1828, II, 1, p. (637).
3 LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 324.
they had to place one hand on the elbow of the other arm.

Also linguistically the King was honored in a special way. Talking to him people had to use especially chosen terms. Some of them were still known:

I = potaje,
go = sepala,
come = sepäma,
remain sitting, standing lying = seson,
see and hear = sepakin,
eat and drink = konsäjok.

The ceremonies customary at the accession to the throne are the most characteristic for the monarchy. There actually was a real crowning ceremony. Knowledge about it, as about so many other things, we owe to the deceased King, who had experienced it several times, when he had been young. It happened in the following fashion:

The title holding chiefs informed their subjects on Ualang about the forthcoming coronation and all the people poured into Lölö for a month long celebration. When coming into power, the new King moved into the old royal compound Pösal. In the first day people came to the cooking house of the King for the actual celebration. Both priests Selem and Nisapuän, who stepped in front of the royal couple and sat down, carried it out. Behind them the son or brother of Selem took a seat, he carried a folded banana or taro leaf. The two priest took the bundle out of his hands, opened it and took out of it some very young orange-leaves and two head wreaths made from koja-flowers. First, the priests took the orange leaves and made some magic (änütnüt) with them, by murmuring incomprehensible words while stroking them softly with their hands. They put the leaves into the earlobe of the King. Then Selem, who sat in front of the King, took a koja-wreath, turned it in his hand and also murmured some änütnüt over it, and placed it on the head of the King, while shouting loudly the word »Tokosa!«. In the same fashion Nisapuän placed the wreath on the head of the queen with the words »Kasoa!«.

This was the end of the crowning ceremony. It was followed by the distribution of food, which the subjects of the different title holding chiefs had stacked in the cooking house of the King. On one side was the food for the men and on the other side the one for the women. With the help of the servants (tetafbo), a priest distributed the dishes among the title holding chiefs and their people, who went with it to the cooking house of their master. Afterwards, the queen distributed the other dishes to the women of the title holding chiefs and their female retinue. Now followed a long time of feasts,
that mostly consisted of food. People from Ualang were lounging in the cooking house of their title holding chiefs, while individual ones were constantly sent to collect fruits on the main island while the women often had to go fishing. The new load of food was regularly brought to the cooking house of the King and distributed here.

Immediately after the coronation the new King started a sort of seclusion. During the entire time of feasting, he was not allowed to live in the compound Pösal but had to pitch his residence on the taboo place Mungunlos, right next to Pösal, where a special dwelling house had been erected for him. Nobody, except his servants, were allowed to step on this place. Whoever wanted to talk to him, could only do so in the cooking house of Pösal, after a servant had announced the visit. The King was also the one, who had to announce the end of the feast, after which, he could finally move to Pösal.

According to an old tradition he sent an old coconut to all the taboo places of Lölö and the day after, one to each of the Regions of Ualang. Everywhere the coconut was placed next to slab of basalt that served as a bell. The individual regions also used this day for a feast of their own. The coconuts had a symbolic meaning, if many of them sprouted this was considered a sign of long life for the King. However, if crabs and rats prematurely ate many of them then this was a bad omen.

Except for the coronation act and the seclusion there also was a sort of homage. According to a correlating statement of the King and one former participant, a community of 9 priests, who had its seat on Ualang, started it. With the beginning of the King’s seclusion that community of priests moved into a house right under the mountaintop of Tafonkol on the southern coast of Ualang, which was dedicated to the goddess Sinläka. They remained there during the entire seclusion. During the day they could leave the house to do their work, but at night they had to sleep here. When the King moved into his residential compound Pösal, the priests and the companions went to Lölö. According to an old tradition, this did not happen by canoe but on land, walking on a path that had been previously cut, going over the Tafonkol-mountain down the Innem-river to the harbor, from where a canoe brought them to Lölö. On the way, a man blew, from time to time, the trumpet shell. The others carried a sort of spear over their shoulder, this was a long pole pointed at the end. On the upper end different object were attached. Some had knots made from coconut fronds from young palm trees, others a small basket with different kinds of shells (panak, ful), other old nesisä (decoration for the neck), others small coconut shells filled with coconut oil, some yellow root. Once the group reached the Innem-river they took a bath and decorated themselves with the decorative devices and objects they had brought along. In Lölö
they followed the channel by canoe all the way to the path that leads from Kinjër to the royal compound. Kava was made in the cooking house of the King and while doing so people prayed. From now on, the priests walked alone to the dwelling house of the King. The King and the Queen had taken a seat there. Both priests, Neku and Löpan, sat down in front of the couple, the first one in front of the King (on the left side), the last one in front of the queen (on the right side). Behind them sat the other priests with their poles on their shoulders. They had brought with them a basket with bleached arrowroot leaves. Neku and Löpan ripped a few strips off and tied it around the wrist of the King and the Queen. Then Neku took the King’s right hand, Löpan the left and shook them while simultaneously shouting the following words,

»Änüt lasa, änüüt lasa!
  Taktok ien tartak en,
  Tartok tartak,
  Uanea uanea,
  kirmsin lakema.«

A precise translation of these words was not possible. However they have approximately this meaning,

»My god, my god!
You leave from here, you return,
you go, you return,
always, always,
go and come quickly back.«

After this scene, the group of priests went to all the high and low title holding chiefs, where they performed the same act. As a service in return the priests received money and food. Finally, they went to the taboo place Inkoanon that was enclosed by high basalt walls. Here the money and the food were distributed and the last one also eaten. The next day they returned to Tafonkol to the house of Sinläka, which they soon afterwards left again. The formerly mentioned small shells were stored in the house of the goddess.

People were not able to give a reason for this ceremony. However, it still is partially recognizable. First the existence of an elaborate ceremony is quite remarkable. Furthermore the participation of the priest is quite interesting, it gives the ceremony a religious character. Its first part is a veritable coronation ceremony with an announcement of the new royal couple. Later, the King undergoes a time of preparation and purification in a taboo place, however this was not a severe seclusion. Nevertheless, it was supported by the residence of the 9 priests in the house of the goddess Sinläka. Here we have to add something of which I only learned later, that on this occasion a religious ceremony was also taking place in the region Lål (see under religion). The third part of the ceremony is quite striking, the homage the priests paid to
their leader, the King and the words with which they addressed him. In one way they could refer to the goddess Sinläka, whom the 9 priests served and who is the breadfruit goddess of Kusae. According to the opinion of the natives, the time when the breadfruits ripen is caused by the arrival of this goddess. In that case, the respective words would refer to the periodic appearance of the ripening of the breadfruits, which is regarded to represent the constant coming and going of this goddess. In addition, these words could also refer to the King himself, they way things are described, this is maybe the most probable. Then the King would appear like an incarnation of a god, who with the changes of Kings constantly disappears and returns again. By the way, on the occasion of the feast for the ripening of breadfruits the King and the title holding chiefs were addressed with the same words. That this was also done with the last one does not mean very much, because they were representatives of the King and were chosen by him, thus, they participated from his godlike high status.

From these strange coronation ceremonies and the many forms of deepest veneration that the King received from the entire population emerges the fact that his spiritual position was higher than his actual power. We see the reasons for this, just as KITTLITZ thought already, that the monarchy was based on the idea of his godlike grandeur, him being like a god, or that the ruler was regarded as a god. Next to the analogy of the title Tokosa with the Central Polynesian Tuitonga etc. the fact that his name is used in the old kava prayers together with different gods, although mentioned last, is an unmistakable sign for it.

Other customs, too, point to the religious character of the monarchy. Reputedly the priests were appointed by the King or at least their appointment was confirmed by him and »they belonged to him« as the old King expressed it himself.

The priests of Lölö always comprised the crew on the canoe of the King.

Always one of them had to accept the fruits he received from his regions or his title holding chiefs in front of the dwelling house of the King. He then brought them to the cooking house where they were distributed. When accepting the baskets with their content he called out according to the old custom, »Äh, Äh! A basket with taro! Äh, Äh! A basket with fish!« etc.

One priest also divided the sap-fish, which was taboo for the King. In the summer time one of them also divided the selof-fish, which were caught (see religion).

When the taboo of the taboo places was renewed the King supported the priests.

Now we also have to mention other customs, which had been discussed before. The head of the Tokosa was taboo to the extreme, even for his wife, so that in case of his sickness only members of both the »foreign« sub-suf Ton-Kimo and Penmä-Katinkürom could care for him. They were the only ones who had the privilege to stand at his head. The bathing places of the Tokosa »kof in Tokosa« were considered curing, so that
people who had been summoned to Lölö, before going, secretly bathed in there, in the belief that this secured them a warm, welcome (compare p. 72).

Further on, the following other customs are linked to the King:

In each cooking house the front right corner was called »the Kings corner« (fokil aoä). It was also the place of the master of the house and the place to receive high guests. In this corner of the cooking houses and of the village houses special kava bowls were stored for all high chiefs. However, the King’s, was placed on a special small, suspended hanging shelf (toto).

When the King visited the hamlets on Ualang, which happened rarely, he usually came with a large entourage. Before entering a village he asked the met-sisik, who had been waiting for him, what people lived in that place. Then the met-sisik had to answer in the traditional fashion by reciting a verse, in which, so it seems, only names of people long dead were mentioned. The verse for the region Nefalil was still remembered. It goes like this:

    Beni, Benä
    Mata Okak
    Sitel Kemalmal
    Sälik Ālan
    Siäf Foli

V. The position of the other title holding chiefs. According to the impression that Lütke and Kittlitz had from the power of the high title holding chiefs, it was the same as the Tokosa except for their status. They were the masters and owners of the individual regions of Ualang. As such they actually had also absolute power over their land. They could and were allowed to yield absolute power because, as vassals of the King, they represented his person and had no responsibility whatsoever for the people. As an external expression people showed the same respect to them, their wives and children as they did to the family of the King. This encompassed forms of greeting, talking with a soft voice, addressing a person with its title, using the elevated language (full language change). On the occasion of a new King’s coronation ceremony and at each celebration of Sinläka the priest from Tafonkol or Uiä paid homage to them in the same manner as to the King, as if they participated in his godliness (pp. 353).

We already talked about the effect of this position in their relationship with the King (pp. 348). Although they were title bearers and ruled by his grace, they could easily show their power to their best advantage against the King. This was even easier once the old hereditary succession to the throne, as well as the old ideas of monarchy had disappeared. Some more additions concerning this relationship follow here: First, it is not clear to what extent the title holding chiefs were held responsible in front of the King for their deeds for the people. We may well assume that normally
they would not start any important venture without having contacted the King or without asking him. In the same way he asked them about their opinion in cases where the general public was concerned. Concerning the King’s right to bestow somebody with land we still have to add, that it hardly was a completely free right. The influence of the title holding chiefs seems to have been strong enough to enable them to take precautions for the social and economic situation of their families by trying to influence the bestowing of high titles for themselves and their families. This makes us understand why there were only so few families in the old days, whose members were the prime candidates. Thus, the aristocracy cannot have had many members. This fact is supported by its total extinction. However, this very fact, that there was no inheritance of the title, but just a title career, must have led the title holding chiefs to be compliant to the King’s will and to accept his supremacy. In this respect, despite similar real power they showed respect for him, like the entire population, even in recent times, and recognized his right to ask at any time for tribute from their regions. Finally, in order to understand their relationship with the King and vice versa, we should not disregard the point of view that their living circumstances on the small Lölö did not sustain the personal emancipation of a title holding chief. On the contrary their living together with the King as the head took place in certain patriarchal forms, as we will describe later on.

With one exception, according to the older literature, their position to one another seems to have been equal. This probably is also true in reference to their actual power in their individual regions as in the population generally. Just as certain is that the high titles were graded according to their ranking classes, as indicated in our list. Unfortunately, we could not learn on what the differences were based, or how the differences were mirrored in the relationship with the common people.

Without any doubt the title holding chief Kanko held a special status. His position was defined to me in these words, »All the same king« or »close to king«. It obviously is Kanko about whom DUPPERREY says, »Nous avons visité plusieurs autres chefs, et notamment celui qui gouverne immédiatement après l’urosse-tone. Celui-ci paraissait chargé de la police générale«. At DUMONT D’URVILLE’s visit in Lölö, he alone of all the chiefs enjoyed the privilege, to stay in the vicinity of the King and of the Europeans. The King recommended him to the Europeans as »urosse de distinction«. It seems that according to this status the respect the Kanko enjoyed was nearly the same as the one of the King. Thus, in a conversation with him people were only

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1 LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 346, KITTLITZ 1858, II, p. II and 47.
2 A. M. 1828 II, 1, p (636) [We had visited several other chiefs and in [particular the one who governed immediately after the urosse-tone. The latter seemed to be in charge of keeping order in general.» R. + R. 1982, p. 14].
3 RIENZI II, p. 153
allowed to use the few special words, which were laid down for a conversation with the King. People had to hand him something with a certain position of the arms, by holding one hand under the lower other arm. Showing consideration for the King and LESSON already observed him, »Le respect qui leur portent les habitants est tellement servile, que mieux que tous les raisonnements, il dénote une origine asiatique.«¹

The natives explained the position of Kanko, that he was the next legitimate candidate for the throne in case the former King had no brother or son. However, from 9 Kings, whose titles we still could determine before their accession to the throne, only 4 held the title of Kanko before. Even if SNOW already had the same opinion, talking about Kanko at the succession to the throne in 1863, »Kanko to whom the honors of being King properly belonged,² and in 1874 on the occasion of the new election, »According to the customs of the Island the place belonged to him«.³ This is caused by insecurity in the succession of the King in the most recent time, when in case of doubt, Kanko, as the first dignitary after the King was entitled to be the successor. However, initially this right was hardly caused by his position, because then Kanko would have been the title for the heir to the throne. Yet there is no reason for such an assumption. The explanation of the old King seems to be much more correct, that he held the position of a chancellor. One further explanation suggests the following combination. According to a statement of the King, the old title for Kanko was Nikon, which itself is identical with the legendary figure Nikon, which appears several times in accounts. In all of them Nikon is always in the open sea fishing and accompanied by an expert fisherman, met-pala, as his servant. People only knew about this Nikon, that he also was a sort of King, who constantly spent his time at sea, a sort of fishing King. Now we interpreted the met-pala as the original navigators of the bygone time of seafarers. Then probably Nikon can be seen as the former admiral of the fleet or chief of war of the oldest time. Considering the royal status of Kanko, this would cause the remarkable conclusion, that in the oldest time the royal power had been divided in the sense that Tokosa represented only the solemn, spiritual power over all the people, thus a priestly King, while Kanko held the worldly power. This correlates with DUPERREY’S statement that Kanko seemed to hold the »police générale«, the Tokosa’s position with his little real power in comparison with the high title holding chiefs, though with his god-like priestly veneration, the analogy of his title with the Central Polynesian one, and the cultural and legendary relationship of Kusae with these areas. Only the priestly King in Kusae later on also managed to obtain worldly power

¹ LESSON, 1839, II, p. 483 [»The respect which the inhabitants have for them is so servile in nature that all other lines of reasons, it denotes an Asiatic origin.« R. + R. 1982, p. 55].
² M. H. 1864, p. 295.
³ M. H. 1886, p. 175.
which could easily have happened, due to the end of warlike occasions, because of the small size of the island group and its union as one state.

VI. Unfortunately the position of the low title holding chiefs must remain unsolved, especially because in the old days they seem not to have had rights of landownership, contrary to the statements of the natives of present time (p. 347). They also told us that the high chiefs, most of all, the King, used them as executive agents, as for instance for the organization of fishing trips and similar things. Just like the common people they were obliged to use similar forms of respect when dealing with high chiefs, nevertheless, in doing so they could move more freely.

VII. The chiefly titles and the prestige of the suf and the immediate family. Only members of the 3 main suf Ton, Penmä, and Lisnei could become chiefs. Nias was excluded (p. 334). Therefore, it was the least respected among all suf. Even today, all natives knowledgeable in these matters will name it last. The three others are always mentioned in this order Ton, Penmä, and Lisnei. Like this we can find it with SNOW\(^1\) and KITTLITZ\(^2\). LESSON, too, also mentions after the first »caste« of the »urosse« the 2 others as »Pennemé« and »Lisigné«.\(^3\) Only LÜTKE mentions the suf Penmä first. This order reflects the prestige that the different suf had in the population and still have. »Ton continues to live as the old royal-suf and seems to be the oldest suf in Kusae. In recent history the majority of the Kings and other dignitaries were Penmä, even at the time of LÜTKE 8 from 10 high titleholders. He never heard of any from the suf-Lisnei. This one gains importance only in recent times, when, since 1910, besides the title holding chiefs 3 Kings, including the new one were Lisnei. Therefore, we also understand if the monarchy lost respect since it went over to this formerly unimportant suf.

The different prestige of the 4 main suf can still be seen today and is not only restricted to Lölö, just as it had not been in the past. This we can already see in the legends of the sub-suf, where family pride reports repeatedly about moving to Lölö, marriage into the aristocracy and even with the King. Without any doubt, we can believe the natives that even today people deny the origin from unrespected suf. They prefer to report having forgotten it. This is the reason that information about suf-Nias is so scarce and that nowadays the royal family likes to deny their origin from a simple sea cucumber. In the same way, we have to consider the different prestige of the individual sub-groups, like the immediate family. This can be noticed even today. These factors created social differences by themselves

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\(^1\) DAMON, 40.
\(^2\) 1858, II. p. 3.
\(^3\) LÜTKE 1835/36, II, pp. 490.
which showed also in the external relationship, the way of talking, and the behavior of relatives from respected suf and families. Characteristically, people use the special verb abatoki for insults and derogatoriness of a suf or a family.

The reputation of the high title holding chiefs stretches also to their wives and their relatives all the way down to the smallest children. Thus, for instance, you were not allowed to touch the head of the last ones and therefore, the female guards even had to carry the infants in a special way. Even their own relatives, except for the wife, show the high title holding chiefs the respect they deserve. As a result, the 18—20 years old son of the King Aoii Nelepalkuk I. Also had to approach his father on all fours.¹ However, that people already saw future title holding chiefs in the teenage male members of the family is shown by the following statements of Snow, »The male child of the daughter of old King George—this daughter being the wife of the second chief in authority—receives from her mother the same deferential regard that he would if he were a chief already titled. In addressing the child, though but an infant, the prefix Se, equilant to our Sir or Honorable, is invariably employed. His brother must never touch the child’s head, although he may handle other parts of the child’s body, oil or wash it, but no greater offense would be given to parents of the child that for him to touch any part of the body above the shoulders.«² Here we can again recognize how the rules in the family were transferred to the wider social circumstances.

VIII. The met-suksuk. LTEKE as well as KITTLITZ mentioned besides the »first class chiefs« also such of the »second class«, without meaning our lower chiefs. LTEKE says about this difference, »Leurs chefs, les urosses, sont divisés en deux classes: les principaux, auxquels appartiennent toutes les terres, et qui vivent tous ensemble sur l’île de Lella, et ceux de la seconde classe, qui demeurent dans les villages. Nous ne pûmes reconnaître exactement le degré de dépendance et les rapports réciproques entre ces deux classes. Chaque urosse de la première a sous lui quelques urosses de la seconde. Ces derniers montrent autant de respect pour le premiers que le commun du peuple en a pour euxmêmes. Il semble qu’ils ont très-peu de propriétés indépendantes des chefs principaux.«³ KITTLITZ had correctly recognized the position of these »chiefs« when he says, »Besides there are still a lot of Urosses of a wide rank, who do not live in the communal residence in Läla, but on the different estates as their guardians.«⁴ In the opinion of the natives these »chiefs« were none like this, but they were called met-suksuk. As the name indicates (met = »human being«; suksuk = »watching, guarding«).

¹ M. H. 1853, p. 48; R. B. M. 1853, p. 134. Compare also N. M. 1854, p. 63.
² DAMON p. 41.
³ LTEKE 1835/36, I, p. 345 [»The chiefs, the urosses, are divided into two classes: the principal ones, to whom belong all the land and who live all together on the island of Lella, and those of the second class, who live in the villages. We could not exactly figure out the degree of dependence and the reciprocal relationships between these two classes. Each urosse of the first has under him some urosse of the second. The latter shows as much respect for the former as the common people have for themselves. It seems that they have very little property independent from the principal chiefs.« R. + R. 1982, p. 111].
⁴ KITTLITZ 1858, I, p. 355; compare also I, p. 359.
This is an overseer over the individual regions of Ualang. Lölö did not have any met-susuk*, on the other hand each region or village of Ualang was subject to one, who had his permanent residence there. They were the officers of their title holding chief, they managed and supervised the land and its people for him. Therefore, they were accountable to him and the title holding chief had the right to dismiss him should he think his met-susuk unfit. This also happened when the subjects complained to their title holding chief. When choosing a new one the title holding chief listened to the suggestions of his subjects. As a rule, however, at the death of a met-susuk the son or the brother of the deceased became the successor. The met-susuk was chosen from the local population of the respective region or village, thus in his rank was a met-sisik. LÜTKE reports that as the representative of his master the subordinate people showed him special reference. Thus, when LÜTKE and KITTLITZ regarded the met-susuk »as second class chiefs« and LESSON talks about the somewhat greater freedom of the middle classes, with which he could only mean the met-susuk,¹ then this is understandable, considering their position, but it still is misleading. In the eyes of the title holding chiefs and the aristocracy they had special duties, though otherwise no greater right than the met-sisik themselves, to the class of which they belonged.

**IX. Government and people.** After we learned about the status of the King and the title holding chiefs and their relationship with the people we still have to explain in detail this relationship, while paying special attention to the situation of the people. Unfortunately there was no longer much information about this, and at different times the natives contradicted each other. Let us look first into the old sources. Here the situation is simple: the people had not rights. The following are pieces of documentary evidence for it. DUPERREY, »Les hrosses exercent un pouvoir abolu sur le peuple qu’ils tiennent respectueusement accroupi à une grande distance de leur personne; ils ont réfléchis, silencieux et peu communicatifs. Ils ajoutent à leurs prerogatives celles d’avoir plusieurs femmes, de disposer seul des cocos don’t l’île est peu fournie, et de boire une liqueur forte qu’ils nomment »sequa« ou »doug-doug«. Étant seuls propriétaires, ils se sont partagé la ville et l’île entière, et se sont isolés les uns des autres par ces énormes murs dont j’ai parlé plus haut. La partie de la population qui réside sur chauve terre, étant nourrie par le chef, elle lui doit le produit de ses paines, soit qu’elle cultive, soit qu’elle construise des maisons et des pirogues, ou qu’elle s’occupe de la pêche. C’est ainsi également que, pendant notre séjour, elle portait fidèlement à ces chefs réspectifs les objets d’échange qu’elle obtenait à bord la corvette.« ²

LESSON talks about the members of the people, »Ils possèdent rien en propre, tout appartient, eux, leurs familles et les object de leur industrie, à l’Urosse dans le district duquel ils sont nés.« ³

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* Misprint, should be met-suksuk.
1 LESSON 1839, II, p. 488.
2 A. M. II, 1, p. (637) The hrosses exercised absolute power over the people, whom they keep respectfully squatting at a large distance from their person. They are reflective and silent and uncommunicative. They add to their prerogatives that of having several wives, of dispensing coconuts, which are scarce on the island and of drinking a strong liquor which they call sequa or doug-doug. Being the sole land holders, they share the village and the entire island and are isolated from each other by these enormous walls of which I spoken above. Those people who reside on each piece of land, being fed by the chief owe him the product of their labors, whether it be what they cultivate, what they built in the way of houses or boats or what they obtain by fishing. Similarly during our stay, they ….« R. + R. 1982, p. 16].
3 LESSON 1839, II, p. 488.
LÜTKE says about the people, »Celui-ci n’a rien en proper. Il peut consommer des cannes à sucre autant qu’il en a besoin pour vivre; il ya quelquefois des fruits à pain, mais il n’oserait élever ses prétentions jusqu’aux noix de coco. Le peuple est, à cet égard, très-fidèle aux urosses. Nos officiers, dans leur promenades, demandaient souvent des cocos, don’t les arbres étaient charges; mais ils recevaient toujours pior response; urosse Sipe, urosse Séza; et jamais auquen des insulaires nosa en cueillir un seul quoiqu’il eut été très-facile de rejeter tous sur nous. Des pirogues chargées de fruits passaient journellement devant nous, se rendant des villages voisins à Lella; elles abordaient souvent devant notre camp, mais nous ne pûmes jamais rien recevoir d’elles. C’est pourquoi nos échangesfurent toujours très-bornées. Tout ce que nous eûmes vint des urosses, et surtout de ceux de la seconde classe«.¹

KITTLITZ, »The better fruits of the land belonged not only exclusively to the landowners, but they also seem to order the workforce of the inhabitants of the land at their own discretion.«²

In 1853 Capt. HAMMET said, »The king is the sole governor of the island, his power is absolute, but he is assisted by ten of the superior chiefs, who alone are entitled to their own land.«³

A delegate of the Hawaii-Mission still said in 1872, »The people of Kusae …. are all slaves. The chiefs own all the land …….«⁴

Further on, the observations made by the first expeditions concerning their presents, which they had given to the natives in exchange, are remarkable. Besides the above cited passage of DUPERREY we still have to consider the following:

LESSON, »D’après les indices que nos observations trop restreintes et dès-lors incomplètes nous ont permis de recueillir, il paraît que les chefs ont un droit absolu sur les propriétés des homes d’une origine commune, qui naissent dans leurs districts respectifs. Nous vîmes des naturels qui venaient de recevoir de nous, en échange d’objets qui leur appartenaient, des haches ou des clous, que des chefs leur enlevaient aussitôt. Ils se tournaient de notre côté en nous montrant cette action, et n’en paraissaient point affectés, tant leur semblait naturelle. Mais cette obéissance passive est également imposée aux chefs (= aux chefs principaux) à l’égard du roi, et nous avons vu tous les présents qu’ils recevaient, lui étaient aussitôtremis.«⁵

LÜTKE, »Il n’était pas rare de voir l’instant d’après, entre les mains de ces derniers (= des chefs de la seconde classe), les objets que nous venions de donner aux autres; et un jour notre ami Kaki se plaignait de Sipé, son chef, en lui reprochant d’aimer à tout enlever à ses inferieurs.«⁶

¹ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 346 [»The latter have nothing of their own. They can consume as much sugar cane as they need to live on; they sometimes have breadfruit but they would not dare to have coconuts. The people are, in this regard, very faithful to the urosse. Our officers, in our walks, often asked for coconuts with which the trees were loaded, but they always received for an answer urosse Sipé, urosse Séza, and never did a single islander dare to gather a one, although it would have been easy to lay all the blame at our feet. Canoes loaded with food daily passed in front of us, coming from the villages neighboring Lella, they often came along our camp, but we could never have anything from them. That is why our exchanges were always very limited. All that we had came to us from the urosse, especially from those of the second classe R. + R. 1982, p. 111].
² KITTLITZ 1858, I, p.355. ³ N. M. 1854, p. 67. ⁴ M. H. 1873, p. 93.
According to these testimonies, the met-sisik were really the slaves of the title holding chiefs, this was also the way in which the King, who died in 1910, expressed it.

According to him, in former times, the people had no ownership of the land. The land belonged to the King who granted it to the title holding chiefs as their fee. These again distributed the land on Ualang through their met-suksuk to the met-sisik of their regions for certain uses or the met-sisik worked only for the met-suksuk. However, according to other information the met-sisik owned land and besides, they could get additional land from their chiefs. Concerning this, we want to remember a remark of KITTLITZ that on the slopes of the village Läl in Wukat-Harbor »each property in these plantations is more marked than fenced by a low wall made of rough basalt pieces, which is overgrown by plants.«¹ In addition, the following statements indicate private property. A man’s ownership of land was called hän. On the occasion of marriage an exchange of land property supposedly was customary. Therefore, it could easily happen that a man had property in different regions. In such a case he temporarily worked his different land plots and was also called to work and provide tribute by different met-suksuk. Further on, ownership of land was generally inherited, actually by the children, by boys as well as girls. They supposedly received their land from their father already in their early youth, as soon as they could participate in the work. It seems that adopted children were treated the same as natural children. When the head of the family died prematurely the oldest son distributed the land. The dowry of the mother was tilled by the husband and their children, however only her own children inherited it. Land and fruit bearing trees belonged to each other, therefore, the custom to plant fields on somebody else’s property, with his consent. From these, half the harvest had to be delivered to the owner. However, people did not plant fruit bearing trees on somebody else’s ground, because as a permanent plant they would eventually go over into the hands of the landowner. All these customs were supposedly the same in the aristocracy as well as among the common people. They indicate private property also among the population of Ualang. That this existed also in Lölö proves the continuous enclosures of the existing ground, of the houses as well as of the gardens, by compounds. If this stands in contrast with the old sources, we probably can solve it by the following perception. Although the title holding chiefs regarded themselves as the respective masters and owners of their fiefdom, they used their right to bestow land to the met-sisik through their met-suksuk. On the other hand, the natives of the regions recognized this claim, by doing their duties, otherwise they looked upon their property as private property. Outwardly, this relationship is similar to a hereditary lease—we only have to decide if people initially

¹ KITTLITZ 1858, I, pp. 369.
had entered on their free will or had been forced. The fact that met-sisik were the continuous inhabitants of a region while titles were not hereditary and a region was not connected to certain title supports this perception.

Further on, and also contrary to the old sources, the met-sisik supposedly had great liberties, as soon as they did not like it in one region they could move in peace to another one.

Also the way in which the efforts of the people were received by the title holding chiefs, offers insight that the common people were not enslaved.

However, first of all these duties are hard enough. Under the supervision of the met-suksuk the population of the individual regions had to till their own fields and the ones of the chief. However, work on their own fields was not carried out on a communal basis. From the yield they delivered to the met-suksuk and through them to the title holding chiefs, in the same fashion from the fishing trips, which were communal, when they were carried out on a big scale. The performances to the title holding chiefs were not precisely defined but the regions simply had to nourish him and his family. Therefore, every other day the met-suksuk had to send a canoe load of raw fruits and prepared dishes to Lölö, just like the two expeditions in Wukat-Harbor observed such loads on a daily basis being transported from the neighboring villages to Lölö. As each title holding chief had several fäl subject to him, he had fresh produce provided to him day by day. His demands actually were not only the best fruits of the different kinds and the best fish. Due to the rarity of coconuts the chiefs had the exclusive right to them. If the performances extended also to the technical products we cannot say firmly and it is also not very probable. Yet, it is certain that the title holding chief had his people construct his canoes and his house. He also recruited from them a great number of servants for his household, such as cooks (met-foko and met fafa and met kelainsap), kava makers (met-tuk-seka), servants for serving food and handing out the kava bowls (tetafbo) male and female wardens for children (met-to) and the crew for the canoe (met-fuklap). The met-suksuk recruited his subjects for the same services. At the time of fishing in the open sea the title holding chiefs also had a number of fishermen (met-koa) working for them. They were under the authority of a met-pala. Usually they moved for an extended period of time to Lölö. While the regular performances of food remained without any service in return, this was different with the special services. The permanent personnel, who lived with their master, just like the wife and the child, only kept by him. Canoe and house builders, as well as fishermen were, according to the local tradition, feted and paid with money and similar things after they had finished their work. Payment was also usual when a title holding chief sent a messenger to his met-suksuk and demanded special performances of food deliveries from his region, beyond the usual one.
Further more, on when these brought presents voluntarily, especially on the occasion when a certain kind of fruit was ripe—such presents were called säsä—or when breadfruit was delivered to Lölö en masse to make furo for the chiefs. The regions also had to participate in the distribution of presents on the occasion of the big akofai-competitions of the title holding chiefs, if they were requested to do so. In all these cases, payment was given to the met-suksuk, who distributed it among his subjects (compare also pp. 113, 138, 217).

Just like the regions of Ualang, the met-sisik in Lölö, if they were not in the special services of the title holding chiefs, were subject to the same contributions. Though here there was no met-suksuk, only 2 so-called fäl that were under the power of a few title holding chiefs. (compare p. 347).

Contrary to the first sources, we learn from this explanation that the met-sisik also must have had private ownership of land. When the title holding chiefs simply took away their subjects’ presents which they had received from the Europeans then the reason for this was probably the kind of presents which, because of their strangeness, must have been especially appealing and because the presents had most of all been given in exchange for food and hospitality. Without any doubt, the Europeans were mistaken when they meant to owe their daily deliveries with fruits to the met-suksuk. The met-suksuk were certainly not authorized without the permission of their title holding chiefs. This can be seen from the fact that Sipa, the title holding chief of the region Läl, took special care of them and they were also his guest when they visited Lölö. Läl was closest to the two expeditions, and from its met-suksuk they received most of their daily foods.

Although the common people had their rights and a certain freedom, they were nevertheless, the only economically productive part. They not only supported themselves but also the title holding chiefs, their families and the entire personnel. Therefore, they spent their time with work in the fields, fishing, harvesting and transporting food to Lölö and other activities.¹ On the other hand, the title holding chiefs lived in great style. They had their earth oven prepared 4 times a day instead of 2 times like the common people. They also did not refrain to immerse themselves into the science of the fafa preparation (p. 120). They quenched their thirst with coconuts instead of water and sugar cane, they had orgies of kava drinking, and they afforded several wives and additional lovers from among the common people. From time to time, they had championships for honor and respect, which caused all of Kusae to intensive economical action, with the exception of themselves. In the summer time they spent a longer period of time with their met-suksuk on Ualang as holidays, they enjoyed competition of dances and singing that the King had staged between the individual regions,

¹ Compare LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 380.
In short they lived like grand seigneurs. As LÜTKE said pointedly, »Manger, dormir, former des circles pour causer, voilà à quoi un urosse passé sa vie« and in another paragraph, »Ceux qui placent le souverain bien dans le doux far niente, ne devraient ne devraient former d’autre voeu que d’être uroser ualanais; ils passent leur vie dans une oisivité complète. Ils se lèvent avec le soleil; ils dormiraient plus long-temps, s’il n’y avait pour l’homme des bornes à tout. Ils passent deux heures à se frotter le corps d’huile de coco, etc. Sur ces entrefaites le feu s’allume dans la maison à manger, et tout se prépare pour la cuisson des fruits à pain. A neuf heures on se ressemble pour boire le seka«.¹

The title holding chiefs and the their families took great care over how they looked. They distinguished themselves decidedly from the common people by cleanliness, lightness of the skin, jewelry and clothing, and good manners. »Une chevelure plus soigneusement lissée, une ceinture plus neuve, le corps plus propre, une fleur fraîche et odorante à l’oreille, ou une feuille dans le chignon, et une plus grande aisance dans les manières, sont les seuls marques auxquelles on puisse reconnaître un urosse,« says LÜTKE² and LESSON, »Leur tatouage est le plus perfectionné. Leur chevelure est arrangée avec propreté, frottée d’huile de coco, et nouée sur l’occiput.« If we further take into account the social isolation of the aristocracy, they avoided marriages with the common people, then it can be expected beforehand that their lives could not remain without effect on their physical appearance. Therefore, we are more inclined to believe in this respect LESSON rather than LÜTKE. While this one does not observe any anthropological differences, the first one attributes better physical forms, higher stature, and beauty of the body to the aristocracy, so that he nearly believed to have another »class« in front of him.³ Both authors diverge in their judgment of the character of the nobility. LESSON considers the chiefs, in contrast to the people, arrogant, vain and egocentric, while LÜTKE protects them and thinks that none of their companions shares LESSON’S opinion. Nevertheless, LESSON’S observations will not be pure invention.⁴ LESSON’S statement merits belief, that the aristocrats distinguished themselves from the common people by their better pronunciation. Among the commoners it changed according to the individual.⁵ Concerning their different opinion on the intellectual abilities of the chiefs and the common people, compare p. 69.

The question from where the title holding chiefs had the means to pay for the special services of the people is not useless. At first they had enough work force from their servants and the families of the servants, who made them mats for clothing and

¹ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 379 [»Eating, sleeping, forming groups to chat—that is how an urosse spends his life« R.+R. 1982, p. 124].
² LÜTKE 1835/36, I, pp. 370 [»Those who place the highest value on the good life should have no other wish but to become an Ualanese urosse; they pass their life in complete idleness. They get up with the sun; they would sleep longer if men had no limits. They spend two hours rubbing their bodies with coconut oil etc. Meanwhile the fire is lit in the cookhouse and preparations are made to cook the breadfruit. At nine o’clock they gather together to drink séka« R.+R. 1982, p. 121].
⁵ LESSON 1839, II, p. 483; LÜTKE 1835/36, I, pp. 351.
⁷ LESSON 1839, II, p. 492; compare also DUPERREY in A.M. 1828, II, 1, p. (637).
similar things of value and maybe even money. Their wives, too, were not idle. In the oldest time, when people were still sailing, and which has been forgotten today, we may assume that the chiefs monopolized the trade with other islands and foreign visitors, just as the exchange presents of the expeditions to the people, ended in their hands.

We still have to mention some remarks about the economic relationship between the title holding chiefs themselves. If one of them received food from his subjects, then half of it was brought by servants in front of the dwelling house of the King. The King asked who the donor was, then he selected part of it for himself and his family while the rest was sent to the servants into the cooking house. In the same fashion, the King gave part of his income to the other title holding chiefs. Further on, when a chief had to order or deliver from his regions special food items on the request of the King, or when he had to organize a fishing trip, then everything had to be brought to the cooking house of the King, where it was distributed to the title holding chiefs. From time to time, these also gave voluntarily special food presents to the King. Considering this distribution of the income it is revealed that the title holding chiefs still participated in a certain communist-patriarchal economy among each other, at the head of which the King stood. This correlates with observations made by LESSON that the Europeans finally saw their presents in front of the King, which before the title holding chiefs had taken away from the commoners\(^1\). In this respect we can assume, that he redistributed them among the chiefs. A similar relationship existed between the met-suksuk and their subjects on Ualang.

According to the general relationship of title holding chiefs and common people we can easily determine what an important position and role a high title had for its barer in the life of the natives and further on, how the King’s right to bestow initially must have been based on a good understanding between his vassals and him. As SNOW said, »If another immediately succeeds to the chieftain-ship, the title is dropped at once, and all the honors, titles, lands, servants etc, succeed to chief elect.«\(^2\) Therefore, the main endeavor of a title holding chief must have been to secure the big income, the beautiful life, and the high prestige of his family for the future. As a result, the assumption is legitimate that there were actually only a few families who were entitled to it. Thus, the aristocracy of Lölö can hardly have been very strong, which is also indicated by the fact that it died out.

When we compare the position of power of the nobility with the fate of the common people it could be surprising how they accepted such parasitism without any revolt. At last the authors of the first expeditions drew a

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\(^1\) See above p. 362.

\(^2\) Damon p. 41.
real idyllic living together of the common people with their rulers and were full of admiration about the submissiveness of the former ones. We brought already several times proof for this. First, the description of an evening stroll at the beach of Lôlô,

»En quelques instants, vinrent s’offrir pour m’accompagner, unde demi-douzaine de jeunes filles qui, paar les finesse d’une coquetterie, auraient pu rivaliser avec les courtisanes de Londres ou de Paris, mais qui leur auraient fait honte pour la décence et la réserve de leurs manières. Elles cherchaient à me vaincre faisant assaut de gaîté; elles riaient, elles chantaient des chansons dans lesquelles mon nom se trouvait répété, etc. Nous ‘tions suivis d’une foule de petits garçons criant, riant, et jamais doute on n’a vu dans les promenades des grandes villes une troupe plus bruyante. L’hospitalité des habitants vaillait même à cette heure avancée.Plusieurs de nos amis devant les maisons desquels ils nous arriva de passer, venaient à nous avec des cocos et des bananes, et nous invitaient à nous reposer chez eux. Tout à coup les cris et les rires cessèrent, et tous, depuis le plus petit jusqu’au grand, comme s’ils eussent été touches par une baguette magique, s’arrêtant en rond par terre. J’étais debout au milieu d’eux, ne sachant que penser de cette scène, jusqu’à j’en eus decouvert la cause en apercevant l’urosse Sighira à la porte de sa maison. Pendant tout le temps que je m’entretiens avec lui, le plus profound silence regna dans cette troupe tout à l’heure si bruyante. Quelques espiègles seulement, seulement, se glissant le long du mur riaient sous cape an faisant divers singeries.»

In another passage LÜTKE draws the following picture, »Il ne se presentait pour nous aucune occasion de connaître l’étendue du pouvoir des urosses sur leurs vassaux, sur quoi ce pouvoir est fondé et quels sont les moyens qu’ils ont à leur disposition pour contenir ceux-ci dans l’obéissance. Il nous semblait que tout allait de soit-même. Comme dans la famille tout écoute la voix du chef, de même ici tous obéissaient aux urosses, dans la moindre apparence de contrainte ou de déplaisir. Je ne vis pas une seule fois qu’un individu du commun refusât, en quoi que ce fût, doéir à un urose, ni qu’un urose fit sentir, en aucune manière, à un inférieur le poids de son pouvoir, qu’il exigeât de lui impossible qu’il s’irritât contre lui, qu’il l’injurïât, et bien moins encore qu’il le battît. En general, pendant tout le temps de notre séjour, je n’entendis, dans aucun rang ou dans aucun âge, ni seul mot dit avec colère, un ne vis une seule main levée pour frapper. S’il s’agissait d’écarter la foule, un seul signe de la main suffisait pour cela. Un seul Shut! D’un urose, et tous ses rameurs accourraient se précipiter dans la pirogue. En vérité, lorsque me rappelais avec quelle inhumanités chefs se conduisent envers le people dans les autres îles de la mer du Sud, les coups de baton qu’ils distribuent de toute leur forcesur la foule pour faire place à leurs hôtes, et que je comparais cette façon d’agir avec les moeurs d’Ualan j’étais souvent prêt à douter si je me trouvais parmis des sauvages.«

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1 LÜTKE 1835/36, I, pp. 329.
LESSON and KITTLITZ report in a similar manner about the living together of the people with their chiefs.¹

In order to explain such an ideal situation we will, together with the old authors, mention the fertility of Kusae, because of which the working people did not have a hard life. Despite their duties, it secured them a sufficient subsistence and the traditional respect for their rules, which we better understand as the idea of the god-like status of the King and his representatives. Further more, we should not forget that people were used to the strict etiquette that also prevailed in the family. Besides we will see in the next chapter that there was a revolt of people against the chiefs. Even LÜTKE himself was able to make like observations on a small scale. Thus, his friend KAKI, the met-suksuk of Läl, complained one day that his chief, Sipa, had taken all the presents from him and his subjects.² He also reports that after his return from Lölö, when the met-suksuk from Pötak came at night on board the ship and learned about the sudden cold reserve of the chiefs in Lölö »he merciless heaped insults on the houses of all title holding chiefs in Lölö, from the Tokosa down to the last one.«³ Without any doubt, the chiefs took strictly and unrelenting care to persevere their position and their status. The deceased King told us that a title holding chief, who had nor been greeted with all obsequiousness by a met-sisik, hit him with the first stick or tool he came across, until he remained lying on the floor. This happened even when the chief went along the coast of Ualang in a canoe and was so far out the met-sisik did not notice him.

X. The development of the Kusaean state. The most remarkable characteristic in the Kusaean state is the contrast between both the high islands Lölö and Ualang. Lölö is the seat of the masters and Ualang the seat of the dependent population. Admittedly, this contrast is reduced because Lölö also had a population of met-sisik, nevertheless it does exist and in all clarity. It also had inflicted the met-sisik on both islands, as those from Ualang treated their brothers in social standing on Lölö as »something better« in the way they talked to them and greeted them.

This contrast gets a deeper meaning not by the social circumstances but because of the economic relationship of the two islands. Lölö, the title holding chiefs and their entourage, the other nobility and all the servants lived at the expense of Ualang. The fact that the met-sisik of Lölö also had to deliver food does not change this. The yield of the tiny mountainous island was too small for the high population. Thus, it could not be of any consequence for the economic provisioning of an entire caste.

¹ Compare for instance LESSON 1839, II, p.488; KITTLITZ 1858, I, pp. 355.
² LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 345.
³ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 333.
Only a few title holding chiefs benefited from the duties of Lölö’s met-sisik, and even those could not feed themselves properly. Each family and their entourage of relatives relied on a small patch of land, carefully surrounded by walls against other properties. Consequently, quite a few met-sisik of Lölö did not care about their properties that had to feed many other ones, they preferred to serve one of the title holding chiefs or went themselves to Ualang in order to make a living there by begging. Such beggars were called met-sikäsap. Characteristically, there supposedly were none among the population of Ualang. Furthermore, it was popular among the met-sisik in Lölö to become friends with individual Ualang people, to become kawok with them. Then people sometimes went to their kawok on Ualang and helped him with their work for a living.

These conditions cast a bright light on the economic situation of Lölö. In this context we want to refer to the strange phenomenon of the met lemnak, the former »wild people« on the Ualang side of Lölö-Harbor. From their shy and fearsome behavior we can conclude the respective experiences they had made with their neighbors on Lölö. The sportive endeavor of young men from Lölö to plunder their earth ovens is testimony of it. The plundering hardly originated from a pleasure for sports and thirst for action, on the contrary, they seem to be the after-effects of an old fight of Lölö in order to participate in the resources of Ualang. (Compare pp. 62.)

Already in the circumstances of the geography of settlement, as we have described them, we can understand the economic contrast (pp. 39.) Yes, in the artificial extension of Lölö’s flat land and by surrounding it with beach walls we can see the efforts undertaken by Lölö to fight its unfavorable natural setting. Nevertheless, it had a rather bad position compared to the regions of Ualang. It seems there was no way out in a peaceful manner. In former times, people from Lölö reputedly had no land ownership on Ualang (except for the title holding chiefs). Ualang belonged to Ualang-people, Lölö to Lölö-people«.

Quite a number of facts still point to the subjugation of Ualang, the state system of Kusae with the restriction of all power on Lölö, the social division of Lölö and Ualang, despite all family connections by suf, the ruins of Lölö with its fortress Kinjer, the phenomenon of met lemnak, and finally, the traditions of the natives themselves. Accordingly, in the old days there were many wars between Lölö and Ualang. Unfortunately, we could not find any precise memory of it, except for one from definitely old and one of more recent history, though still from pre-European time. However, both are remarkable. The first one talks about how the met-suksuk and the inhabitants of the region Tofol outwitted and killed a Tokosa.
at Lölö-Harbor. The second is about a war that started because of the attack of 2 title holding chiefs and the killing of one of them by the region Matante, under King Aoä Nelikiak. This last example proves that war between Lölö and parts of Ualang still happened in historic time. This is also interesting, because it shows that the relationship between the nobility and the common people was not built on »pure moral grounds« as the first Europeans had argued, because this war could only have happened a few years before DUPERREY and LÜTKE.

Thus, the common people were kept in their slave like submissiveness by force. We therefore have to conclude that, according to all indications, little Lölö had forced its complete economic dependence on the main island and thus the particular nature of the state system of Kusae came into being. The fact that Lölö became at an unknown time the seat of the Tokosa must certainly have come as a great relief to them.

5. Conditions of the Law.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to extract in a sufficient manner the natives’ old conception of legality from the past. Without any doubt they underwent a fundamental change when the old state system and the social order collapsed in connection with the rapid decline of the population. This change took place more or less by itself and more or less unnoticed by the natives. In order to record this change it would not only have been necessary to have in-depth conversations with the natives but also practical research to a greater extent, for instance concerning ownership and inheritance by checking genealogic records and the distribution of the property. As tempting as this task seems to be we did not have the necessary time. In this respect, what we found out resolving other questions can be found distributed in different paragraphs. (See especially the chapter about sociology and the section about the decline of culture.) Here are some notes about criminal law.

For theft the King or the title holding chief particularly liked to impose the felling of a tree and it even bringing it to Lölö.

In the old days death penalty supposedly was not rare. Then the King sent out some men to simply strike the culprit dead with ko = sticks to husk coconuts. A similar high penalty was exile »abroad«, this meant leaving Kusae, as mentioned in some accounts.

The law, this means the power to act, is indicated with the word epan. Not quite understandable, the big national feast of Kusae was referred to as this. (see under religion.)
6. Forms of Greeting.

In the sociologic explanations we talked already about the many forms of etiquette. Here some additional forms of greeting:

Today, when meeting each other, people greet with Len mo! = »good day!«, Fon mo! = »Good night!« which are formed after the European fashion. The respective form of old times was the expression »Painkun!« Our farewell is »Mata na som!« = »Stay, I go!« — »Bas!« was an expression of farewell for a long separation and, therefore, it was also used when dealing with the dead. People do not enter the house of somebody else, even of a person of the same class, without invitation. Instead they sit at the threshold, and announce their presence, by stating where they come from. People from Ualang say in Lölö, »Toala Ulanme!«, the people from Lölö in Ualang, »Toala Lölöme!« When somebody came from the same island, or the same place, he would state the region or the district or the name of the plot of his house. For this kind of greeting people had the special word aktol. People entered the houses of the aristocracy with the greeting, »Kofein imä! = »Might there be much food on your field!« (Compare also p. 101, 138). The kiss was a nose-kiss. Yet, reputedly kissing by mouth was already practiced before in the form that the kissing person touched the cheek and not the mouth of the other person (?)
VIII. History of Kusae.

This chapter compiles material on the internal history of Kusae clarifying the better understanding of the cultural presentation insofar as it was not necessary to use it elsewhere. If used elsewhere, there will be a cross reference. The course of the external contacts with Europeans and foreign natives can be found in chapter 1 and statistical discussion of the number of people can be found in chapter 3 of the general part. Here, in the first two sections of this chapter, we mainly let the local tradition express its view, which is supplemented by literary sources in the 2. section. The legends and tales are not explained most of the time because of the previous presentation of the culture. Of course the natives do not recognize a difference between a time of legends and a time of history. For them, the tales in question are samsam, which means they recount actual historical events.

1. Time of Legends.

Without any doubt the suf-legends, presented on pp. 318, contain the very old and the oldest historical memory about the settlement of Kusae from the Carolines, the Marshall Islands, and from Polynesia, as well as the migration of the suf. One legend, concerning the emigration of the relatives of the main-suf Ton was better presented here in the chapter legends and fairy tales. It should be compared with what has been about Kusae in the Central Caroline Islands written on p. 221.

The legend about the construction of the ruins of Lölö (pp. 254) is also based on a historic background.

Here the legend about the war against Ponape has to take first place. Historically the legend is all the more remarkable as the facts, on which it is based, are also known on Ponape in form of a legend.¹ In Kusae, the account obviously has the importance of a national legend. Therefore, it is not surprising that Prof. KRÄMER as well as I, learned it just after a short stay. Consequently, it is presented in 2 versions.²

1. Nepartak or Meun Ponpe (= »The War Against Ponape.«)³

Once upon a time, on Ponape, two kings were waging war against each other, Nainmariki from Kitty and

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² The first one is more detailed, like I had heard it after a longer stay, therefore the initial recorded, shorter version is not presented here.
³ The titles were provided by the natives.
Salikfas from Lot in Metalanim. King Lot was very powerful and had many people, but Nainmariki felt too week. Therefore, he retreated and contemplated who would be so powerful, that he could help him. On the ground in a circle he drew signs, each representing an island group, the Marshall Islands, the Gilbert Islands, Kusae, Pingelap, Mokil, and other islands. Then he took a whole coconut, carved a notch in it that represented his person, placed it on the ground into the circle of signs and gave it a spin. The notch stopped at the sign for Kusae. Thus, he sent 2 men with the coconut to Kusae. When they arrived there, they avoided being seen by anyone, but simply threw the coconut to the ground on the outer shore of Lölü, at place called Inop, and left again. An old Kusaean woman by the name of Nisalsai just returned from fishing and felt hungry. This was when she found the old coconut, which was already sprouting. She picked it up, cut it open, and ate it. Although the woman was too old to have any more children, she became pregnant from the coconut and gave birth to a son, whom she gave the name Selbas.

One day, at the place Kenuen in Lölü, the child was playing with half a coconut shell, which he kept dropping on top of a stone. Each time the coconut jumped into the air the child enjoyed it and cried out loudly. At this moment, an old man called Sebas, came along. He was a noble man and a relative of the mother of the King. When he saw the met-sisik-child playing and heard him loudly rejoicing, he took a stick and beat him so severely that he should have died. However, the child ran away to the place Jutak, where he continued to play on a black stone, just like before. Nevertheless, Sebas had followed him and beat him again. Then the boy ran to Matannenea on Ualang, and ran along the east coast to the region Likinloläm on the south coast. Here Selbas continued to live until he was a grown man. Every day he drank the bitter medicine from Kämuok, in order to get strong. He also was like a spirit. If people left a house where they had just seen him and spoken with him, and went to another house, then they also found him there.

Once the King declared war against Ponape in order to conquer it. All the men built a single big canoe with places for several hundred men. In the region Jöla on Ualang people went on board and all took their place in the middle on the platform. Then Sebas said, »Take Selbas along, too!« They went to Likinöläm in order to fetch him. At one house they asked, »Where is Selbas?« Selbas, who was the one they had asked, replied, »In the next house!« They went there. In the meantime, Selbas was also there and replied to their question in the same fashion. This continued. Finally the people who were looking realized that it was always the same man whom they met in the houses and who responded to them, thus they realized that it was Selbas himself. They brought him to Jöla. Then the people asked, »What, this is Selbas? We had thought he was a powerful man, but this is a mere boy!« Selbas did not reply anything. He was ordered to constantly
bail water from the hull of the canoe. Selbas fell into line. The canoe sailed to Ponape. Selbas constantly bailed water while the others sat on the platform. After two days he asked the others, »Where is land? Can you see it?«. They replied, »No, we cannot see anything.« Selbas asked again, »Don’t you see a bird?« The replied, »Yes, just now there is a suk (frigate bird) flying over the canoe.« So Selbas looked up, sprang from the hull of the canoe into the air, and grabbed the bird with his hand. While he gave the body to the others he kept the wings for himself.¹ Thus, some said, »This boy is not human, he is a spirit.« However the others made fun of him, »That boy! He is not strong and not even clever. From where does he hail? He does not have any father!«

Finally the canoe arrived in Kitty, in Ponape and people went on shore. The King of Kitty saw the Kusaean people arrive and initially wanted to fight them with his people. Yet, the queen said, »No, let them live, they can work for us, producing spears, and wage war.« Then the King thought, »Good, may they live.« The Kusaeans, however, went into the bush, prepared spears, and attacked the Ponape people. Twice they attacked the residence of the King, but both times they had to retreat without any success.

Selbas had not been allowed to fight with them, but had to stay back at the canoe. When he saw his people return he called to them, »You are cowards! Now you stay back at the canoe, I alone will go and conquer the Ponapean people!« They all laughed at him and shouted, »How do you want to fight against the Ponapeans alone, when we all had to retreat. You are out of your mind.« Selbas answered, »Let it be, I will go alone and fight them.« He placed the 2 wings of the frigate bird into his hair, one on each side, and went in front of the house of the King of Kitty, where he sat down. When the King saw the young, weakly man, he asked him, »What do you want? Do you want to have a breadfruit?« Selbas retorted, »No!« The King asked him in the same way about all the fruits.² Selbas always replied only, »No!« Finally the King picked up a stone and inquired, »Maybe you want this one?« Selbas answered, »Yes!« Then the King shouted, »Wait, I will have my strongest warrior come!« He came and his name was Bantentloin. The King told him what he had asked the boy and that he wanted to fight. So Bantentloin cried out, »What, I fought back all his compatriots and now this boy comes in order to fight me?« He picked up a stone and shouting, »Konam?«³ he threw it to Selbas. Selbas countered, »Beti!«⁴ and caught the stoned with the back of his hand of his outstretched arm. Then he pulled the arm down so that the stone rolled to the front and down the arm. Thus, he grabbed it with his hand. All the time

¹ In order to wear it as susu-decoration. (p. 80).
² According to the native tradition all these questions and answers have to be told here.
³ According to the statement of the Kusaeans this means in the Ponapean language »Take this for you!«
⁴ According to the statement of the Kusaeans this means in the Ponapean language »Throw!«
Selbas remained calmly sitting on the ground. He then placed the stone under the right side of his bottom, so that he actually sat on it. Bantentloin grabbed a second stone and threw it to Selbas. He caught this one in the same way as before, but with the left hand. He placed it under the left side of his bottom. In this way the fight continued until Selbas sat on a large heap of stones. When Bantentloin had no more stones he called to Selbas, »Now you throw!« Selbas remained sitting, took one stone from the heap, on which he sat, threw it, and shouted, »Konam!« Bantentloin answered, »Beti!« But he could not catch the stone with his hand, on the contrary, it ripped off his left arm. The next stone tore off the right arm and the third the upper body, so that he died. This was the moment when finally all the Ponapean people came forward in order to fight against Selbas, but he killed them all with his stone throws. The heap of stones, which Selbas had built from the stones of his enemies, can still be seen in Ponape.

When Selbas had destroyed all the people from Ponape he selected one young man and a girl from Kusae, who were supposed to remain on Ponape. To his other countrymen he said, »You go home to Kusae, I will remain here.« The Kusaeans went home, but Selbas went out on the reef, close to the coast and the large heap of stones, here he turned into a big rock, which still is lying there.

The King of Kitty knows the heap of stones and the big boulder, also, all of Ponape knows about the big war, but they do not like to talk about it. The new population of Ponape originates from the Kusaean couple, which had been left behind. After his victory Selbas received his epithet Nepartak.¹

2. Military Deployment from Kusae to Ponape.² According to A. Krämer.

Nepartak, was weak and poor. Every day he drank medicine from Könnok that tasted very bitter. He roamed around everywhere and collected the herb. While he stayed in Likinlölam, the oak laplap left Lölö and sailed to Jöla on Ualang, in order to leave from there on the war path to Ponape. In Jöla people went on shore. Many boarded the canoe there. People also went to Nepartak’s house and asked him, »Where is Nepartak?« He replied, »In the next house.« In the meantime he quickly went there and when the search party entered and asked for Nepartak, he gave them the same answer as before. This he did several times. Finally, when they always met the same man, they said, »You must be the one.« As he was bald, they did not believe that he was strong. They invited him to come with them to go to Ponape to fight. He replied, »Just go ahead I will follow you.« However, they told him that the canoe would soon depart. Nevertheless, when they arrived in Jöla, he was already there. He went on board and down into the hull of the canoe where he bailed the water that was seeping in. Before, no one had been able to achieve that. However, Nepartak accomplished it all by himself. They sailed two nights. In the morning in the hull of the canoe Nepartak heard

¹ The natives could not provide an explanation of the name,
² Compare p. 373.
heard the men above him talking about a bird they saw. In the mirroring water he saw a frigate bird, and when it was floating above the boat, he reached up and grabbed it. For decoration he removed the wings and the long feathers, while he gave the men the body of the bird for food. Still people did not believe in his strength. When they arrived in Metalanim, in Ponape, they went on shore and got ready to fight. The Ponapeans did not believe that the foreigners wanted to wage war and brought them food. The Kusaeans took it but by and by they got their spears ready. One day they attacked. Nepartak remained in the back behind the warriors. They were beaten. The same happened on the next day. Every time they had to retreat to their house. On the fourth day Nepartak took the root of a mangrove and said, »Now I go alone into the battle.« He went to the house of the King, sat down in front of it, and with a stick he knocked on the ground. The King asked Nepartak, what he was doing. He replied, »Nothing.« The King said, »I thought you might be hungry« and he had food served to him. Nepartak spurned it. So the King took a stone, held it up high and asked, »You want this one?« Nepartak answered, »Yes.« Therefore, the King sent for his strongest man who should defeat him. When this one came, the King ordered him, »Take a stick and throw this thing here away!« The strong one answered, »This is a miserable being, I will kill him.« he took a stone and shouted, »Konnam!« Nepartak replied, »Boäti!« The strong one threw. Nepartak caught the stone with the back of his hand and placed it behind him, as he did with all the other stones until a large heap had built up behind him. Finally, when the other one had no more stones, Nepartak stood up and shouted, too, »Konnam!« That one replied, »Boäti!« and tried to catch the stone. But, Nepartak blew away his hands away and then knocked in his breast. This was the moment when all others fled. Nepartak went back to his people and told them everything and asked them to return to Kusae. Nevertheless, he stayed on in Ponape, where he drilled a hole into his thigh with the mangrove root so that he died.

3. Tokosa

Al Sosok met si mata Tofol. Tokosa dia mo na sel. El sapot suli Tokosa Löla fak ma lan took ke hum si. El ako, sap met nakemua took na lom sel utok ketak mos, furo, oräla hum.

Tari Tokosa took, took na Tofol. Oaï fen mese, Sosok el sap tojak oäka, utok

3. Tokosa.¹

A man named Al Sosok lived in Tofol. The King was not well disposed towards him. Once Al Sosok had the King in Lölö invited to come to a feast. He made all the necessary preparations and asked all his people to come home and to bring taro, breadfruits, and furo and to prepare the earth oven.

When all was ready the King came to Tofol. As soon as the canoe

¹ The translation is rather free.
hit the shore Sosok had it lifted and carried up the slope. There a hole had been dug into the earth. The canoe was carried here with the King and all his entourage in it, and thrown down into the hole. Then, the canoe together with the King and his people were covered. Afterwards people played oakoak and they played until everything was finished. Someone sharpened a stick on both ends (which both the front players held in-between themselves) and they bored each other the end into the breast, and the back respectively. Thus, they played until these two fell down dead. The others repeated this game until no one was alive any more.¹

The people from Lölö did not take revenge for this deed because they called Nämonkosa Jötanlölö, too.²

2. The Historic Time.

1. Aoä Nesa I.³ His time of reign was around 1800. According to his suf he was a Ton, probably a Ton-Jämual. The murder of the 2 title holding chiefs happened in Matante during his reign. People tell the following about this: Both title holding chiefs Sipa and Sikera, 2 brothers of the suf Penmä (Penmä-Kaität) went to Matante. There, the inhabitants tried to attack them from behind. Sipa was killed.⁴ Sikera, on the other hand, managed to escape to Lölö, where he told everything to his family. However, they did not immediately want to start a war but stored the attack in their memory, waiting for a fitting opportunity to punish the people of Matante.

2. Aoä Nelikiak. After the death of Aoä Nesa the sons of the slain Sipa came on the throne. They belonged to the suf Ton-Jämual. There were 5 brothers. The oldest one did not become King, because he was a cruel man and the title holding chiefs did not want him. Nevertheless, his 4 brothers followed one after the other according to their age. The oldest

¹ Concerning this game, compare under games. As they are running in Indian file, one after the other, the stick had to enter by and by the back, respectively the breast of the front men, by the pushing of the hind men, until they sank dead to the ground: a strange way of suicide.
² The meaning is not quite clear. The region of Ualang, where Tofol is situated is called Namonkosa, as well as Jötanlölö. Concerning the first name see p. 39. The second name supposedly means »Above Lölö«, as if in former times Nämonkosa had a higher status than Lölö. This name supposedly originates from the time of the typhoon »Man sisik« (p. 26), when Lölö was saved from death by famine by the people from Nuamonkosa. However, people denied that Nämonkosa had ever stood higher than Lölö, as the legends might suggest.
³ Concerning the succession to the throne, compare the genealogical table.
⁴ According to other statements Sikera.
was Aoä Nelikiak. The war against Matante was during his reign was. According to others it was during the reign of his successor.

**Meun Feneota** | The War Against Matante.

The Matante people had struck the title holding chief Sipa dead. Following this, two strong and courageous Matante-men went to Lölö to the house of the King and sat down without any respect. One of them was Sipa’s murderer, called Sasal. Both told the King that they did not like Lölö and wanted to wage war against it. After this, when they returned to Matante, people from Lölö, as ordered by the King ran after them and killed one of them. This caused all people of Ualang, from all the regions of Utua to Matante (the southern and the western coast) to move to Pötak and to built huts there in order to fight against Lölö. The other regions of Ualang, from Täf to the north (the eastern and northern coast), came to the support of Lölö. The people of Lölö retreated to the Kinjer and from here they twice lunged out towards Pötak. The first time they had to retreat unsuccessfully, but the second time they defeated their enemies, who fled to Mälsö and from there dispersed to their regions.


4. Aoä Nesalik I. Brother of the former, a Ton-Jämual. It seems we have to assume the visits of DUPERREY and LÜTKE took place under his reign. According to their reports the King at that time was a Ton, a very old man at the verge of his grave. According to LÜTKE there was only one other Ton besides him, the title holding chief Seoa, while all the others were Pennä. But the reign of the last Ton-Jämual already ended before 1837. According to my investigation the natives no longer remembered these two expeditions.

5. Aoä Nesu I. He is the last one of the 4 brothers from the suf Ton-Jämual.

6. Aoä Nesu II with the epithet Sitel-Tat (also Sitel-Tait). He was the son of Aoä Nesu I. With him the suf Pennä (Penmä Kaität or suf-on-muon) came on the throne. The reason for this was probably that the suf Ton-Jämual had died out. Aoä Nesu declared himself King despite against the whishes of the title holding chiefs. His oldest brother was first Sipa, then Kanko. Under the following King he was robbed of his high office and became Sesufo. The title holding chiefs would have preferred to have a son of their sister as King, the title holding chief Selik.

Sitel-Tat—under this name he continues to live on—reputedly was a brutal and ruthless ruler, who supposedly killed many natives. In the year 1835, during his reign, the first schooners were attacked in Kusae (p. 4). Though he can only have stayed in power for a short period of time, as soon enough, under the leadership of his rival and nephew Selik and his 6 brothers, a revolution started against him. It is generally called Meun Sitel-Tat (»the war against Sitel-Tat«). The reason supposedly was the title holding chiefs’ aversion against him and his

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1 Name of the rocky cape in-between the regions Utua and Mälsö.
his sons. It is safe to say that the war was actually caused because of controversies of very close relatives, members of the same sub-suf.

**Meun Sitel-Tat — The War Against Sitel-Tat.**

When Sitel-Tat was King, he had a pole with a knot made of coconut leaves, as a sign of taboo, erected in Tofol, in the region of the title holding chief Selik. He wanted this region for himself and wanted to take it away from the title holding chief Selik, who had been proposed to become King, and from his family. At this time Selik, his 6 brothers, and their followers took to their weapons. The main island Ulang split into two camps. The regions from Koplö to Matanlük (on the east coast) sided with of the King, while the other ones supported his enemy. The leader of the royal party was the son of the King, the title holding chief Sesa. The side of the 7 brothers gathered at the compound Jörka on Lölö. From here they forced their entry, following the channel right behind the compound of the King and started the fight.¹

They repulsed the enemy all the way back to Kinjer and from there back into the royal compound. Many people died on both sides. Sesa, the King’s son, a brave man, also speared Selik, the leader of the opposing side, among others. But in the end the royal side was surrounded and besieged in the royal compound, most of all to catch Sesa and kill him. The King himself, together with his daughter was hiding in his dwelling house. Sesa went inside and reproached him, »Here you both are sitting and I am fighting for you and have already killed several, even Selik. You never took care of me, always preferring the sister. You can both stay here. They shall not catch me, I am far too clever. I will continue fighting, only dead they shall have me.« The King replied, »Stop fighting and let all go as it will! « When it was evening Sesa crept outside and sprang into the sea holding a tree branch over his head so that nobody could see him. The opposing party entered the royal compound, found the Tokosa, and hacked off his right arm. Therefore, he got the nickname »Sitel-Tait« = »Sitel, the hacked off one«. In the meantime Sesa, under the branch, swam across the harbor to Fenef. There he built a small wall of stones for his defense, looked for a woman, and lived there. After his disappearance they immediately searched everywhere for him, but they could not find him. On the next day they were once again looking for him. Therefore, Sesa fled into the river and, once again holding a branch over his head, he swam across the harbor back to Lölö, staying in the sea until evening. The canoes passed quite close to him, but they thought the branch was driftwood. At night Sesa crept into the royal compound, but he did not find anyone from his family. So, he swam back across the harbor and went north around Ulang to Wukat.

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¹ According to another version of the account, which I received from the old King, the fight started in front of the fortress Kinjer, from where the royal party was driven out.
There he looked once again for a woman and lived with her for several days in-between the high roots of the lum-tree, which is still standing today. Repeatedly canoes looking for him passed by. The woman collected food for Sesa and covered the roots of the tree with branches. One day canoes passed by again and Sesa heard them all say, »If we could only find him, we would kill him!« When the last canoe had passed by and he heard once again the same, he stepped out of his hiding place and called, »Here I am, but none of you will kill me!« The canoe called the other ones back and they surrounded the tree. The youngest brother of Selik, a violent-tempered and cruel man, wanted to confront him. Though Sesa called to him, »Leave your hands off me, if you don’t want me to club you to death! No one of you will defeat me!« Then they all let go of him and invited him to come with them to Lölö. Sesa agreed, he dressed himself with a new belt, covered himself with yellow root and oiled his hair, because he knew they would strike him dead in Lölö. Then he took the woman with him and walked in front of the others across the island to the river Innem. On the way his companions ridiculed him by saying, »First you were a King’s son and now we bring you as our prisoner to Lölö and will kill you!« Sesa turned around and replied, »No one of all of you can defeat me, I walk with you on my own free will. And when you kill me you will not hear any sound. You will not have to bind me, I will sit there freely!« They brought him to Jörka, in the compound of Selik and his brothers. There Sesa stood himself all day long under the sun and called, »Come and club me to death!« etc. In the meantime the brothers had a discussion in the house. The second oldest one, Lepaluk-Nä, who later on became King, did not want the death of Sesa. He said, »Sesa is a courageous and clever man, whom we can well use.« All agreed. However, the oldest sister said, »Kill him! There lies our oldest brother in all his pains nearly dead!« Thus, they discussed all day long. The sister again and again shouted, »Kill him!« and pointed to the dying brother. Finally she added, »When our brother dies, then kill him too, if he stays alive then Sesa may also live.« Most of them agreed with this, Paluk-Nä was still against it. When Selik died, Sesa was killed the following day. The youngest brother was immediately part of it. He hit him with a ko in the neck. Sesa sat still. Then they hit him with the ko in the back until he finally fell. He did not utter any sound of pain, just as he had predicted. They rolled him into a mat and brought him to his mother. There, when people wanted to roll him into a new mat for burial, he woke up again. Then his mother cried out, »Oh, it is better you kill yourself, instead of continuing to live.« Then he strangled himself with his own hand.¹ They buried him and planted a coconut palm on top of his grave. Paluk-Nä, the brother of Selik, became King. Sitel-Tait, who still lived,

¹ The version, which I received from the King, did not mention that Sesa woke up again and then killed himself.
was continuously mocked by all the people, because he had a been a cruel King and had many people killed. Also people on Ualang did that when they saw him, they ridiculed him by asking, »What did you do with your arm?«

7. Aoä Neapeluk I. 1837/38—1854.¹ He is the sister’s son of the former one and the next oldest brother of the slain Selik, thus from the same sub-suf Penmüä. After Selik’s death, the title holding chiefs voted for him to be King, although he had an older brother, called Salik. This older brother did not live on Lölö but on Ualang (in the region of Utua). The reasons are unknown, but probably because he had been ignored. The new King united nearly all high titles in his family. The time of his reign was very important for Kusae. Contrary to his predecessors, he was very friendly to the Europeans and opened his home country to the advancing European culture. This is the reason why the natives date their encounter with the whites from his reign forward (p. 5). During his time, the Boston Mission settled in 1852. He forbid palm wine and alcohol, although this was never much observed. These circumstances and his personal characteristics as King and human being brought him his name »the good King George«² even then and caused the natives to honor him as the best and the greatest of all their Kings known to them. The history of the island actually starts with him for most of the population. Although the mission owed their permanent settlement primarily to him and commonly calls him »the good old King George«, in the eyes of Snow, despite his interest he remained »a lost sinner until 1 month before his death«. At that time he was baptized and then died on September 9, 1854 at the age of 50 years because of constant and overindulging kava drinking according to Snow. Snow characterizes him further, »His passion and weakness were a desire to please everybody, especially those whom he loved … The morning we learned of his death, the moistened eyes about the missionary’s house seemed as when a beloved father is leaving for a better home.«³

8. Aoä Nesu III. November 7, 1854—September 30, 1856. He was the oldest son of the former and therefore held the title Kanko. According to his suf he was a Ton-Jämual.⁴ He became King presumably because the brothers of his father were already dead. The long interregnum after the death of the former attracts attention. We could not learn the cause of it. During his reign, in April 1856, 5 Ralik canoes with about 100 natives drifted to Kusae (p. 221). The new King disapproved of the mission. In the context of his inauguration, Snow stated, »The son was naturally mild and amiable, but he seemed to be inveterately wedded

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¹ About the time of his inauguration compare Gulick in N.M. 1862, p. 241; Capt. Hammet in N.M. 1854, p. 63 starts it in the year 1846.
² M.H. 1854, p. 85.
³ M.H. 1855, p. 218: R.B.M. 1855, p. 119
⁴ According to M.H. 1855, p. 218 he is mistakenly called the younger brother of the former one.
to the old superstition of the island; and his influence was adverse to the mission.\footnote{loc. cit.} At his death Snow calls him, »a poor man because he died as he lived in dissipation. He adapted and carried out his old father’s principle of not allowing any liquor to be made or trafficked in upon the island: but the first question he put to every shipmaster was: »Have you any liquor?« and so long as there was any hope of getting it for his own use, there was incessant begging.« \footnote{M. H. 1857, pp. 252.} \footnote{M. H. 1857, p. 253.} \footnote{M. H. 1859, p. 152.} \footnote{Compare R.B.M. 1857, pp. 7; M.H.1858, p. 186; 1859, p. 97.} This ending seems to refer to the fact that the King had been drunk when, according to the statements made to me, he was suffocated by his successor.

9. Aoä Neoa. 1856—August 7/8, 1858. He was the son of a younger sister of the mother of King George, thus of the same sub-suf Penmä as this one. Because his predecessor only had mentally sick daughter and his 3 brothers were either dead or not yet grown up, he supposedly was the oldest of the royal family. Previously, he held the title of a Sesa. The mission judges him like this, »The one who is to success enjoys the reputation of being the most unprincipled man. Yet he has been a more regular church-goer than the king\footnote{M. H. 1857, p. 186; 1859, p. 97.} and on another occasion »He was an efficient man and had always treated the missionarys kindly.« \footnote{M. H. 1857, pp. 252.} \footnote{M. H. 1857, pp. 253.} \footnote{M. H. 1859, p. 152.} In 1857, under this King, the last war was waged in Kusae, which is called »meun Rotuma«. Several adventurous whites and a number (14) of people from Rotumah, including one Negro, who had been living in Tenuak, in Ualang, had made a plan to topple the native government and to take over power under the leadership of a white person as Tokosa. The attack had been planned for a long time by buying guns and ammunition, which had been buried at a certain place. The native cook of one of the whites secretly listened to one of their nighttime meetings and revealed the plan to the King. In the same night this one aroused his people by messengers and had the stash of the whites emptied; the fight started the next day. It lasted more than 2 months and consisted mostly in besieging the rebels, who had retreated into the house of a white in Sänsik. The natives built two stonewalls in the vicinity and took a fortified position behind it. At night the besieged persons managed to get some supplies. But, finally, they were all shot except 4 whites and a few people from Rotumah. Finally, when the first »Morning Star« of the mission first arrived in Kusae, a peace agreement was made on board. The leaders had to leave the island. The Morning Star transported 4 men from Rotumah to Ponape and a whaler removed the 2 white ringleaders and a few other people.\footnote{Compare R.B.M. 1857, pp. 7; M.H.1858, p. 186; 1859, p. 97.}

10. Aoä Nelepaluk II. 1858—June 1863. At the death of the former King none of his close relatives as candidates were supposedly present: the only surviving
son of King George was still a boy.\textsuperscript{1} Thus they reached back and made a very extended relative, the daughter’s son of King Aoä Nena, the King. He was also the son-in-law of King George. He reputedly had also been a Penmä. As a title holding chief he had first been Semuta, then Kanko. Contrary to this predecessor, his position was adverse to the mission. He wanted to push it again out of Kusae, as he was very attached to being a heathen. When the natives from the region Pok suddenly converted, he took away their land, as a punishment.\textsuperscript{2} This behavior, along with the little success and the frightening decline of the population, made Mr. Snow leave Kusae and move to Ebon in August 1862.\textsuperscript{3} The missionization of Kusae then lay in the in hands of the native »teachers« from Hawaii. Nevertheless, the mission stayed in contact with Kusae, which Snow visited on a yearly basis. The mission ship also called regularly (compare pp. 5 and 57).

11. Aoä Nesalik II. 1863—November 2, 1874. He declared himself King, against the will of the chiefs and of the people. He was only distantly related to the royal family through his wife. His father was a priest, thus, a simple met-sisik, only his mother was of noble origin. The title holding chiefs gave up their intention to rise against him. Before his usurpation he had been Sipa. According, to his suf he supposedly was also Penmä. Aoä Nesalik allegedly was a bad King, having stolen money from his subjects and once upon a time he had also taken away cows from the mission, in order to sell them to whalers. However, later on, when an American warship called on Lölö, he had to pay from them. During his reign the well known pirate Bully Hayes and his cronies were up to their mischief on the island (p. 7). Obviously it had also been the unpopularity of the King, which caused the introduction of a sort of royal council in 1869. Besides the 7 chiefs, 7 representatives of the 7 island’s districts also participated.\textsuperscript{4} Finally, on November 2, 1874 he was removed from office. The deeper reason for the entire dispute seems to have been a fight of the Christian side against the side of the King who was against the mission. In 1864 he had also confiscated land from some Christians.\textsuperscript{5} Despite all the opposition and contrary to the former years, the Christian side had made quite a remarkable progress since Snow’s departure in the year 1862. Snow had left behind a church and just 26 church members.\textsuperscript{6} Even in 1863, neither the King nor any of the high chiefs had been converted\textsuperscript{7}, nevertheless there is already some talk about 100 Christians.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{1} Compare M.H. 1860, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{2} Compare M.H. 1864, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{3} R.B.M. 1863, p. 138; 1865, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{4} M.H. 1870, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{5} R.B.M. 1864, p. 295.
\textsuperscript{6} R.B.M. 1864, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{7} M.H. 1866, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{8} M.H. 1866, p. 137.
In 1866/67 3 stone chapels were built¹ and there were already 197 Christians.² In 1869 there are further reports of 3 stone churches, 1 church in the native style, and 159 church members.³ It definitely had been a clever plan of Snow to personally educate the youngest, and later on, the only son of the generally venerated King George when the son was 10 years old. From 1868 to his death in 1871 he became the first ordained native pastor of Kusae.⁴ In these years obviously the high title holding chiefs also converted to the Christian side, among them Kanko, too. The preserved report about the removal of the King spotlights the situation for us in a remarkable way. At that time Snow as well as Bully Hayes, masked for this occasion as a pious man, were present.

»The king and queen had both been going to the bad, and going it hard, for a long while. Last Saturday, the idea got possession of some of the chiefs and more influential of the people, that they had a right, if they choose to exercise it, to depose that old king and put a new man in his place. It was understood by certain ones that there would be a meeting on monday at the Stone Church to consult upon the matter, and if thought best to put the king through … No public notice was given of the meeting. But the chiefs sent out their runners, and before noon all the chiefs and about 100 men were gathered in the church. They sent me to be present. Kanku presided and the meeting was opened with prayer by the pastor, and (amusing to me) by singing »There is rest for the weary.« I feared there might be some division of feeling as to who should be te new king, if they should conclude to elect one. But Kanku spoke first and spoke well. According to the customs to the island the place belonged to him: but he with great magnanimity, proposed Sigera for the new king. Each of the chiefs spoke in order, then quite a number of the common people. I was surprised at the fearlessness and manliness with which many of them spoke. It came out that there was quite a feeling in favor of Kanku, but as he had proposed Sigera, they yielded their preference and would go for Sigera. One young man was strongly for Kanku, as being an older man and of more experience, and remarked that if Sigera did not do well they could put in Kanku afterwards! All had their say that wished to speak, even their old missionary among the rest. Then the vote was put: first to depose the old king. Every hand was up with a will. Second, shall Sigera be his successor? This was carried, too, with equal unanimity and apparent heartiness. After attending to a few other little matters, at their request I led them in prayer, consecrating the newly-elected king to his work. The meeting was then closed by all singing the thanksgiving hymn. Capt. Hayes was present when the votes were taken.« During the meeting the old King had

¹ M.H. 1868, p. 156.
² M.H. 1868, p. 319.
³ M.H. 1868, p. 199.
⁴ R.B.M. 1879, pp. 96; 1871, p. 82.
already heard about his removal from office and had packed his belonging in order to move out of the royal compound. Kanko had to bring him the report and he talked about him being deposed as the work of god for the benefit of the island and the happiness of the church. « The old King was very dejected and in the evening the mood in his house was like that of a house of grief.¹

12 Aoä Nesu IV. 1874—80 (?). He was the younger brother of Aoä Nelepaluk II. and had been the title holding chief Sikera. He had been suggested by some of the title holding chiefs when Aoä Nesalik usurped the throne, as had his rival, Kanko, during his own election. By electing him, Christianity won the upper hand. He himself was personally working for the mission, in order to win back seceded Christians.² Just as his predecessor had met his fate Aoä Nesu IV. met the same fate as predicted by the people at the election meeting. When the mission considered the old plan to move their Training-Schools for the Gilbert and Marshall Islanders to Kusae in earnest, the King sold the entire region Mot on Ualong to the mission. This actually happened in 1879, however, he kept all the money for himself, without giving the inhabitants of Mot a share. Therefore, he too was removed in a public meeting and with the participation of the mission. His rival was elected at his own election.

13. Aoä Nesu V. 1880—?. Before he had been Seko, then Kanko. As such he had presented himself twice as candidate for the throne. He was related to the royal family, being the son of the mother’s brother and the son-in-law of Aoä Nelepaluk I. He was the first one of the Lisnei who became King.

14. Aoä Nelepaluk III. 1879—1890. With the death of Aoä Nesus the candidate for the throne had died out. Therefore, the title was offered to the title holding chief Sesa, whose wife at least was a direct descendant of Aoä Nelepaluk I. As this one declined and, in the absence of another, the son of the usurpator, Aoä Nesalik was elected. His wife was the grandchild of Selik, the brother of King George, who had died in the battle against Sitel Tat. He supposedly was a Penmä and had been Kanko earlier. The time of his reign supposedly lasted only a few months.

15. Aoä Nesa II. 1890—1910. After the death Aoä Nelepaluk III, the title holding chief Sesa refused a second time the office of Tokosa. Because there was no one else possible, the desire of the people was followed and Aoä Nesa II was summoned through a letter of his sister to accept the kingship. As a sailor he had been away from his home country since 1863. He was the son of the brother of Aoä Neoa and his grandmother was the sister of the mother of King George, at the same time he was, because of his sister, the brother-in-law of Aoä Nesu IV. With him, the second Lisnei (Lisnei-Koa) came on the throne. He died in 1910.

¹ M.H. 1875, pp. 187.
² M.H. 1876, p. 216; R.B.M. 1876, p. 85.
16. Since 1910, the son of the sister of the former King reigns, as this one did not have any adult children. Thus, again, a Lisnei-Koa.

3. The Decline of the Kusaean Culture.

The decline of the local culture can be followed all the way to pre-European times in certain areas. If we consider the constant and lasting influence of the whites already from the time of the inauguration of Aoä Nelepaluk, in the year 1837 or 1838, then we see the pre-European decline in the following characteristics; the loss of their own open sea shipping and of an appropriate vehicle, the loss of the passive foreign trade with the neighboring areas, the loss of a hereditary succession to the throne within a certain suf, as it seems since ca. 1830, the loss of the obviously formerly existing dualism in the highest power (god-king and chief of war), the decline of the weapons technique, and, finally, the quick abandon of the big compounds in Lölö, the seat of the old aristocracy. We can see signs of a physical decline in the thin population at the time of DUPERREY and LÜTKE and the unequal number of sexes.

If we ask for the reasons of this pre-European decline, then we definitely have to attach importance to the loss of the old open sea shipping at that time.

In the old times, the Kusaeans, without any doubt, led an eager seafaring life, full of migrations, trade and war-like enterprises, just like the other islanders of Micronesia and Polynesia. It was a bitter fate that this old energy of the natives had to be proved on the vast surface of water of the big ocean and they only reached points of land which were small in size as only few points in the world, and outfitted with the same presents of nature and the same cultural circumstances as their home island, which they had left. It is this environment, which shattered crowds of seafarers and wore down their energy, that finally let them sink back from the vast horizon, which had spanned entire parts of the Ocean and into the small historical horizon of their tiny home island. So it happened that they [lost] the most simple, most important, basic condition for good cultural development; the enriching spiritual and cultural connection with other countries and peoples. At the same time they, because of the smallness and furnishings of their own island, incorporated the seed of spiritual and physical decline. Even if the descriptions of characters from DUPERREY’s and LÜTKE’s expeditions were not free of exaggerations, they nevertheless did not find a people with remarkable characteristics of a fresh and strong will of life. This tiredness, alias harmlessness and gentleness, especially caused the excitement of the Europeans. The discrepancy between this common character and the surprising achievements of the old time, full of energy, as it is expressed in the cultural ground of west-Lölö and the ruins on it.

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* Verb is not clear and partly missing.
That the collapse of the population also had its internal causes opened already the eyes of Dr. Pease in 1856.

Under these circumstances, the influence of the whites had a catastrophic effect on the decline of the native culture, just as on the health of the people. We have been forced to point out the resulting decline of the culture several times. Here we want to add just a few additions. First, concerning the state, its base was already removed with the quick decline of the aristocracy, which vanished in the sudden fall of the number of people. This can be seen in the growing irregularities in the succession of the throne, the difficulties of finding suitable candidates, the change of the suf, the beginning of a distinctive voting system for the king, in the electorate, and in the way the title holding chiefs sided, in a usurpation (1863), and others. At the same time, there were fewer title holding chiefs. In 1869 there still were seven besides the king,¹ in 1880 there were only 6², in 1910 besides him only one higher (Sesa) and two lower ones (Siken and Sefisa). With the decline of the aristocracy and of the old government the remaining chiefs had to experience the loss of actual power and respect. This went hand in hand with the emancipation of the people from their slave-like dependency. Even in 1872 the culture consisted of slaves and the chiefs, who were the only landowners.³ But already in 1869 the chiefs received 7 counterparts from the commoners.⁴ FINSCH considered the »Togusa« as an absolute ruler who discussed and settled all public affairs with his chiefs,⁵ although they had twice, in 1874 and 1880 (?) disposed of 2 kings. In 1884, the sinak, the devote etiquette between commoners and government, as well as within the family, disappeared.⁶ That the tittles of the chiefs were not renewed, is also based on the fact that the nobles died out. Also, no more importance was put on purity, but the will of the people was of great consequence, as in 1910 when the mood for abolishing the worldly government existed. Especially, the chiefs lost their absolute power in their regions when landownership became one of a pure individual property. This explains why Aoä Nesu IV had been removed, when he sold the region Mot to the mission in 1879, although there would have been more than enough land on Ualang to compensate the natives. At the time of our expedition the king only possessed the regions Innem on Ualang as family property. In former times, his father, as Siken, had received it as a fief. The Sesa, too, still had the land, which his father-in-law had received once upon a time. Generally speaking, there is no native today who does not own property. The owners of entire regions are the most fortunate ones, and even today they are still called met-suksuk on Ualang. How they came into the possession of their

¹ M. H. 1870, p. 152.
² FINSCH 1893, p. [455].
³ M. H. 1873, p. 93.
⁴ M. H. 1870, p. 151.
⁵ loc. cit.
⁶ M. H. 1882, p. 394.
property, could not be researched due to lack of time. For a number of them this seems to have happened only recently. Some of them might have received it, due to their relationship with former met-suksuk families. Repeatedly a single man from among the people had been pointed out as the owner of an entire region. Thus, Lääap and Koas belonged to my interpreter Kefas. Målám, Täf, and Fenkol each belonged to one man, and Utua to 2 brothers. This might also be true with other regions. Also, even today there are still people who work for the met-suksuk if he still has people in his region; but, he no longer has the power to take away their land. We also could not observe anything concerning tribute to the King, although this one still had the right to receive it.

Thus, together with the state system, the old difference between Ualang and Lölö also disappeared, and made a place for new ones. First, there are the bigger landowners on Ualang who distinguish themselves from the common people. Therefore, the main islands Ualang gained social importance, deserved due to its economic base, although Lölö perseveres as the main settlement and as the seat of government. Of course, the leaders of the church play a special role next to the big landowners. The affairs of the islands are taken care of. From the church as well. It is typical that the main punishments for crimes are also wielded by it, by expelling the respective person from the church congregation. During the time of my stay the King held his position in name only, and only because of the consent of the German government, through Vice Governor Berg. It is not surprising that the idea of entirely abolishing the kingdom was partially quite popular. However, this was also because of who the old King was as a person. Maybe the situation may have improved under his young and self-confident successor, who also holds the position of a preacher in Lölö. Just as the state and the classes went through changes, so did the family and the organization of the suf has nearly disappeared, as well. Even FINSCH did not hear very much about it.

In general the decline has hit the culture through its entire sphere, as far as this was possible. Ornamentations and tattoos of the old days are gone. Fishing is only done on the reef and here it also is only practiced in a few different ways. The old house with its keel-like roof, the old canoe for the lagoon, the characteristic knot weaving, they all no longer exist, just like other trades have undergone changes. The distinction between different jobs does not exist any more. For a long time the local currency has been substituted with coins. All that remains of the artistic abilities are hat-bands and sewn bags made of pandanus. The old religion has been eradicated, just like the other traditions from heathen times; dances, songs, legends, and games. In modern times, they all exist only in the heads of a few very old men.
Half a century was sufficient to abolish the old, singular native culture and to change it so much that it cannot be recognized any more. Apart from explaining the extreme velocity of the decline, by the own survival of the culture and the plunge of the population, it can be explained by the special character of the people, who had been strictly educated to follow with willing submissiveness and therefore had adapted to the European influence without any actual resistance.

Of all the forces, from which the destructive influence of the culture emanated, the mission at the time of the Europeans must be placed first. Their influence was never interrupted. Naturally, this was not restricted to religious circumstances, although the mission had expressed this intention, when it had been founded. At their arrival, when the King and the title holding chiefs, probably at the request of whalers and traders, asked if they also wanted to meddle in questions of government, Mr. Clark had replied, »That they came to teach the bible, and not to rule; and that the bible commanded all to »fear god and honor the king«.« The course of history had proved these well meant intentions wrong; it has refuted it. The teaching of the sameness of all people in front of god, added its worth to the coup of the old state. A short time after their arrival, Snow had already managed that people were allowed to stand in the presence of the King during the blessing. The first priority toward the individual Kings, in the judgment of the mission, was the King’s behavior towards them. The removal of 2 kings goes back to the strengthened Christian parties. The meeting on the occasion of the first recorded case (p. 385) has the complete character of a church meeting. The mission also participated and afterwards rejoiced in the realization of the consequences of the decision, »Yet are there not principles involved, and a triumph of the gospel indicted, give a note of cheer in the great song of victory,—victory of the right over wrong, purity over the grossest licentiousness—encouraging to the workers in the larger fields?« The abolishment of all forms of respect was also been influenced by them in the year 1884. The old King told that at the beginning of his reign the missionary pulled those people up by force who sat down in front of him with the reprimand that man only kneels in front of god. Further on, under their direct and indirect influence, alcohol was banned as well as kava and tobacco—because the consumption of the last is also a sin, which can cause expulsion from the church community as punishment. Due to the mission, old clothes were abolished and the new ones introduced, also the new form of houses, dances, and songs. Also, all traditions from the heathen times were eliminated. Instead new ideas concerning moral and law were introduced. Concerning the last and especially the basic law, here is

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1 M.H. 1853, p. 86.
2 M.H. 1854, p. 51.
3 M.H. 1875, p. 137.
an example of correctness under the responsibility of the old King. In the beginning of
the 90s a man had received a plot of pasture as a fief, which, after the death of the man,
the King took back, believing in the old royal power. But, because this native had held a
special position in church, the missionary now claimed the land and had an argument
over it with the King, during the course of which he started using his fists. When the
King still insisted on his right and wanted the decision to be made on the grounds of the
vice governor, the missionary gave up his claim.

We shortly sketched the influence of the mission not to make any reproach. Without
any doubt about all of its destructive elements in regard to the native culture, it was, at
the same time, the only influence that helped the natives to get over all the horror and
turmoil. It also helped against the opposition of the whites and the natives and those who
played a great part in the institution of healthy and peaceful circumstances. The mission
was helped by the gentleness of the people, their fear because of the many deaths, the
later isolation of the island from the outside world, and their complete freedom of
movement unhindered by any colonial power. Therefore, the mission had the interest of
the entire well being of the people at heart. Under these circumstances, Kusae got the
reputation to be the stronghold of the mission in the South Seas at an early stage. As a
delegate of the Hawaii-Mission said already in 1872, »The population indeed, is small,
only about three hundred, but they are the most civilized and refined of all I have seen in
Micronesia. The gospel is firmly planted here.«¹ We also have to mention that freeing
the people from the complete guardianship of a parasitic ruler merits to be called a benefit for
the Kusaeanis. Later, if the population regained its completely shattered health and the
people regained power, it is a special merit that it was due to their influence. This is the
most rewarding character of the collapse of the native culture for the impartial European.
Further, we want to point out the size this influence actually achieves, this influence
could not have been predicted. This results in the great responsibility towards the natives
and their nation. From this point of view, the following objections must be understood.
First, we cannot accept the overzealous puritanical strictness, even though it has
undoubtedly been beneficial for Kusae in certain aspects. It obviously becomes an empty
shell for the natives. We already showed several examples of false prudishness (p. 70,
72). Here we just want to mention once again the unhygienic handling of modern clothes
(p. 63, 72, 75). How can people refer to the fact that the natives remain completely
passive when by chance a ship arrives on a Sunday, as a pleasant example of this
education.

¹ M.H. 1873, p. 93.
They do not even traded for food. When a schooner left on a Sunday and ran on the reef and when offloading its cargo meant saving it, no one lifted a hand before Monday morning. Also a comprehensible respect for the significance of the native culture is desirable. Today, this insight has been understood. It is obvious that the deeper knowledge of the cultural circumstances protect the Europeans, and also the missionary, and the government employees from over-zealous actions. Or, in the view of the natives, protects from acts of violence. This only hands us the opportunity to lead the natives, psychically and physically, on the shortest and safest way, and in an organic manner, to the goal; to lead a better life, and to have a higher estimation of themselves, life, and their fellow beings. At the same time, we realize that the »Christianized« native does not feel in such a concept of himself as equal to the European, as he might think, if led on too quickly by the sentence about the equality of all men in front of god. Unfortunately, this is often the case, quite contrary to his heathen tribal compatriots. A deeper understanding of the native culture will also get rid of the view, that everything about it is heathen and only worthy of destruction, which is based on prejudice and snobbism. Wrong actions, in this regard, render the native to a spiritual beggar, to a pathetic caricature of a European. It makes him an even more incapable head than he had been before. Taking over the culture of the European does not mean he also takes over his skills and abilities. However, when he gives up all his traditions then also all his abilities and his energy are lost. There is no soul and no fresh common life behind the partially and grotesquely distorted European view of the new culture. It reminds one more of a graveyard’s quietness, interrupted only by clear voices of children or by the intonation of church songs. Because of such impressions, I addressed the mission of Kusae with the inspiration to teach more of the old culture in form of legends and songs in school. Due to the expedition, in some minds the picture of the old culture, laced by the brilliance of the old days was revived. The old King obviously enjoyed a return to the times of his youth and busied himself with writing down the past time of his home island. The nearly forgotten knot-weaving, too, was reanimated due to the excitement of the expedition and I learned with much satisfaction that once again a cooking house in the old style had been built after my departure.

According to accounts of a member of the Catholic mission in the Gilbert Islands, they retain even the old chants and dances there, the last one even against the

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1 M.H. 1897, p. 305.
wish of the government. According to the same source and due to other circumstances, the Catholic mission is prompted to possibly study the local culture. This has the consent of the pope who reputedly rewards such deeds with special blessing. If this scientific aspect is added to those mentioned earlier, then the mission crowns their work in a desirable and ideal manner. However, for such a conception of ones’ business, men who have more abilities than to teach a dogmatic doctrine are needed!

In order to justly honor the mission on Kusae we must remark, that these digressions were not only caused by experiences here.
IX. Religion.

What ever still exists of the old religion after sixty years of a successful, effective mission, could only be a less than conclusive picture. We can only present bits and pieces, which remain incomprehensible to us in many details for the time being. However contrary to FINSCH’s opinion that the Kusaeans never had any religion, the bits and pieces still offer a glimpse into the wide religious world of ideas and the rich religious life of the old time.


Without any doubt two religious forms existed next to each other in old Kusae, the nature religion and the veneration of the ancestors. Both kinds of spirits were called anūt, but it seems as if this expression initially had been reserved for the gods of nature. Even today, the soul is still called by the special word »nan«. GULICK already confirmed the mixing of the 2 different kinds of spirits. He remarks about religion, »Thus do this people worship in common with all Micronesians. They do indeed recognize and worship very many selforiginating deities, supreme over some one or other realm of nature. But those which are palpably but deceased ancestors are sometimes so highly exalted in the minds of their successors that they are called self-existent and the worship paid both classes partakes of the same general nature, certain peculiar objects, generally singular rocks, being selected as the points to which they direct the ceremonies intended for the more purely self-existent divinities. The line of demarcation between the two classes of spirits is by no means a palpable one, and but little of error will be committed in speaking of their religions system as ancestral, mingled with a fear of various imaginary deities, with innumerable superstitions, beliefs in incantations, and processes of divination.«¹

1. Nälok.

In the old times the male deity of this name supposedly was the highest. His residence was heaven. In addition there was very little memory of him:

1. A verse for children: In former times it was sung by children when they

¹ N.M. 1862, p. 244.
came from bathing and sat down on the beach to dry off. There were two versions of this small verse, one in Lölö and the other one in Ualang.

a) Nälok Nälok
   Sisme sie fat
   Nananan !
   Nan sout bako
   Siwok siwok nom.

b) Nälokä !
   Sisme sie fatan,
   Lanak ak nenie ak ferilie !
   Nokol kitän äsak
   Bako sinoul naktäl.
   Nom sufä,
   Nak pala !
   Hum se teo !

2. A working chant for buildings canoes. In it, god lowers a piece of sugar cane from heaven and plants it. See the text in chapt. VI under working chants nr. 18.

3. A legend: Though the natives do not know if it relates to this god. See more in chapt. X, nr. 17, p. 437.

Judging from these testimonies Nälok was the master of heaven who, for instance showed the sun its course and gave sugar cane to the people.

2. Nälik.

The existence of this god is only proven by the former mentioned working chant for canoes. There Nälik and Nälok appear together as the creators and planters of sugar cane.


In addition to the name and the statement that this god had also been a god of heaven, we find indications of him in the few following traditions:

1. In the legend of origin of the suf Lisnei-süs-Neoa; that its former ancestor, the rat, was the guardian of this god’s sugar cane plantation on the Island of Yap. Compare p. 322.

2. In former times, when eating oranges, children flipped the kernels in-between thump and index finger and said the following little verse:
   »Su² ma mä oseïk sal Söap o Yap!«
   »Spring and bring me oranges to eat from Söap in Yap!«

3. In the legend of the construction of the ruins in Lölö, the magical architect Satäf

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1 The accents show the special intonation of the verse. [These accents cannot be printed in the English translation, comment CCHPH]

2 su stands here for so = to spring.
said a bas before his departure from Täf, in which the name of this god was mentioned. The character of this bas (working chant) is a prayer to Söap for great waves.

According to these three proofs, Söap was a god of the sea, who had his residence on the island of Yap. The last can also be seen in his name (Söap, Sójap), which means lord of Yap.

Further on the name Söap can be found in some of the tales, but the natives cannot say if they refer to this god. These tales are of a mythological nature because they contain known as well as unknown characteristics from the central Carolinian circle of legends concerning Olifat. Therefore, it seems that the figure of Söap in these legends relates to the god Söap, although we cannot report anything important about him from these legends. It is remarkable only in that he appears as the father of Olifat, who actually always wants to harm his son. Olifat himself does not appear under this name but under several other ones. Compare the tales nr. 17—19, pp. 438.

4. Sinläka.

Sinläka, commonly called Kasoa Sinläka = »Lady Sinläka«. She is a goddess. She is the only one, whose name is generally still known among the natives. She is considered a goddess of heaven, although she obviously is only a goddess of vegetation, actually the goddess of breadfruit. She also was the only one, which was ever mentioned by the mission.1 Her name has already been mentioned by LÜTKE.2

It seems that in former times the cult of this goddess obviously was given much attention in the religious life. To all appearances she was in this respect the most popular goddess, which therefore in modern times, and probably even earlier, pushed the other gods into the background.

A written record from the year 1896, of a Kusaean man who had already died several years before the arrival of the Hamburger expedition, explains her character. It was found in an inherited notebook, which further on contained only personal remarks. The written record was from the then 40 years old man, who had been a teacher in Mäläm on Ualang and it had been recorded for use in school. This translation follows the written record as it was made on the spot.

Tale of Sinläka.

»Kasoa Sikat is the mother of Sinläka, her sister is Kasoa Sinonfun, her brothers are Silkiak, Sitel and Nösünsap. All of them lived in Uiä. Sinläka built herself a house on the place Fäl, at the foot of Tafonkol in the region Fenkol. Later on she left Fenkol and lived in Uiä. She loved Uiä just as much as her own place in

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1 M.H. 1857, p. 360.
2 LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 392.
Yap. She appointed some men: Kaien, Losa, Kol, Sinläka, Lepaniän, Käse, as priests, in order to take care of her work. When the priests had worked there for one year Sinläka came to Lölö. Before coming to Lölö, she sent two men, Kol and Lepaniän to Lölö, in order to announce her. In Lölö, the two revealed in how many nights she would come to Lölö.

Sinläka made many things. She brought typhoons, famine, and the lolo-sickness.¹

In Uiä people celebrated a religious service »koasok-ipenie«.

Two men from Uiä by the name Sauuiä and Löpanpitäl did not care about the service to Sinläka and they went fishing. In doing so, their canoe drifted away to Yap. Sinläka was angry, because the two had not taken care of their service. When both of them arrived in Yap, they did not know the name of the island. Only later they found out that this island belonged to Sinläka. When they went around the island they saw a woman sitting in a house who looked like the wife of Laien in Uiä. They entered the house and the woman asked them, »Who are you, are you human beings or spirits?« She also mentioned that no one ever came to the island, no rats, no flies, no humans, nothing. Then she asked, »Which island is your home island?« Both of them answered, »We are coming from Uiä!« The woman then asked how they had gotten here. They answered they went fishing and then drifted. The woman asked, »What are people from Uiä doing?« The men answered, »On the day when we went fishing the people from Uiä prepared a feast for Sinläka.« The woman asked, »What feast?« They replied, »koasok-ipenie.« The woman asked, »For whom is koasok-ipenie?« They replied, »it is for Kasoa Sinläka!« Then Sinläka told them, »I am Sinläka! I do not wish that you go fishing before your service for me is over!«

When the men had stayed for a while there, Sinläka ordered them to fetch some ikä wood and to prepare a small earth oven. They did it and prepared the small »hum«. Sinläka ordered them to fill two coconut shells with water, one with fresh water and one with salt water. They placed the shells into the earth oven and covered them. In addition she ordered them to weave many baskets. The two men looked at her and laughed. They prepared as many baskets as they could. Then the goddess ordered them to remove all leaves from the earth oven as everything would be cooked. When they opened the earth oven it was absolutely filled with food: breadfruit, taro, banana, yams, furo, fish and many other things. Sinläka ordered them to pack all into the baskets. Then she invited the men to eat. But they could not finish everything, it was too much. One of them said to the other, »I would be happy if my children would have some of this.« Sinläka did not even look at them she had her eyes cast down, working on something. But she heard everything they said. She asked them what they were talking about. But the two did not answer. She asked again. Then they replied, »We would be happy if our children would have some of these fruits

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¹ Influenza?
to eat. Sinlåka invited them look up. They did that. After a while the goddess invited them to look down again; when they did, nothing was there anymore.

Now Sinlåka showed them her entire place. There were many things in her place, including a sort of breadfruit, ek un lal, which Sinlåka loved most. When they had seen the place, the goddess told the men to go to the beach and to count the waves. When they counted the eighth wave Sinlåka told them to close their eyes, which they did. When they opened their eyes after a while they saw their own place Uiä around them, they were in Uiä. Earlier Sinlåka had ordered them to tell the people of Uiä that they should continue to hold services. After their return to Uiä neither men lived very long, both soon died. The inhabitants of Uiä and Sialat continued to venerate Sinlåka forever. The two men ordered them not to go to Lölö and they ordered the people from Lölö they ordered not to go to Uiä and Sialat. A house for Sinlåka was built in the place Kepal, in Lölö.

In former times Sinlåka brought a typhoon, a famine, and even destroyed all of Kusae. In those days people had nothing to eat. They ate wild sugar cane and everything they found on the ground. Sinlåka created three typhoons one called paka man sisik, another one was called paka los. During paka los, a great sea from around Kusae came and destroyed everything. The typhoon man sisik destroyed Kiol, Lanesak, and Jelpon. Compare p. 26.

We learned the following about the cult of Silåka: The goddess had 2 centers of cult worship. One house at the foot of the Tafonkol, at Fäl, in the region Fenkol and another one in the district Fufunkul, in the region Uiä, were dedicated to her. These houses were called im on äle = »taboo houses«. They were never repaired, though whenever a new King was inaugurated a new one was constructed.

Each of the two taboo houses had a community of priests. Each priest or tomon anüt = »guardian of the spirit« had a special title.

The Tafonkol community of priests consisted of 9 priests with the following titles »Ko, Löpan, Sulap, Sunän, Losa, Kaijen, Löpanien, Kaijen-Su, Soui.¹ These titles correlated also with those of the wives of the priests (Nuko, Nilöpan, etc). This community of priests had the special task of making a procession to Lölö to crown a new King when he was about to be enthroned.² Beforehand, they built a new house for the goddess, in which they remained together with some cooks during the day for some time. One of the participants (not a priest) tells the following about this stay during the coronation ceremony of Aoä Nesarlik:

»The priests and their servants had a big cooking house; the first priest Ko had a small house a bit above it. 4 dwelling houses were built for the stay of the

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¹ In the form of respect Neko, etc., when addressing Seko etc.
² Compare the crowing ceremony pp. 353.
of the women of the priests. A trumpet shell hung in the small house of Ko, which both
the priests, Ko and Kaijen, filled with a special kind of leaves and prayed over prayed
each morning and evening. Each morning and evening Koo also taught the other priests
and men stick fighting in the cooking house. In his house he also had a basalt slab, which
he rang each morning and evening. This was the signal for one of the priests to bring him
a coconut shell filled with kava. He first prayed over it and then drank it. On the
command of Ko, people also gathered at other times at the place of Sinläka, drank kava,
and prayed.«

Only 6 priests were part of the center of cult worship of Funfukol in Uiuua. They had
the same titles as those from Fenkol: Kaijen, Losa, Kase, Suläp, Kol, and Sunän. Just like
the Neko from Fenkol, the Kaijen from Funfukol was supposedly also appointed by the
King; they in turn elected the other priests. Funfukol was the main center of cult worship
of the goddess Sinläka. This is also confirmed by the legend. Accordingly, it also seems
as if the cult was introduced in Uiä later than the one in Fenkol.

In Uiä was a cooking house and next to it a small house for the high priest. The
activities of the community of priests are now unknown, except for one, a procession to
Lölö, it was called;» Sinläka goes to Lölö.« The details about it are as follows:

The different kinds of breadfruit do not yield the same bountiful harvest each year.
About every third year it supposedly is very rich. When such a rich harvest was expected,
it was called Sinläka came. According to the account of a very old man in Uiä, the
following event was celebrated there. The priests built a new house for themselves and in
it they made a tanes breadfruit picker (p. 101). Then they went to a breadfruit tree and sat
down, while one of the priest climbed on the tree and ripped breadfruits off for the
different title holding chiefs of Lölö. With each fruit he shouted loudly, »For the King!
For Kanko! etc.« The breadfruits were transported to the house of the goddess and furo
was made from them. Only after this could people from Uiä, Matante, and Tafonsak, the
regions on the northern coast of Ualang, could start harvesting breadfruits and preparing
furo. It took about 14 days until this one was finished. During this time the priests
remained in the house of the goddess. In the morning and in the evening they drank kava
and the high priest Kaijen said a prayer. People from the mentioned regions had to bring
a part of the finished furo to the priests, who then staged a big feast. The women of the
priests went fishing with masa nets on the reef. They went to a certain big boulder, which
they surrounded. Earlier, the priest Losa had placed 4 leaves, crushed by hand under this
rock, as food for the fish. But this fishing expedition was a ceremony. Without catching
any fish, they turned around and went back home eating furo as their feast’s food.
On the following day the procession of priests went to Lölö. The deceased King still knew the following about this: Sinläka had her arrival announced by the 2 priests Kol and Löpanien for a certain day. This was the day when the priests, all freshly washed, some with small baskets, as big as a hand and filled with furo, carried them on long poles over their shoulder. They first went to the King and the queen, where Kaijen and Losa held exactly the same ceremony of shaking hands with the royal couple and praying the same prayer »Anüt lasa« etc, as the first two priest from Tafonkol did during the crowning ceremony (p. 354). Then Kaijen took the baskets with furo, made small round balls from them, and placed 3 or 4 pieces back into the baskets. Then, he placed three rows of 4 baskets, in-between himself and the King. He first lifted the left hand, then the right one over them, as if blessing them, while the King bowed. He then turned the baskets each 180 degrees. This was the end of the ceremony. The priests received money, mats, and fruits and then each of them went to all the title holding chiefs, where the same event was repeated, in order to finally return to Funfukol. Here the high priest still spent 1—2 days alone in the house of the goddess.

In Lölö, on the occasion of the visit of Sinläka, a house was erected on the taboo place, Kepal. We do not know for what purpose. The King had white loin-belts, named Nösunsap, hang there. According to common belief the goddess used them as aprons.

This day was called lein Sinläka = »day of Sinläka« and it was a great holiday for all of Kusae.

As can be seen in the account of the notebook, once upon a time both regions Uïä and Sialat were taboo for the title holding chiefs. And, similarly, the population of these regions on the other side was not allowed to visit Lölö, except in the before mentioned procession.

The remark of SNOW also seems to refer to this procession to Lölö, »The great high priests of their religion live several miles from the residence of the king and chiefs, and once or twice a year great preparations are made for them to visit the small island. This is the only great religious rite kept up, in which all the island engage. They speak of it as a kind of Christmas or Thanksgiving day.«

Thus Snow also establishes Sinläka as an important goddess, even as the main goddess, of Kusae. He also mentions that influenza was considered a punishment from Sinläka. From other sources we know that obviously she was the one who decided over the live or death of the human beings. Due the expansive cult dedicated to the breadfruit goddess and her communities of priests on Ualang, it is also understandable why Snow calls Ualang »the very stronghold of their superstition« and why his religious war is directed against the »Sinlakians«.

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1 M.H. 1864, p. 44.  
2 M.H. 1857, p. 361.  
3 M.H. 1857, p. 360.
Further on, see under Nösünsap. In addition, there are some records from Prof. KRÄMER, which also contains the legend from the notebook, though in a short version.

Sinläka. According to KRÄMER.

The priest of Sinläka had different men working for him. One of them was called Kol, another one Losa, and another one Kase. They celebrated feasts every day and prepared food. The Tokosa did not want to disturb them during their work. He did not see them for a long time in Lölö. One day they arrived and the Tokosa celebrated a big feast for them. Kaijen, the priest from Uiä, brought the holy trumpet shell with him and all the people walked behind him. They brought the Tokosa a lot of food. This feast for Sinläka was called »Kofa län Sinläka.« They also brought a lot of curcuma leaves and bound two of them on the wrist of the high chiefs, to make them live long. On the same day, they returned and made a taboo so that nobody would go to Lölö.

One day two men drank water from the river Petel, which was taboo. Afterwards they were afraid and went away. They arrived on the land of Kasoa Sinläka. Here they stayed. Kasoa asked them, although she knew it, »Where do you come from?«—»We belong to Kusae, to Uiä and want to have a look around«. They told her about the feast for Sinläka and that the tanges had been prepared for the ripening of the breadfruits. Kasoa had nothing to eat. One man was hungry. She asked the other one, »What does he want? This one told her. Kosoa said, »Prepare a hum.« They made a big fire, but they had nothing to cook. So Kasoa said, »Fetch a coconut shell with salt water and one with fresh water. Pour it into the hum and cover it. Also fetch coconut fronds and make baskets.« Both of them did as they were told. But they made only a few baskets. Therefore, Kasoa said, »make some more, these are not enough.« The men laughed and said, »What for so many, we only poured water into the hum.« But when they opened the hum it was filled with all sorts of food, fish, taro, breadfruit and other.« They filled the baskets, distributed them, and ate. Then the younger one remarked, »I wish our families had just as much to eat as we do.« Kasoa heard this and asked, »What did he say?« The older one told her. Then, she said, »Look up!« and shortly afterwards, »Good!« Then all the food had disappeared. After a few days the woman sent the men back to Kusae. When they arrived in Uiä, they both got sick and died because they had seen the goddess.

5. Nösünsap.

This god, also called Sitel N., is already mentioned by LÜTKE and KITTLITZ, whom they though to be the main god of Kusae. According to LÜTKE »Nauenziap« had two wives, »Kajoua–sin-liaga (= »Kosoa Sinläka) and Kjoua-sin-nionfou« (= »Kaso
Sinonfu«), and 4 children »Rin«, »Aourieri«, »Naïtouolen«, and »Seouapin«. Further on, he considers the god as the progenitor of the suf Pennä.\(^1\) FINSCH regards LÜTKE’S image of Nösünsap as a god as a regrettable fantasy image. He thinks Nösünsap is a famous ancestor, just like the other gods mentioned by LÜTKE.\(^2\) Apparently, FINSCH never heard his name during his stay. In 1910 Nösünsap was, next to Sinläka, the only god, who remained in the memory of most of the people. He was considered a god of the sky, of which people only knew that he owned the thunder. The following legend correlates with these statements:

**Nösünsap.**

»Two men from Lääp were in the possession of thunder. They played with it and watched the fire of thunder. Nösünsap observed both and when thunder was lightening once again he caught it in a taro leaf and said, »He belongs to me.« He left with it. Between Wukat and Jöla he wanted to have a look at the thunder and opened the leaf. Fire leapt out of it and burned all the leaves in the vicinity.\(^3\) When he came to Mäloa, between Läl and Wukat, and walked up the river Pälal, he once again looked and again the thunder burnt the trees in Mäloa. Then Nösünsap climbed the mountain in Läl and when he looked there the fire detonated a cave into the mountain. It is called lof en balal (=»cave of thunder«). From here Nösünsap went on top of the mountain Käsifa in Läl and on to heaven.

Nösünsap also had a center of cult worship with priests, contrary to the opinion of LÜTKE. It was located in Siä in he region Läl on Wukat-Harbor. This is the same region where LÜTKE’S friend Kaki was met-susksuk, and, which members of both expeditions frequently visited.\(^4\) A half blind old man from Matante, who had seen the cult several times in his youth, knew to report the following:

Nösünsap had Niseku, Sunän, Sauwuan, Kaijen, Mata, Süläp, Sasot, and Kürä as priests.\(^5\) For these priests, the turtle was »the animal of Nösünsap« and was taboo. The cult was not restricted to the priests but everybody had access. In addition to the occasion when a new King was ascending the throne, all Kusaeans gathered in Siä in the second full moon night (äl). People who were arriving gave the tomon anüt food, each region at the same time. Siä had a big cooking house and a dwelling house. The last one belonged to the priests; people gathered in the first one. Also, there were houses for the individual villages.

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\(^1\) LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 392.

\(^2\) FINSCH 1893, p. [457].

\(^3\) Place without any trees in the region JöI.

\(^4\) This obviously explains why KITTLITZ heard only about this god, and why he as well as LÜTKE considered him as the highest one in Kusae.

\(^5\) According to the deceased king Kürä is not a title but a name.
Outside of the cooking house there was big basalt slab (tapen). 8 men would sit down and were working on it with stones as big as a fist, so that the slab constantly rang, in order to call Nösünsap. From time to time, other men took over from them. In the meantime 4 men prepared kava inside the cooking house. Each participant received one filled coconut shell of it. Bending the body, the shell was lifted above. While the high priest Niseku prayed, murmuring, they drank. At the same time, people started eating the food they had brought along. The aristocracy, which had come from Lölö, sat outside in front of a wall. A bit in front of them, on a second wall, sat Soui, a priest from Lölö, who evidently invited the nobles to eat and drink. This was done with the following words, which he repeated again and again:

Koko ma lenä,
Irlä, irlä,
Epanlä, epanlä
Tomon koa akoajok oeh!

The natives were unable to provide a translation. Each time when the verses were repeated, a lem-man stood up and walked backwards to the wall of the Soui, where he sat down. In the end, the aristocracy participated in the meal. The next morning the same ceremony was repeated, before people ate.

Also, each half year, the priests from Läl made a procession to Lölö. There he visited the taboo places Kot, Keänmuän, Jeme, and Inkäl sisik one after the other where the performed a ceremony of which we do not know anything. At each taboo place they received a bundle of bananas.

Obviously the string, which LÜTKE and KITTLITZ found spread out at the entrance of the village, also connects with Läl as the cult place of Nösünsap. The later one reports about it, »The flowers which hang on it and quite a few small rags, which had to be renewed from time to time, seem to be sacrifices and to belong to those things standing here in relation with the name of censap or sitel censap.«¹ Compare plate 6,1. We could not find out what the meaning of this string was.

In addition LÜTKE and KITTLITZ mention a »sort of shrine« of Nösünsap in the interior of the big cooking houses. KITTLITZ reports, »The shrines, which we found repeatedly in a corner of those houses supposedly are especially dedicated to him, and this is the reason why they are favored to serve as meeting places. On a small rack a stick in the form of a netting fork is stored next to other objects. At times, when there are festivities, they are fetched and certain sayings are murmured but later on they are always carefully put back in place. Among these objects we especially noticed a pair of very old coconut flasks and a trumpet shell, very similar to the ones we often saw later with the inhabitants of the coral islands. The idea suggests itself, that such

¹ KITTLITZ 1858, I, p. 369; LÜTKE, 1835/36, I, p. 393.
objects are kept in the memory of the first immigrants on this island, who perhaps are venerated by their descendants as gods or demigods."³

The natives did not know anything about such an institution and laughed about it. The coconut shells probably were the kava bowls of the title holding chiefs, which were stored in this corner in a special way.²) The »stick of Nösünsap« as LÜTKE calls it, was the dancing stick »sökan in on in säk.« By the way, this one has a relationship with Nösünsap insofar as the god is said to have introduced a special kind of stick dance by his priests. We could not learn the meaning of the trumpet shell. Despite these explanations, it remains to be seen if the observations of LÜTKE and KITTLITZ had any deeper meaning.

Finally, we have to mention that the region Läl had to follow special taboos, just as the neighboring regions at Wukat-Harbor, which, so it is said, were imposed by the god Nösünsap. The following legend relates to it:

Nösünsap.

Once upon a time, Nösünsap imposed different taboos on Läl and Wukat. He did not allow the cutting any white wood to be used for the house and the sleeping benches, the construction of any stone foundations for houses, or the support frame for canoes on land. A man in Wukat by the name of Nösa-Wukat, to whom, as the met suksuk, all of Wukat belonged, did not respect this taboo. When he, once again, had a support frame built for a canoe, Nösünsap transformed himself into a human being and met Nösa-Wukat at the river. He asked him, »What are you building here?« Nösa-Wukat replied, »a lan.« Nösünsap said, »I thought this was forbidden here?« Nösan-Wukat, »Yes, Nösünsap declared it taboo, just as cutting white wood, the construction of sleeping benches and stone foundation for houses. But I do not care about this. Why does this god meddle into my affairs? I am also building a new house for me with a stone foundation and I will use white wood for it.« Nösünsap replied, »So, you are the lord of Wukat?« Nösan-Wukat, »Yes, I do here as I like and do not follow the laws which this god imposed.« Then Nösünsap asked him, »Could one of your people bring me to Mot?« — »Oh yes, I will bring you there myself.« They both jumped into the canoe and went down the river. They saw many women who were fishing not far from the shore. In reality Nösünsap only had them appear by magic. Nösan-Wukat did not see them at first but Nösünsap pointed them out to him. So Nösan-Wukat said, »Let us go there and get some fish!« Nösünsap agreed.

When they came closer suddenly

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¹ KITTLITZ 1858, I, p. 375; compare LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 393.
² Compare p. 125, 237, and 411.
all women had suddenly disappeared. The two men wanted to continue their trip to Mot, but suddenly they spotted the women in different canoes fishing in the passage of the harbor. Nösünsap said, »Come, let us go there and get some fish!« They went to the passage. However, when they got there the women, who had again disappeared, reappeared further out in front of the passage. They went towards them. But once again the women were gone and reappeared further away. Every time they two came close, the canoes with the women disappeared and reappeared further out at sea. In this fashion the 2 men were finally far away from land. The women, however, had completely disappeared.

Now Nösünsap asked his companion, »Do you actually know who I am?« Nösan-Wukat replied, »No!« That one said, »I am Nösünsap!« Then Nösan-Wukat was so startled that he could not utter any word. Nösünsap asked him, »Why do you not follow my laws?« Nösan-Wukat was not able to answer. Nösünsap continued, »I have brought you here in order to let you die!« Then he stood up and pushed the canoe with his foot, so that it sank to the bottom of the sea. He himself flew up in the air.


This is a male god of now unknown determination, who was venerated in Lölö. He also had a special community of priests, consisting of 11 members. Their titles (and the ones of their wives) were: Sikaus (Sinekaus), Sesapuän (Sekatinsapen), Sepasin (Simpäsin), Sesawuil (Seminjölä), Sesufo (Katinsufo), Sepas (Sepaspo), Selem (Sekol), Sekase (Sinekäsin), Sisou (Sinesou), Sekuläp (Sinekuläp), Sifoä (Feipei).

Many taboo places which existed in Lölö were reputedly dedicated to him. These are Keänmuän, Pot, Inkohan, Kepal, Inkal sisik, Munulos, Käoa, Penkom, Jeme, Funsael, Inkal semis, Katem sisik, Uätu, and Funbon. The King punished those profane persons, who stepped onto these places by death. Only the priests, and under certain circumstances, the King, could step onto these places. For the others it was only allowed with the permission of the priests. They prayed first and then hung a fas knot (= a knot made of the young white coconut fronds) around the neck. The priests belonged to the lower people and were appointed by the King, but in such a way that one one satyed within the families. They had to keep the taboo places clean. Concerning the taboo places see also pp. 41, 247, 259, 283.

The large national feast of the Kusaeans, which was celebrated from time to time in Lölö, supposedly stood in connection with these taboo places. It was called epan and, according to the opinion of the King, its purpose was the renewal of the taboo for the taboo places. It was no longer possible to get a detailed description of the celebration. The old King, who in his youth had witnessed 3 such celebrations, told the following:
The epan-feast was celebrated with the participation of the entire population of Kusae. It lasted very long, several months. Therefore, it took place only rarely, about every 3—6 years. It was announced by the King, but each high title holding chief could set it off. Then, it was called according to the respective title holding chief. Thus, the old King still experienced one epan of the Tokosa, one epan of the Kanko, his adoptive father, and one of Sipa. The particular title holding chief mentioned his whish, to hold an epan, to the King, which caused orders delivered to all the regions in Ualang, to start the necessary economic preparations. This means planting the necessary crops and producing industrial objects of all kinds, from ornamentations and money to belts for men and women and canoes in great numbers. This was because the feast was at the same time a sort of economic competition (akofai) between the title holding chiefs. Some sided with the title holding chief, who had announced the feast, some with the King. (Compare with p. 138).

The religious character of the celebration was expressed by the King in ordering the construction of an »imon änüt« = spirit house (of a dwelling and a cooking house) on each of the taboo places in Lölö, before it started. Several priests of Lölö were assigned to each taboo place, who had to live and sleep there accompanied by special servants (met foko) for the duration of the feast. In what way they had special obligations and had to follow regulations was not longer known. The King entertained them daily by providing food. When the feast was over, the taboo for the places was renewed. How this came about, people no longer knew. By the way, a basalt slab, used as a bell, was situated on every taboo place. The priest of Lölö rang it regularly in the morning and in the evening in a special way. A piece of a kava root was placed next to the slab as a sacrifice for Sikaus, then the priest rang the slab 4 times strongly and in a well measured fashion, so that it sounded loudly. Then it was rung faster though less and less loudly, until the sound ebbed out. This ceremony was repeated four times.

The epan fest was divided into different individual feasts; the King still remembered the following: on in pot (»dance of Pot«), which took place in the taboo place Pot, where the priest Kuläp lived during the feast. At a certain day all chiefs and priest of Lölö gathered here. The ceremony took place with juvenile boys. The King himself, as a boy, had once participated together with 15 others, this was during the epan of his adoptive father, Kanko. The boys had to swim across the channel from the compound of the Kanko, which was situated at the channel, to the taboo place. Here they sat down 4 in each 4 rows in front of the gathering. At the sign of the King, one row stepped forward, squatted down and counted loud to 4, then they shouted:

»Wöl änüt met,« which supposedly means, »I go with the gods, I
go with the human beings. «During wöl änüt, the squatting boys had to make a turn as far as possible to the left, and at the word wöl met, they had to turn to the right, without moving their feet from the spot. Whoever swayed or had to support himself with a hand, the priest gave a prognosis of imminent death. During this accounted feast, all managed to move without being reprimanded, they had been specially trained beforehand. After all 4 rows had finished the ceremony, people entered the cooking house of the taboo place. Here they waited until the sun set. Then the priest Kuläp, took one boy at a time alone with him into his dwelling house. Here they had to squat in front of a thin basalt slab. They had to break a kava root, which lay next to the stone, into 4 pieces, to place them in front of the stones, and to beat it in exactly the same fashion as the priests usually did it. The boys took turns doing so all through the night until sunrise.

The meaning of this procedure remained hidden to my informant. We probably have to look at it as a sort of initiation of the boys. There were no other rituals.

Sar ik: This feast took place on the last day on the taboo place Keänmuän, where the priest Selem lived. A small hill was here, where formerly, a heap of round stones as big as a head and in form of a cone, had been constructed under a small house. Nothing else was known about the meaning of the house except that it was dedicated to god Nösünsap. The priest stayed in the small house for the following ceremony. First the title holding chiefs received some kava in the cooking house. Before they drank it, Selem had to recite a prayer. Each of the title holding chiefs had a turtle caught in the days before, which was already called the animal of Nösünsap. When high tide set in, the canoes of the high title holding chiefs appeared on the channel in front of the place, with the turtle, which was still alive and on its back. 4 men decorated on their arms with white hip belts, so-called Nösünsap, each held a turtle on its 4 legs, the fifth held a string which was attached to the leg of the turtle. The men lifted the turtle and hit it 4 times on the platform of the canoe while the fifth person counted along sa, lo, tol, än (1, 2, 3, 4). They carried the turtle to their title holding chief, while the fifth man walked behind in a special dancing gait. When all turtles lay in front of the title holding chiefs, they were returned to the canoes in the same way and then released undamaged into the sea. — The meaning of this ceremony was also unclear to the informant. Compare this with Hambruch’s excavation p. 284.

Rak: After the sir ik a regatta with canoes = rak was staged in Lölöl-Harbor. The big paddling canoes of the title holding chiefs participated, each manned with 10—20 of the strongest men. The epan-feast officially ended with this race.
However, in the big house of the King, one dancing feast followed after the other all through the night. They were also celebrated in form of a contest. One village was dancing in competition with another, usually one settlement of the east or south coast of Ualang against one of the north or west coast, also Lölö competed against other settlements. The parties stood facing each other along the long side of the house alternating their performance. The other people watched and criticized then there was a general critic on which side of Ualang was at the peak of the art.

7. Niatiat.

This supposedly was a goddess of the sky, actually a fishing goddess. The white egret (= neklap »big net«) was dedicated to her and constantly caught fish for her. A small children’s verse sung by the children of Ualang, before the verse mentioned on p. 395, when they were bathed, and a legend, relate to her.

a) Na te heïs kitin ä I fetch some fire,
   Lanal Niatiat to warm Niatiat.
   El ta fen la she returned from the reef
   Ta mosis mosis Rigid from the cold
   Käla käla käla From the reef, from the reef, from the reef
   Mosis käla Rigid from the cold.

b) Niatiat.

»Once upon a time in the region Fenkol, Niatiat went into the bush in order to claim different areas as her property. She claimed all the hills. When she returned she realized that all the flat land and the also the reef had been claimed and divided by people. All that remained for her was the place for her house. Then she called some men and said to them, »Come and help me, I want to fetch the reef ledge of Uio to bring it here. The white egret watched the workers and also helped. He attached a rope to the reef ledge of Uio and they pulled it away along the coast to the south. But opposite of Läap the reef ledge got stuck. It could not be moved any more. There it is still today, called Fuko en Uio, although it is not in front of Uio. This reef ledge belongs to Niatiat as her fishing ground, as she did not get any other in the region of Tafonkol.«

Godess Niatiat supposedly also possessed a house in Fenkol. No one knew if she also had priests.

8. Selik.

This was a spirit of the bush, who made the arable crops thrive, as well as the wild growing plants. When clearing land, people first said,

»Selik kofein imä.«

Translation, »Selik, food on the field«, this means Selik make the field produce a lot of food. Compare p. 101.
The priest of Löluo used the same words when the stepped on their taboo places, addressing Sikaus, »»Sikaus kofein imä«, also »»Kofein imä Sikaus.« Finally there was the greeting formula, used when the lower people and the servants of a chief entered his house.


According to LÜTKE, Nösünasap had a second wife, Kajoua-sinioufou, besides Sinläka, and had 4 children with both of them: Rin, Aourerie, Naitouolen, and Seouapin. Unfortunately he could not say anything about the character of these gods. Further on, he mentioned the kava prayer, in which the following names appeared, Chiechou, Mananziaoua, and Olpat, most probably also gods. Of these names, the one of Kasoa Sinofun reappears in the notebook, here as the sister of Sinläka (p. 396). Further on, in this source, Kasoa Sikat is mentioned as the mother. Besides Nösünasap Silkiak, and Sitel are mentioned as brothers of Sinläka. My informants vehemently contradicted this relationship of Sinläka and Sitel with those other gods. Therefore, they were not nature gods, but ancestral spirits. By they way, the names of the other mentioned gods have been completely forgotten, just as people no longer know about the relationship of the other gods.

First, a retrospective view establishes that there is quite a number of nature gods. Although we have to admit that the character of some is not known. According to LÜTKE, all the gods he mentions are ancestral spirits. Then he says, »Chacun de ses personages est regardé comme apartenant à l’une des trios dans lesquelles la nation est divisée«. He even states the suf-membership of the individual gods as follows: Chiechou: ein Ton; Sitel: Nazuenziap, Kajoua-sin-liaga, Kajoua-sin-niouniou, Rin, Maitouolen, Souapin: Penmä; Mananziaoua and Olpat: Lisnei.¹

A notable result is the religious relationship with Yap as the dwelling place of Söap and Sinläka.

The existence of cult places and communities of priests for Sinläka, Nöstinsap, and Sikaus was given very much attention in the religious life and sheds light on the cult.

Also, it is remarkable that Lölö, as the seat of all chiefs and the god-like King, was also the religious center of Kusae due to its great number of taboo places, the community of priests of the god Sikaus, the epan-national-feast, and the procession of priest communities from Tafonkol and Uiä.

Concerning the form of the cult, the natives themselves stated that people did not have a clear picture.

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¹ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 394. [Each of these persons is regarded as belonging to one of the three tribes into which the nation is divided, … R+R p 130.]
Without any doubt drinking kava obviously played an important part. FINSCH did not want to see this, but his opinion is already contradicted by LÜTKE and KITTLITZ. Our material endorses this, as well. Even today the old natives know to tell stories, how the head of the household would murmur a prayer in which he addressed the gods, before he drank kava. Nobody knew which gods were addressed any more or what prayers were murmured. It is said that there were different ones, not given away to others. In later times, when the prayers were already forgotten by many, the lord of the house no longer prayed, but any knowledgeable man of the gathering could pray.

However, we know one kava prayer thanks to the splendid Lütke. In the French transcription of LÜTKE is goes like this:

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Talaelem séka mai …. Sitel –Nazuenziap
Rin séka
Naitouolen séka
Seouapin séka
Chiechou séka
Mananziaoua séka
Kajoua-sin liaga séka
Kajoua-sin-nioufou séka
Olpat séka
Togoja séka.
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LÜTKE recorded the prayer from his friend Kaki in the settlement Läl, the cult place of Nösünsap. This is obvious because KITTLITZ hands down the first verse of the same prayer in the form

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»Talan elen ceka mähn, Sitel na Censap.«
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and has heard it in this settlement. The natives were no longer able to translate the line of KITTLITZ. The meaning seems to be, »Let us offer kava for ...« then the names of the different gods follow. It is quite remarkable that in the end it the reigning King is mentioned, one sign of the godlike veneration of his person.

According to all of this, drinking kava had the importance of a drinking sacrifice. Except for the master of the house (only of title holding chiefs and met-susuk) it was also offered by priests with the participation of the entire population during the cult. KITTLITZ reports about this, »The ceremony seems to be performed on a regular basis, by one of the leaders or their deputies and was more often performed during festive events« ... »Normally the two oldest persons of a social gathering also received some of the liquid, but then it stopped to circulate. We saw this ceremony

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1 Actually FINSCH [457] does LÜTKE an injustice concerning his statements about religion as well as about kava sayings and their meaning, because he declares them for images of fantasy.
2 LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 394.
being performed in the morning as well as also in the hours of the afternoon. It is always conducted with great solemnity and under the utter silence of all present.«\(^1\)

According to the statement of the modern natives, kava was not only consumed for religious reasons, but it was a popular beverage, especially socially, until one after the other passed out. When people woke up, they continued drinking and also ate a bit in-between. Kava supposedly makes the novice already drunk after one bowl, while trained tipplers could stomach much more. By the way, the effect is said to have been deep sleep, from which people woke only the next morning with eyes stuck together. The habitual drinker did not eat much and supposedly in general showed little appetite for food. Over time he got skinny and his skin broke open and withered. It is said that women did not cherish kava very much; they only drank it during special feasts, though then they also got drunk. Maybe this excessive profane consumption was a sign of decline. In the end, kava is said to have become a great evil until it was banned under the influence of the mission and of Aoä Nesaäk (1863/74).

Tools for the preparation of kava were a basalt slab = tapnan sela (»slab for kava«) and a basalt pounder = tuk un seka (»pounder for kava«), because the root was never chewed, but always pounded. The kava slabs are big, of an irregular form and have a raw and even surface, one or several hollow spaces, or some elongated grooves with a semi circular cross section. They were formed by the ball-like pounders, which is so big that it just fits into the hand. Several of such slabs and pounders were as well outside of the cooking houses of the chiefs as well as inside. Due to their weight, they sunk into the ground a bit (plate 21,\(^2\); illustr. 34, 142). According to KITTLITZ, one of such a sunken slab was in front of the fireplace.\(^2\) Kava was prepared by special kava makers, met tuk seka (= »men who pound kava«) of which the chiefs had several. Kava was handed around by the servants (tetapi) in half coconut shells = ëlen seka, which often were dyed red on the outside. They hung in the small net-bag (uro) in the right front corner (»the corner of the King«) in the cooking house on a special frame. The frame was a pole attached to the wall and running parallel to it, with horizontal sticks, used as hooks, attached at a right angle. It is said that such bowls hang for all the title holding chiefs in nearly all the cooking houses of Lölö. In each cooking house of a met-suksuk on Ualang there was one bowl reserved for the King and one for the title holding chief of the specific region. The bowl of the King was on a special hanging floor (toto).

It is said that the kava roots, which the title holding chiefs received from their subordinates, sometimes were so big that they had to be carried by several men on the shoulders. Such imposing roots were called seka palpal (palpal = »to carry on a stick over the shoulder«)

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\(^1\) KITTLITZ 18589, I, p. 374.  
\(^2\) loc. cit.
To describe the preparation of kava, which happened in a ceremonious way, we cite the following account of LÜTKE, which correlates with statements of KITTLITZ and today’s natives:

»Le maître prend la plante du séka (piper methysticum), telle qu’elle a été tire de la terre, et s’asseyant en face du convive le plus distingué, lui adresse quelques paroles, comme s’il le priait de donner son assentiment; après l’avoir récu, il détache la racine, et pose le feuillage sur la tablettes dressée dans un coin, en hoimmage à Sitel-Nazuenziap. Ceci, au reste, n’était pas toujours observe. Pendant ce temps, celui ou ceux qui sont chargé de la preparation, se font une cinture de feuilles de bananier, délètent leurs cheveux et les lient ensuite de nouveau, no plus sur la nuque, mais sur le haut de la tête. Ils commencent leur besogne par laver les pierres sur lesquelles on bat le séka; ils frappent ensuite vingt –six ou trente fois de la paume des mains; prennent, après cela, les pierres servant de pilons, eet en frappent plusieurs fois les grosses pierres: il semble que le nombre des coups n’est pas déterminé; nous en comptâmes, à diverses fois, de dix jusqu’à dix-sept. Ils se mettent alors après les raciness, qu’ils batten jusqu’à ce qu’elles ne forment plus qu’une masse filandreuse. Ils frappent alors pendant quelque temps avec précipitation du pilon sur la pierre, et commencent ensuite ‘extraction. Après avoir versé un peu d’eau sur cette masse ainsi pillée ils la present avec les mains contre la pierre, pour en faire sortir le suc, et en formant une pelote qu’ils expriment de toute leurs forces entre les mains, dans les cosses de cocos qu’on a déjà préparés. Après cette première extraction, ils versent de l’eau derechef sur la masse, la pressent et l’expriment de nouveau, continuant ainsi jusqu’à ce que le nombre nécessaire de cocos soit rempli. En attendant les fruits à pain, déjà cuits et retirés de dessus les pierres, sont présentés ensemble aved la racine de katak, les cocos, etc., sur les plateaux tresses en remenaux de cocotier, devant la convive, don’t on semble nouveau demander la decision. Le convive coupe un des pains, et c’est là le signal que chacunpeut se mettre à manger. Le grand-échanson présente alors au convive une des cosses de cocoremplie de séka. Ils ne s’offensaient point lorsque, ce qui arrivait le plus souvent, nous refusions ce nectar. Celui qui boit porte la coupe à la bouche, et s’inclinant, murmure une prière et, après avoir soufflé l’écume, prend une bouchée de séka; quelques-uns avalent le tout, d’autres, après l’avoir gardé dans la bouche, le crachent; mais la plupart en avalent la moitié et rejettent le reste; tout cela est suivi de râlements, de crachements et de contorsions don’t je ne comprends pas la cause, parce qu’ayant goûté plusieurs fois cette boisson, je l’ai trouvée absolument sans gout et sans moindre chaleur. Après le séka vient le dessert.1

1 LÜTKE 1835/36, I, pp. 371 [R.+R. 1982, pp. 121-122]; compare also KITTLITZ 1858, II, p. 52; LESSON 1839, II, p. 428. By the way LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 374 continues:
»Outre le séka, ils emploient quelquesfois, et de la même façon, la racine d’une autre plante appelée »kaoua;« ils se servent alors d’autres pierres, d’autre pilons, et même d’autres baquets pour l’eau. Oln ne prépara cependant pas une seule fois le kaoua devans nous«. I never heard anything about this kava. [Besides the seka, they sometimes used, and in the same way, the root of another plant called koua; they then used other stones, other pestles and even other tubs for water. They did not prepare it a single time in front of us. R. + R. 1982, p. 123].
Other sacrifices. Food sacrifices were only used for ancestral spirits. People supposedly never knew human sacrifices. However one account tells about such a sacrifice. See pp. 416. Concerning sacrifices of turtles, see p. 284, 407 and 418.

We also want to mention here that only evil spirits reputedly ate human beings. Compare with it the account in chapter X, nr. 19, 21—33.

People did not know anything about depictions of gods or other spirits in wood or stone or about the veneration of any such idols. Although FlINSCH accounts, »I want to … add the stony depictions of idols, which people told us about, though I am sure that they never existed, except maybe in certain stones, which were venerated, similar to the Marshall Islands as in a very raw fetishism.«¹

2. Belief in a Soul and Ancestral Veneration.

The soul, called »nan« was a second being in the human being, which continued to live after physical death. It migrated to Millä, the realm of the souls, which is situated in Jipan—in the Marshall Islands. In all probability the island Mille is meant. The modern population does not know anything about FlINSCH’s distinction between »Millëmöt«, the realm of the good souls, and »Millënöt« as the one of the bad souls.² As FlINSCH already suspected, the division of the realm of the souls into two sections goes back to European influence. The meaning of the name proves this, Mille met = »Mille of the human beings«; Millënöt = Mille anüt = »Mille of the spirits« this means of the now ill regarded old gods. Besides Mille, also two other islands, Pingelap and Yap were mentioned to me as the residence of the souls.

According to different accounts, (chapter X, nr. 34) people believed that the souls also returned from their realm in order to be up to some mischief at the place where they had lived. The image of a soul as a strange, mischievous spirit is also evident in the accounts. It seems like both cannibalistic spirits called Kot and Lias, which repeatedly appear in accounts, belong in this category. It also looks like nearly each region seems to have had one such spirit. The spirits of the dead are definitely malevolent spirits. FlINSCH heard about them »that they sometimes killed thieves at night with invisible spirit-spear«³

Interaction with the spirits of the dead. Souls of the dead could be called by the living and could be made to serve in order to obtain some sort of information. Only specially inclined men were able to do so. This ability was called änütnöt = to do magic. The mediums were tol, in contrast to the tomon änüt, the official priest of the renowned gods. The tol practiced their art professionally.

During interaction with the spirits, the tol was in a state of possession

¹ FlINSCH, 1893, p. [456].
² FlINSCH, 1893, p. [456].
³ loc. cit.
when the spirits of the dead entered him, causing a sort of ecstasy, connected with convulsive shivering of the entire body and uttering of non-understandable sounds. Upon request the tol could cause such a condition. Afterwards they reported the statement, desires and prophecies of the god to the person who had a question. Each tol had a specific spirit, which he questioned. This spirit was not called »nan« but also »änüt«, even though it originally had also been the spirit of a dead person. Some of these individual anüt even became quite famous, so that their tol had repeated successors. Several of these famous ancestral spirits were still known

Silkiak: As the name of the person already indicates, this is the soul of a human, who had become an anüt. It is said that a long time ago Silkiak was an aristocrat from Lölö. He became really famous as a ghost. He even had his own house on the coast of Funfukoa on Ulang, north of Lölö. His tol lived in this house from time to time. The last one was the met-suksuk of the region Pikisik. In the understanding of the people, the tol of Silkiak no longer was a tol, but had advanced to be a tomon änüt, a priest. His house was taboo. People were afraid to enter it without him. The spirit of Silkiak did not reveal himself to his medium under the typical ecstasy, but remained completely calm. Only a loud whistling, which was not uttered by the priest but which rang out to the visitor, and which was produced by the spirit himself, announced his presence. Silkiak made special prophecies for luck in fishing and hunting. This was made in such a way that he said, »Tomorrow go there and there you will catch many turtles, a wild pig, etc.« He supposedly also announced the arrival of a ship as well as the other coming events. It is said that his prophecies always came true. It is also said that the King, who had passed away in the meantime, strongly believed in the power of Silkiak and repeatedly had begged him.

A piece of kava was sacrificed to Silkiak, when passing the vicinity of his house, because otherwise he would chase away the fish. After a fishing trip, a fish was presented to him. People from Ulang who went to Lölö offered a piece of kava for him, when passing his house, in order to secure a friendly welcome from the King or the title holding chiefs.

The profession of a priest of Silkiak was clearly not hereditary. Both the last priests, which have passed away in the meantime, were not related to each other, although came from the same village.

We also heard in different places about other, similar änüt, but we could not collect anything other than their names: Sielik, Sielof, telen-Nua, Semuta, Alik-Näna, Silpaluk, Selekonlan (in Utua), Ualsik (in Nefalil). Here as well, the personal names partly prove that these were spirits of the dead, though their medium in contrast to Sikiak was called tol.

People also remembered the 3 spirits Sielik, Sielof, and Sikiak at another occasion. In the summer, at the time of the new moon, the goddess Sinlåka sent
large swarms of small fish, just as big as half a finger, outside in the open ocean. The fishermen of the King caught hundreds of them with the help of small scooping nets. In the cooking house of the King they were distributed among the title holding chiefs by some priests. While doing so, they first laid aside one fish each for Sielik, Sielof and Slikiak. Doing this they said, » Kisä Sielik«, etc. »This belongs to Sielik« etc. They received a similar sacrifice when some one caught a sap-fish, which always had to be delivered to the King. A priest divided it in a certain, prescribed manner to distribute it. If this division was not done according to the rules, it was returned to the fisherman. While dividing it, the priest murmured prayers and put 3 small pieces aside for the 3 spirits.

By the way, LÜTKE by chance observed a tol exercising of his profession. As I did not have any experience with this myself in Kusae, his detailed description of the occurrence, which he did not understand, follows here:

»La cérémonie don’t il a été parlé plus haut, eut lieu dans la maison à manger de Sipé, et consistait en ce qui suit: l’homme qui jouait le role principal était assis, les jambes repliées sous lui, sur le dos du baquet dans lequel il apportent l’eau quand ils boivent le séka. Il avait au cou un collier de remeaux de jeune cocotier, et tenait dans ses mains la baguette représentant Sitel-Nazuenziap, qu’il pressait contunuellement contre ses genoux. Ses yeux étaient trebules, il tournait la tête à chaque instant, tantôt sifflait d’une manière étrange; tantôt il avait le hoquet, et quelquefois râlait et crachait, comme ils font ordinairement lorsqu’ils boivent le séka. Il prononçait des mots entrecoupés et inarticuléson, parmis lesquels on entendait quelquefois urosse Litské (c’est ainsi qu’ils m’appelaient généralement). Le tout semblait être une imitation de l’état d’un homme ivre de seeka, et je crus pendant un temps qu’il était effectivement dans cet état. Il avait devant lui la corne de tritone. On chauffait, en attendant, les pierres sur le foyer, et tout se préparait pour la cuisson des fruits à pain, mais dans le calme et le silence convenables dans les occasion solennelles. Lorsque toutes ces grimaces furent assez long-temps prolongées, Sipé prit la corne et la preesenta respectueusement à l’officinant qui, après en avoir sonné un peu, la lui rendit, se leva bientôt après, et s’enfuit de la maison par la porte de coté, en posant le pied, en passant, sur le foyer allumé. On nous dit qu’il était accourru chez Togoja pour répéter la même comedie. Il courait dans la rue en agitant la gabuette de tous cotés, et tout ce qui trouvait sur son chemin se dispersait à toutes jambes. Au bout d’une demi-heure ou environ, il revint portant la baguette comme un fusil dans la charge à la baïonnette, entra la maison par la porte de coté, en se baissant et comme à la dérobé et après avoir remis la baguette à la place, vint s’assoir parmi nopus en parfaite santé et comme si rien ne s’était passé.«¹

The lower fishing gods also have to be considered as ancestral spirits, of which there was quite a number in former times. These are without exception female

beings, according the higher percentage of female participation in fishing. They were
called fofos and their residences were called nien fofos.¹

Even today Sefundä is the best known of these fishing spirits. Her residence is the
stone Etinjaluä (= »stone of veneration«) on the reef in Wukat-Harbor, and also the reef
island, Matanial, which is close by. If she dwelled at the last mentioned place, then she
was called Sensunän. I am certain they were two different spirits. When people from Lölö
were fishing in Wukat-Harbor, they made sacrifices to the spirit Sifä who, according to
their belief, lived on Matanial. The women from Wukat used to offer a ball of breadfruit
conserve before going fishing. They did so with the words:

»Sefindä lemä ma kata iken na sin laut!«²

»Sefindä give me a few fish!«

After the fishing trip, a fish was placed on Etinjaluä. The women considered this
stone holy in a different way as well. Here, they plucked some of the common grass and
stuffed it into their ear against infertility.

On Matanial, sacrifices were made to the spirit Sensunän, usually a piece of kava
root. The legend, in which a human is sacrifice during a fishing trip, is also described as
taking place on this small island. It is presented here.

The Fish-People.

Once upon a time the King sent a message to all the regions of Ualang. He told the
people to come to Matanial Island in Wukat-Harbor in order to fish for kap³ there. All
came to Matanial. People made a keraun-net from the kap. Afterwards the King sent
again the order, that people should produce a lot of coconut oil. The oil was poured into
the water, in order to calm it. Then the King chose a beautiful young man and ordered
him to be speared on a ko.⁴ Then, everyone prayed to Sensunän and lowered the net in the
passage of Wukat-Harbor, and dragged it towards Matanial Island. The net was full of
fish and among them were 2 people. When the heavy net was slowly heaved on the beach
of Matanial, both these men were brought into a house. These were human beings who
can only live with the fish. When they were in the house water was running constantly
out of their ears, eyes, nose and mouth. They could not breathe like humans, but breathed
like fish. Their hair was fine coral otherwise their body was like the one of human beings.
People talked to them but they could not speak. Then they sent for an old man in Fenelof.
He came and talked with them in the old Kusaean language:

¹ fofos is also a verb (intransitive) and means the splashing and falling apart of water at the bow of the
canoe.
² Please note the polite expression!
³ A variety of sea grass, from which the big keraun-drawl nets were made.
⁴ ko = stick for husking coconuts.
»Fafa fikotrak, fikotrak uä?«
The 2 men replied, » Resa, Rofa«.
The old man, »Liktis panis?«
The 2 men, » Resa, Rofa«.
The old man, »Teten miri teten mira.«

The 2 men did not answer anything anymore. They could no longer breath. Therefore, people took them and put them back into the water. So they went away. Then the dead man, who still was stuck on the ko, was buried.

Similar sacrificial places, like the stone Etinjaluä and like Matanial, were numerous on the coast of Kusae. They were all called nien-fofos, though without stating which spirit resided there.
Lölö: The small coral island Fensolan, in front of the district Lük, and the small island Jenas, where people from Lölö also submerged the bones of the dead.
Region Pok: A small island Fenfokopek, which a typhoon once destroyed.
Region Matante: The place Kämen, where even today there is still a wall of basalt blocks.
Region Läap: The island Sükämäs opposite it.
Region Koas: The northern end of the reef island called Sauksa, situated opposite.
Region Utua: The formerly uninhabited island Melak and the depth at Melak.
Region Täf: The place, Särär, at the passage of Utua-Harbor, marked by heaped coral blocks.

Not to leaving sacrifices at the nien-fofos caused the revenge of the spirits. They afflicted humans with a sicknesses, which was called muas en fofos and which consisted of red swelling over the entire body.

3. The Taboo.

The general expression for taboo is oal. A constant taboo rested on the taboo places »än oal« of which there were quite a few in Lölö². The cult places of the great gods Sinlåka and Nösünsap and the dwelling places of the fofos-spirits were also counted among them. The unauthorized entering of such a place caused death. According to the public belief such incidents did happen.

In addition to the normal taboo = oal there were also special varieties.
1. Kuoip: A taboo placed on fruit trees and fishing grounds. The external sign for it was a pole, erected in an easily visible place. A knot made from the fronds of a young coconut palm was attached to it. Kuoip is still practiced, for instance, when coconut palms were protected for making copra or when a breadfruit tree promises an especially rich yield and should be protected from early harvesting.

¹ This could not be translated. Resa and Rofa are considered to be the names of the two fish-men.
² Compare p. 405.
And, because theft of crops and fish on foreign soil or foreign property had always been common.

2. Rota: A taboo on fruit bearing trees, made by binding a knot from coconut fronds on each individual stem. Breaking this taboo, caused sickness, especially boil-like swellings.

3. Esäka: The taboo on fruit bearing trees and other crops of a dead person. According to the informants, no special sign indicated it. Compare p. 311.

Breaking a taboo brought imminent revenge on its own. If, in addition, the culprit was caught, he was beaten or the same was repaid.

Later these special rules were among the common taboos, which had to be observed when going fishing and when felling trees for building a canoe. Concerning the first see pp. 114: fishing beliefs and customs. Before and after felling a tree, it was taboo to eat pandanus or salt water crabs or to have sexual intercourse. Compare also chapter XII the working chants, which refer to this.

For the taboo of the god Nösünsap for the regions Wukat and Läl, compare p. 404.

Further on, some of the totem animals of the suf were under a taboo. (See especially pp. 326).

Among other beings the saltwater eel = semis and also the shark were taboo. According to the belief of the people, killing a semis caused it to come to the man at night to sleep with him. This made the man sick and he would die. Such an eel was not even touched. If, by mistake it happened, then the part of the body wash quickly brushed off with a hand and then the hand was moved over the hair of the head, thus avoiding the fatal after-effect. Today it is killed but not eaten.

Only the very young sharks (bako) were eaten, otherwise the fisherman was attacked by sharks when on a fishing trip.

The turtle, as the animal of the god Nösünsap, seems not to have been placed under any taboo. However, among my records, I find the remark that, in the region Nefalil, caught turtles were first brought to a certain big Barringtonia, in order to then transport them to the taboo place, Keänmuän on Lölö, for Nösünsap.

4. Divination.

There were several kinds. It was employed before a venture, such as a fishing or hunting trip, after a theft, or in other circumstances.

1. Sof, coconut fronds-divination: Individual spans (from the thumb to the index finger) are measured from the frond of a coconut leaf and it is folded into pieces of this length. From the length of the last remaining piece in relation to the other measured ones, the divination was done. For instance when the last piece was exactly one span, then this meant success.
2. foa. 3 small pieces of wood were stuck into the floor of the house (made of reed). They formed a row crosswise to the way the reed was laid. The pieces of wood were placed randomly without counting the numbers of reed in-between them. Then the reeds were counted, in clusters of 4, starting from the middle wooden piece and counting towards the two exterior pieces. The number of the remaining reeds in both cases can be: 0—0, 0—1, 0—2, 0—3, 1—1, 1—2, 1—3, 2—2, 2—3, 3—3. All these possibilities are recorded on a string, by knots. For instance, if the remaining numbers were 1—3, then one knot was made and, after a distance, three more knots, close to each other. This string of knots was kept as a bundle. For each pair of remaining numbers there were special words, which you had to know. The string-knots served as a memory device. If you did not know the prophetic meaning of 2 remaining numbers, then you took the string and said the memory-words until the combination of the knots was reached. In former times only a few men could correctly make this divination, today no one knows the meaning of the combination of the knots anymore. The string of knots was called oak an foa = »canoe of the foa divination«.

Obviously Stonhewer Coope refers to this string knots for divination, when he remarks, »Records are kept by wooden beads and knotted cords, which they carefully preserve and refer to when they want to tell what happened in a bygone time.«

5. Magic and Superstition.

1. Magic. To make magic and to have a relationship with the spirits is called änüt-nüt ( änüt = spirit). To accomplish a special achievement by magic is called menmen (noun menmen = »miracle«). In this last sense, Satäf accomplished a »menmen« when he built the ruins in Lölö. (See also the legends nr. 4, 12, 17, 19—21 in chapter X). Further on we learned the following about magic:

1. Love magic. In order to evoke love, people bathed at certain places on a certain river or on the reef. They were called kof in äkol (»water for the love bath«). This was done in the morning and one should not be seen by the others. Afterwards, people plucked very young orange leaves (fenme) and pulled them through the hands while saying to them:

»Femme tar kenken tar kenken,
Femme tar makmak tar makmak.
Tar kenkenjo tar makmakjo !
Insien iän ma insuen muän.«

»Young orange leaves give good smell, give good smell,
Young orange leaves give cleanliness, give cleanliness.
Give me good smell, make me clean!
The body of the girl, the body of the boy!«

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1 Coope II, p. 267. Compare also the coconut divination in the tale of Nepartak pp. 373.
The magic reaction was that the loved person no longer passed by the person in love, but stopped the person in love and talked to him or her.

2. Magic spells for other purposes have been forgotten. However, in former times, there had been a magic spell for whales (tan lön lat; tan = supposedly »to throw«), in order to chase the whale away. House magic (tan lön lom), the canoe magic (tan lön oak), wall magic (tan lön eot); they were used when building a house, a canoe or the wall of a compound.

The so-called »taro magic« = tan pasok also belongs in this section. We could not find out what it caused. When we recorded the tale »suicide of two brothers« (see chapter X) we only learned the following meaning: »when it was the time of the tan pasok, nobody should be seen by the tan-pasok-men, otherwise he would be killed«.

II. The magic power of water. The water, of a river or sea wateer, was considered to have magical powers. The already above mentioned water places for love magic, kof in äkol, just like having a bath at the bathing places of the King or the Kanko and of other high dignitaries, such a »kof in Tokosa« etc., made sure that one was well received in Lölö. The »water place of death«, kof in mäs, however, caused death when a person happened to get in it, while the »water place of life«, kof in moul, protected or freed a person from sickness and disaster. Thus, Soansak Sesa, the son of King Sitel Tat, reputedly died because he bathed it in a »water place of death« of the Innem river (p. 380) without knowing it, during his flight to Wukat.

III. Ideas of the moon. We could not learn anything about a cosmogony.
Concerning the power of the water, see legend nr. 15 in chapter X.
Concerning the individual stars, see p. 223.

A woman called Nipuaröra lives in the moon (aluet), where she is weaving sleeping mats. In former times, at the time of new moon (aluet ä mise = »the moon is dying«) people climbed in the trees, called the woman of the moon by her name, and blew the trumpet shell. No solar eclipse is known.

In former times, the young moon was welcomed by a chant:
Ne soum fun aï! Master, your family is the night, aï!
Nom ik, Here is fish for you,
Nom fafa, Here is fafa for you
Ke epana. Ijaaï! From the epan-feast. Ijaï!

6. Christianity.

When presenting the history of Kusae, we followed the course of Christianity to its victory and presented its impact on the local cultural circumstances. Anything else is of little interest for us here.¹

The island can be considered christianized for a long time. Even though today, one or the other native is not yet a member of the church, this is however mostly caused by his not being allowed to join or that he has been expelled from the church community, because of its strict reign.

The administration seems to be more or less independent. Natives are the preachers in the 4 churches (Lölö, Mäläm, Utua, Tafonsak) and they are also the teachers in the schools for the young people, though this is not done on a regular basis. In former times, there had been a permanent school in Lölö. Most of the young generation knows how to read and write. Although the mission has the absolute supervision, it concentrates on its own »training school« in Mot, where currently only girls are educated and only female missionaries are allowed to teach. At the time of the expedition there were about 30 pupils there, most of them girls from the Marshall and Gilbert Islands. This partially missionary activity on German soil for a British colony can be explained by its history. English is the language in school, and this has only been checked in recent times when a German female missionary was hired. The instruction usually lasts 4 years and seems to be quite substantial. The German visitor was surprised by a performance of patriotic songs performed by well-tuned native voices, even though the content was not understandable for the singers.

The costs for the operation of the school and the church are paid mostly by the natives themselves, by a free sum of about M. 0,50 per month. The mission has always been well supported, especially in Micronesia, as can be seen from the amount of money it received: 1889 S$2035, 1890 S$ 1785, 1911 S$ 6435, from Kusae 1867/68 S$ 92,59, 1869 S$ 45, 1870 S$ 61,25, 1876 510 gallon oil, 1877 S$ 319.2

The Christian world-view does not reach any depth in the disposition of the natives. This can be perceived in occasional conversations. The perception of the heavenly paradise with its eternal »dolce far niente« and songs contrary to gruel hell, which houses terrible beasts is felt the deepest. The expectation of one or the other determines mostly the path of life, may be forgotten on the way, despite several church visits on Sunday, as well as several during the week.

Here is one short description of the physical and social environment of a church service in the church of Lölö, the biggest and most beautiful of all the existing ones out of my diary:

Sunday 27, II. 1910

»The main church service on Sunday is from 10—12 o’clock. The church has 4 white washed walls, with a roof made of corrugated metal erected above,
supported by pillars in the middle. Nothing in this building reminds one the native culture, except the careful lashing of the beams with sennit cord and the pandanus mats on the two rows of iron benches. The walls are bare. In front, there is a table for the preacher, behind it a smaller one with a clock on it, and, in the corner, a piano, which definitely is only used when a white preacher is present.

The women sit on one side, clean in the reform dresses made of calico, the men sit on the other side. From the back, some man, in his white jacket, could not be recognized as a native, if the naked feet would not betray him. Each has his Kusaean song book, quite a few have the bible, sometimes in the English language, in their hand.

The actual church service takes place in the fist hour. It is led by a native preacher, who does his prayers and preaching in a rather quiet language. It is an older man, with his glasses pushed to the tip of his nose; he looks very honorable. During the church service the preacher and the community emanate great peacefulness, which is captivating. However, it is more detectable on the faces, because the many small children on their mother’s lap have no idea about the holy activities. Some are crawling around on the floor. Next to me a woman is breastfeeding her youngest one. Others are climbing around, some screaming loudly. In the background a woman plays with a boy on the floor, so that the mouth of the youngster jubilates and loudly talks about things only of interest to him and from his world confined in a narrow horizon. However, nothing stops the machinery. The men remain dignified. Even during the sermon they stay peaceful and attentive; many women do not. Some talk quietly with each other, others stretch and put their head on their arm and the backrest of the bench. Some are sleeping, quite obviously, behind their open hand. The songs are very reviving for everyone, including me, and they bring a change. They are practiced in two-parts, and have animated and pleasant melodies. They are sung by the fresh voices in a dignified and well sounding manner. We were pleasantly surprised by the knowledge of songs, so that we would have loved to hear more. In the general animated participation of the natives we could see that this part of the cult appeals most to them. The melodies are well chosen, and obviously animate the monotony. Nevertheless, they have nothing in common with the screaming popular songs of the Salvation Army, even if they are lacking the depth and sincerity of our German church songs.

In the second hour the teacher obviously conducts a school-like bible explanation. Outside the tropical sun is just breaking through, pouring light and life over the magnificent nature. In numerous silver sprays its rays are jumping over the white line of the surf. It lures to silent worship. With silent steps I am following. —

Koran, my heathen Buka boy, is still standing in front of the doors of the church, waiting. I had not been able to coax him to enter. Why, he has never told me. —«
X. Legends and Fairy Tales.

The Kusaeans distinguish two kinds of writing in their prose tradition: samsam and pelenfun. According to their perception, the first ones have a historical content. The last ones, however, are considered fairy tales, which people like to tell in the darkness of the evening, especially for the entertainment of the children before they have to go to bed. Fairy tales of the second kind were still known in relative quantity, which means only by the oldest women and men.

We already reported the great majority of the samsam on a former fitting occasion and for better understanding of the following subjects: the legend of the building of the ruins in Lölö (pp. 254), the legends of the origin of the suf (pp. 318), and tales of historical and religious content (pp. 373 and 396).

For the presentation of the remaining tales the distinction of the natives seems not to be very useful. Therefore, we prefer to group them according to the content, also considering the native perception, although such a selection also puts strain on the material from time to time.

The titles are from the story-tellers.

We also want to remark that the tales, just like the individual sections, have been freely translated from the original text.

1. From History.

1. Paka Man-Sisik

(samsam)

Pakeä Man-Sisik kenäusla ään Kosae. Nuäninla me mono, ma nekemua mesala. Elos, masänsäl ma löläp took. Elos mono fuk in sa, fuk un i, fien ä, lop aijäpä ton, mono maniko. Met nkemua elos patäk, kata ilä suikiä mä si panpan taliksäsä, äkata pätlä na Uan, ma kata mise. Ma moul kää masänsualna. Som na uot ma, kata tofoklä Uälan ma, mejen elos masänsäl jok läna. Elos somta fen osin injä si ma;

1. The typhoon Man-sisik

The typhoon Man-sisik destroyed Kusae. There was nothing to eat any more. Everything was destroyed. In the end a famine broke out. People ate sa- fruits, i-fruits, the young leaves of reeds, the young taro sprouts, even fresh water eels and all sorts of marine animals, such as crustaceans, crabs, and sea cucumbers. All people floated around in the water. Some dove underneath and held fast to sea grass, which is called taliksäsä. Some drifted over to Uan, and

1 «Bloody child»
elos a änwuki kä. Sie fen ka, esla sin sie, unie.

others died. The survivors were plagued by hunger. They went anywhere into the mountains. Some crossed Ualang, because they were hungry. When people met in a place where there were a lot of reeds, they started fighting over them. The more powerful one took the other’s reed and killed him.


2. Samsam ke än Lölö ik soko panpan lat.

Samsam kä kak ma toto lön me na Täfout petatlä ta an uot. Tari el mätölä took uot me utän an Täfout. El san en kata än uot Jöla, Jölaout, Jölate. Än el petati uä panpan Kälat. El tokena na ta, ta mata in fuok si Jioarkäs panpan Inpoklata, oswäla talik se natal panpan Nimäkontouä. El matäna kitkit el.

2. Legend about the origin of Lölö from a whale.

As the legends tells, once upon a time a young whale fell down from heaven to Täfout, where it was left lying in the mountains. When it became bigger it came down from the mountains of Täfout. It gave some of the places in the mountains of Jöla their names, Jölaout, Jölate. The place where it had fallen from heaven was called Kälat. It left it forever and came down to the coast. Here it remained in a deeper place called Inpoklata, on the reef Jioarkäs and gave birth to a girl with the name Nimäkontouua. It remained with the girl and fed it.

Once when Nikon and his pala were fishing on the ocean, they saw a stripe on the surface of the water. It originated from the girl who was bathing at that time. Nikon asked the pala, »What kind of stripe is this in the sea?« This one replied, »It originated from that girl at the beach!« Nikon asked, »Can we go there, to her?« The pala answered, »Yes we can just manage to reach her.« They landed, grabbed the girl, and took her with them to Likinlöläm.

When this had happened, the whale look around in vain for her. The whale was searching and sniffing to all sides and
imä. Matäna mata el na talik mokul sie natal, panpanel Kasemakon. Ikä somta utiak na insä panpan Italemu. Meta konojak, unie ikä. Talik sä took, ta lie meta kä, lon on el fak. El iok on soko a inä:

»Ununio, ununio  
Kotkotojo.  
Sopsopä Jöla  
Fuenlä sikiaka matän,  
Än natik Nimakontouä!  
Kasemakon Kasemakon!«


swam to Likinlölam where it went on shore. Nikon went into the mountains where he gathered his people, in order to cut down the bush. His wife stayed with their son Kasemakon. The fish swam upriver to the source Intalemu. There the men found it clubbed it to death. Kasemakon came to the scene, saw what the people did and heard what the whale sang. It sang the following:

»People club me to death, people club me to death,  
They cut me in pieces!  
Bring the message to her,  
The one who left me in the lurch on the reef in Jöla  
My daughter Nimakontouä!  
Kasemakon, Kasemakon!«

Kasemakon ran away and told his mother the chant of the whale. When he had finished, she asked him to come with her. They went to the place where the fish had been slain. The mother asked him where this had been. He answered, »There!« When they had found the place, the looked for some meat, which had been left lying around. There still was a tendon. The woman picked it up and brought it home with her. There she placed the tendon in a coconut shell. This one she carried in front of the house and put on the ground. When she looked in it again she saw something like an egg in the shell. The next time there was something like a small fish in it. She carried it away and released it in the channel of the lagoon. She fed it until it was once again as big as before.

When this was accomplished she asked her son to pack everything which was theirs. They climbed on top of the whale and went away through the passage where they reached the sea. In the meantime Nikon was in the mountains. When he
Muäna liäläk fak nesin ninä: » Ue! Papa!« El fak: »Papa jäsä? Sö seka unfe?


shifted his eye he saw how they were just about to go out to the open ocean. He recognized them and immediately ran down from the mountain. Nobody was at home. Therefore, he took down the small canoe and paddled behind them. The boy recognized him and called to his mother: »Ue! The father!« She replied: »What are you saying? Father? You call a murderer father? Tell him he should paddle along side, though not to the head of the whale, otherwise it will eat him. He shall paddle to the tail.« When the son had passed on the message, Nikon paddled to the tail of the fish. That one lifted its tail high into the air and killed him. His canoe sank; the sharks ate him.

The whale continued swimming to another land, to an island called Åkölä. When he got there, the people were shocked by it. They made magic against the whale. Therefore the fish returned backwards. It came to Kusae and lay down at the place of Lölö. Among the people of Matannenea lived a woman by the name Nüköl. Just during that night, she went to have a look at her fishing weir. That was when she found the fish. »What is there?« she shouted and went there. It was a whale. She plucked some osa-grass and with it attached the whale.

Lälä. According to KRÄMER.

(samsam)

A man and a woman lived in a the place called Tafot in Utua. Once the man said to his wife, »I am going up into the mountains. You stay in the house, and do not leave.« But when a summer rain started the woman saw something falling from the sky. She placed it in-between two coconut shells and took it home with her. When the man came back she told him and showed it to him. The man said, »Put it aside!« The woman placed it in a small
water hole called Gälat. When the small fish grew quickly, she placed it into the mouth of
the river Inboklata. The fish, a whale, got pregnant and gave birth to a girl, called
Inboklata. The girl grew up. A man from Likinlöläm took the girl and married her. The
whale waited until she should return but she did not. Therefore the whale sniffed around
and finally found her daughter in Likinlöläm. Thus, the whale went upriver and stayed
there. When the women went bathing there, they saw it and reported it. Thus, the men
came and cut the fish into pieces, which they took with them to eat. Nakontoua did not
know anything about it, but her son had seen it and he had heard someone say:

Unnuneia kotkoteia
Sopsopä Jola
Fen lä sekiakan matän
Än natek Nakontoua
Käsemakon, Käsemakon.¹

The boy still found a piece of the fish and brought it to his mother, who was just
weaving a loincloth. He asked her to cook it for him. She told him, »I have to work, cook
it yourself.« The son said, »If you cook it for me I will tell you something.« The mother
asked, »What?« The son said, »I heard a chant!« He sang it. The woman felt very sad.
They both went to the place, where they still found the arteries. They collected them, took
them with them wrapped in leaves, and cried.

After a while, when they opened the leaves, there was a small fish inside. They
released it again, like before. One day when the fish was once again in the river, all men
went working in the bush. Then the fish said, »My daughter get ready, we want to leave
this place.« Nakontoua and Käsemakon put everything together, placed it on the back
of the whale and sat there themselves. Before they went out into the ocean, Nakontoua cut
holes into all the canoes. She overlooked only one small canoe. When they were out in
the open ocean the husband of Nakontoua saw her. He wanted to follow them. He found
the small canoe. When he came close to them, the son shouted, »Papa is coming!
However, the mother replied, »He has nothing to do with us!« When he came closer the
whale called out, »Do not come close to my head but to my tail.« When the man went
there the whale smashed the boat with all people inside, so that they could continue their
journey. They went to a foreign land and reached an island in the east. However, their
landing there was prevented. Therefore, the fish swam back with the tail in front, and at
night reached Kusae once again. A woman was just catching fish in a stone weir (ta). She
noticed the big fish, took some osa and attached the tail with it. Thus, the fish remained
lying there and turned into stone.

¹ See translation of the previous legend.
In this way the island Lölö was created. The section towards the land is called palan ik = »tail of the fish« and the one towards the sea is called suf on ik = »head of the fish«.

4. Löpan - Mät.

(pelenfun)

Löpan-Mät lived in Nefalil. Once he went fishing with his son. They went to the outer reef and Löpan-Mät dove down in order to look after his fish trap. The boy stood on the platform of the canoe. When the father dove into the water, many fish came from the depth to the canoe. The boy was frightened and jumped into the sea. A big koäkot-fish swallowed him. When Löpan-Mät came up, his son had disappeared. Thus, he made anïtmït and said, »I wish that somebody would bring my disappeared son back.« He went on shore and there met a man called Nefo. With Nefo, he went to the waterfall that the river forms in Nefalil and he said to him, »Watch the waterfall and the sound of the clashing water. When it hits with another sound, then my son will come out of the water.« The man paid attention. Suddenly the sound of the falling water changed and he saw the koäkot-fish lying on one side, just as if it had been poisoned. Nefo ran to Löpan-Mät and told him. This one sent men to fetch the fish. They brought the fish in front of his house, cut it open and ate the fish. From then on, the fruit bearing trees in the vicinity of the graveyard where taboo for several months.

One day, people from Lölö came and cut off a bunch of bananas from that place and took it with them to Lölö to an alu.1 Löpan-Mät had noticed this. He walked along the beach to Matanlik, but he found no canoe there. Therefore, he took a hand full of sand and threw it away into the direction of Lölö. In this manner a sandy path was created to Lölö. Following it he walked over to Lölö, and when he came to Inkoanon, he saw people sitting there who were just about to pluck off the bananas. Löpan-Mät went there and took his bunch of bananas and returned. The people looked at each other then started to pursue Löpan-Mät. This one took a hand full of sand and threw it into the direction of Matanlik. In this fashion a path was created on which he crossed over. Behind him the path broke down and fell into the sea. Thus, the people could not follow him. Löpan-Mät came back home to Nefalil and threw the bananas into the grave yard.

The sandy beach at the landing place in front of the royal compound originates from this sandy path.

5. Löpan-Kosa2 and Saptan.

(samsam)

Löpan-Kosa lived in Jämual in Utua-Harbor. Saptan lived in Jöla. Once upon a time both of the were in Lölö and took care of the little daughter of the King. Here the two arranged

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1 Spiritistic service.

2 Kosa = Kusae
to bury some banana to make fafa\textsuperscript{1}, and to present it to the King as food, if they should come home again. When they came home again, Löpan-Kosa buried his bananas in the ground, though Saptan forgot about it. Löpan-Kosa made everything ready and left with it for Jöla. There he met Saptan and said to him, »Saptan I am ready, and I am going to Lölö now.« Saptan replied, »Good, I will come later.« When Löpan-Kosa had already arrived in the vicinity of Lölö, Saptan quickly ran into the mountains. He looked around for what he could possible take with him. His eye fell on some wild taro. He grabbed it in order to pull it out. However the taro broke, and Saptan fell on his bum and injured it. He stood up, rubbed his buttocks, and looked around to see if anybody had observed him because he was ashamed. Then he grasped another taro plant, but this one also broke off, and Saptan once again fell on his bum and injured it. He stood up and rubbed his buttocks and once again looked around. Selik, the bush-spirit, stood a bit further up on the slope and asked him, »What is it with you?« Saptan answered, »I agreed to meet with Löpan-Kosa in Lölö in order to bring food to the King. When I came home I forgot all about it. Today, Löpan-Kosa went to Lölö, soon he will be there and I have nothing ready. Thus, I quickly wanted to fetch some wild taro, but it broke off and I fell down. Selik said, »Good, I will help you. I will get everything ready for you: fafa, banana, taro, breadfruits, coconuts, and I will bring all of it over the mountains to the Innem-River. Go to Lölö, take a canoe and come to pick it up.«

Saptan wrapped a new loin cloth into a leaf, carried it on a stick over his shoulder and ran to Lölö. He did not want to take a canoe, as he was ashamed to go in an empty canoe. When he came to Lölö, he saw Löpan-Kosa, who was unloading his canoe, and had not yet finish with it, as he had loaded so much. Saptan said to Löpan-Kosa, »Make haste and give me your canoe for just once. I will go over to the Innem-River.« —»What for?« —»I want to pick up my food, somebody carries it for me over the mountains.« When Löpan-Kosa had finished he gave his canoe to Saptan. He crossed over to the Innem-River. There on the other side was a huge, really huge pile of food. He loaded his canoe with it and went to Lölö. There he asked the King for many boats, in order to pick up the rest of his food. He filled the canoe to the rim. They crossed over with 10 or 20 canoes and again and again picked up food. Finally, they were too tired and they threw half of it into the sea. From this the small island Bukoni, in front of the right shore of the Innem-River was formed.

6. Nelukanko from Wukat and Nisoup from Sialat.

Two brothers Nelukanko from Wukat and Nisdoup from Sialat, did not like each other. Nelukanko was the younger, and he had only one daughter. Nisoup, though, had many children. Nelukanko’s daughter live with relatives in Lölö. One

\textsuperscript{1} Compare pp. 131.
day she went to Wukat in order to visit her father. When she came to Sialat her uncle sat on the beach and hit a coconut husk. She sat down in the sand and greeted him, waiting until the uncle would grant her to continue her walk. But he continued hitting until he was done. Then he went up to his house and in doing so hit the girl several times with the wooden beater on the head so that she started bleeding. When she came to Matante the met-suksuk saw her with all her wounds. He called her into his house, made a lot of food for her, and gave it to her to take home with her. When she left the met-suksuk said, "When you come home and your father makes a big feast, send me some of it." When the girl came home she said, »I have a wound on my head. Your brother has hit me.« Her father gave a big feast and sent some food to the met-suksuk of Matante. Then he and his people cut a path from Wukat over the mountains to the Innem-River so he no longer had to pass by at his brother’s when on his way to Lölö.\(^1\) Otherwise he would have had to meet his brother and it would have resulted in a fight. Nisoup in Sialat heard about it. He built a fence down from the mountains across the reef all the way to the surf. Then he tried to win some people willing to fight against his brother. Nelukanko heard about this and also got ready. He sent for people from the western and southern coast of Ualang. Nelukanko was sooner ready to fight and moved along the beach towards Sialat. There he destroyed the fence, tore the house of his brother down, and moved towards Lölö, to meet him. The two parties met on the reef between Lölö and Ualang. The fight started. Nelukanko was the stronger one. Nisoup fought at the head of his troup. His brother called out to him that he should turn around and look for his men. Nisoup looked around, and nobody was behind him anymore. Everybody had fled or was dead. Thus, Nisoup also fled, running into the house of his mother, which was in Lölö in the place Koslo. Nelukanko followed him, speared him, and threw his body out of the house.


The big female eel Kabendolo lived in the water hole Kabendolo in Kasasek in the region Fenelof. She had a daughter called Insfonlas. One day this one went bathing in the sea. This was when the King, who had come to Muot, saw her, took her into his canoe, and made her his queen. When the eel could not find her daughter any more she sniffed the air in all directions and finally sniffed her in Lölö. So she swam around Ualang towards the north. In doing so, she created the channel of Läl. Also the channel of Finauenpis was created by her. Finally she came to Lölö. People saw her, thought it was a big fish, and shouted, »Uko sap uko sap.« However the eel answered, »No, I am Kabendolo.« In Fen-

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\(^1\) This is the creation of the old footpath from Wukat-Harbor to Lölö-Harbor, the only overland path which existed in Ualang. (Compare p. 32).
The wife of the priest Selikiak, was very much afraid and called out to her, »Go back, I do not want you to come here.« There and then Kabendolo went inland and made her way winding in-between the mangroves, creating channels there. In Lölö she swam in front of the King’s house and remained there. She ate everything, which the queen threw away. When the queen noticed her, she asked, »What do you want here, why did you come here?« The eel replied, »I wanted to know where you are.« The daughter wanted to convince her mother to return home, because she was very ugly and because she was an eel. Nonetheless, Kabendolo stayed. Therefore, the daughter constantly brought her food to eat to the beach. The King noticed this and he became curious and wanted to know whom his wife was bringing food. He asked her. She answered, »My mother is outside, but I think you will be afraid of her.« — »Good,« said Tokosa, »she shall live in that house.« The queen replied, »This house is too small for her.« Then the King offered her a bigger house. But the queen deemed this one also too small. Then the King had a very big house constructed on the taboo place Kepal. This sufficed. The eel wound itself up in there and filled the entire house. It remained in there for a few months without the King ever seeing her a single time. One day, the queen sailed to the other side of Lölö-Harbor. Then the King went to the house and looked inside. But he only saw a big mass. Then the eel put her head outside of the hole in the gable and said:

»Iron matan talebom!« = »See the eye of your mother-in-law!«

When the King looked up, he was shocked, and ran away. He called his people and had fire placed at the house. One spark flew away and fell on the leg of the queen. When she looked up, she saw the big column of smoke raising above Lölö. Then she knew that people were burning her mother. She quickly returned home and ran up to the house, where she threw herself into the flames and also burned.

8. Nepakrän.

(samsam)


8. Nepakrän.¹

Once upon a time there was a woman by the name Nepakrän. She lived at the place about which we had been talking. She asked all the people who came down from the mountains, »Who is this, who is coming down from the mountains with reverberating steps?« They replied to Nepakrän, »What do you have for us?« — »Half a net of fish!« Then they took their load from the shoulder, put it down, and gave her something. After that they continued on their way. Thus it happened every day.

¹ The legend deals with the creation of one of the big basalt boulders, which had been lying next to others, in the lagoon channel of Koplö.


When she then turned into a stone, she remained lying there. Therefore, a stone in that place is called Nepakrán.

9. Legend.

The son of a King was on his way around Kusae, in order to collect sennit cord for the construction of a house. In doing so they were not walking but they were flying. The front man was carrying the son of the King on his back. They were just flying up in Koplö. Here a man called Saset lived in the place called Täplan. He did not like the crowd talking so loudly. He said, »What do I hear about the bathing place of the King?« and he transformed them, so that they should remain there. Thus, they all fell down. This is the reason there is a number of basalt blocks in the lagoon channel of Koplö.

10. The Origin of the Breadfruit.

(samsam)

A Ton-eel lived in Infäl-sisik, a small river in Wukat. From there he swam to the rivulet Ineläka and from there to the mountain Ineläka, beyond the source of the river. There he lay down. A tomon anüt from Tafinkol, Neko, saw him there lying on dry ground. Neko walked in a wide circle around him in order to pass him. Then the eel talked to him, »Why are you afraid of me?« —»I am afraid because you are so big and lying on dry ground.« The eel replied, »Do not be afraid. Tell your people they shall bring me over to the Tafonkol-River.« Thus, Neko sent his people away to cut wood in order to build a stretcher. When they were finished with it, they placed the eel on top of it and took him with them to Tafonkol, where they placed him into the water. The eel swam downriver to the sea and away to an island in the west. As a fare well he said to Neko, »I go away from Kusae, but I will send you something because you brought me here.« On that island the eel took the root of a breadfruit tree, wrapped it into 30 mats and sent the bundle by 12 men to Kusae.

A woman from Menka went fishing at nighttime. This was when she heard the men in their canoe talking about the bundle. The canoe landed at the place Muotä in Menka. Immediately after the men had placed the bundle on the ground they left again. The woman called the people together, and they went to the place and brought the bundle into the house.
and opened it. In it they found roots. They did not know what they were, nevertheless, they planted them and when the tree had grown tall it bore different kinds of breadfruits: fok sesak, mos in oä, pataktäk, fok keikei, fok fas, earkon, but no ik un lal. That tree was still standing not so long ago. Many people supposedly had seen it. When the fruits were big, all the people wanted to have roots from the tree. Thus, the breadfruit was distributed all over Kusae.

However, nobody had yet tasted the fruit. Once 2 boys from Mot went with other people to Lölö. There, in Kala, stood 2 breadfruit trees. One could see the beautiful fruits, but nobody dared to eat them. People did not know if you could die from them. The two boys tried one fruit. It tasted very good. Since then, people from Kusae eat breadfruit.

When Neko heard about the fruit and its origin, he knew that they were a present of the eel and told the people so.

11. The Origin of the Breadfruit.

Before, a long, long time ago, there was no breadfruit in Kusae. Only mos in Kosa\(^1\) existed. A man named Kol and his wife Nikol lived in Juson, in Utua-Harbor. One day the men went up into the mountains in order to look for food—wild taro and yam. Nikol was in the house. A sudden gush of wind came and carried the house together with the woman to an island in the west. When Kol returned home, he found neither his house nor his wife. On that island, there were all sorts of breadfruits and Nikol had plenty to eat. She always had to think of her husband. She looked for all kinds of roots from breadfruit trees, which she cut off from the trees, rolled them into mats and sent them with 9 men and one woman in a canoe to Kosae. The canoe arrived in Utua-Harbor at night. It was dark, and it rained. Thus, people in the canoe could not find the river in order to go to Juson. Therefore, they discussed what they should do. A woman from Menka in Fenkol heard what they were saying. She also heard the names of the people in the canoe. They were called: O, Nuo (a woman), O, Semano, Saromo, Poi, Poiküar, Äsouä, Soui, and Woinka. Because the canoe could not go any further, they simply took the bundle, threw it into the water, and turned back. But the woman, who wanted to fish with her net, found it and brought it to the shore. When people opened it, they found in it the roots of a breadfruit tree. The roots were distributed, and people planted them, one each in Juson, in Menka, in Jämual, and in Täf. All of them perished, except the root in Juson, which grew and bore fruits, to be precise all sorts of breadfruits. The Kusaean people came to Juson taking breadfruits from here, planting them everywhere.

\(^1\) = word by word »breadfruit from Kusae«. See p. 93 and 129.
12. The Origin of Fire.
(samsam)

Niatinie, a man from Ponape (Ponpeï), came to Kusae, followed along the eastern coast line and went into Lōlō-Harbor. He landed in the place Fenef in the region Sānsik. There he saw how all people ate their food raw and did not know how to make fire. Thus, he showed them how to make fire. He took a piece of wood and planed it with another piece of wood on it until the wooden dust started glimmering. Thus he kindled fire, placed breadfruit on it, cooked it, and ate it. Niatinie went from Fenef to Fānsāfos, the mountain slope in Lōlō behind the King’s residence, and also showed the people there how to make fire and he said, »If anybody gets burned, he shall go to the spring in Inmakauk and should wash the burnt part in the water.« From here Niatinie went around Lōlō and Ualang to the protruding reef Fuk on Uia. There he stood on a stone, which is still lying there. A woman, who had been fishing, saw him. She walked to him and said, »Come on shore.« Niatinie replied, »No, I do not go on shore here. I will continue a bit further.« He continued to Fuko Sauska and went on shore there. 2 men were living here. He remained with them, and he taught them, too, how to make fire. In those days, a spirit called Lonmeja, came frequently to Fuko Sauksa. Now the 2 men called Niatinie Lonmeja, because he knew to make fire appear by magic. They asked him to always remain with him. But Niatinie wanted to continue walking. He went to Tafowuun near Isä. Here he stood on a tree trunk in the mangrove channel. However, there were no people living there. He made anütnüt and wished for a human being to pass by. This was when Kolan from Isä came along the beach. When he was about 30 fathoms away he saw instead of Nitainie only fire. When he came closer the fire disappeared and when he stood in front of it, it was a human being. Niatinie said to the man, »Clear this place for me, and build me a house.« The man replied, »The place here is too small and surrounded by mangrove swamp. It is better that you come on dry land where there is enough space.« They went across the swamp towards dry land. When they came to a place with lots of tall trees and bushes, Niatinie said to Kolan, »Let us stay here. This place is good.« Kolan replied, »How can we remain here in this swampy place where so many tall trees are standing? To fell all of them is too much work.« However, Niatinie said, »Here we stay, I will take care of it.« He made a fire and burned all trees down. He made anütnüt and made the place dry. This place is called Inmalal. Though, now there are no more tall trees, only low bushes.¹ Thus, the place had become very good and beautiful. They built some houses and lived here. More men from Isä joined them, who also stayed with them. Niatinie also showed them how to produce fire. One day Niatinie said to Kolan, »Ask people from Isä when Lōlō celebrates the epan-feast. Let us all go there.« When the time came, they all went to Lōlō. Before this he said to his 3

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¹ malal = clearing.
Isä-men, »If you touch any fire you shall not burn yourself!« This made the men fireproof. In Lölö they went to the place Inlokpus and built a big hum on Penkom, the landing place of the royal compound. On this occasion Niatinie made fire in front of all the people. They used a very big piece of wood for the hum and placed the biggest basalt boulders on top that they could find. When the hum was finished, they spread the stones evenly, but left a lot of the big glowing blocks lying in the hum. The 4 men covered their entire bodies with dry banana and coconut leaves and walked around on the glowing blocks. All the leaves on their bodies burnt, they however remained unscathed. Afterwards they returned to Isä. Since this time, the people of Kusae know how to prepare fire and a hum.

13. Lefarän.
(samsam)

A canoe with a man called Lefarän and two other men came to Utua-Harbor. They came from an island in the south. The two men wanted to land in Utua-Harbor. Though Lefarän wanted to continue towards the north. Thus, they continued to the north, passing the Lölö-Passage all the way to a place on the reef in front of Lük.¹ Two brothers were just going out fishing when they saw the canoe with the three men. The younger said, »Come on. Let us go to the canoe and see what kind of men they are.« The older replied, »No, I do not want to do this, I am afraid.« In the end however they went there. Lefarän called out, »Come alongside!« They did it, and the young one climbed into the canoe of the foreigners and said to the older one, »Come also, we will show them the way to the beach.« However the older one declined. Alone he went back over the Musok-Reef and pulled the canoe on shore. The other one sailed in the canoe of Lefarän across the Mulak-Reef to Funsilan.¹ There they went on shore. The older brother also walked along the beach to Funsilan in order to see what the strangers had in their canoe. When he arrived there, the younger brother said, »What do you want? Go back home and look for the black stones, which we threw into the water. Here, these pospö-fruits² belong to me. I will plant them.« The older brother replied, »I prefer if you give me one of the fruits, I also want to plant some.« The younger one gave him some. Then the older one returned to Senanata¹ where he lived and planted the fruits. The young one went with the foreigners to his house in Kupial¹. There they all planted the fruits they had brought with them. After a few months the fruits sprouted and grew very well.

One day, they all went to the beach and cleaned themselves in order to play asebal. Lefaruan said to the two brothers, »Now I will teach you to play asebal. Go and call all the people of your island. I want to show it to all of them.« When all of them had gathered, the play started. All people of Kusae stood on one

¹ On Lölö. ² Fruits of the Barringtonia. ³ Compare chapter XI under games.
side, the three foreigners on the other side. The younger brother and one of the two companions of Lefarân started. Finally the last one grabbed the hair of the younger brother and threw him to the ground. As a sign of victory, the three foreigners hit a stone slab. The King heard about the game and sent for the three foreigners. They came to the King. The King said to Lefarân, »Now the two of us will play.« The game started. The King was the winner. Lefaruan was so ashamed that he did not talk any more. The King walked around the island on the beach to the stony bell in order to ring it. Lefarân walked back on the path across the island. The King rang the stone and then also walked back across the island. This was when he met Lefarân and beat him to death. When he came home he ordered the two other foreigners to leave Kusae with their canoe.

In front of the beach of Lük, in front of Funsilan, a black coral stone is still called Nefarân; it is said to be the canoe of the foreigner, which turned to stone. The Barringthonia trees at the same place supposedly also originate from him. The Barringthonia and the asebal-game supposedly were introduced by N. to Kusae.


(samsam)

Sitel Neka, a lem-man of the suf Penmä, went in a canoe to another low island, in order to fetch shell money from there. When he came back he wanted to distribute it and thus wanted to make himself King. In those days there was no King on Kusae. However, when he returned, he heard already outside of the reef, that a Ton had been made King. In the passage he threw his money into the ocean. Then he came to Lölö and lived in Fenem and in Sowaiä. He buried his remaining money in these two places.

A part of Sitel Neka’s money was unearthed at the time of King George, however people still look in vain for the remaining buried money.

3. From Mythology.


(samsam)

Numomla-Ta en itu luo. En sie Safero, en sie Tumur, en sie Niäsren en sie Kokan.


replied that they were arguing about the water and the sky. Thus, the goddess asked them to take down a piece of firewood that one of them should split. The younger one tried it. In vain! Thus, he picked up the piece of wood and sat down in the house. Sînlāka asked him why he was so wet. He answered, »I am sweating from splitting the wood.« Now she asked him again, »What is bigger the sky or the water?« The man replied, »The sky!« But Sînlāka said, »See the water on that man! Water is in all things; it is in the people, it is in the tree it is in everything. Go away: Water is bigger than anything!«

We could not collect a meaning for this legend, not even in relation to the title and the introductory words. Maybe these two people were supposed to represent the star formation Numomla-Ta, with otherwise is considered to be 2 sisters. See p. 223.

(pelenfun)

Noriken and Nälok were two brothers. Each had two daughters. The daughters of Noriken, the older brother, were called Nimuete and Nioelan, the one of the younger brother Nilakonil and Nilakonfolak.

Nälok’s daughters celebrated a feast. Noriken’s daughters prepared the food for it and Noriken sent them, accompanied with 20 men, to his brother. The two sisters took many bananas of the kind us in jeîr with them. They gave a banana to each person, which they met on the way. Finally they only had two small bananas left. Nearby the place of the feast they met a pala. This one said, »It is better you wait here a bit. I will make some food for you.« In the evening the two sisters continued with their two bananas. People were already dancing in the feast-house. The two daughters of Noriken went inside and gave the two bananas to the husbands of Nualok’s two daughters. Then they stood with all their companions in the royal corner of the house. None of them sat down. When the daughters of Näklo saw this they called to them, »Why are you standing in the royal corner? You are not royal children. You are just common people!« This was when Noriken’s daughters ordered their companions to kill Näklo’s daughters. The men grabbed the two and cut off their heads. The dance immediately stopped. After
a while Nälok, who was in the dwelling house, sent servants down to see what was happening, because he did not hear any more dancing. The servants found his two daughters dead. They took them and brought them to Nälok. He asked who the murderers were. Then he said to the servants, »Go down. Noreken’s daughters and their companions shall stay in the house. Close it off and put fire to it.« The servants did this and put the house on fire. However while the other ones perished the two daughters of Noriken stayed alive. When the house had burned down the two sisters still stood in their place and were singing:

Nao nao Nioelân,  I, I Nioelân,
Nao nao Nioete,     I, I, Nioete,
Kulolo luo natal Nauriken  Nauriken’s favorite children,
Läl Nälok, bola te sisiiä.  Nälok’s brother, we traveled to bring
Ui ken onan särok losan.  our presents.

At the dance they took our flower garlands.¹

Nälok felt deep pain. He sent for the two sisters, asking them to come to his house. But the two remained in their place and did not go to him. Four times he sent for them, but they did not come. Moreover, they returned back home. On the way they met the pala once again. He called them into his house, gave them food to eat, and another twenty men to accompany them. When they came close to the house the older one ran in first. She placed her head on the thighs of the father, cried out loud and shouted, »Father, rub my neck!« Noriken looked there and found a burnt spot. »These are the presents, which we received from your brother!« The younger one also hurried to her father and shouted the same. The father did not say anything. He said to the twenty men, who had come with his daughters, »Go back and tell the pala he shall divide the piece of land, which belongs to me and Nälok.«

17. Olsol.
(pelenfun)

Söap and Katineap lived in the flat shoreland in Jöla. Katineap was going to give birth any day. One day Söap said, »I will go up into the mountains to plant something. If you give birth to a son while I am gone, pound the ringing stone. Then I will send a man to pick up the boy. Then I will drill a hole into his scull-cap and drink his brain. If it is a girl, we will keep her. When she is a woman she will also have children.«

Söap left. His wife gave birth to a son and called him Olsol. She pounded the ringing stone so that Söap heard it. He sent a man to fetch the boy.

¹ This seems to mean, »They insulted us«. Because flower garlands could only be worn by high aristocrats.
When he came to the father, this one asked him, »Are you Olsol?« The boy answered, »Yes!« Then the father said, »Come and louse me!« However the son did not find any lice and the father said, »Come, I will louse you!« He took the head of the child on his knee and loused him. When the child grew tired and fell asleep, he took an axe and split his head, and threw him into the river. The body drifted down river. Below, in the shoreland the mother was just bathing in the river when she saw her child drifting. She took the corpse on shore, split a coconut, and poured water over the head of her child. From this he woke up. Then he stepped into the river and bathed first in a »water hole of death« and then in a »waterhole of life«. Olsol emerged from the water of life once again alive. He went home and pounded the ringing stone. Söap was very surprised by this and sent a man down in order to learn who had pounded the stone. The mother said, »Olsol«. The man returned and reported, »Olsol is alive again.« Then Söap got furious that his wife had revived the son. He sent a message to her saying, Olsol and she should come up the mountain, so he could fight them. They should also look for supporters. He would do the same and would get ready. Olsol sent his father the message that they would come. Katineap said to her son, »I will prepare a bundle with midribs of coconuts leaves. With these I will fight. Look around for what you will be taking.« Olsol replied, »I let two rooster fight with each other and will take the best. I let two dogs fight as well, of which I will take the stronger.« Nobody wanted to support them because Söap had already won all the people of the island for himself.

Then mother and son went to fight: the mother with a broom, the son with a rooster and a dog. When the two parties met, Katineap produced a miracle and had all supporters of Söap disappear. Then she shouted, »Söap, come now and fight me. I only have a broom, you a crowd of people!« Söap looked around for his crowd, but nobody could be seen. Then Olsol shouted, »Söap, come and fight. I only have a rooster and a dog, but you have so many people. See if you can conquer me!« Once again, Söap looked around to call his people, but he could not see any one. Frightened, he fled into the house of his sister, which was nearby, and crawled into her vagina. Olsol ran after him, but he could not find anybody except his aunt, who sat there, her hands in front of the vagina. »Where is Söap?« asked Olsol. »He fled in here, I saw it.« His aunt replied, »You see he is not here, why don’t you look for him.«—»If you do not tell me I will kill you. Where is he?« shouted Olsol. Then his aunt took her hands away from her vagina and said, »Here!« Then Olsol saw his father, he pulled him out, and beat him to death.

18. The Moon. According to KRÄMER.

In Likinlölam a couple, Säap and Katiniap, had two sons, Lakem and Morkeni. The mother preferred the first son Lakem, the father
however preferred Morkeni. The two boys started fighting over this and had a falling out. One day everybody went into the mountains in order to cut a tree for the production of a canoe. When the trunk was finished so far that it could be dragged down, Sääp sent a message to Katiniap that she should sent Lakem, who had not participated. When Lakem came, Sääp told him, »Position yourself here at the front end of the trunk!« When they were dragging the trunk, they came to slope, where they let it loose. The trunk rolled downhill carrying Lakem with it, and pushing him into the ground. There he first reached the water of death and then he drifted back in the water of life. Here he came alive again and returned to the surface of the world. He went to his mother and rang the stone bell so that his father could hear it. Sääp sent somebody down the mountain and thus learned that Lakem was alive. Therefore, he started thinking of a new way to kill him. They built a house and made holes to ram the posts into. When they had finished a big hole, they threw in an axe and asked Lakem to bring it out again. When Lakem was down in the hole they pushed the post in. Once again Lakem came into the water of death then into the water of life and from there back into the house, where he rang the stone bell. Sääp heard it and inquired. Once again he learned that Lakem was still alive. And once again he was thinking how he could kill him. He took a young coconut, prepared an earth oven, and made kava. He asked Lakem to husk the nut. When he went to do that, a big palm tree shot out of it. Sääp told Lakem to climb up and bring the nuts down. When Lakem was up there a strong wind started blowing, which made the palm sway back and forth. A small bird (ses) flew up to him, and Lakem asked it what he should do in order to get back down. The bird advised him to break the crown and the trunk of the tree off piece by piece. Lakem did this, and in the end also ripped the trunk out of the ground and threw it down.

Sääp finally asked him to ascent to heaven and bring down the moon. The ses, as his advisor, sat down on Lakem’s head. They passed a river. When they were in the middle of it, a great flood came. Lakem asked, »What shall I do?« Ses replied, »Bend down and drink it up.« Then they met a large millipede. Lakem asked what he should do. Ses advised him, »Beat him with a club on the back.« When Lakem did this, the millipede lifted itself a bit up, and they could pass underneath him. When they arrived in heaven, they saw god Nälok and the moon. Nälok ordered kava to be made and asked Lakem to fetch water for this. When he came to the water, there were many shark that snapped at him. Lakem asked the ses, »What shall I do?« The ses replied, »Tell them to die!« Thus it happened and Lakem could fetch the water. Nälok asked him, »Where are my fish in the water?« Lakem answered, »They are all dead.« Therefore, the god sent him back to make them alive again. When Lakem returned they drank
kava. While everyone was drinking, Lakem quickly grabbed the moon and ran down with it. They threw a hook after him that was caught in the knot of his hair and restrained him. Thus, Lakem asked the ses, »What shall I do?« The ses replied, »Take it off and hang it in a tree.« Lakem did this, and the people from heaven pulled in vain until the hook broke. Then they threw a second one after him, which once again was caught in the knot of his hair. But Lakem did just like before. Finally Lakem arrived down. The boy surprised Sääp. He now could no longer harm him. The black spots in the moon stem from the damage done during its transport and because Lakem often tried to push it up with his foot.¹

(pelenfun)

Söap and Katineap had a daughter. She was an unruly child and did not listen to her parents. Therefore, Söap said, »It will be better to bring the child to another island and leave her there.« They sailed away to another island and abandoned the child there. The island was uninhabited. Only a spirit, Kot, lived there. When the parents went back in their canoe, the child started screaming and crying. She ran along the beach and screamed. Thus, the child arrived at a house and entered it. Inside was an amulō-dove, which belonged to the spirit. The bird told the child, »Crawl underneath the floor!« The child did so. When Kot returned from fishing he took some coconut oil and rubbed it over his body. While doing so a drop fell straight into the eye of the girl underneath the floor. She tried to clean her eye but in doing so she made the floor shiver. Kot said to himself, »What is this? Is it a spirit or a human being?« He lifted the floor up and saw the child. »Oh, a child,« he shouted. »If it is a boy I will kill him and devour him. If it is a girl then she shall be my daughter!« He lifted the child out and now remarked that she was a girl.

He sent the girl down to the beach to bring up the fish that he had caught and left there. Yet the basket was too heavy, and the girl ran back and said, »The basket is too heavy for me, I cannot lift it.« Kot sent her back and said to her, »Go once again down and shout, »Papa I cannot lift the basket, it is too heavy for me!« The girl ran again down to the beach and shouted,

> Papa, na ta sok na ikä, ne toasnä!«
> Father, I cannot lift the fish. They are so heavy!«

Then Kot went down and picked up the fish himself. Then the girl said to him, »Papa make some fire in order to cook the fish!« However Kot did not know how to make fire. The girl took two sticks and showed him. Now Kot planed fire and the girl placed dry leaves on top so that the flames shot up high.

¹ The story was told to me in a very similar fashion. SARFERT.
Kot ran away frightened. But the girl shouted, »Papa, come here! The fire is good. We can make good food with it!« The girl cooked fish and breadfruit and gave it to Kot. He ate it, and it tasted very good. He cried, »Oh what good food we have now!«

On the next day Kot went fishing again. He returned and they cooked and ate again. On the following day Kot went fishing once again. When he came back, the girl had given birth to a child and she said to Kot, »I have no one to take care of the child and to wash it.« Kot said the banana tree next to the house, »A bunch of banana shall fall down and turn into human beings!« Then a bunch of banana fell down and turned into five women. The girl said, »I have no one to fetch water.« Kot made another bunch fall down. It turned into three women.

On Kusae Sọap and Katineap heard that their daughter had a child, which was taken care of like the child of a King. Therefore, they went to the island. The girl was just standing on the shore and washing herself. She ran into the house and said to Kot, »My father and mother are coming!« Kot replied, »Run down and tell them they should drown and turn into kilo and sol fish!« The girl ran down and turned her parents into these fish.


A Tokosa had a son, Seäs-Ainso, and a daughter, Sefuf. When the daughter had her first menstruation she said to the queen, »I want to go to Fenbakol and will stay there.« The queen replied, »You cannot go there. The land belongs to your brother!« Then the daughter wanted to go to Soanef, but this too, the queen did not allow. Then the daughter said all the place names, but only when she said Likinlölam, Kasoa gave her consent, because she thought this region would be far enough away. Sefuf went there and lived in a beautiful two-storey house. She lay down on the upper floor and closed off everything around her. One week later Seäs, on his journey around the island, came in order to fetch string for building houses. When he came to Likinlölam, he saw a girl on the second floor veranda. Without noticing who she was, he broke down the door, went upstairs, and slept with her, then he continued his round trip. The news about this bad behavior reached Lólö. The mother sent a message to her daughter that she should disappear from Kusae,

»Fasot lan oka fien us na pälan«

»She should leave for foreign shores on a trunk as her canoe.«

The King also sent a messenger with the message; »Fasot lan oka fien us na pälan.« Sefuf started crying and got ready to leave together with the people of her foster family. When they were swimming on the ocean they were singing,
While they sang, one after the other turned back until Sefufu was alone. This was the moment when she found a kiar-leaf and said, »If this leaf would turn into a piece of wood so that I can hold on to it!« Suddenly in front of the leaf a small island appeared. She walked on shore and from then on lived there. She gave birth to a boy. When he got bigger she built him a small canoe and sent him to Kusae to his grand parents. When he arrived there, all children were playing in the water on the beach. When they saw the boy, they took his canoe away, and broke it. Each one of them wanted to have a piece because they considered him a foreigner. They also beat him. A cripple who happened to come along the path freed him and took him to his house. When night came, the cripple asked him to sing. Then the boy started to sing the chant of the Maniala. When Tokosa and Kasoa heard it they were surprised. They called the cripple. »Sebae!« (»Here I am.«) Tokosa asked, »What boy is singing?« The cripple replied, »A boy whom I found on the beach.« Tokosa ordered him, »Tell the boy he shall singe once more.« When they heard the chant once again, they had the boy come and they asked him, »Where do you come from?« He replied, »Maniala has sent me.« They asked, »Why?« He answered, »She wants to have a marmar\(^1\) from you.« Thus, they started crying and were sad, They gave him nose kisses, bathed him, rubbed oil over him, and caressed him. Then they sent a message to all the people to organize a big feast. When all the food was prepared, the boy once again played on the beach in front of the King’s place. The boy took some bananas held them up high and shouted,

«Talek talek nom us!«
All replied »Indolä.«

«Boys, boys here are bananas.«
«At your service!«

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\(^1\) = seems to be moalmoal (= necklace), compare p. 82.
»Konos lafokä to unijo koskosio,  
Kenet maton juk? Tukä ra nom!«  
All shouted, »Fukä fukä si kata si kata!«  
»Why are you beating me and insult me,  
Hurt my eye? Cripple take it!«  
»Cripple, cripple, give us some, give us some of it!«

The cripple replied,  
»Konos lafoka  
To uni fusae  
Tok ela in iata«  
»Why are you beating the King’s children,  
Beat the head of high people bloody!«

Then the boy took a piece of fafa and shouted just like before,  
»talek talek nom tafa!« etc.  
»Boys, boys here is fafa!« etc.

The boy stayed several weeks with his grandparents. One day, he asked to be allowed to return to his mother. The King offered him his good canoe with the name »Mutir«. The boy declined. Then the King offered him the royal boat Oroso. But this one the boy also did not want. »In which canoe do you want to travel?« asked Tokosa. »I want my small canoe to have reassembled the one which the boys broke.« Thus, Tokosa sent out people who had to look for all the pieces. When it was finished the boy said he wanted to leave the next day. People prepared food, and on the following day he started his journey together with the cripple. They returned to the island. When he entered the house, he asked his mother to louse him. When she did it, she noticed a hole in his head. She asked him what had happened during his travels and where the marmar for her was. He told her everything and gave her the marmar. She found some more holes and cuts on his head and cried hard over these. Then they lived for a long time together with the cripple on the island.

In order to visit her one day Tokosa and Kasoa started the journey themselves. When she saw many canoes approaching, the mother said to her son, »Climb on this palm tree, and cut a coconut in half, make some signs in it and hold one to the north and one to the south.« This he did, and a typhoon developed and destroyed all canoes. Only Tokosa and Kasoa came on shore. But their daughter turned them into fish, by speaking, »Kiol sä, sol sä mata kankan boslom!« »Become a kilo and a sol fish* and eat garbage!«.

4. Concerning the Belief in Spirits.


Once upon a time, the spirit Kot slayed many Kusaeans and ate them. Thus the remaining ones agreed to leave Kusae. All gathered in front of the King’s house with their canoes. A girl by the name Niuä ran outside to the passage of Lölö-Harbor. She stood on top of the black stone, which is there

* [This seems to be a mistake. Sarfert wrote Tisch = table instead of Fisch = fish; comment CCHPH].
in order to catch a boat, as she did not have one. When the boat of the King came she sang,

»Tokosa ue, tä nan ui kom uot nei arao!«
»Tokosa! Wait I go with you abroad!«

The King replied, »My canoe is lying too deep!« and he sang,

»Tä nal e kaneko oä lal ma.«
»Wait for Kanko and go with his canoe!«

When Kanko came the girl sang again. He replied in a similar fashion as the King. Thus, all canoes refused to take the girl with them. The last canoe, which belonged to common people, was finally persuaded. But when the girl entered, the canoe sank and she had to return to the stone. She was crying very hard, when she saw all her countrymen leaving. Then she went on shore, took a goja-blossom and hit her forehead with it. Thus, her forehead opened and a boy called Näbas jumped out. They called the place Ingoja. The boy quickly grew up. She took him and placed him on the sand in the place Bekeniap.¹ When she wanted to brush off the sand which clung to the face and limbs of the boy he said, »Even though I have been born only today, I am no longer a child, I can do this myself.« Then they went to the place of the King. Here the son said to his mother, »Make me a toy canoe. I want to play.« The mother made a small canoe for him. The boy stepped into it and paddled a bit up and down. When he came back, the mother asked him how far he had gone. Only nearby he replied. The mother warned him not to sail too far, as an accident could happen to him.

Nevertheless, on the following day the boy went a bit further. On his return his mother asked him,

»Kom kalkal to ia?«  »How far did you paddle?«
The boy replied, »Na kalkal to Pesin.« — »I paddled to Pisin.«
The mother said, Nak kom lap na ino ma se ko naktäl as ino.« — »Do not paddle so far anymore! This place is taboo for us!«

On the following day, Näbas went all the way to Fenbukal. At his return the same conversation started as the day before. On the day after the next day, Näbas went all the way to Soanef. There he left his canoe and walked over land to Wukat and to the island Kiol, where Kot lived. Kot was fishing. Gälas-bananas were hanging in his house. Näbas took one of them, ate it, and threw the peel into the sea. However, the gälas was the wife of Kot and the peel therefore drifted to his leg. Thus, Kot cried out,

»Än sik mesalla!« — »My place has been destroyed!«

He quickly returned home. Näbas had captured a rooster of Kot and had stolen his kara-ornaments, which gave him speed, and he had run away. Kot ran after him. When Näbas was just at Bekasek, Kot sang,
»Oikä! Oikä!
Oaieio!
Ien oaiwut, ien oaimei!
San kara!
Tabok!
Fusäk natek!«
The rooster yelled,
»Na muon sesa!«
Kot shouted again,
»Pulpul! Fäse Kot!«
Kot came quite close to Näbas. Näbas ran over the reef from Fenbukal to Metais-Koslo and reached Inlokpus. Niuä received him with the words,
»Jekanien selon käs?«
»Do you not listen to my words?«
Näbas told her where he had been and that Kot was following him. Kot came. Näbas called out to him, »Niuä is alone in the house!« Then Kot fell on his knees in front of her, just like in front of a queen and when Näbas shouted to come closer, he crawled humbly on all fours forward and sat down in the house. Niuä said,
»Bainkom, kom ta seka?«
»Welcome! Where do you come from?«
Kot replied, »I want to pick up my rooster, which the boy had stolen from me.« Niuä said to him, »Good, sleep here tonight, and tomorrow you can take him with you.« Kot went to fetch firewood. For this he gathered all the wood from the harbor of Uan.1 He brought it to Niuä and made a fire. He was also supposed to get coconut torches and breadfruit leaves as fire-fans. But he instead broke an entire tree. When the fire had burned down Kot wanted to devour Niuä and Näbas. But the moment he wanted to rise, Niuä called out to him, »Kot, Kot!« And he replied, »Sebæ!« — »Here I am!« Niuä ordered him: »Tanek eän!« — »Fan the fire!« In this way, Niuä took care all through the night that the fire did not extinguish so that Kot could not suddenly eat her. The following morning, Näbas cooked and made kava. Afterwards, Kot and Näbas wanted to play asebal. Niuä gave her son a bad, completely white belt, so

1 Compare p. 39.
that it would easily rip in the fight, Kot, on the contrary, got a good loincloth. When, during the game, Kot wanted to grab his adversary on the back of his head, Näbas ripped off Kot’s arm and threw it to his mother with the following words, »Niuä ak fuson.« — »Niuä here you have it!« Niuä was clapping her hands and replied, »Inso uat uen natek!« — »How brave you are my son!« The game started anew. Thus, Näbas ripped also the other arm of the spirit and then also both legs. Finally he pressed the body of the spirit on a basalt rock and broke it in two. He cut it in pieces and threw the head and the body into the sea.

The head drifted abroad to the canoe of the King and knocked at it. The King heard it and had somebody looked to see what it was. He received the message that it was the head of Kot. Thus, they knew that Kot was dead and returned to Kusae.

When Näbas saw the canoes coming, he reported it to his mother. She asked him to climb on a coconut palm, to split a coconut into two pieces, to make a sign in it and to hold one open side to the north and the other one to the south. Näbas did that. A fierce storm blew in, and all canoes except the one of the King perished in it. That one landed in Inlokpus. But Niuä did not want to admit them and turned them into kilo and sol fish. Thus, they had to eat what Niuä and Näbas threw away. The suf Lisnei, and the current King of Kusae go back to Niuä and Näbas.

22. Nefurok.
(plefenfun)

Nefurok lived in Wukat in the place Musu. The spirit Kot and his wife Lias lived on the island Matanial. Kot and Lias devoured all the people, who sailed passed their island. In Wukat, Nefurok resorted to a cunning trick, in order to kill both. He took red earth, which can be found in the place Lap in Wukat, and smeared it all over his body. In this fashion he went downriver to the swampy bank in the mouth that lies dry at low tide. There he ran again and again from one shore to the other, so that the two spirits could see him. They noticed him and were looking forward to eating a human soon. Then Nefurok ran over to Matanial and said to the two ghosts, »Don’t you want to look as beautiful as I?« They replied, »Oh yes! From where can we get the red color?« Nefurok replied, »Come over to the coast I will show you how to do it!« The spirits said, »Good, tomorrow morning we will go with you!«

Nefurok stayed the whole night with the two spirits, however, he did not sleep but gave them continuous accounts so that they would not kill him in his sleep. The next morning the two spirits told him, »Now show us where we can get the red dye and how you manage to color yourself.« Neforuk said, »Good, I pick up some
firewood and will make a hum. You, in the meantime, go and fetch sugar cane and coconuts.« Nefurok collected firewood and placed the right stones on top. Then he scraped the sugar cane, then the coconuts and then pressed the scraped sugarcane and then the coconuts into two big wooden bowls. When the stones were completely red Nefurok said, »Now I have to bind you so that all will be well.« I do it in the same way as it had been done with me. He fastened Kot to a coconut palm and said to him, »Move!« Kot moved and loosened the ropes a bit because he was very strong. When Kot wanted to move again there was no give in the ropes. Now Nefurok said, »Now I go and get Lias and will also bind her fast.« He did the same with her as he had done to Kot. Then he took sugar cane juice and gave Kot some to drink. »How do you like this?« he asked. »Oh, fine!« replied Kot. Nefurok then said, »I also give Lias some to drink and he asked her, »How do you like it?« Lias replied, »Oh, fine! Is this they way you make the red color? This does not hurt at all, it even tastes good!« Nefurok said, »Yes, this is the way I am coloring you, just like I am colored without any pain.« Nefurok took a shell, scooped up some coconut milk and said to Kot, »Here try this, Kot drank it and shouted, »Oh, this tastes fine!« Nefurok answered, »Look, this is how I color you red!« He also gave Lias some coconut milk to drink, and had the same conversation with her. Now Nefurok took two of the hottest stones from the hum and said to Kot, »Do not move now! This is the red color. It tastes just like the food before. Swallow it down nicely and the more beautiful your body will shine.« Kot did not suspect anything bad and opened his mouth. Nefurok put the first stone inside and pushed it way down into his body with a stick, then also the second stone. Kot died immediately from it and stood there quite rigid. Therefore, Lias though that all was well with Kot. When Nefurok also brought her two stones she quietly opened her mouth. Nefurok also pushed into her body so that she died. Then he shouted, »Crabs all come up! Rats all come to light! Humans all come here! I killed two cannibals!« Before this all had stayed in hiding out of fear of the two spirits.

23. Nefurok.
(pelenfun)

Nefurok lived on the high mountain Funkoso in Utua. On the island Melak, lived two cannibalistic spirits, Kot and his wife Lias. They had already eaten all the people of Kusae with the exception of Nefurok. One morning Nefurok made a hum, from which a smoke column rose high into the air. Lias noticed the smoke and brought it to Kot’s attention. Then both of them climbed up the mountain in order to look for the human beings up there. They climbed and climbed all the way up to the house. However, Nefurok had
hidden in the bush. They looked everywhere for him, in the house and in the vicinity, but did not find anybody, therefore, they returned to Melak.

After his meal Nefurok went to catch fish at night. Kot and Lias also made torches in order to fish this night. When they came out on the reef they saw Nefurok already there with a torch. They went towards him and asked him if he had already caught any fish. Nefurok replied, »No!« They said, »Oh, look into our basket!« Just as he wanted to look inside they grabbed him and pushed him into their basket and brought him home. At home Lias asked, »Shall I club him to death and cook him?« Kot replied, »Oh, I am sleepy. Hang the basket outside under the roof, tomorrow morning I will kill and cook the human being.« However, at night Nefurok broke the bottom of the basket and ran home. When the spirits went to have a look at the basket, there was no human being inside.

Nefurok made some red color and smeared it all over his body, only his eyes he left free. He also smeared his spear with the color. Then he went down to Melak. Lias saw him coming and called Kot, »Kot the human being is coming again! What shall we do now?« Kot took many mats, he spread them in front of the house all the way to the beach and poured coconut oil over it. Nefurok was supposed to slip when he walked over it, so that the two spirits could fall over him. However, Nefurok took a stick, threw the mats aside, and walked straight to the house. He entered it and sat down, »Oh!« the two spirits cried, »You look fine in the red color. How did you do that?« Nefurok replied, »With a big hum.« The spirits continued asking, »Can you color us as well in this fashion?« Nefurok replied, »Yes, Go and fetch wood for the hum.« They went and came back with the wood. Nefurok made a hot hum. Then he asked, »Do you have any ropes here?« They answered, »Yes, two.« Nefurok said, »Good, give them to me. Do you also have oil here?« They replied, »Yes, here!« Now Nefurok fastened first Kot and then Lias to a post of the house. Then he took a leaf, placed it into the mouth of Kot, and poured oil in it. He then fetched three of the hottest stones and put them into Kot’s mouth. Kot retched, reared up in pain and died. Lias asked, »What is wrong with Kot?« Nefurok answered, »Oh, he is getting all red, in just a short time he will look fire red.« Lias said, »Come quick and color me too!« Nefurok treated her just like Kot. Thus, both of them died. He put them into the earth oven and covered them with leaves. Later on, he opened it and tasted them. However, the meat tasted too bad. Then he shouted loud, »All of you who you are still alive in Kusae, come out of your hiding places! Kot and Lias are dead!«

24. Kot.
(pelenfun)

A man with the name Lakusuä lived in Jesem. A spirit called Kot lived in Finep in Läl and had 10 children. His wife had died. One day Kot said to his children, »We will go fishing.« All of them, together with a big net, stepped into a
canoe and went out in front of the reef at Matanial. Lakusuä stood in front of his house, which was situated on top of a hill and saw the eleven men leave in a canoe. Thus, he took a big stone and rolled it down the hill, at the bottom of which stood Kot’s house. The stone hit the house so that it shook. In the house there was still an old man. Lakusuä had run after the stone. He heard the voice of the old man, »Who are you, that you are throwing the stone at the house.« Lakusuä replied, »Me! Do you have any fish in the house?« The old man replied,

»Lala in ik kupat.« — The roof-truss is bending under the load of fish.

Lakusuä answered, »Give me a few fish!« The old man took two fish and gave them to him. Lakusuä went home with them.

On the next day Lakusuä saw again the canoe going out fishing. However, he only counted ten men in there. So once again he rolled a stone against the house and ran after it. In the house were the old man and one son of Kot. They asked, »Who threw the stone against our house?« Lakusuä replied, »Me, Lakusuä. Do you have one fish in the house?« They replied,

»Lala in ik kupat.« — The roof-truss is bending under the load of fish.

Lakusuä said, »Give me a few fish!« They again gave them two fish and Lakusuä went again home with them.

On the next day only 9 men went fishing. Lakusuä saw it and did the same as the day before. Once again he received two fish and went home with them. This continued over the following days. Always there was one more of Kot’s sons at home.¹

On the eleventh day Lakusuä saw the ten sons of Kot going fishing, however not Kot. Lakusuä was playing the same game. This time Kot answered,

»Lala in ik kupat.« — The roof-truss is bending under the load of fish.

Yet when Lakusuä asked him for fish, he did not receive any. So he went into the house, he fought with Kot and killed him.

When Kot’s sons had gone fishing they had told their father that once he had killed the man he should throw his entrails into the mouth of the river. Upon their return they wanted to eat him. One squinting son of Kot had especially demanded the head of Lakusuä, which Kot should bury for him in front of the entrance of the house. However, Lakusuä had heard everything from his mountain. Now he took out the intestines of Kot and threw them into the river. He cut off the head and wrapped it in leaves and buried it in a hole in front of the door of the house. When the sons came back they ate all the entrails in the river and when they arrived in front of the house the squinter unearthed the head. It was his father’s head. Then they all started to scream loudly.

25. Löpan-Sunsuna.

(pelenfun)

The spirit called Kot lived in the mountains of Matante. Löpan-Sunsuna lived in Mälsö. He sent his daughter up to Kot and had her tell him he should come down

¹ Usually the natives tell the repeated action in all detail again and again.
and play asebal with him. The daughter went up and told Kot this. Kot replied, Löpan-Sunsuna is too weak to play asebal with me.« The girl returned and told her father. Löpan-Sunsuna said, »Go back and tell Kot, »It does not matter if I am weak or strong, he should come down and try me.« The daughter went up and told Kot. He answered, »Good, I am coming!« and he went down with the daughter to the place Sunsuna. There Löpan-Sunsuna and Kot played asebal. After a while Löpan-Sunsuna fell and Kot went home.

Some time later Löpan-Sunsuna once again sent his daughter to Kot and had her tell him that he was far better trained now. Kot came and they played. This time Kot fell. He fell with his back right on a big pointed coral rock. Löpan-Sunsuna quickly jumped on him and rolled him to and from on the stones, so that he broke his backbone and he died.

26. Sikeinfun.
(pelenfun)

Sikeinfun lived in Limes. Once ten brothers went up to Matante in order to visit the cave in the mountains. In former times, the cave had an opening in Uiä. They went over Limes to Matante. In Limes Sikeinfun joined them. The first brother dropped a rope into the cave, climbed down and had a look at the cave. The second brother pulled the first one up again. Then the third brother fastened the rope tightly around his body and the second brother climbed down. He was pulled up again by the third brother and the forth brother held the rope and pulled him up again. Thus it continued. Finally the tenth brother tightened the rope and Sikeinfun climbed down. However, he had no brother to pull him up again. Therefore, the ten brothers cut the rope and returned home. Sikeinfun stared to call out and to scream. He went down into the cave and met a blind old man called Näpolok, the father of the spirit Kot. Näpolok made a fire and placed four bananas in it, in order to eat them. He did not see Sikeinfun and did not know that somebody was there. He took the first banana and ate it, Sikeinfun took the second banana and ate it. Then Näpolok took the third banana and ate it. They both tried to grab the fourth banana at the same time so that their hands touched. Thus, Näpolok asked, »Who are you?« Sikeinfun answered, »Me, Sikeinfun« and he asked, »What is it with your eyes?« Nuapolok replied, »I am blind.« Thus, that one took a panak-shell and cut into his eye. As a result, he could see again. He looked at Sikeinfun and told him, »Stay here I will love you like a son. Yet, watch out, I have ten sons, all of them are Kot. They went up into the bush in order to pick up fruits. When they see you, they will devour you.« Sikeinfun asked, »Where shall I hide?« Näpolok answered, »Crawl into this heap of isäp-fibers. Sikeinfun did that. When the ten sons came back with
their fruits they suddenly said, »It smells of human beings!« and they sniffed around. Näpolok replied, »from where should human beings have come? They do no come here and I cannot go and fetch them.« Therefore, they were content. Before Sikeinfun had asked Näpolok, »How can I leave the cave again?« Näpolok had told him, »It is best that you follow my sons at night, when they go fishing. Take a fishing basket and walk as the last one, so that they think you are one of them.«

At night Sikeinfun followed the ten brothers. The exit in Uiä had a strong door, which only the brothers could open. At the door the first one counted the others. Sikeinfun pressed himself against the wall so that he overlooked him. The first brother counted in an entirely different fashion than we count on Kusae, he counted in the Kot-saka (1) roka (2) turtur (3) pata (4) sire (5) sipare (6) reti (7) reta (8) sirsir (9) eä (10)

Then the first one opened the door and all went outside to the reef where they spread the keraun-net. Sikeinfun went with them. Before morning was breaking, the Kot wanted to pull up the net because they shied daylight. Yet, Sikeinfun dived down and attached a part of the net to a big stone. Thus, the Kot pulled and pulled until morning was breaking. Then, they all ran away and left the net behind. Sikeinfun pulled it up, took the fish out and went with them to Limes. He ate the fish and died of it. Before all of this Näpolok had advised him to do this. His soul now went to Näpolok and stayed with him.

27. Danafi and Danafa.

(pelenfun)

Danafi and Danafa were two brothers and they lived in Likinlölam. They heard about Lias, a female spirit on the island Matanial, who ate all the people, who passed by there. Both brothers decided to kill her. They built a raft and placed a lot of pandanus leaves on top of it. They took the breadfruit knives and lashed four short hard wood trunks together and they caught two crabs. With this they sailed to Matanial. At night they passed by Läs. This was where a heavy thunderstorm hit them. It was lightning and thundering. Illuminated by lightning Lias saw the two black figures coming. When they came to Matante, they saw in the house of Lias the glow of a fire
The older said, »Let us go on shore and roast our crabs on the fire. The younger one went into the house and held his hand in front of the fire. But these were the buttocks of Lias, who shone like fire. When the man touched her, she jumped up and shouted, »Who is here?« The man replied, »Me.« Lias said, »Oh, you thought these were fire, no these are my buttocks. Who are you?« he replied, »Me, Danafa.« Lias asked, »You Danafa?« Danafa replied, »Yes, me, Danafa and Danafi.« Lias continued asking, »What have you come here for?« They replied, »We are traveling with our pandanus raft to Lölö.« Then Lias said to them, »Come in, sleep here.« Both entered. However, before they had placed quite unnoticed their fours sticks and the breadfruit knives in front of the house. The older brother said to the younger one, »Light a fire for our crabs.« He did this and cooked the crabs. Lias brought a basket with human bones, which she offered them as food. Though both of them ate their crabs. Lias asked, »What are you eating?« They replied, »The bones that you gave us.« When she heard the cracking as they ate the crabs, she said, »Yes, do finish the bones.« When they had finished eating she gave them both a mat and told them, »Here sleep now. Tomorrow you continue your trip to your King. You are still going to meet some of your compatriots here with me.« Both men took only the one mat, under the other one they pushed the sticks into the ground in such a fashion that it looked as if underneath a human being was sleeping. After some time Lias came and called, » Danafi! Danafa!« Both of them replied, »Yes!« Lias answered, »I thought you were already sleeping. Sleep, you are tired, so that tomorrow you are fresh again.« She returned to her place and waited some more. However, the two men silently rose and positioned themselves with their breadfruit knives along the wall. They waited for her to come again. When she came again and called, » Danafi! Danafa!« they did not answer. Lias asked once again, » Danafi! Danafa!« Again they did not answer. Once again she asked, » Danafi! Danafa!« And again they did not answer. Now she climbed into the rafter of the roof and plunged down on the mat, under which the sticks were inserted. These penetrated her body with their pointed tips. This was the moment when the two men jumped on her and cut her head off.

(pelenfun)

Nektälosi lived alone in Nefalil. Once upon a time he started to build a canoe. When he had finished it he bore a hole into the canoe. In Matanlük lived a female spirit Lias, which ate all the Kusaean people, who passed by there. Nobody knew what to do. Nektälosi however, had planned a ruse to kill the spirit. He pushed a peg into the hole of his canoe and then went to Lölö. When he passed Täf, people asked him, »Where do you want to go?« He answered, »I want to go to Lölö.« People said, »Take good care, otherwise the spirit will devour you.« When he came to Koplö and then to Mälam, the same conversation was held with the
natives. When he came to Pok the people asked him very silently, »Where do you want to go?« Nektälosi shouted loudly so that the spirit could hear it, »I want to go to Lölö«.

When he passed Matanlük, the spirit, who had heard him, called out to him, »Wait I come along with you to Lölö.« Nektälosi told her, »I will go to Fenkuo.« Lias said, »I also want to go there.« Nektälosi answered, »No, I do not want to go to Fenkuo, I want to go to Wetnaur. Lias said, »I also want to go there.« Nektälosi replied, »Come into the canoe.« Lias jumped in and sat on the front bench. Nektälosi sat on the back bench. They started paddling. Nektälosi had a breadfruit beater with him. When they came to the middle of the passage, he beat the peg out of the canoe, so that the water entered and the canoe filled with water. Nektälosi called Lias, »Come bail the water!« Lias came, took the bailer, and bent down, putting her head into the canoe to bail water. In this moment Nektälosi cut off her head with the breadfruit beater. Then he went to Matanlük, called all the animals, crabs and human beings together and told them, »You no longer have to hide, all come back I have slain Lias.«

29. Samuklel and Samoklal.

(pelenfun)

A femel spirit called Lias devoured all people in Kusea. Two brothers, Samuklel and Samoklal, therefore placed their mother on a high ka-tree, before they went fishing with a rod. As Lias was walking along the river she saw the image of the woman mirrored in the water. She sprang in and bit it, but she bit into the ground. When she came out again, the kailat-shell of the woman fell from the tree. Therefore, Lias looked up and saw the woman. Immediately she started to bite down the tree. However, the woman called her sons and sang,

» Samuklel-muklel, Samoklal-moklal! Samuklel, Samoklal!
Liasa ta nalinäl, Lias is biting down the ka-tree,
Lösäk in faron kau She is ripping off pieces from its base.
Na lis.« This is my end!«

The younger brother heard the chant first and drew the older brother’s attention to it. However, this one said, »Nonesense. Catch fish!« But the younger one suddenly said again, »Listen!« Then the older brother also heard it. Both ran back home. One took a rough coral stone, the other one the thorny tauf-fish. They found Lias, just as she was about to bite down the tree. When she saw the two, she cried,

»Biä kitin watkoko? Nak komtäl!«

»From where come the small earth worms? They are a meal for me!«

Samuklel and Samoklal called to her, »Wait, wait! We will climb on top of the tree and then we will jump into your mouth!« The climbed on the tree and then called, »Cover your eyes with a leaf and open your gob!« Lias took a leaf, made holes for the eyes and covered her face with it.
However the two called, »No! It must be an unscathed leaf.« Thus, Lias took an unscathed leaf and opened her gob. Then one threw his fish in it. It went all the way down into the stomach and ripped everything open. The other one threw his stone behind. It went in and came back out through the anus, so that she died. Then they climbed down again. They cooked Lias in a hum and tasted her. But she tasted too bitter. Now they called all the animals, which had hidden in the ground of the earth, 

»Kusuk otiak!» You rats, come out!  
Än otiak! You än-crabs caome out!  
Nikaumuän otiak! You Nikaumuauan-crabs come out!  
Lias kankan Lias,  
Än Kosae who devoured Kusae,  
Kitäl uniä!« We killed her!

30. Lias.  
(pelenfun)  
A spirit called Lias lived in Tafunsak and devoured all human beings who passed by in their canoes. Six brothers from Mälso walked along the shore to Tafonsak and played there. Lias saw them and said to them, »Come into my house!« She took the first one and placed his head on her thighs and delousing him. The boy got tired and fell asleep. Then she took the second and deloused him too until he had fallen asleep. She did the same with all the others. When the last, a squinter, had fallen asleep, she locked the doors and went to empty her bowels, in order to then be able to devour the boys. When she came back, she found the house wide open. The squinter had farted against the doors, so that they collapsed. They also had all taken a shit in the house and had run away. Lias went into the house and as there was not much light she got the faeces on her. Thus, she got very furious. She sniffed the air and found out that they had gone to the place Sonsona. She hurried there. The boys had all climbed a pönpön-tree that stood close to the beach. Lias only saw the image of the boys mirrored in the water. She thought this was the boys and jumped into the water in order to catch them. The squinter started to laugh loudly. Lias looked up and saw them all on the tree. She took an axe and started to cut down the tree. When it was nearly cut through, one boy climbed down and pissed against the spot. Then the tree started growing there again. Lias got angry and started anew to hit the tree with the axe. Once again one of the boys pissed against the spot and the tree got thick again. Then Lias called the boys to come down, but they only laughed at the spirit. Finally an egret flew to the tree and sat there. He asked the boys to sit on his neck, his back and on his wings. This they did. The squinter was just sitting down on the tail. Lias told the bird to
throw each boy down, so that she could eat them. The egret replied, »Yes, this I will do, open your mouth!« He flew over Lias and shit into her mouth, then he flew to the Sikämuas Island. There he said to the boys, »Stay with me here on Sikämäs!« The boys remained there, too.

Lias was really angry and wanted to find out where the egret and the boys stayed. She thought the egret had flown to Lölö. Consequently, she went along the beach and came to Finauenpis. There was a cool breeze. Therefore, Lias lay down in the shadow of a tree and fell asleep. Then all the crabs came and bit her into pieces, so that she died.

31. Katinketäk.
(pelenfun)

Once upon a time, parents went up into the mountains, in order to collect banana trunks to make fibers for loom weaving. They left their daughter Katinketäk down in their house. Then a spirit came to the girl and called,
»Katinketäk, Katinketäk!«
The girl, quite frightened, replied quietly:
»Sebai-m!« — »Here I am.«
The spirit said,
»Sesa ina muisik!« — »See how red my teeth are!«
The girl replied,
»Kalsö mä luotnu!« — »Like the kalsö blossom and ripe oranges!«
The spirit continued speaking,
»Fosfos ona nasko!« — »See how white my lips are!«
The girl replied:
»Juju na te!« — »Like the white water of the surf outside!«

Then the spirit left again. When the parents returned the girl told them that a spirit had been there and had nearly eaten her. The father asked her when the spirit had been there. The girl answered, »He was here when the sun nearly stood on the horizon. He also wants to come back around the same time.« Then the father climbed on a notched tree trunk in the upper room of the house in order to wait there for the spirit. The next day the spirit came again and called, » Katinketäk!« However the girl did not answer, because she knew that her father was there. The spirit called once again, » Katinketäk!« Again the girl did not answer. Then the spirit wanted to walk towards her in order to devour her. He shouted, »Enough, now I am going to eat you!« But in this moment the father speared him from the upper room of the house, so that he was dead. Then he beat him into pieces.

One day the parents went once again into the mountains and the daughter remained behind. The father said, »I have killed the spirit, thus, do not be afraid.« When the parents had left the pieces of the body of the spirit once again grew together and became alive.
The spirit went to a graveyard where he lived and waited there for sunset. Then he came back and called again the girl, » Katinketäk! Katinketäk!«

The girl answered quietly,
»Sebai-m!« — »Here I am!«

she was very much afraid, because she knew the spirit had returned in order to devour her. The spirit quietly laughed, grabbed the girl and swallowed her. Then he lay down in the house to sleep.

When the parents returned, they called their daughter, but she did not answer. The spirit pretended to sleep and also moaned like a sick person. The parents could not see him, because it was dark and they said, »Oh, our daughter is sick!« The mother took a mat and wanted to cover the spirit with it. In this moment he jumped up grabbed the mother and father and ate them, too.

32. Sumuon.¹
(pelenfun)

In Melak a man called Sumuon had neither arms nor legs. He had sent them where the bones of the dead were sunk in Utua-Harbor. When a canoe passed by there, then the arms and the legs held it fast and brought the human being to Sumuon, who devoured them. Each time when he was hungry he made menmen and called his limbs. He then said:

»Wonjo foni, fosfos senak!«   »Help me the helpless one, raise like a fosfos!
Waiwuaot, wuami, sirar, falian!«   Hurry here, hurry there, jump over the surface of the water, unite with me!«

Sumuon always did this, when he felt hungry. People did not know what he ate. He always replied he did not eat he only drank water.

Once a man, with the name Soron, from Suansik, from the place Jafas, went at night to catch flying fish. He went outside of the reef and remained in Melak. There he slept. He also asked for Sumuon, went there and asked him what he was eating, and if he wanted to have any fish. Sumuon replied, »No, I only drink water.« Sumuon placed down a fish, and as often as he looked at it the fish was still there until it was reeking. Now one night Sumuon was lying in wait behind the house of Sumuon. There he suddenly heard singing and then saw an arm coming running with a human being. Sumuon quickly gulped down the human. As often as he sang a limb came running with a human being. Sumuon memorized the chant and sang it himself. The arm came with a human being. Sumuon quickly opened his basket. The arm jumped in with the human being. Then Sumuon swiftly closed the basket. In this fashion he caught all the limbs of Sumuon in his basket.

¹ The name means as much as cripple.
The next day he went with the basket into the house of Sumuon, hung it up and sat down. He asked Sumuon, »Tell me, have you been born without arms and legs?« Sumuon replied, »Yes!« Soron wanted to know, »You don’t eat anything at all!« Sumuon answered, »No I only drink water.« Soron said to him, »Have a look up to the basket.« Then Sumuon looked more carefully and saw his limbs in the basket and four people. He screamed, »Give me back my arms and legs!« Soron, however, took his breadfruit knife and hacked Sumuon into pieces. Sumuon whimpered in pain until he was dead.

33. Koram,
(pelenfun)

A woman called Koram lived in Fenkol. She had a son and a daughter. However, she only loved her daughter, not her son. She sent him upriver. There he remained and lived because he was afraid of his mother. One day Koram went fishing on the reef. Then the girl called her brother,

»Tu fokfok mä lenan, Ketuan matäta otena!«

The brother replied,

»Na motakol Koram! Koram as iä?«

The sister shouted,

»Suksuk o jeir, koakoa o jipan¡«

Then the brother came down and the siblings talked and played together. Then the sister gave him to eat, whatever there was. When he had finished eating, he returned. They continued in this way a few days. Finally Koram realized that in her absence the food was always running low. Therefore, one day she was hiding with her fishing nets in the vicinity of the house. Then the daughter was again calling the son. Now the mother knew who always ate all the food.

The next day Koram sent her daughter fishing and remained at home. Then she called her son with the same words, as her daughter had done. He came down into the house, but only found his mother there. She scolded him, held him fast, beat him to death and ate him. When the daughter returned she noticed some blood on her mother’s chin and she asked her where it came from. »Oh,« replied Koram, »this is the blood of rats. I killed a rat and ate it.« Then her daughter gave her some panak-shells and asked her, »Can you also eat these shells?« Koram replied, »Yes!« and devoured the shells. Then the girl asked, »can you eat this ko?« Kram replied, »Yes!« and gulped it down. Her daughter asked, »Can you also eat me?« Koram answered her, »No, you are my daughter, you are the only one I cannot eat.« However, the daughter begged her, »Oh please do eat me!«
Then the mother also ate her. In the body of the mother the two siblings met. They took the panak-shells and the ko and cut their mother’s body open so that she died. They however, came outside and lived. They made an hum and cooked their mother and tried to eat her. She however tasted very bitter so that they could not eat her.

34. Morpal.
(pelenfun)

A man called Morpal lived in Nefalil. His wife had died. He buried her in his graveyard. Then he went with his son out in front of the reef to have a look at his fish trap. When the father dived down into the sea a sus came flying to the boy, »Come I am your mother, come with me to the grave yard.« The mother had loved her son very much, while the father preferred his daughter. The son started screaming because he wanted to go to his mother. This was the moment when his father surfaced and asked his son, »Why are you screaming?« The son feared his father, because he was not interested in him and he replied, »a fish in the canoe has bitten me. When they had returned home the father cooked and then everybody ate. The father gave his daughter all the big taro, yams, breadfruits, and fish. He gave his son, however, only the smallest of all because he did not love him. Yet, the boy did not eat any of what the father had given him, because he did not want to have the bad food.

The next day, both went out again in order to have a look at the fish trap. The father dived down, but he resurfaced again on the other side of the canoe behind his son. He wanted to observe him and waited to find out why his son had screamed. He did not believe that a fish had bitten him. Once again the sus came flying and said to the boy, »Come with me to the shore!« Then it flew again towards the coast. Again the boy started crying, he wanted to go to his mother. The father had seen the bird and had heard what it said. Then he also knew that the bird was his wife. He surfaced on the other side of the canoe and asked, »Why are you crying?« The boy replied, »A big fish has bitten my hand, when I touched it.« The father told him, »Be good, the fish is yours.«

When they came home and Morpal had finished cooking, he changed his love and gave the best to his son and the smallest and baddest to his daughter. The son however spurned the food, because he knew his father did not love him.

The boy said to his sister, »Make me a new loin cloth and a head wrath from pasok-flowers.« He built a kite. When the sister had everything ready, he decorated himself with it and went to his mother’s grave.
And flew the kite there while he sang,
Ronkosa jeje, ronkosa wowo!
Kum tuji?Liää selonunjo? { twice
Kum liää funsuon
Kuk palpal natik hoilono?
Tu liää liää! Tu liää, liää, tu liää!« { twice
Translation:
»Ronkosa hey! Ronkosa hallo!
Where are you? See me and listen to me! { twice
Can you see the tip of my kite high up there?
Get up, look, look! Get up, look, look, Get up, look!« { twice

When the girl heard the chant of her brother she said to her father, »Listen to the brother singing!« The father did not want to believe it. When his son sang for the second time, the father heard it and followed the singing. He came to the graveyard and saw only the boy’s head jutting out from his mother’s grave. The mother pulled her son down to her. The father hurried there in order to pull his son up. However, he only managed to grab the hair, his son had disappeared. Then Morpal tried to dig a hole in order to find his son. But while he was digging there, it sounded from a third place. Then everything was quiet and Morapl no longer knew where to look for his son. Sad, he returned home, took his daughter and lashed her to a post of the house. When she cried Morapl said to her, »Do not cry we want to die together and go to my son!« He set his house on fire and died with his daughter in the flames.

335. Nitoto.
(pelenfun)

A man by the name Toto and his wife Nitoto lived in Lölö in the place Löpa in Lük. They had a son called Oaeto. One day Toto sailed with Oaeto to Kiol and Wukat to go fishing for 4 days. Nioto was near to giving birth. She was waiting all the time for the return of her husband, who was supposed to help her with giving birth. She also thought constantly of her son, because she feared that misfortune would befall him. Thus, she gave birth to a child. Mother and child died. The mother turned into a spirit and jumped into a basket and followed both of them to Wukat. Father and son were fishing there. Then the spirit sang:

»Oaeto, Oaeto, Tototo, Tototo.
Muaremo unio uni Mara.
Kasan posa tantan hän Sapulpul
Hän Sarofo hän Kafofo take Sovelik.«¹

The boy heard the chant and his name and told his father. He, however, replied, «This is nonsense we are all alone here.« The basket came closer and the spirit chanted again. The boy asked the father, »Do you hear it now?« The father replied frightened, »Yes, pull in the fishing line and let us paddle away from the basket. I think your mother died and and her spirit is coming back.« They quickly left for the islands Matanial, but the basket came even faster to Matanial from the other side. The spirit went into the house and burned there like a big fire. When both of them arrived they saw the fire and asked each other, »What is this?« The father said, »Did the spirit arrive earlier?« They did not dare go on shore and stood in the canoe.« The spirit called that they should come on shore and into the house. They fearfully followed. The spirit called the boy. He was very much afraid. However the spirit said, »Come here I am your mother!« The boy went to her and the spirit took him and kissed him many times. The father sat down and in the meantime prayed to Sensunän², that he should free him from the ghost and should save them, so that the ghost could not devour them. The boy said, »Mother, I have to go outside to shit.« But the spirit said, »Shit here into my hand.« The boy did not want to do that and asked again. The spirit replied, »Shit on my leg.« The boy did not want to do that and asked again. The spirit answered, »No, shit into my mouth.« The boy said, »No, I don’t want to do that, let me go outside. I come back quickly.« The spirit said, »Good, go and come back quickly.« When the boy went outside, the father swiftly took his hand and both ran away and hurriedly paddled to Lóló. When they turned around they saw a high column of fire over Wukat. When they passed by Siliat they saw the column of fire over Mälsö. It followed them speedily. When they came to Funfukoa the father asked the spirit Silkiak³ to save them from the ghost. Silkiak promised to help them. When the ghost came to Funfukoa Silkiak killed her. In the meantime, father and son quickly went home. When they entered the house they both fell down and died.

36. Banlik and Banias.
(pelenfun)

Banlik and Banias lived in Funpolo in Utua, a little bit up the stream from the mouth of the river. Their mother died and they buried her. The following night they went fishing with torches. When they were looking for fish on the reef, the dead body of their mother, wrapped in mats, came floating towards them. This disturbed them. They took the bundle and threw it away. But it came back to them. Once again they threw it away. But it was in vain. Then they became angry, they opened the mats and beat the

¹ The natives were no longer able to provide a translation. Obviously it is a lament and accusiation. »You have killed me and my child Mara and you did not hear my laments.«
² Compare p. 416.
³ Compare p. 414.
arms and legs off the body. They took them home and made a hum in order to cook and eat them. However, the woman’s now jumped like a fish until it came to the house. While it sprang it sang.

»Selälä muän Banlik Baniase
Läsäla niko koko po kâ
Na sususk kepäl.«

I always look for them.«

When the body came to the house, it sang once again. Banlik and Banias were shocked and closed the doors on all 4 sides of the house. The body jumped to each door, though found all closed. Thus, it jumped in through the opening in the gable. The two men were rigid with fright. The body said, »Where are my two arms and my two legs? You took care of my body on land, therefore I wanted to care for you in the water and wanted to point out that you were fishing in an inappropriate time.« The two men were still completely rigid with fright, they opened the hum and gave the body its arms and legs back. It attached them again and then said, »You cut off my arms and legs and wanted to eat them. Now I am going to kill and eat you.« The woman killed both of them and devoured them.

37. Kainuären. According to KRÄMER.

A young man, called Kainuären, loved a girl from another island, with the name Julakanlanar. They had never seen each other, but for a long period of time they had sent each other messages. One day, the young man went himself to her and he took a cripple (fukä) with him. In the darkness they reached the girl’s island. Kainuären sent the cripple ashore in order to test the girl. The cripple took a stick with him, placed it on the house and sang,

»Na mäna Kainuärenenuären
Lakanlanar sapsap ma
Nasik na kusa
Jojä lasän oa Lakanlanar.«

I am Kainuären, listen!
Lakanlanar sent a message
to me to Kusae

The people inside replied,

»Fusa fusa oe lom se mäto!«
»Prince, prince! Go to the next house.«

The cripple went to next house. He sang the same and received the same reply. Only in the last house he got the reply,

»Utiak! Na inä! — »Come in I am here!«

The girl believed it was Kainuären. She called the cripple inside and slept with him a few hours. Kainuären waited impatiently on the canoe for the return of the cripple. However, he had crawled down into the place where the stinking breadfruit was kept, so that nothing could be smelled on him. Kainuären asked
him what he had done. He replied, »I had no luck, because I did not find the girl.« Kainuären said, »Stay here, I will look for her myself.« He went around just like the cripple with a pole and sang the same chant. People answered him, »Kainuären was already here!« He replied, »Fukä is my brother, I sent him to look for Julakanlanar!« In this way he also arrived at the last house. The girl gave the same answer just like the other houses, »Kainuären was already here.« The young man went inside to her and lay down next to her. But she constantly fought him off. Thus, he waited until daybreak. Then the girl saw him and because he was beautiful she fell in love with him and wanted to hug him. He stood up and took his many bracelets off and said, »These are for the female caretaker!« Then he left. She ran after him and grabbed him by his belt. But the young man cut through it, so that she had the belt in her hand. She, however, did not give up. When he stepped into the boat and wanted to paddle away, she held his paddles until he gave them up. When he took another paddle she held on tight to the prow. He hit it off with the paddle. Now she clung to the different parts of the canoe. But he beat them off. Now she could not do anything else than resort to magic. She changed into a beautiful oran-flower, which was in the water on the bow of the canoe. The canoe passed it. So she changed into a koja-flower, but the canoe passed it. She changed into all sorts of sweet smelling flowers. The canoe passed all of them. Finally, she changed into a pasok-taro, from the red fruits of which people make necklaces with coconut ribs (pasok malmal). The cripple said, »Why don’t we pick some fruits?« and he took a corm and placed it under the balbal.

When they came to Kusae they pulled the canoe up and went into the house. Kava was prepared. Kainuären told the cripple to fetch water. When he passed the canoe, he saw a beautiful woman in it. Then he ran back and reported it to Kainuären. This went to her and asked, »Are you a spirit or a human being?« The woman replied, »I am a human being, don’t you see this?« So Kainuären took her with him in his house and lived with her. The next day people prepared a lot of food. Kainuären sat in the cooking house and servants brought food to the woman. The day after, when the cook opened the earth oven they could not find the plate. The servant had taken it into the dwelling house, however it was no longer there. Therefore, Kainuären hid in the dwelling house and observed how his wife ate. This was when he saw that she gulped down all the food together with the basket. Now he knew that she was a spirit. He returned to the cooking house and from there went to the dwelling house and said to his wife, she should come bathing with him. The woman scraped some coconut and filled the scraped material into some coconut baste. In the meantime Kainuären prepared a spear. When they went down to the beach to bath, the woman asked, »What do you want with the spear?« he replied, »I want to spear fish.« When they were at the water she said, »Sit down in it.« Kainuären though replied, »You go first.«
The woman replied, »You.« Thus, he dived down into the water and when he resurfaced he said, »Now you dive.« When the woman went underneath the water he stuck the spear into her neck and held her under water so that she drowned. Then he went home.

5. About Love and Other Things.

38. Suicide of two brothers.

(samsam)

Two brothers lived in Mâlo\(^1\). They had a sister, who lived in Matante. One day, the girl played on the sandy beach of Matante, where a spring called Unon is located. That was when the King passed by in his canoe. When he saw the girl, he killed her, because it was the time of »tan-pasok«. He left the girl lying there and continued on his trip to Lölö. A short time later, the two brothers of the girl played in their house in Mâlo. Then the people outside said, »Why are you playing here? Look for your sister. She is dead. Somebody killed her.« Subsequently, the 2 brothers ran to Matante and found their sister lying dead on the beach. They took the corpse and brought it in front of the house in Matante, where the girl had lived. Then they hurried after the King and reached him in Pikisik. They had a basket in which they had hidden their ta. They ran down to the canoe on the reef. Somebody in the canoe shouted, »Oh, is seems there are two tan-pasok men coming who want to go with us. The canoe stopped. Each of the brothers stood at one end of the outrigger and held it. They asked, »Where is the canoe going?« The King replied, »Why do you want to know where we are going?« Then the two grabbed the outrigger and flipped the canoe upside down, so that all the people inside were under the canoe. Then, when one after the other surfaced, they cut off their heads, also the one of the King. Then they returned to Matante and buried their sister. Afterwards they went into the mountains, taking a dog along. At the edge of the ravine of the Matante-River they stopped. They kindled a fire, the remains of the ashes can still be seen today, they cooked the dog and ate it. Then both stepped to the edge of the ravine, held each other’s hands and jumped over.\(^2\)

39. Salik and Alan.

(samsam)

A man called Saot from Täfojat had a wife in Nefalil. They lived in Nefalil. One day they had a fight and the woman ran away from him. The man built a fish trap and caught many fish with it. These he distributed among all the women who went fishing and thus filled their fishing baskets. When Nisaot heard that her husband

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\(^1\) Region in Wukat.  
\(^2\) Compare p. 420.  
\(^3\) Breadfruit opener.  

\(^4\) They committed suicide, in order to evade the revenge of the royal family.
always caught a lot of fish, she regretted having left him. She returned to him and lived again together with him.

One day both of them went to Täfojat and left their sons Salik and Alan at home. They remained a few weeks in Täfojat. One evening Saot and his wife made coconut torches, in order to catch fish in the lagoon. They crossed the deep water to the reef by swimming. Saot swam first and waited for his wife. When she arrived swimming he speared, her pushed her under, until she drowned. Then he swam back to Täfojat. When he stepped into the house, his mother, who guessed what he had done, said, »Why did you not listen to me! Where is your wife?« He replied, »I killed her.« He picked up the body, wrapped it in a mat, tied four loincloths around it, and buried it. He built a fence made of reed around the grave.

Some times later the King ordered his people to cut wood on the southern side of Ualang, for a new house for him. Nefalil-people built a raft in order to carry the wood on it to Lölö. Salik and Alan played on the raft, running up and down. Thus, the men angrily said to them, »Why are you playing here and do not take revenge for what Tafojat did to your family?« The younger one drew the attention of the older brother and said, »Did you hear what people said?« Both went on the raft along the western coast of Ualang towards Lölö. People stayed over night on the island Matanial. The next day, when the raft passed the island Pisin they both jumped ashore. They looked over to Tafojat. There, high on the mountain slope, a lot of smoke was rising. They asked the reason of this. People replied them that people were cooking there. Saot, together with many men, had gone for several days into the mountains to work there. The women had remained down in their houses. So the two young men went over to Tafojat to Saot’s mother. She asked them where they came from and what their plans were. They replied that they were from Matante and had come in order to pick āsōt-fruits to make oil from them.¹ The young men asked what the meaning of the fence next to house was. The woman replied, »A woman from Nefalil lies buried there. Saot brought her and had slain her.« Now the two of them asked for the path into the mountains. The woman showed them the way. The young men climbed up and found Saot with his men in a big cooking house. People asked them where they came from and what they wanted. They gave the same answer as before. The men had made a large hum. They gave the young men each a breadfruit and a breadfruit knife. They cut the breadfruit open in the fashion of Nefalil-men, but people paid no attention. The two young men said, »Oh, you do have good breadfruit knives. We would each like to have one.« People gave them each a knife as a present. When people finished eating and the sun had set, they lay down to sleep. The men had spread leaves onto the ground. Both

¹ Compare p. 154.
young men said, »Fetch some banana stems as neck support.« People followed their advice. Around midnight, when everybody was sleeping, the two got up and with their breadfruit knives cut off all the heads. In this fashion, they killed all the people in all the houses, which had been built up there. They left only one small girl alive. They sent her down into the village with the message about what had happened. They crossed the island to Fenkol. On the way they met an old man who asked them where they came from and what their plans where. They told him what they had done. »Good,« he said, »run away! I will see if I can stop the people.« Then the old man gathered a lot of throwing stones into many large heaps and fetched them there, too. The next morning, people from Tafojat passed by there. He asked them where they were going to. They told them about the action of the two young men and that they were on their way to Nefalil in order to take revenge. Then the old man said, »Yesterday many people from the southern coast were here. Have a look, they got everything ready for your welcome. When you did not come they returned to Nefalil.« When the Tafojat people heard about the many people who were waiting for them, they became afraid and returned home.

When the two young men came to Nefalil, they took a lot of top-roots, pounded them on a stone and pressed them into the leaf of a wild taro. Then they drank the poison, took each others hands and jumped down from a high rock. The rock is called Falenk.

40. Lapan-Finpukal.

Lapan lived in Finpukal. One day he was pounding coconut husks to make sennit cord. While working he hit one of his fingers, so that he was bleeding. He caught the blood in a taro leaf and hung it under the overhanging roof of his house. Then he went back and continued working. Suddenly, somebody in the leaf clicked his tongue. Lapan looked up but could see nothing. When something was clicking again he went there and opened the leaf. A girl was in it. Lapan was overjoyed and said to her, »You are my daughter.« He took her with him into his house, scraped a coconut and rubbed her entire body with it. Then he made her a bed on one wall. The girl had such beautiful long hair, that it reached the floor when she was lying on the bed.

Once people went from the western coast of Ualang to Lölö and in doing so they had to pass Lapan’s house. Then they saw in the house the beautiful girl with the shiny skin and the long hair. When they came to Lölö they told the King. He quickly left and went to Funpukal, in order to see the girl. He stepped into the house and remained with the girl and slept with her the whole night. The next morning, he returned to Lölö and said to his daughter, »Send for the girl in Funpukal, she should come to Lölö and play ipma\(^1\) with you.

\(^1\) See under games.
Lapan had two wives and when the King sent for the girl he sent them with her. All three stood at the big stone Ātinmäsik in front of the King’s compound. The girl just had her menstruation.¹ The daughter of the King went to the beach and had oranges in her hand, which she rolled to the three women. As the girl was unwell, she did not roll the oranges back, but standing upright, she threw them back. Doing this she caught the King’s daughter in such an unlucky way, that she fell and was dead. The King asked, »Why are the girls no longer playing?« He sent a female servant down to look at the girls. She came back and told the King that his daughter had been hit by an orange and had fainted. Lapan’s daughter hurried into the water, wet her long hair, and wrang it out over the breast of the King’s daughter. This made her alive again. However, the King once again sent a servant down and had the girl told that, as a punishment, she should go to another island and fetch a loom for the queen from there.

Therefore, the three women returned to Funpukal. The girl told her father what had happened. He asked her in what canoe she wanted to sail. The girl said, »I will not take a canoe, I will take the stem of a banana, cut it in half and bind both halves into a raft.« This she did and sailed away with the two women. Because of this her father lay down in the house, covered himself with a mat and cried, as his daughter and his women were gone. The three women went to the island Nasik. The father had told his daughter that he had relatives there and that she should sail to them and have them give her a loom. When the women came to Nasik, they remained on their raft. An old women, a relative of Lapan, saw them on the beach. They asked her to fetch a loom. The woman left and brought a loom and a bundle of ribs from coconut leaves. All this she gave to the girl. Then they returned to Kusae.

In Kusae, they landed on the place on the reef called Nao. In front of Lapan’s house, a black stone was situated on the path, which was not evenly placed. Before the departure from Kusae the daughter had stepped on it causing a sound. During her absence nobody was allowed to step on it. When the girl returned, she stepped on the stone and he gave a sound, which her father heard in the house. All the time he had been sick and had rested under his mat. Now, however, he jumped up, hugged his wives and his child and cried with joy. The daughter took the loom to the King in Lölö. She stepped in front of him without showing him any respect. She threw the loom in front of his feet and said, »Here is the loom which I was supposed to fetch.« Then she returned home. The King was really furious about her behavior. He sent some servants to Funpukal with the order to kill the girl. This the servants did. So Lapan called his two wives into the house, set it on fire and jumped into the flames.

¹ Therefore the name of the stone; »stone of the menstruation«.
41. Löpan-Läs.

Löpan-Läs live in Läs. Once upon a time he took a coconut husk, which had been watered and beat it with a pounder on a stone, in order to make sennit cord. In doing this he hit one of his fingers so that he bled. He took a taro leaf, let the blood drop in there and hung it his house. While doing so he was thinking, I wish my blood would change into a child. Löpan-Läs had neither wife nor child. Then he went back and continued beating his coconut husk. Suddenly, somebody called from the house, »Father!« Löpan-Läs asked, »Who is calling?« It replied, »Me!« Löpan-Läs asked again, »Who are you?« It replied, »Me! You have hung me here in the house in a taro leaf.« He went into the house and there was a girl in the taro leaf. She jumped down. Löpan-Läs was very happy, he went to fetch the beaten coconut fibers and hung them in his house to dry. Then he sat down and twisted cord. His daughter went outside to the lagoon in order to wash there. Just at this time Nikon and his pala were fishing out in the open ocean. When Nikon pointed to a trace of oily water, which floated from the lagoon to the open sea he asked, What is this? The pala replied, »The daughter of Löpan-Läs is bathing on the beach. Then Nikon asked, »Could we kidnap her?« — »Yes!« — »Now?« — »Yes!« They went into the lagoon and ashore to grab the girl, whom they brought on board the canoe. Nikon went into the house of Löpan-Läs, rammed a ko1 into the floor, seized the old man and pushed him on top of the ko, so that the ko protruded out of his neck and Löpan-Läs died. Then Nikon cut the liver from his body, wrapped it with a taro leaf, and went to the canoe, where the daughter of Löpan-Läs and the pala were waiting. King Nikon took the girl to Lölö into his house and in the evening he slept with her. When the queen entered the house she found the two lying there. »Where does this female come from?« she asked. Nikon lied and replied, »I found her on the way and took her with me, I want to make her my daughter.« To this the queen replied, »If you want to make her your daughter this is fine. However, if you want to make her your wife, I will not tolerate this.« At night Nikon slept in-between the two women.

The next morning the girl had given birth to a boy. The Queen said to the boy, »Go and make yourself a top from a pana-fruit.« The boy went into the cooking house to fetch a pana-fruit. Then he played with the other boys. Then the King came into the cooking house to see the pala and said to him, »Give the cook the liver of the komokut-fish and let us cook them for breakfast.« The cook placed the liver wrapped into a taro leaf onto the hum. Then the liver began to sing,

»Säkläoaï Säkläoaï!« Säkläoaï Säkläoaï!
Na na na Läpan-Läs Nikon lasejä Nikon speared me, me, me, Läpan-Läs.

1 Stick to husk coconuts.
Kusa söpö näl ninap ma

Aö Nikon nekal.«

The boy heard the chant and told his mother what he had heard in the cooking house. Thus, the girl said, »It is better we look after my father.« They went towards the north around Ualang to Läs. When they arrived at their two houses the mother said to her son, »Go into the second house where the grandfather lives. I just want to pick some flowers for my ear.« The boy went into the house, but could not see anybody but the impaled dead body of Löpan-Läs. He ran back to his mother and told her, »I did not see anybody only something that looked like a dead human being.« The mother replied, »Do not be so silly, go and call into the house!« He went and called into the house, but nobody came outside. The only thing he saw was the body. He again returned to his mother and told her. Now they both went there. This was when the woman saw the corpse of her father. She screamed loudly and said to her son, »Yes. You are right, our father is dead.« Now she knew that King Nikon had killed him and she understood the chant of the liver. This was when she decided to die with her child. She fastened him to a post of the house and set fire to the house. The flames shot quickly up. Now King Nikon came running at full speed. Once he heard where his new wife had gone, he ran after her in order to restrain her. But in the moment he tried to touch her she jumped into the flames and died.

42. Kufurikota.

A woman named Linäsak lived with her son Kufurikota in the place Joonrak in Läap. One night the inhabitants of Läap were dancing and the son asked his mother if he could go there and watch. However, the mother said, »No, if you go there people will kill you.« The next night the son asked again. As the mother did not answer he went there and hid behind the big cooking house where the people were dancing again. He watched. When the dance had ended he went home. The mother asked him how it had been and if he could remember the chants. The son replied, »Yes.« Now the mother asked him to go there again. In this way he watched the dance for six nights. When he watched for the sixth night, he heard the people say that now they were ready to go to Lölö to the King. The next morning people went to Lölö. The son asked the mother to make him a head wreath form känlak-flowers. The mother sent him off to pick up the flowers. She made him a garland and told him he should go to Lölö in the evening. The boy was a beautiful human being. The mother knew this and loved him very much. Therefore, she only wanted to let him go at night, so that nobody could harm him. In the evening, the young man made a walking stick from reed and went on his way to Lölö. He was hiking along the northern shore of Ualang. Everywhere people were delighted because of his beauty.
and liked him. In Läs people broke off a piece from his reed stick in order to have a memory of the beautiful young man. In Wukat, Tafonsak, Matante, Sialat Pikisik people did the same. In Pötak a girl called Kümal called him into her house because she loved him very much. She spread out a mat and asked him to lie down on it. She lay close to him and they played together and loved each other half the night. Then the young man said, «Wait for me here. I will go to Lölö to see the dance. When I come back I will take you as my wife to my place.

When the young man came to Lölö, people from Lääp just started to dance in front of the King’s cooking house. Kufurikota joined them and danced with them. All the chiefs and all the people from Lölö looked at him and said to each other, «Oh, what a beautiful man, how beautiful is his body and how shiny his skin!» The King heard about him and came down to see him. He daughter developed a burning love from him. The King said to his men, «Hold this man, he shall become my daughter’s husband.» However, when they tried to catch Kufurikota, he ran away and all the way to Pötak to the girl. He stayed with her. The King’s daughter asked her father to allow her to follow the man, together with some women, in order to bring him back. The King gave her 30 to 40 young girls to accompany her. With them she was supposed to look for her lover. The girls walked around the island to Lääp. Kufurikota said to Kümal, «If people from Lölö are coming looking for me then join them and walk as last in line. I will be waiting at the black stone in Mot and will take you with me. Kümal joined the Lölö girls when they passed by. Kufurikota waited at the black stone in Mot, which is named after him. When the girls passed by there he, unnoticed, took the last one, Kümal, and ran back with her to Pötak. The others continued hiking along the beach to Likinlölam without finding Kufurikota. They then returned by the path at the foot of the mountain. In this fashion they also came to the house of Kufurikota’s mother, who was inside. They surrounded the house and set fire to it.

In the meantime Kufurikota was with Kümal in Kümal’s house. Kümal was lying with her head on his upper thigh and he played with her. In this moment a spark flew onto his thigh. Kufurikota said to Kümal, «Come, stand up, a spark flew on my leg. I think it is coming from my mother’s house. It seems the women have set fire to it. I quickly want to have a look.» He rose and hurried home. Kümal followed him. He found his mother’s house still in flames and jumped in the middle of the flames in order to die with his mother. When Kümal saw this she jumped after him and died with them.

When the King’s daughter returned to Lölö she soon heard about the death of her beloved one. Then she cried hard and was very sad. She got so sick and nothing could cure her. Her sickness became more and more serious and she died from it.
A man called Lepan-Mät from Nᶠᵃᶠᵃˡⁱᶠ lived with his grandson on the mountain slope of Tᵃᶠᵒ𝐣ᵃᵗ. Once Oful went down to the beach. He was a beautiful young man. There he met some young women from Lölö, female workers of the Queen¹, who wanted to collect fuloful-fruits for the preparation of black color. The women saw the beautiful young man and were talking about him. When they came back to Lölö they told the Queen about the beautiful young man. When she heard this, she decided to go the next day with the women to Tᵃᶠᵒ𝐣ᵃᵗ. On the following day they sailed there. They again met the young man. The Queen walked up to him and went with him into the bushes. The women waited for her to return, then they went back to Lölö.

From now on the Queen went every day to Tᵃᶠᵒ𝐣ᵃᵗ. She also took dogs with her. The King noticed her frequent visits to Tᵃᶠᵒ𝐣ᵃᵗ. One day he ordered all men from Tᵃᶠᵒ𝐣ᵃᵗ to Lölö in order to make a new floor from reed in his house. All came and each carried a bundle of reed on their heads. The walked along the beach and across the island Pisín to Lölö. Oful was walking as the last in line and carried only one piece of reed. When they came to the place Marâkã, a young girl who liked the young man teasingly took his reed away. Oful took another one, but once again a young girl took it away from him. In this fashion it continued all the way to the house of the King. There they all sat down, Oful as the last one. Now the Queen’s dogs came running and full of joy jumped up on him. Now the King knew why the Queen went so often to Tᵃᶠᵒ𝐣ᵃᵗ. He called a servant and said, »Go down and tell Oful he should immediately go home and leave Kusae.« When Oful arrived home his grand father asked him, »Is the work already finished?« — »No, not yet. The King ordered me to leave Kusae.« The grandfather told him, »Go and fetch some top², crush it and go down to the hole in the river and poison some ton-eels.« Oful did as his grandfather had told him. When the eels of the hole came to the surface he waited until a very big one came, and took it. His grand father told him, »Cook it and eat it!« When he had eaten it his grandfather said, »Now vomit all up.« Oful vomited all onto a leaf. Now his grandfather told him, »Now you eat up everything again.« Oful did that. »Now you can go, Go to Ponpe! There I have relatives. Go to them but you have to talk very fast. If you speak slowly you will turn into a stone.«

Oful left for Ponpe and went ashore there to the relatives of his grandfather. However, he talked too slowly and immediately turned into a stone, which is still standing in Ponape and which is called Oful.

¹ Called matan foko. ² Fish poison.

Nelik lived in Suansik at the place Fol. Once he built a new dwelling house and when it was finished he walked around the island in order to look for a wife. When he came to Täf he went into the cooking house and heard that in the dwelling house a girl lived who had just given birth to a child. He went there and took the child into his arms and, for a long period of time, he watched it in front of the house. When nobody was looked he ran away with the child. In Mälem people asked him, »From where did you pick up the girl? She is still far too small to be your wife!« he said to the child, »Nelikie, do you hear what people say? When you are big enough you will be my wife.« In Piljoil people also asked him, »From where did you pick up the girl? She is still far too small to be your wife!« Once again he said to the child, »Nelikie, do you hear what people say? When you are big enough you will be my wife.« In Tenuak this was repeated. Suddenly the girl jumped down from his arm and was able to walk, Thus, she quickly grew. She walked with him, as if she was his wife. He always only called her Nelikie. In Fenef people said again, »From where did you pick up the girl? She is still far too small to be your wife!« Nelik said to the child, »Nelikie, do you hear what people say? The girl replied, »Yes,« Finally they arrived at his house. He opened it and took the girl inside with him. He said to her, »You stay here in the house, I will close the doors and will go and fetch some breadfruit. While he went to fetch breadfruit, two cooks of the King sailed on the other side of Lölö-Harbor in order to fetch wild taro leaves to cover the hum with. The girl had opened the doors again. She had taken the warping bench and sat in front of the house. She was just about to make the warp. She had grown considerably and was very beautiful. Her skin was shiny and glowed. This was when the two cooks saw the girl. Upon their return they just talked in the cooking house about the beauty of the girl when the King was about to enter it. When he heard them talking he hid behind the house and listened to them. Then he came towards them and asked, »What are you talking about?« They answered, »About a girl in Uan, who is very beautiful.« The King replied, »Bring me over there I want to take a bath in the river.« He sailed to Uan and to the girl. This one had, at that time, her menstruation and ate hi-fruits. The King sat next to her and took the hi-fruits out of her hand and wanted to eat it, too. However the girl admonished, »This is not good for you! You are the King, I am only a lowly girl.« The King replied, »Come with me, we will go to Lölö, you shall be my wife.« When they were in the middle of the harbor Nelik saw the canoe from the mountain and recognized the people in it. So he knew that the King was about to abduct his wife. He hurried home, set his house on fire, jumped into the flames, and died.

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1 In the manner of the natives this is actually told with much more detail.
2 They talked purposefully about it, so that the king would hear about the girl.
45. Pelenfun.

45. A Fairy Tale.
A woman and a man had 2 sons. Once the couple went fishing. Both children stayed at home. The man and the woman stepped into the canoe. The man dived into the sea to pick up the fish from his fish trap. He had forbidden his wife to fall asleep. But she did not listen to him and slept. She slept and while doing so she immersed her hand into the water. A wake was created by this that ran all the way to Nikon and his pala. Nikon asked the pala, »From where does the wake come from?« The pala replied, »It comes from the woman Lapannaes. Nikon asked, »Can we still reach her if we paddle there?« He answered, »We will just reach her in time.« They went there. The woman sat in the canoe, the man was still in the depth. Thus, they flipped the canoe around, took the woman and went away. When finally the man resurfaced he did not find any body. Nikon and the pala had kidnapped the woman. The man sailed to the beach. Here, both his sons played in a noisy way. He scolded them, »Why are you playing and not looking for your mother?« When the two boys heard this, they went away to fell all the trees and to look for a light trunk. They felled a sesan-tree, as it is very light. From it, with the help of an adze they fashioned a bird. When this had been accomplished, they looked for feathers from all birds and stuck them in it. Now they asked their father to throw it into the air. It flew up but fell down again. Thus they said, »The feathers of 2 birds are still missing, from the süs and from the teram. They

In lem tokä el suful som koa. El fak: »Na fen som, muon si inä fen masünsäs komtäl sesäk in sok ma tuktuk.« Muon si mata. Matän si mata orek kosüs. Eltal oköla kakiä; telujä fen ipal. Matän si fak, »Koluk in muon si!« Eltal sufol okujö. Nal el nokak. El fak, »Oäna folin sefa si salu etal Lapannae.« Na taluk luo käsän na sel, »Kom taja?« Kitäla took suk kom. Päpä el nan ke kom, sap ketäl in suk kom. Ako kot som!» El oräni ma lal, san na in muona. Matän el fak na sin met lala, »Na fen som jojo muon si inä fen masünsäl, nearly finished the bird, loaded a coconut flask filled with perfumed oil and a bundle of panak-shells and asked their father to throw it into the air [with the boys inside]. They flew up and away. They met Nikon and pala who were fishing. Nikon asked pala, »What kind of a bird is over there?« The pala replied, »A bird of the land.« — »Hold the fish into the air!« — The pala did that. The bird came down and sat on the canoe. The pala gave it the fish to eat. Then Nikon asked him to throw the bird again into the air. It flew away. The two men paddled after it to the shore. When they landed it sat on the beach.

With the onset of night Nikon asked the bird where it wanted to sleep, and if he should bring it to the house nearby. Both boys in the bird negated by rattling the panak-shells. Nikon asked again if it wanted to stay in another house. It denied. Now he asked if it preferred to sleep on top of them and if it wanted to be placed there. Then the bird remained still.

The next day Nikon went fishing again. Before his departure he said, »If that bird is getting hungry during my absence, then throw it into the air, so that it can follow us in flight.« The bird stayed back. The woman was sitting there making threads for loom weaving. Then the two boys poured a bit from the coconut flask. It dropped on her upper thigh. The woman cried, »Yuk, you bad bird you!« However, they poured some more down. So she sniffed at it and said, »It smells exactly like the coconut oil made from Lapannae. Now the
two boys talked to her, »How are you doing? We have come to look for you. Father is longing for you and asked us to look for you. Get ready to leave!« Thus, the woman packed her belongings and put them inside the bird. Then she said to her people, »I am going bathing, if the bird over there is hungry throw it into the air, so that it can follow.« She went around the house, entered it, and stepped inside the bird. People came and threw it into the air. It flew up and away and reached Nikon and pala. Here it flew down and sat on the canoe. They fed it with fish. Then Nikon said to pala, »throw it into the air, it may fly ahead and we can paddle after it.« The pala threw it into the air. However the bird turned around and flew to Kusae. When it arrived in Kusae the two boys said to their father, »Here is our mother!« He prepared a feast, which was so bountiful that half of it was thrown away.

46. Löpanien-Jöla and Löpanien-Mot.

(Löpanien-Jöla and Löpanien-Mot were two brothers, one lived in Jöla the other in Mot. Each had a daughter called Näprak.

Once Löpanien-Jöla went to Mot. Löpanien-Mot had gone up the mountains to work. While he was there he heard the taro leaves rustle without there being any wind, Thus, he suspected that someone was pestering his wife. That night, Löpanien-Jöla slept with the wife of Löpanien-Mot. The next day Löpanien-Mot saw his brother and his man coming up the mountain. Then he knew that he had not been misled. When the two brothers met each other they greeted each other and Löpanien-Mot asked what Löpanien-Jöla wanted. This one replied, »I want a few seed taro.« Löpanien-Mot replied, »Good.« He gathered a bundle of seed taro. Then he said to Löpanien-Jöla, »Order your people to go home and to prepare a hum.« He went to pick up only two pieces of taro and two breadfruits
and two balls of furo. He prepared the furo, placed all into the hum and had it covered by the people of Löpanien-Jöla. Then he said to Löpanien-Jöla, »let your people prepare many baskets.« They made many baskets and while doing so talked to each other, »What are we supposed to make many baskets for? We only have two pieces of taro, two breadfruits and two furo balls?« When the hum was ready, people uncovered it. Löpanien-Mot took the food out and filled the first basket with it. Then he turned back to the hum and it was full of food again. So he filled the second basket and also the other ones. When all were full there were still two pieces of taro, two breadfruits and two furo balls in the hum. Then Löpanien-Mot said to Löpanien-Jöla, »Outside there are some seed taro for you, let your people take them with you.« The first man took a basket, went outside and took the bundle with seed taro. When the second came out, he found a new bundle in the same place. The same happened to all the other men and when the last had taken his bundle there was still one lying there. Now they went down the mountain towards the dwelling house of Löpanien-Mot, in order to transport everything down. Löpanien-Mot did not go with them because he was angry with his wife. When Löpanien-Jöla and his people were halfway down the mountain Löpanien-Mot wanted to prevent them going back to his house and his wife. He made menmen and erected a tall rock face in-between them and his dwelling house. When they came to the wall they said, »Oh, we did not come up here!« They went to the other side, directly to Jöla. The mountain with the rocky incline is still standing in Mot, it is called Fentutu.

Löpanien-Jöla and his people went home to the place Bättlä, in order to plant the senker there. During the night they stayed there in a house. Löpanien-Jöla made a bed for his daughter. He split the stem of a banana in two and lashed them together next to each other. At night it rained heavily. Without the mother noticing it, the child drifted away on her bed, down to the sea. The next morning Löpanien-Jöla started to look for his child. He found her still alive on her small bed drifting around a small island in front of Jöla. The father took the child and as he was angry because of the carelessness of his wife, he did not go home but went to Wukat. He and his daughter passed the construction site of a house. The men there laughed about the girl, because she did not wear a loin cloth yet. The father asked his daughter why the men laughed. She told him. Thus, Löpanien-Jöla made menmen and transformed the house to something like an umbrella over him and his daughter. In this fashion, they continued walking with the house. In Fenelof they met an old man called Krawuan, to whom Löpanien-Jöla said, »Here take the house for you.« They stayed there for one night. In this night people had gone fishing, but they came back without any fish. Then Löpanien-Jöla took a torch and went down to the beach. There the sea was full of fish. He took many of them and placed them on the beach. Then he went back and said to Krawuan, »Send your people down to pick up a few fish, which I
caught. «The men went down. Everything was full of fish, there were so many that it was impossible to bring them all into the house.

The next morning Löpanien-Jöla left without having eaten anything. He came to Jöl. He went to the house of the met-suk suk, Mota. Mota had gone fishing, only his wife was at home, weaving on the loom. Löpanien-Jöla and his daughter stood in front of the house in the sun. The woman saw them, however, she did not ask them in. Thus, Löpanien-Jöla took a small pebble and threw it against the house. The woman noticed it, but did not ask them in. Löpanien-Jöla repeated it, but no matter how often he threw pebbles the woman did not invite them into the house. Thus, when Mota came back from fishing he saw what was going on. He seized Löpanien-Jöla’s daughter by her hand and pushed them into the house. He grabbed his wife by her hair and threw her out. Then, took Löpanien-Jöla’s daughter as his wife. Löpanien-Jöla also remained here.

Löpanien-Mot heard that his brother had left his wife. He also had not gone back to his wife, rather he remained in the house on the mountain. Now he went over the mountains to Limes to his sister and he took his daughter with him. He remained here for a long time until he finally decided to return home. He lay down in a canoe and his daughter was paddling. They came to Mot and landed. Then he said to his daughter, »We want to dig a hole as deep as I am, I want to die.« They dug a hole and Löpanien-Mot jumped in. But the daughter said, »No, you should not stand, you should lie down. Come out, I will continue digging.« She made the grave longer. Then Löpanien-Mot lay down in it and his daughter covered him with earth. She cried doing it and turned her head once towards Lölö and once to the other side, as her father had instructed her. Then a sickness came and many people died.

47. Kasoa Nisäsa.

Kasoa Nisäsa lived in Sianef. She gave birth to a girl, who soon died. She did not bury it, but wrapped it in mats and hung it in her house until all the flesh had decomposed and only the bones remained. Then she took the bones down and on the same day prepared a big feast, where everyone was supposed to look at the bones. The King and all the relatives came. The bones were cleaned, wrapped in new mats and once again hung in the house. After the feast everybody returned to Lölö. The Queen closed the house and also returned with the King.

A woman in Fukil on Lölö had a son. When he was big enough to paddle a canoe he asked the mother. »Make me a small canoe.« That is when his mother gave him a small paddling canoe. Initially, the boy paddled in his canoe only in Fukil near the beach. The mother had forbidden him to go further away. However, the next day he went already to Jeme.¹ On the third day he went even further.

¹ Plot of land on Lölö.
all the way to Matansoaik. On the fourth day he went to Pisin. On the fifth day he even went to Suaneuf. There his outrigger broke just in front of the house, where the bones of a girl were hanging. He tried to attach the outrigger again. Then he heard a voice in the house. The bones had fallen down and become alive again and they called to the boy, »Come into the house! Pick a coconut and husk it for me.« The boy got a fright. Yet, the girl called, »Don’t be afraid!« The boy husked a coconut and brought it to the girl. Then both of them went to the beach with the coconut in order to bath there. The girl said, »You walk first into the water, I want to know what a beautiful body you have.« When the boy had cleaned himself and rose from the water he did not look beautiful. The girl said, »Wait, now I want to bathe. She rubbed coconut over herself, immersed in the water and cleaned herself. When she reemerged she had a beautiful body. Her skin was shining like lightning, like the sun. The boy was blinded by her glowing body, so that he fell down as if he was dead. Then the girl wrung her hair and let the water splash on the breast of the boy. From this he awoke again.

Then the girl said, »Come, we will go into the house!« They both went inside. The girl said, »You make a fire!« The boy took two sticks and made fire. The girl continued, »Take the fire, go and put fire to the last house.« The house belonged to the King. The boy did that. Some people ran to the King and told him. The King said to the Queen, »We want to go with the people to Soanef and see what has happened.« When they got there, they found them in the house where the bones of the girl had hung, and that she was alive again together with the boy. Then the King said to the boy, »You shall remain and live here and the girl shall be your wife and you shall have the land for yourself. I will still add some more land.« The King also gave the boy the regions Mäläm and Utua.


Näoa lived in Lölö. One day he saw Neker, a woman in Käbela. He frequently went to visit her. One day when he was counting coconuts for the Tokosa, it was taking too long and he therefore counted too fast. When he was finished he sailed to the woman. Beforehand, the woman had told him that he might not meet her, as she was thinking about going somewhere else, because people in her village

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1 Plot of land on Lölö.
2 The small island on the western end of Lölö, it now belongs to the mission.
3 Region in Uulang.
did not like her any more. Näoa had to brave a lot of storms and thunder and lightning during his search, therefore he could not find her. The woman had gone to Jöla, the place, which she had first mentioned. Here she lived in the swamp. Näoa continued looking and sniffed from house to house following his sense of smell. When he was in Jöla there was some lightning and he saw the woman standing by a tree. They both walked to Likinlölam together and remained there for some time. Then they asked the people there to dig a hole into the ground. They both lay down in it and asked the people to close the hole again. In this way they died together.

A daughter of both of them lived for a long time in Likinlölam. She was the only one who knew how to make Pingelapese mats, which she gave to people as presents. Therefore, Likinlölam knew how to make these mats.

49. Wonrak and Wonesän.
(pezelfun).

Wonrak and Wonesuan lived in Kesomä.¹ They heard about a koäkot-fish in Wukat-Harbor that devoured all people passing by. They went to Sänsik. There they found bal-medicine on a stone. They prepared it and drank it. Then they went to Matanial where they hit the water with sticks until the fish surfaced to eat them. Wonrak and Wonesuan had changed their names, they called themselves Kolik and Koläk. When the fish came they took a stick and pushed it vertically into the mouth of the fish, so that he could not close it any more. One of them now crawled into the fish and with a panak-shell cut it open from the inside, while the other one cut it open from the outside. In pain the fish jumped on the beach. When they had cut it open they found the body full of human bones. Now they took the fish with them to Läl, to the place Funsupap, where they showed it to the people. People gave the two men much food and fruits for what they had done.

Wonrak and Wonesuan then went to the south, around Ualang. When they came to Lääp a lot of cut wood was lying on the coast. The called out but nobody replied from the house. Thus, they made menmen, immediately the trees stood once vertically again as they had done before. When the people noticed this they came quickly and called the two back. Then they asked Wonrak and Wonesuan to cut off the trees again. The two once again made menmen. Immediately the trees fell down. Now they asked people from Lääp if they needed the trees for canoes. They gave an affirmative answer. In those days people from Lääp did not yet know how to build canoes. They felled the trees but left the upper end of the trunk and the thick branches attached to it and in this way hollowed them out. Wonrak and Wonesuan told them that they had to cut off all the branches and also the upper part of the trunk, and that they only had to hollow out the trunk.

¹ Region Jesin in Ualang.
Since then, people in Lääp build the canoes also only 4.5 to 5 fathoms long. Wonrak and Wonesän sailed home to Jesin.

50. Met-Pasek = »The Married Man.«

A man and a woman had been married for a long time and they lived together, however, they did not know about intercourse. Once the man said to his wife, »Climb on a pandanus tree and fetch some leaves.« This was when he spotted her vagina and he asked, »What is this? What do you have there? It looks like a red flower, like blood. Did you cut yourself?« The woman replied, »No, no, I have had that for a long time.« The man said, »I will go and will see to it, if somebody can heal this and then you can get medicine.« The woman replied, »Go to X and bring him, he shall bring medicine.« The husband went and brought the man. The man asked, »Where are you sick?« The woman said, »Come I will show you, come back into the sleeping room.« The husband remained in the living room. The woman showed the man her vagina. »Good,« he said, »I will heal it« — And he practiced intercourse with her. However, the woman started screaming. The husband in the living room asked, »What kind of medicine do you have? My wife is screaming in pain.« When the man had finished intercourse the husband asked again. The man replied, »Oh, the medicine is very good for I will heal her.« The next day the husband again sent for the man. In this fashion, it continued four days. Each time the man had intercourse with the woman. On the fifth day when his wife screamed again the husband looked over the partition wall and saw the man on top of his wife having intercourse. That was when he angrily chased the man away. Now he knew what for his wife’s wound was.

51. Lukan Kelafo. According to KRÄMER.

The tokosa had a toilet in the place Marako, a hole in the ground, surrounded by a wall. Lukan was hiding in the hole. When the tokosa did his business, Lukan took his breadfruit knife and cut his anus open, so that he died. The King had 7 more brothers. Now the next one became tokosa. Lukan did the same to him, so that he too died. The same happened to all the others. When the eighth was dead, they finally found Lukan in the hole. He ran away but people were able to catch him. He swam to Matanlik and ran down the coast to Koplō. There he went to the place Insemlem, where he stayed and hid. He lay down on a stone next to the river and fell asleep. Some people passed by in their canoe, they also saw the soles of his feet but did not investigate further. Lukan then continued to Lukaneka. There lived an old woman called Marra. She made some magic for him, by rubbing his skin with medicine and sent him to the top of a small hill, Kapen Lukaneka. Everyone was looking for him, but nobody could find him. They asked the old woman if she had seen him, yet she negated it. However, when they questioned her more urgently she
betrayed him. Then they sent a girl to him, with the message to come down. When he came people told him that that from now on he would be the tokosa. The girl made a necklace from shell beads for him. She hung it around his neck and said to him, »I hope you will remember me when you are King.« Lukan went to Lölö and became King. Often he sent food and presents to the girl. After some time she died and he went with all the people to her funeral and had a beautiful burial compound, a big »pot falat« built for her. Then he returned.

52. Nikenie.

A woman called Nikenie lived in Täf. She had her house on the place Inpösäl. Once she was sitting in front of her house at her warping bench making a warp. Her 10 children played ip ma. In the course of this an orange hit the warping bench so that the leg broke off. The mother really scolded her children. Then they each took a piece of Hibiscus wood and swam out to the reef in order to drown themselves there. The last boy was a squinter. He grabbed a leaf from the sal-tree, which floated towards him, held it into the air and said, »I wish the leaf would become a tree on which I could rest.« Then the leaf turned into a tree, which grew all the way to heaven. The first of the boys quickly climbed up, as well as the second, the third and all the others. Each sat on a branch. The squinter sat on the last and lowest branch. Then all of them started to sing,

Kana jeje, Kana wowo
Na me na Maniala
Malema Milämilä
Milä Samoa
Samoa rä Kanajä
Ik salsal kom âne jë?
Sinouls sola, tolinoul sola.

Kanna heissa, Kana hallo!
I am going to Maniala (?)
Malema Milämilä (?)
Milä Samoa (?)
Samoa (?) Kanajä
Black fish where are you swimming to?
Ten are jumping, thirty are jumping.¹

When the song was finished the first brother, Sikanaijä, jumped into the ocean. A shark came and devoured him. Afterwards all jumped into the sea, one after the other. Sharks came and ate them all. However, the squinter remained sitting and started to sing the song once again. In the open ocean in front of the reef the father of the boys, Niken, was fishing. He was a chief and was with a met pala. Niken noticed an oily trace in the water, which stemmed from his sons, which had been eaten by sharks. He asked the pala: »What is this?« — The pala replied, »Your sons have been eaten by the shark.« Niken continued to ask, »Can we save them?« The pala answered, »Yes!«

They started paddling and saw the last boy on the tree and heard him sing. When he had finished he also jumped into the water. His father quickly held the

¹ The natives could not give any meaning for the names. If Samoa is the island group Samoa?
paddle into the ocean. It was caught in his hair and they pulled him out. However the son cried, »Let me die with Sikanajä and my other brothers!« The father replied, »No, I will hold you tight! I do not want to lose all my sons!« He brought his son to ashore. There, he asked the mother, »Why did all my sons go in to the ocean to be eaten by sharks?« The mother told him. When she finished the father took two taro leaves and sailed out to sea. He asked all the fish if they had eaten his sons and said, »Each of you give me a piece from my sons, the rest you can keep. While the sharks admitted to have eaten his sons, all the other fish denied it. The foul-fish did not even answer, although he had eaten from it. Therefore, the father hit him with his foot into the side, so that blood was splashing. He caught the blood in the taro leaves. All the sharks gave him pieces of the eaten sons. These pieces he also placed into the taro leaves. Now Niken returned and buried the pieces, which he had received, together with the blood in the taro leaves. The next day he went to the grave and unearthed a part of it, in order to look for them. It was just a heap of maggots. On the third day he went there again, then the maggots looked like centipedes. The next day the maggots looked like mice. The next day he went there again. All nine boys were alive and jumped out of the grave. They went into the house to their parents. These were so overjoyed that they fell down dead.

53. Soron.
(pelefun)

A man called Soron lived in Sänsik. Once he went down to the beach in order to beat coconut husks. His two sons were bathing nearby in the ocean. When he looked around for them he could not see them anywhere. A big koäkot-fish had eaten them. So the father walked along the coast to Täf and looked and asked for his children. In Tuaf he met an old man called Kaijen, who also was beating coconut husks. He asked him, »Where are you going?« Soron answered, »My sons have disappeared, I am looking for them.« Kaijen said, »Go into my house, we will make some kava.« Soron went into the house. They made kava. Kaijen then asked the foa-oracle in order to learn the dwelling place of the boys. He said to Soron, »Go back to Sänsik and wait for Senak-night. Then come here to the beach, I will also be there.« When the night came they both met on the beach. Kaijen dived down into the deep water. He took three balls of kalamis-food, a ko and three panak-shells with him. When he reached the bottom of the sea he saw a big fish under the big rock. Kaijen hit him on the belly in order to feel if the two boys were inside there. But this fish did not have them. So Kaijen swam to Koplö and dived there once again into the sea, but did not find any fish. Then he swam to Mäläm, and once again could not find any fish. Then he continued swimming to
the passage of Lölö-Harbor. There, he found a big koäkot-fish in the passage. With his hand he hit his belly and called,

»Räreki Räreka               »Räreki Räreka
Kumtála jenan?«              Are you in there?«

The boys answered,

»Kitäla ini!«                 »We are here!«

Then Kaijen opened the mouth of the fish, clamped the ko vertically in it and handed the boys one kalamis-ball through the throat. When they had eaten it he asked,

»How are you feeling?« They answered, »A little bit better.« Then he gave them the second ball to eat and also the third. Then he gave them two panank-shells, one for each, and told them to cut the fish open from the inside. He took the third panak-shell and cut from the outside. In pain the fish started shooting around and straight towards the beach. Now all the people from Sänsik came and helped to cut the fish open. When they had finished this, the two boys came out again. The fish was divided up and people ate it.


54. Faief.
(peleenfun)

Faief lived in Lenmot and had a big family. One night he went with torches to the reef to fish. There he found young kokain-eels, whose mother had just swum away. Faief caught one of them. When he came home people were eating the eel. But Faief cut off the tail and hung it in the house. When the Kokain mother came back home, she could not find one of her children. She sniffed the air and then swum upriver to the Faief’s house. Faief had just left for work. His children were in the house. The kokain mother went around the house and locked all the doors. Then she pierced her head through the opening in the gable and spewed water into the house. The children did not know where it came from and moved away from the spot. They thought it was raining into the house. The kokain repeated this until one of the children looked up and saw him. The child was frightened. Kokain now asked the children, »Where is my small kokain? Your father caught it and brought it to the house.« The children answered, »We ate it, but our father preserved the tail.« They called their father who was in the neighborhood and asked him where the tail was. Their father told them the place. Thus, the children took the tail and gave it to kokain. She now came as a whole into the house, encircled the children, squeezed them dead, and ate them. Then she left the house. When she came to the mouth of the river it was low tide. She placed himself crosswise in front of the river and when the water was dammed up, he let it run and swam with it out into the ocean.
55. Susok.
(pelenfun)

A susok-lizard lived in a cave in Töpat. She was very big. When a canoe passed by
the lizard asked, »How many of you are in the canoe?« If it were four she shouted, »Give
me two the other ones can go on.« When the two humans beings went ashore the lizard
ate them. This she did with each canoe passing by, it always ate half the people. Finally, a
canoe with ten people passed by. The susok called out, »How many are you?« People in
the canoe did not answer. The susuk asked again and got no reply. Then it asked again
and again people did not answer. So the susuk jumped into the sea and swam after
the canoe. The canoe sailed out through the passage in Wukat, along the reef to the reef-place
Kefunlal. There are many sharks there. When a canoe fails there all the people are eaten.
The susok followed all the way there. People started knocking at the canoe thus, calling
the sharks. Then they quickly sailed away. The susok however was eaten by the sharks.

56. Heok.
(pelenfun)

The heok-fish had a race with the nikaumuän-crab. The fish swam in the water and
the crab was running on the beach. The crab lived in Täf, the fish in Utua. They held the
race from Utua to Lölö-Harbor. In Utua-Harbor each of them had praised itself to be
faster than the other. The heok-fish had asserted he could jump further than a fathom.
The crab had said it could run even faster than that. When the fish started the race with jumps,
it said,

»Umoun Kaoka.«
He nekaumuän! He Nekaumuän!
El nosomot, el nosomot.
Aro kosäs fuof,
Sak sak fuof.«

»The crab comes around the cape.
Nekaumuän! Nekaumuän!
It hurries on, it hurries on.
Duck, jump up, dive down.
Up, up dive!«

When the heok said this, the crab had already run around the cape of Pok. Thus,
heok hurried onward. But the crab arrived first in Matanlik and hid there in the sand,
close to the water. When heok arrived in Lölö-Harbor it did not see the crab and though it
was victorious. He waited in front of Matanlik close to the shore for the crab. However,
three waves pushed him by and by over the crab’s hiding place. She crawled out, holding
the fish with its claws she said, »Now I will kill you because you always praised yourself
to be faster than me.« Other nikaumuän also came and they bit the fish dead.
57. Koit.
   (peleenfun)

Koit, the jellyfish, had a house on the beach in Matante. Once, when she was sitting in the house, she realized that the tide was at its lowest. Then she said to herself, »Now is a good time for fishing.« Her mother, a very big jellyfish, heard this outside in front of the reef. She called to her daughter, »Make me a big hum!« This the daughter did. As the stones were very hot, the small jellyfish spread them out. Then the mother came from the reef and jumped in the middle of the hum. The daughter quickly placed hot stones on top of her and then the leaves. The old jellyfish in the hum shouted, »Uncover me I am too hot!« However, the daughter did not do so, on the contrary, she held the leaves tight to make her mother die. The old jellyfish died. However, in the house there were also two boys. When they saw the hum ready they opened it and saw the dead jellyfish, which they ate immediately. The daughter of the jellyfish got nothing.

58. The Sea-eel and the Cormorant. According to KRÄMER.

A sea-eel (semis) and the cormorant (näkulap) each made a wooden box (taptap). One of the eels was far better and this was the reason why the egret stole it. When the eel noticed it, he sent the lasfol-fish. These were singing to the egret,
   »Na tä äis ketin taptap sesik,«   »I come to pick up the small box,
   Muo muo raneran                   the good yellow one,
   Akäla ämuola!«                   Quickly give it to me!«

The egret replied,
   »Kerikara na tä sot!«   » ? I do not give it away!«

So the fish returned. The malap-fish came and sang the same. The egret gave them the same answer. One after the other all kinds of fish came. Finally the eel sent the octopus (koet). It also sang, but only softly and it got the same answer. Then, while it continued singing, the octopus came slowly closer until it had captured the egret. He killed it and took away the stolen box.

59. Rats-asebal. According to KRÄMER.

Two rats, Tokosa and Kasoa lived in Likinlöläm and once called all the rats to gather there in order to play asebal\(^1\). Kasoa was pregnant and sat in the house with Tokosa while all the others were outside playing asebal. A man secretly climbed a breadfruit tree and looked at how they fought and how one fell down. Then the two, Tokosa and Kasoa were singing,

\(^1\) Compare with games p. 493.
When the game was finished, the man took a breadfruit and hurled it on the back of Kosoa, so that she died. Then all the rats ran up the tree and bit him to death.

Remarks concerning the tales. The stories contain some remarkable ethnographic characteristics, which were not specifically pointed out, as they are mentioned in the general description of the culture. In this sense, or out of other reasons, I have to mention the following:

1. In the stories nr. 17 and 21 the rooster is mentioned and in the stories 17 and 31 further on the dog. At the time of DUPERREY’s expedition there were no domesticated animals on Kusae (pp. 117), these traits must be of a later date.
2. At the end of stories 20 and 21 a special magic is mentioned, which is done with the help of a coconut. Compare also the coconut oracle at the beginning of the tale of Nepartak (p. 374).
3. I want to point out the name Samoa, as a place abroad in story 52. Compare with pp. 219.
4. At the end of story 51 the construction of a burial compound build of stones in the honor of a deceased person is mentioned. Compare with pp. 249.
XI. Music, Dance, And Games.

1. Musical Instruments.

Kusae was comparatively poor on musical instruments. At present time not a single traditional instrument can be found, and also no foreign ones. The first visitors and also FINSCH mention only the shell trumpet. However, people supposedly knew several instruments in pre-European time.

I. The dance drum = äsis. It had the same form as the drums of the Marshall Islands. According to a statement from the oldest natives, it was not produced in Kusae. On the contrary, it was imported ready made from the Marshall Islands. It was only used for one certain kind of dance (p. 489), which also had been imported in pre-European time from the Marshall Islands.

II. The trumpet shell = ukuk (according to FINSCH oguk). According to LÜTKE and KITTLITZ, it was dedicated to god Nösünsap and, therefore, was lying on the altars of this god in the cooking houses¹ (p. 403). According to FINSCH it was not a holy instrument but was only used for signaling.² Obviously, the community of the priests used the trumpet shell for certain ritualistic acts (p. 353, 401). The mouthpiece was on the side.

III. Flutes = nikäroro: As the name already indicates, Kusae seems to have known the flute. It supposedly was only a child’s toy. It is said the playing the flute was not tolerated by older men, as there was a superstition that people could »make the fruits fall down« by playing the flute. The old men questioned are said to have played the flute themselves when they had been young. However, the statements about the kind of flute admittedly create doubts. Strangely enough, people did not know anything about the nose flute, however, they supposedly knew two other kinds. A pan flute in a single row, consisting of 4-8 individual flutes and a special mouth flute! People did not know any special names for them. The mouth flute reportedly was not a transverse flute, but a vertical flute, made of a bamboo internodium with the intact knot after the mouth end, however, without a knot at the other end. Directly behind the knot there supposedly, was a tongue created by a vertical cut, which was blown. Further on, there were several openings for sound. According to this description the mouth flute can only have been of European origin.

People came to know transversal pipes from the Europeans, and they were also imitated.

¹ LÜTKE 1835/36 I, p. 385, 393; KITTLITZ 1858, I, p. 375.
² FINSCH 1893, p. [455].
IV. Buzzing wood. This also reputedly, is known as a child’s toy. It had the same name as the batten in loom weaving, epop.

Using the fronds and the mid rip of the coconut palm the children built another kind of buzzing instrument. This was also called epop. The piece of frond was folded once (a), its ends were stuck on a long piece of a midrib that served as a handle (b). The folded piece of leaf was kept tight by another piece of midrib, like a frame (c). When this device was turned it created a buzzing sound (illustr. 160).

V. Stone bells in the form of thin basalt plates also have to be mentioned as a kind of primitive musical instrument. They are called käsaka. They were rung for profane and holy events. (Compare p. 313, 399, 403, 406, 407, 436, 438, 439).

Illustr. 160.
Leaf buzzer. (After a sketch.)

2. Dance.

Already, at the time of FINSCH, dancing was scorned and no longer practiced. Therefore, he had an old man perform a dance for him.¹ Today, this is all the more considered a heathen entertainment and the few old men who still knew of the dancing were unable to perform the right movement of the legs.

I. Kinds of dances: The old dances were nearly exclusively men’s dances. Women only participated in a few special kinds.² Except for a special foreign dance, the dances were accompanied by chants. Therefore, they were called on = dance, chant, onon = to dance and to sing. The following kinds of dances were distinguished:

1. Usok, mulmul, and ra. These three were the most common forms of dances. They were usually performed at dancing feats in the said order. This was one succession of dance, where only one of each kind was performed.

The usok was the introduction to the actual dance. Usually this was a very long, solemn, and monotonous chant that was only accompanied by arm and hand movements. The chanting reportedly was so monotonous that the spectators often fell asleep early into the dance. The usok chants reportedly were especially ancient. During the usok, due to unknown reasons, people held their right hand in the form of a fist in front of the mouth, so that the chant sounded dull.³

¹ loc. cit   ² According to LÜTKE 1835/36 I, p. 328, women were not allowed to dance at all.
³ Compare FINSCH loc. cit.
In the widest sense, all kinds of dances were termed usok, where the main emphasis was on the chant. Thus, a special wailing song, which was chanted at the death of a chief by the other chiefs, was called usok sisık = »small usok«. Here, no dance movements were executed at all. In the same fashion, certain songs, called uenfón (= »songs of the night«), were termed usok. They reportedly were also performed exclusively by chiefs during their meetings.

In contrast to the usok the mulmul (muolmuol), was a lively dance. The songs were melodious. The hand movements consisted of clapping and graciously turned movements.

Ra was the most turbulent dance of the entire series. The hand movements, which I witnessed, consisted of quick movements of the arm to the side and to the back, during which the movements of the hands changed.

LÜTKE’S description obviously refers to one of the two last kinds of dances: »Leur danse, comme toutes les dances en générale, est aussi difficile à décrire qu’à peindre. Quelques hommes se rangeant en ligne l’un derrière l’autre, exécutent lentement à la même place des changements de pied, et font avec leurs mains différents mouvements qui, malgré leur diversité et le défaut apparent de système, sont accomplis avec une exactitude si surprenante, qu’en regardant cette colonne par derrière, on croirait que ce sont des automates mus par un seul ressort. Tous ces mouvements, d’ailleurs tres-souples, et executes par des hommes bien faits, comme ils le sont ici en general, ont en effet beaucoup de grace. Il faut en excepter le mouvement contraint de la tête. Tout cela se fait à la mesure d’un air chanté d’une voix basse et forcée, telle que celle d’un homme asthmatique; ce qui est assez désagréable. Ces danses sont soumises à des règles particulières: non-seulement les femmes n’ont pas le droit d’y prendre part, mais il semble même que les hommes ne peuvent danser entre eux que suivant un certain choix. Dans ces danses, ils se passent aux bras, au-dessous du coude, des coquilles taillées en forme d’anneaux qu’ils appellent moek.«¹

4. Álol: Both sexes participated. The women sat in a circle and only chanted while the men took their place in a row on a pole, resting the right arm on the neck of the neighboring man. In this fashion they stamped with their feet and swung their right arms back in dance movements.

5. Mänot: A ring-a-ring-o’-roses for both sexes. In the old days, it reportedly had been borrowed from the Marshall islands.

6. Salsal: This was a special dance performed only by title holding chiefs, actually only by one or two or three of them. This was the only dance where reportedly, the dancing drum was employed, which had to be played by women. At feasts these salsal dances were the end of the mänot-dances.

¹ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, pp. 383 [Their dancing, as with all dancing in general, is as difficult to describe as to paint. Some men get in a line one behind the other, slowly execute in the same place some movement of the feet and move their hands in different ways which apparently lack system. This is done with an exactitude so surprising that at looking at the column from the back, one would think that these were robots moved by a single movement. All these movements which moreover are very supple and executed by well-built men, which in general they are here, are full of grace—with the exception of the forced movement of the head. All this is done to a beat of an air sung in a low strained voice, like that of an asthmatic man, which is rather disagreeable. These dances are submitted to particular rules; not only do the women not have the right to take part, but it seems that even the men can only dance together according to a certain choice. In these dances they put on their arms, below the elbow, shells carved in the form of a ring, which they call moek. R. + R. 1982, p.126] Concerning bangles, see p. 86 and 491.
7. Uninsäk, more precise on in sák = »stick dance«: Contrary to FINSCH’S opinion Kusae knew the stick dance already in the old days. This has been proven by LESSON. He reports on dancing, »Cette dance ne se compose que de mouvements lents et cadences des membres et du corps, et d’attitudes imitant parfois les poses d’un maître d’escrime. La voix ou le tamtam servent d’accompagnement, et les demi-tours et les attitudes du danseur, sont marquées par un baton qui’il tient dans les mains.«¹

Also, according to my investigations, the dancing stick = sekan in on in sák (= »stick for the stick dance«) was identical to the carefully red colored stick that LESSON describes as »baton pointu par un bout entaillé par l’autre«*. He considered it a weapon. There is an illustration of it in the »Annales des voyages« (illus. 161)². It correlates with the »stick of Nösünsap« of LÜTKE and KITTLITZ. KITTLITZ compared it with a netting fork.³ LÜTKE calls it, »une baguette longue de quatre a cinque pieds, pointue par un bout et cannelée par l’autre.«² According to information I received, this dancing stick was also used as a weapon and as such it was called »muot in ko.« (p. 298). Its relationship with god Nösünsap was explained to us, as already explained on p. 404, that one form of the origin of the stick dance is related to him. About this the following legend reports:

»Two boys were dancing and singing the following song:

Näwuon küre Näwuon kora
mata ägak suri lona
kofa ägak suri lona
oen safonbä ora maje
sorani såptkò miùinin
mama kíò tokoni mato
mato roro nìuarki nìuarko
mojo matao boo Matanlük
mato mato
Uio buon bouk in bouka
kela okatakà tüpsen fonma
kofa taka takata in fun metao
boo sarofa sa sipik sipik
sie fentanaro sipikma sipokma
jatra intä sùna sùna
tös on kofa silinà ásamanì
bisesenao besera
än sin taka än sin Alik
mesaro biksersa àkorta
korso kormeta sùpkà nama
kal som ejo ejo
tae tana nenano törkoi törkoi
lema lemano básànao kiì åno
nòsòmot siriènà kofa mai
sirinà nako nako tori
mata takà oaki siri
oaki nà oai oai furfuro
Näwuon kiri
jo jo jo lätà
älamanà si jeir roto roto
ea roto roto irlä
sorò sòro so ois takero
umrärärä umrärärä umrärärä
eàe sùri sakan

¹ LESSON 1839, II, p. 507 [»This dance is composed of slow and cadenced movements of the members of the body and of positions sometimes imitating the poses of a master of fencing. The voice of the tomtom served as accompaniment, and the half turns and the attitudes of the dancer are marked by a stick which he holds in his hands.« R.+R. 1982, p. 70]
² [»a stick pointed at one end, forked at the other«; comment CCHPH.]
³ LESSON 1839, II, p. 505.
⁴ LÜTKE 1835/36, I, p. 393, 395.
God Nösünsap eavesdropped on the two boys during their dance. When they finished he asked them, »From where do you have the dance?« They replied, »……« (Had been forgotten). Nösünsap replied, »This dance belongs to me.« He went to Läl and showed it to his priests and these taught it to everyone who wanted to learn it.«

The on in Nösünsap = »Dance of Nösünsap« was especially performed in the regions Läl, where the god had its cult place. Further on, also in the regions Wukat, Melo, Töpat, Tafunsak, Matante, Mälsö, Ufä and Sialat, thus, in the north west and the north of the main island. Besides this there were 3 other stick dances, which also belonged to certain groups. One was owned by the regions in the south west (Läap, Lämuaot, Koas, Likinlölam, Jöla, Läs and Sauksa). Another one was in the south (Utua, Täf, Isä, Nefalil, Sölöma, Jison, Menka, Jámuu, Fenkoli, Koplö and Läjöla). A third one is common in the region Piliöö together with the island Lölö. These groups used to perform their stick dances together during dancing feasts.

The four kinds of stick dances are old. However, just as the first one supposedly was introduced, people still remembered that the dance of the last group had come to Kusae with the suf Ton-Kimo from jeir (= south). At the time of the whalers, another dance was introduced by the natives of Uea and Futuna.

8. Nepe. To these 7 kinds of dances we can also add the nepe. It is an usok-similar-dance-play of the women and the girls, which even the natives only consider a game. When it was performed people sat in a circle on the ground. While singing certain songs they moved the upper body back and forwards and also moved the arms and the hands. For examples look under chants.

II. The technique of the dance was, according to the accounts of LESSON and LÜTKE, masterful and of surprising exactitude. In those days dancing was very popular.2

III. Dance decoration: Only bracelets made of shells were special dance decorations. They were worn on the forearm (p. 86).

IV. Dance place and dance feasts: The dance place for the individual hamlets is the cooking house of the met-suksuk. Here people practiced the dances in week-long rehearsals for the big dance feasts, as they were custom at the end of the epan-feast (pp. 405).

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1 A translation of the chant was absolutely impossible. The natives explained that these were all foreign words. The informant was a nearly blind old man who could hardly walk. Sometimes, in the middle of the chant, he started anew. The accentuation [not inserted in the English translation; comment CCHPH] indicates the special intonation of the recitation (pp. 500). It was no possible to execute it as the text was spoken very fast and the old informant could not be coaxed to repeat the text as often as it would have been necessary.

2 LESSON 1839, II, pp. 507; LÜTKE 1835/36 I, pp. 383.
Alternatively, the King sometimes initiated them. The dancing place for these was the big cooking house of the King in Lölö, which had the name Katrà. The dancing feasts lasted many nights. They were staged as competitions between 2 villages, chosen by the King. Usually two villages from the opposite sides of the main island were dancing together. Smaller hamlets had to become part of bigger ones. The two parties took their positions alongside the house. They danced one after the other, mostly only the dance section usok-mulmul-ra. In the end, people decided which side of Ualang currently had the best dancers. The dancing feasts were called ärman. They were started by special feast meals (»ärman«) and were also finished in this fashion (»fukosio«).

V. Invention of dances: In the course of a big dancing feast besides the well known dances new ones were also performed. The inventor of a dance, of the arm and hand movements was also the poet of the accompanying chant. He was called kina (compare p. 501). The home village of the poet practiced the new dance and performed it. Therefore, it is a custom that dances are named after the villages, which had performed it first and not after the poet. Sometimes, several people invented new dances together. It also happened that a title holding chief invented a dance prior to a dance feast and had it performed by his regions.

3. Games.

According to LÜTKE the Kusaeans did not know »public entertainment« besides dances. If he meant here games—in another passage he talks about the lack of games of chance and games of war—then he was mistaken, just as FINSCH was. He said, »They do not seem to know games at all«.¹ On the contrary, people had a multitude of games (= sitäl), which were not restricted for the young ones. There even existed some sort of national games, which were performed on special occasions with the participation of many people. These are the following:

1. Rak: A canoe competition in Lölö-Harbor on the occasion of the epan-feast (compare p. 407). It was also on other occasions performed and then was called aketan kal (aketan-?; pal = to paddle).

2. Soas Wukat = »the task of Wukat«. This was a war-like game between the hamlets on the western coast of Ualang, especially between Wukat on one side and the island Lölö on the other. It was ordered by the King. During the game the Ualang people, armed with dancing sticks, had to enter Lölö and make their way up the channel to the royal compound Inkäl sisik. At the mouth of the channel people from Lölö were waiting for them in order to hinder the enemy and to snatch the sticks from them. While doing this, the people from Lölö shouted to the people from Ualang,

»Si nuatik suakal!« = »Give me the stick!«

¹ LÜTKE 1835/36 1, pp. 383, 384; FINSCH 1893, p. [456].
They replied,

»Ma natin lemu! Äfuka et!« =

»This thing belongs to the chiefs! Come and snatch it (from us)!«

Then people from Lölö tried to grab the dancing sticks of the enemy and to twist them in-between their legs, so that the ones carrying the stick fell down. Then they would snatch the sticks away from them. If a man from Ualang managed to reach the compound with his stick, he laid it down there for the King and rang a sounding stone.

3. Bobo ketak: This was a game similar to the former one. Different men from the western coast of Ualang had to try to bring baskets full of food, especially taro (ketak), as in the previously indicated way, to the King. For their defense other men, armed with sticks, accompanied them. They were supposed to fend off (bobo = »hit with a stick«) the attacking people from Lölö, who tried to get the baskets. The victor also rang the sounding stone in the compound Inkäl sisik.

4. Köösö Pikisik = »race of Pikisik«: men from Pikisik and of the neighboring regions tried to reach the compound Inkäl sisik running as fast as possible, while people from Lölö, with drawn sticks, tried to hinder them. Each victorious man rang the sounding stone in the compound. Beforehand, the runners trained for days by eating less.

5. Asebal: A sort of wrestling bout, where people, only allowed to grab the long hair with their right hand. They tried to throw the adversary to the ground by pulling and tripping them. The left arm was held, in a fending off fashion, in front and over the head. This game was performed for occasional entertainment but also, at the order of the King, on a grand scale between Lölö and Ualang. According to a legend, foreign natives of unknown origin introduced it in Kusae. (See legend nr. 13, p. 435).

6. Süp su: It was played by the workers while rebuilding the canoe house of the King, standing at the landing place Penkom in Lölö. The construction was an event and, therefore, many people participated. Once the tree trunks for the house posts (su) had been brought over from Ualang and were lying on the landing place each title holding chief ordered his people to prepare a strong rope. At a given sign the teams ran down to the beach and tried to fasten their rope tight and secure to the end of a tree trunk (süp), while at the same time hindering each other. The first team to fasten their rope so tight that the trunk could be pulled up the beach was the winner. Each individual tree trunk was brought on land in this fashion. Süp su is also a children’s game (see under 21).

Another competition between men is the following:

7. Competitive felling of a tree for the construction of a canoe for one of the title holding chiefs. It is played by the young people with ponfa and the older ones with sekälik tattoos. Compare p. 79.
The following games are mostly children’s games though sometimes also adults participate. If not otherwise mentioned both sexes play it.

10. Aporäki: Wrestling. Compare the attachment to this section by E. KRÄMER.
11. Kepartu: ring-a-ring-o’-roses, where children run around one after the other style clapping with their hands.
12. Isarok: Four children, mostly boys cross their right legs and jump around in circles on the left legs until one of them falls or all of them fall. (Compare also attachment).
13. Oakoak kekjä: ring-a-ring-o’-roses, Boys and girls run around one after the other, marching in step. The person behind has his hands on the shoulders of the one in front. They chant,

Thus, the intonation for the chant is: Okoak kekejä, äje kineul.
The intonation for the declamation is: Okoak kekejä, äje kinol.
Translation: »Walk one after the other and chant quite loud!
We are just like the millipede and like the lizard.«
14. Sinafa, Sanefa: Ring-a-ring-o’-roses, where at the times a row of boys and a row of girls run parallel to each other. The person behind encircles with both arms the body of the person in front. They are chanting:

Sinefa, Sinafa          Sinefa and Sinafa
Sinefa, Sinafa,         Sinefa and Sinafa
Kom felakot,            You go there,
Kom felako,             You go here.
Eis si momo moalom Wear your neck decoration made of
                       turtle shell
Äsan molal élan.        Give him his neck decoration.
El unio                 He is beating me dead.
Koskusio               Curse me,
Sisie läo               Throw me out of the house,
Pelan poko.             To the beach furthest away.
XI. MUSIC, DANCE, AND GAMES.

Na oälä I had gone away with somebody
Kösan met se I had myself talked into.
In sala sala.

The meaning of this chant is not even clear to the natives.

15. Kiof Sikäro: A running game, just like the one before, with the following chant:
Kiof Sikäro Kiof and Sikäro
Kiof Sikäro Kiof and Sikäro
Ta insä Were here.
Meä nä fak, What will I say,
Käs tonalo? Talking in a hurry?
Ä somta en ukme A strong wind will blow,
Mas möä. They will perish at sea. (?)

16. Nesaron: a walking game, similar to our serpent game. Boys and girls form a human chain—the fingers of the right fold with the ones of the neighbor to the left—and the children wander around with the following chant, which is constantly repeated:

\[ \text{Nësäroñ Nësäroñ} \] ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵
\[ \text{åla åla kê màc åla åla kê màc}. \]

Then the human chain passes repeatedly under the lifted arms of the last pair, so that in the end this pair must turn around itself. Finally, the human chain winds itself to a spiral, which turns around itself so long, until the participants feel dizzy. While doing this the children sing:

\[ \text{Sìle fâle-] ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵ ∵
\[ \text{fâle}. \]

People were not able to give a translation of the chant.

17. Siro: A game played in the sand: Children quickly make with the index and the middle finger a row of pairs of holes in the sand, without counting them. Then they extinguish the individual holes with the index finger while counting to 10. However the following counting words are used:
siro (1) kan (6)
matan (2) sie (7)
tofa (3) sak (8)
nel (4) sak (9)
nom (5) luo (10)
Whoever has made 10 or many times this number of holes has won. People no longer knew the meaning of the counting words.

18. Akes: A game played in the sand. Two children sit on the beach at some distance from each other and opposite of each other. They form balls made of wet sand with a layer of dry sand around and then roll the balls towards each other. While doing this they chant:

Akes fok in ketak  The taro fruits are fighting
Alap sewuona.   Only one row.
Küsen!   Push!

On the command Küsen the children roll the sand balls to their opponent. Whose ball breaks has lost the game (see also attachment).


20. Ip ma: Ball game with oranges. Children forcefully roll (= ipip) oranges (ma) towards each other and position the foot in such a way against the oranges that they roll up the leg and the body, or jump into the air. Then they catch them in the air and roll them to the player. This is a game for older boys and girls.

21. Süp su (see above nr. 6): Rope pulling. Two teams each fasten a rope to a pole rammed into the ground. They pull in opposite directions. Whoever pulls the pole down and with it the opposing team into its own direction has won. This is a child’s game where also adults participate.

22. Pä sirir: Make flat stones jump over the surface of the water.

23. Laklak: Play with toy canoes.

24. Kotkof = swimming.

25. Ipätok = diving. In former times, swimming and diving was very popular. Since people are fully dressed today it is rarely practiced, so that now only a few people supposedly know how to play it!

26. Lala no: Children let themselves be carried from the surf towards the coast while lying on a wooden board or tree trunk. On three everyone has to lie on his piece of wood. Whoever falls off is laughed at. This is an old, no longer practiced game for boys.

27. Sapop: To glide down from the slopes of the mountains on a sort of sledge. The sledge was manufactured from two ribs of coconut fronds as runners, which were attached to two cross pieces of wood. This was a game for boys.

28. Furofur: Top game. The fruit (fok), of a tree called päno, is as big as a walnut and serves as a top. A small piece of the mid rib of a coconut frond is stuck through it. The fruit is twirled with the hand.

29. Lorinjen: Wind wheel, made of two strips of coconut leaves, which are stuck on the midrib of a coconut frond. (Illustr. 162).
30. Atot: Swing made from a strip of hibiscus bark, which is attached to the branch of a tree.

31. Kuk palpal: Kite game. The kite was woven from a pandanus leaf and reputedly had a tail made of strips of banana leaves or something else (?) Compare also with the legend nr. 34, page 459.

32. Epop: Buzzer made from the leaf of a coconut frond and a rib. See also p. 488. While all these games were decidedly local the following supposedly were introduced.

33. Rin (from the English ring?): Tag.

34. Epo: ball game, see attachment.

35. Akes: Cockfighting.

As an addition some remarks of LÜTKE and especially an attachment about children’s games by Mrs. Prof. KRÄMER.

During his visit in Lóló LÜTKE heard the following two chants sung by young girls, about thirteen to fifteen years old, who were teasing him. He reports the chants without any translation:

1. Sondé ouagma catanazic, »combine non non«.¹

2. La sacryca, la sacryca nin nin couloca, nin nin couloca.

Further on he also reports that already small boys practiced dancing while small girls were singing. He reports about a special children’s game as follows,

»Entre autres jeux, ils ont un assez semblable à notre jeu de mains, mais beaucoup plus compliqué. Ils se placent assis vis-à-vis l’un de l’autre, et en frappant alternativement de la paume de la main, tantôt leurs genoux, tantôt le plat de la main de celui qui est assez en face, et même des voisins des deux cotés. Ce jeu consiste en ce que, dans une multitude de tours varies, les mains, en frappant, ne s’écartaient jamais de l’ordre cvenu. Il s’exécute en mesure d’un air extrêmement monotone.²

Attachment.

Children’s Games on Kusae by E. KRÄMER- BANNO.

1. Schitai: ball game for boys. (Compare above nr. 18.) Like most of the games this one also takes place on the white sand of the beach. From the border, where the sand is kept wet by individual spilling waves, each child (2 are necessary for the game) takes some especially solid beach sand and forms a ball with it, about the size of a coconut. This ball is constantly clapped and thrown into the air, wrapped with dry sand and clapped again in order to harden the ball. Then the two boys sit opposite each other, they clap the balls and gingerly throw them, while they sing:

¹ The last words are French.

² LÜTKE 1935/36, I, pp. 328 »Besides other games, they have one rather similar to our hand game but much more complicated. They position themselves sitting face to face and alternately slap with the palms of their hands, sometimes their knees, sometimes the back of the hand of the person seated in front and even of the two people on each side. This game is such that amongst a multitude of various tricks, the hands while slapping never depart from the established order. It is executed in time to a very monotonous air.« R. + R. 1982, p.103
At *kischang*, which is shouted with a higher pitched voice, they throw their balls against each other. If neither breaks then the song starts anew. If one or both of them break into pieces, then a new ball is formed. The owner of the surviving ball is, so it seems, the winner of the game.

2. **Äbbo**: Football game. (compare above nr. 34.)

A cube, woven from strips of pandanus, serves as the ball (illustr. 163). Many boys participate in this game. One of them throws the ball with his foot into the air. another one transports the ball further, and a different one throws it back. In this fashion the ball is kept in motion. I do not know if this game was introduced by Whites. I also saw it in Truk, this also heavily missionized island.

3. **Aperak**: Wrestling match. (Compare above nr. 10.)

It was funny to look at a wrestling match, executed by two small guys. The children encircled each other tightly with their arms and with great enthusiasm. They rhythmically stomped up and down, back and forth, while every one of them tried to throw the other one off balance with the force of his stomping.

4. **Isarak**: Jumping on one leg (Compare above nr. 12.)

A number of boys grouped themselves in 2 irregular rows. The children bend one leg up in front while jumping with the other. In this way they jump towards each other and try to push each other with the bend leg to the ground. Consequently, all the time, some of them topple.

5. **Aigaschem**: Booming rifle.

A smooth piece of reed, in the hollow of which a measured stick is inserted, is the booming rifle. The small berries of a grape like seaweed, as can be found on many South Sea islands are used as projectiles. When they are pushed through, it creates a clapping, slightly booming sound.
XII. Chants.

1. Initial Remarks

1. Kinds: The main part of the local chant treasure (chant = on, p. 488) is obviously dancing chants. Supposedly there were many of them. They were distinguished according to the different dancing styles, in the course of which they were sung, and then the name of the poet, or in case his name was no longer known, the name of the settlement through which the new chant or dance were made known, were added (p. 492). There were also chants, which were only sung. Except the ones mentioned at dances (p. 491) these are love songs = tafon, chants of lamentation = tan mäs (bewailing of the dead) and working chants. Of nearly all these kinds there were samples still in existence. Naturally, we could only turn to the oldest generation, most of who no longer remembered any local songs, and the other ones mostly remembered only one. because the modern treasure of songs consists only of chorales. Surprisingly however there were many. In only a few cases the poet of the song or the place where it had been composed were known. Those songs created in the time of the Europeans supposedly were studded with English words. For this we also have some examples. Some of these modern songs I did not record.

II. Content: The translations of the chants nearly always created problems. This was partly based on our limited knowledge of the Kusaean language, but was also based on the fact that the natives had paid little attention to the content of their songs. This is not only true for the dancing chants, but also for the other ones as was evident by the surprise and the laughter caused by the question telating to the content of a written text. Even the natives had considerable problems establishing the content. The same is true for deciphering individual words according to their form, sense, and connection. Concerning some chants we did not even dare to try to translate them, because the natives had been estranged to the words, so that they were generally considered Non-Kusaean. Under these circumstances it is understandable that where translation was possible, this was actually the moment when the correct suit of sounds was established which created the words!
The reason for this appearance is known. In Kusae too, a chant was most of all a chant and not a poem. The feeling and the mood were more concerned with the musical than the poetical expression. The content of a chant therefore was of secondary importance and could be rather ordinary. The poet must have been more or less interested in it, the singer, though, was not impressed. Moreover, the reason for the chant was often such a personal experience, that the understanding of it needed a special explanation. Over the course of time the change of language, just as the sound changes while singing added to render the content less and less understandable.

Because of the content of the chants the reader has to look at the texts.

**III. Tradition and Poetic Form:** Despite the above mentioned facts it would be wrong to believe that concerning the indifference towards the content the text of a chant could have been handed down just by the melody. That this was not the case can be described as a remarkable result and might stir interest in research in other places. In Kusae melody and text were two different components concerning the writing of poetry, as well as learning, teaching and handing it down. This was definitely established when the texts of the chants were recorded, and was also acknowledged by the natives. Asking for an »on«, it was first sung [rather than recited]. While repeatedly singing the chant, which was a necessity for writing down the text, the natives very often started to recite. Unfortunately I cannot find any information in my writings how such presentations were called. There can be no doubt that the language could distinguish between them. Later on when we recorded texts, my interpreters took care from the start, that I first heard the recitation. The accuracy of my words is backed up by the following:

To my surprise the recitation was conducted in an expressive rhythm, which was quite different from the rhyme of the chant. It also did not follow the natural rhythm of the free language, but it presented an expressive declamation rhythm. It was especially surprising because of its metric regularity structuring the text in lines of verse, accentuated breaks of breathing, and structuring the lines of verse in metrical foot, accentuated by emphasizing and non emphasizing of syllable in a regular order. Sometimes strophes structure a chant by the regular repetition of different metric lines of verse. The metric feet are similar to our German alliteration verses. Besides, there seem to have been no conscious alliteration or any other poetic means of expression. Instead of further explanations concerning the poetical form I want to point to the texts themselves and their comments. The lines of verse are created by breaks of breathing, in special incidents they are marked by a vertical line; the accentuation is indicted by accents,
where there are distinct secondary sounds, these are indicted, too. In many chants the
metric regularity leaves a great deal to be desired. To what extent this is the correct form,
inertitude of the poet or distortion by tradition, can of course no longer be decided,
especially as there was no control by several people.

As has already been said, the recitation rhythmic was generally clearly pronounced,
sometimes so clearly that it already seemed to be proper »scanning«. When asked, the
natives said that this was the form in which the text of chant was learned, taught and
remained in the memory, it also was the form in which the poet created the text.
Considering the first statement we have to admit, that the text of a song, the content of
which you did not care for, and sometimes did not even understand, can be better
memorized in the recitation rhythm than in form of the monotonous melodies. Therefore,
we think that this traditional form was a mnemotechnic method. There is also no
contractdiction when thus the sense of the text was destroyed, because often it is quite
contrary to the natural rhythm of the language, just as the structure in verses and metric
feet quite often rips it apart.

The melody of a chant can be remembered separately from the method of recitation,
of course, in connection with the text, too. Concerning dancing chants it belongs together
with the dance movements. Sadly, the chants could not be recorded as phonograms.
Unfortunately my phonograph had remained on board due to the hasty departure of the
»Peiho«, because we did not have enough barrels and because at this time we could
hardly anticipate a chance to get good recordings on Kusae. As we saw later on, most of
the old people, for instance very old men could only sing with a rather thin voice.
Therefore, the recording of simple melodies must suffice by indicating the punctuation
and stating the pitch in order to characterize the difference to the poetic rhythmic. The
accentuation of the free language was also recorded several times with individual songs.
We do not want to show them here, because we wanted to work out the recitation
rhythms and they are impressive enough.

By proving that there is a metric system, it turned out that the poetry of Kusae was a
real »Art of Poetry«. Thus, there were poets = kina in the higher sense of the word; in
order to repeat it, they were at the same time the inventors of the melody and the dance
movements. Unfortunately, it was no longer possible to learn more about the metric and
their system, because there were no longer any poets.

The texts of the chants are written in the same way as they were recited. To what
extent the change of the words’ sound and the difference in length and shortness in
comparison to the spoken language can be established, is more of a linguistic question,
which perhaps will be considered in a special research concerning language. Wherever
the translation of the texts was successful, it was decided not to create them too freely,
and therefore we were not eager to
adjust them to the indigenous metric. Wherever it should be lopsided, there should be a chance to correct it later when translating interlinear.

2. Love Songs (tafon).

1. Oijäk Jat som, |
   Kotäma motom nasik. ||
   Na ke ui kom! |
   Sum nasik: mata nan som. ||
   Na käs nata!
   Na somot likin Fukil. ||
   Enuu sün kom!
   Katäläp kofes komi! ||
   Sismok Jat, |
   Kot som söolal |
   Nüken Nümor. |
   Älen salsal |
   Na muo posum. |

   You leave Jat and go away.
   You wink with your eye in my direction.
   How I would live to go with you!
   You nod in my direction, good bye
   I run outside in front of Fukil.
   The wind catches up with you!
   The eastern wind turns you around.
   Now he remains again smoking in Jat.
   We follow him,
   Nüken and Nümor
   At the salsal dance
   The beauty of your body is displayed.

   Explanation: The poets of the song are the two women, who tell their names in the third before last line. They are mad about a Kusaeian man called Kokamä, who wanted to leave and see the world on board a whaler. But when leaving Lölö-Harbor the ship drifted back into the harbor due to an eastern wind. The chants describe the departure, the farewell when both women run all the way to the eastern end of Lölö, in order to see their loved one as long as possible, the sudden return and the final part is the glorification of the beauty of the lover.

   The precise metric structure of the poem is remarkable, as it can only be achieved in recitation. The first part consists of four identical strophes and with each 2 verses with the following accentuation:

   ``, ``, ``, `
   ``, ``, ``, ``, ``, `

   The first verse always has heavy syllables and is spoken more slowly than the second. The second part stands out due to its 5 identical, cut off verses, which are spoken very fast and have the following accentuation``, ``, ``, ``, ``, ``

2. Fuäla se sek, |
   Fkiofan ma keken. ||
   Ma sel Nofo. |
   Kot matäkol Eries. ||
   Erä lolüs |

   Take it out of your ear and hand over,
   Your kio flower, it smells so good
   It belongs to Nofo.
   We are afraid of Erich
   ................?--------------------------------
Kom ko nonak muoil fok || .................................................................
Ta pät Lölä. | .................................................................
Ma kot fuka muösi || .................................................................
Kalän kalo | .................................................................
Läna äjok nasäs || .................................................................
Ä son sonol | .................................................................
Likin Mäläoitien. || .................................................................
Pölo en si | .................................................................
Tomä na na età || .................................................................
Fensak Muon si | .................................................................
Jenää na tomä. || .................................................................

…………..?…………………………….
Do not stay in Lölä (?) .................................................................
…………..?…………………………….
Continue paddling, .................................................................
…………..?…………………………….
The current gets a hold of him .................................................................
…………..?…………………………….
In front of Mäläm far outside, .................................................................
…………..?…………………………….
A gust of wind .................................................................
…………..?…………………………….
Is coming up, I know it, .................................................................
…………..?…………………………….
I hope .................................................................
…………..?…………………………….
there will be a bird visible.

Explanation: The translation was in such an incomplete fashion possible that described event is no longer understandable.
In its continuous structure of the strophes and metric this song is similar to the first one, only here the start of each second line of a strophe is in the form of an unpronounced syllable.

2. Songs of Grief (tan mas).

3. Foka ikoel Käro, Sä,
   Talpe sokol totel!
   Mei lämuin nao mata,
   Maneko esam tanma.
   »Ka Su ka kom foka?« —
   »Koloka na som na.«
   »Salek ka kom foka?« —
   »Ketel kalkal to màa,
   Ketän sukok apanla
   Kala eak än ueniak,
   Katä bit kasas no not,
   Sopm na uäs to tolä?«
   »Ka Sitel ketä fen kal
   Lenie kas no Pingelap?«
   Uänen ma kā
   Ket fen kal len sänä.
   ...?... when we go one day
   and so on .... .................................................................

How Käro, Sä
And Talpe are longing for you!
I do not belong to them, but am sitting,
Thinking, and remembering, and crying.
»How do you feel Su?« —
»My strength has left me«
»Salek how do you feel?« —
»We go out at sea,
Looking everywhere,
Going in the canoe to the other side of the island
Quickly we sail to the north,
Go to east. Where and to where?«
»Sitel how many days
We go to Pingelap?«

Explanation: The chant was recorded by A. KRÄMER. It is not old. Its subject is a boat accident, which involved 6 Kusaeans. A schooner from Jaluit came to pick up copra from Kusae. As wind and weather were adverse it was anchoring in the southern harbor and had the copra brought in sailing boats from Lölö.
The boats were sailing outside of the reef. On the first day everything went well. But on the second day a boat drifted away due to rain, wind, and the strong current. It was never seen again. The crew consisted of Tol or Sitel, who steered the boat, Kelafa-Nena, Su-Kelal, Salek, and Alik-Nena. The three women mentioned at the beginning are the wives of the three men lost at sea.

The chant is incomplete. The pronunciation was checked still on Kusae, but unfortunately only the first verses. The man, who was reciting them, became insecure, maybe due to the many repeats.

2. Dancing Chants.

A. Muolmuol

4. Sarekla luo.
   Keken kiaro,
   Ken mo kiofo muskolo
   Na mo pasoko nana,
   Ken usur koja.

   Take of the bracelet,
   The kiar-blossom smells well
   Kiof and pandanus also smell well
   A bunch of pasok blossoms smell well
   The usur resin and the koja flower smell well

Remark: The pair-like order of the first 4 verses, the final rimes on o and a, the use of dactylic metric should be noticed.

The song was indicated to be the moulmuol of the region Wukat.

5. Sika lo ja? —
   Ejelan kem
   Sön la na Ponpei.
   So na Nirana
   Moul fon oäka.
   Ke selpas
   Ke setao?
   Ke ālanma
   Muon in Takai?

   Where did he catch the tropicbird? —
   In the air as we
   Were about to go to Ponape.
   He jumped again down to Nirana,
   Alive on the canoe,
   Selpas
   And an idiot?
   Did we not see
   The land bird!

Explanation: The chant is about Selpas, with the epithet Nepartak, the heroic victor of Ponape, who on his way there caught, with his hand, a frigate bird by jumping high in the air from the canoe. See also the story on pp. 373. Nirana supposedly was the name of his sister.

The recitation of this chant seems fresh and alive like no other because of several metric changes, after the second, the fifth and the second to the last line, and because of the combination of different metric feet from the third to the fifth and the last line.
6. Sikme Jat  
   Na ma muo,  
   Nime-Manar  
   Kefarken el.  
   Nieren Sä  
   El patokio.  
   Nieson–Lal  
   Mea nakano?  
   Isäsona.  
   Ela sok sel.  
   Na ma muo,  
   Ta soaï sel.  

   Silke from Jat  
   I like her  
   Of Nime-Mangar  
   I am proud of.  
   Nieren Sä  
   Insults me.  
   Nieson–Lal  
   What is she actually thinking? —  
   I am laughing about her  
   She is jealous  
   Even though I like her  
   Love I do her not.

   Explanation: Despite its simple metric system, the structure of the chant is far from even. Therefore, it is possible that the verses, from the third to the second last, actually had the same emphasis ´ ´ ´ ´.

   The informant, the old cook of the King, also knew the dance that accompanied this chant, this means the hand movements, because his legs did no longer follow him.

   As this dance was composed of several tours, for which the chant was repeated again and again. The informant still knew 2 different tours. For each the chant was sung twice and each ended with the first verse.

   The first tour has its emphasis like this:

   Sikme Jat,  
   Na ma muo,  
   Nime-Manar  
   Kefarken el.  
   Nieren Sä  
   El patokio.  
   Nieson–Lal  
   Mea nakano?  
   Isäsona.  
   Ela sok sel.  
   Na ma muo-o  
   Ta soaï sel.

   The melody was very solemn and consisted of two tones (d and g according to the ear). The high tone g was stretched very long. And the emphasis was based on it, while the other syllables were sung short and silently. Each verse was accompanied by a double hand clap as a hand movement. The first clapping went with the first
syllable, the second with a long gracious raise of the right hand accompanying the emphasized highly sung syllable. Whenever two short non-emphasized syllabii preceded this one, the second clapping could also coincide with the last syllable of the verse, while the emphasized one still coincided with the long raising of the right hand.

The second tour has its emphasis like this:

Sikme Jat,
Na ma muo,
Nime-Manar
Kefarken el.
Nieren Sä
El patokio.
Nieson–Lal
Mea nakano?
Isäsona.
Ela sok sel.
Na ma muo
Ta soaí sel.

The accompanying melody was quite lively. It only consisted of 3 tones in a descending height and with declining force with triple handclapping as a hand movement at each verse. Only at the first verse the sel was strongly pronounced and had once again the height of the first, high tone. The short non emphasized recitation of individual verses, had, by the way, the height of the second tone, the surplus syllables the one of the preceding one.

7. Apot apten köra
——Muona eola ——
Arok moaleja.
Mefol usalamoalmoal.
Matäni katasik
Käs in äkfaktok.
Sie ta äkläjo.
Na as Te.
El sap na suk na Jöla:
»Na mo en si serak
Ik tu natik na päko.«
Tal süke koa.
Mea süpe seltal
Lülülä?
Mata–Su el mekiekinjo,

Pull out the tail feathers of a white bird
——The birds are running away——
Make the head dress and put it on.
Bring the necklace made of turtle shell.
People are already sitting and wondering
And they talk about me.
One of them slandering me.
I am staying in Te.
He is sending for to Jöla:
»There is excellent wind for the journey.
The fish stay still, good for fishing.«
Just try and fish.
What reason do they have
To chase me away
Mata-Su is ashamed of me.
Käseni fak nan Toule.  Consent to chase me out of the house
Ål somø  He left
Somnä took.  And still is not back.
Kiapejo,  He lies to me,
Kiapekum,  He lies to you
Kiape lemua.  And lies to the chiefs.

The reproach in this song was no longer known. The translation is difficult and not safe. The metric structure leaves much to be desired concerning its regularity, even though individual subsequent lines seem to belong to each other because of their setting.

8. Äna Fonkol puän sen lok.  The place Fonkol was the reason for my bad luck.
Uti kof in äkol  In order to fetch love-water,
El sojä Inlokpus.  He jumped from the canoe in Inlokpus,
Eje Jat na Lölö  Took it from Jat to Lölö.
Kitin kär pa kom sa.  You wear a piece of küar resin in your ear.
Sal ta oijä? Jotäs lan.  From where comes the painting? From above.
Intejerär ketä mo.  Intejerär I love.

The connection of the content was no longer known. The poet was a man called Kelafa-Lono, who once upon a time had been the met-suksuk of the Fenkol-Region, but because of unknown reason had been dismissed by a title chief and was expelled.

In its metric structure the first, fifth, and sixth verse belong to each other, then verse second to fourth, while the final verse stands alone. But it seems very much as if formerly the preceding verses had been emphasized.

The melody of this chant, too, is very simple and according to my ear it is a big third. The scheme of the chant and the rhythm were the following:

To each of the protruding parts the hands are clapped twice quickly once after the other and in addition described in a circular movement with the right hand.
from the outside. Both times the hand clappings fall on both the short syllables on the beginning of a part only when one is present on it and on half of the long one. In the second line the last short syllable –ol in the chant belongs to the third line.

9. Sak oa in kala! Lift the paddle for paddling!
   Kot ke in kala, We love to paddle.
   Kof muo ülmükä Injerar. Good water ……
   Kan mo sofæ kasruak, The sofa oil smells good …..
   Los in koja. The head wreath is made of koja flowers.

The poet was King Aoä Nelepaluk I. (1837—54). Despite the youth of the poem the natives already did not know the words, which had not been translated. As an exception the recitation and chanting emphasis correlate.

The movements of the arms during the dance and the singing were:

First and second line: twice clapping the hands on each of the first words. The first clapping is a bit stronger. On »in kala« a circular movement of the right hand to the front and down, where the downwards movement of the hand is made during the emphasized word kal.

Third line: On kof the hands are clapped, on —mu—a circular movement or more precise a singular spiral movement of the right hand to the front and outside, —je— the same movement with the left hand.

Fourth line: On ken a simple turn of the outstretched arm with the hand in a fist to the inside, on —fa— the same movement with the left hand. On kasaräk a slight flinging of the right hand to the front and the back.

Last line: On los the screw like movement of the right hand as in the third line, on kojä the hand is pulled and turned towards the body, so that the palm of the hand faces again downwards.

There were no different variations for this chant, when it was repeated it was always accompanied with the same movements.

10. Sesätu Nekekäs, The Sesätu men Nekekäs,
    Nefienmä, Nefienmä,
    Lepaluk-Koslo, Lepaluk-Koslo,
    Alik Orankanpälo Alik Orankanpälo
    Ál an na si Seem like a bunch of waves
    Tala efala Which sometimes rush silently
    Kokoko Sometimes roar
    Kil sesa mat in ono. Their healthy appearance is due to lots of medicine
Toui pänos ko. They also do not have strong syphilis.
Äna momon. The people are making noise.
Kem teparke We are coming (?)
Tete in safla And in the end bathe
Likin Funsael. Still in front of Funsael
Remrem ma na Bensö ..........?..................

Only with lots of efforts the informants were so far able to recognize the content of the song. The poets are most probably the initially mentioned men, who emphasize their age by mentioning their sesätu tattoos.

The melody consisted only of 2 tones, according to my ear in a small third.

The scheme of the structure, the length of the tones and the emphasis while singing are the following1:

![Melody diagram]

While chanting the word tala (sixth line) becomes etala. During the dance, when the chant is repeated, the last tone of the chant is kept very long. Please take note of the missing break in the eighth line, and that one is included in the last verse.

The arms are moved as follows:
First line: Too complicated to describe it.
Second line: In Ne- hand clapping, on –en a forceful hand clapping. Then follows a circular movement of the right hand to the front, where on –en the hand stretched and lifted.

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1 The – are differently long, twice or three times as long as the -
Third Line: Just like the second line. First hand clapping on -pa-.
Fourth Line: Just like the second line.
Fifth Line: Just like the second line.
Sixth Line: On -ta- and -fa- each a strong hand clapping.
Seventh Line: On the first and the second ko each a hand clapping, the last one stronger.
Eighth Line: Just like the second line. Hand clapping on -kil and -fa-.
Ninth Line: Just like the second line. The first hand clapping is stronger than the second one.
Tenth to Thirteenth Line: Just like the second line.
Last Line: Is separated in 2 parts, which are accompanied just like the second line.

B. Usok.

11. »Kom taja na Usen?« — »What are you doing in Usen?«
   Fokon söka so use? « — Who gave you the right to do so? «
   »Uiä meta mata Fonpol, In Pennem
   Ân Pennem, I live.«
   Na ta úä.«

The stepfather of the King who died in 1910 supposedly composed this chant. The content describes the following: A man is met by the owner on his piece of land called Usen, where he should not be. Therefore, the owner asks him questions. The intruder offers information about himself.

This poem is quite remarkable because it clearly shows how for the love of metric structure the emphasis of the free language is, under certain circumstances, strongly violated. (Example: Matá for máta, the place name Fonpok has no emphasis whatsoever, and än Pennem [emphasis on ä] for än Pennem [no emphasis at all].

The first three lines are spoken quickly and are strongly accentuated, both the last ones more slowly and silently.

12. Suläp kom na fus nim!
   Uispä faso na sik na Jälo!
   Tuk, mäl, nim, mäl, los nim!
   Lolma käso na sik na Fälo!
   Ut kofa nümä oi lan
   Suläp pull out the kava roots!
   Take this one too and come to me to Jälo
   Pound, beat, drink, beat the good drink!
   Follow me for entertainment to Fälo.
   Fetch drinking water from the mountain slope.

   Muo am Sanra na sik, lelao!
   Toija Pasen ? Ko kum
   Misa, ona lan sik fun säro
   Sanra loves, me, She may leave it!
   From where Pasen? Ko fell dead.
   And to my pleasure he is lying on the saro

   Fakfok. Seka na, nem
   Nüm sekä, ei!
   Speered! I drink kava. 
   Drink also, hei!
We could not obtain any further explanation concerning the content.

It is typical that the informant no longer knew the melody for this poem. This is obvious proof that poem and chant are separately taught and handed down.

Concerning its metric structure the poem is of special interest, because there is once again a structure by strophes, which is continued to the end.

13. Töra roko
   Toma soko
   Tomotyoa kel
   Ä neä nomo
   Ä sia oua
   Eako töër
   Nien kolok
   As Jenan
   Nien fos
   Nae
   Linis masla
   Resikä in sof
   Kotrær somot
   Sörmon ako
   Ut ka pito
   Kofa uti kom
   Linis mesa lan
   Us in jeïr
   Esa motok
   Ka metafo
   Lea oko
   Oko räma
   Taf on äka
   Pineaneko*)
   Fintäeko*)
   Inläseko*)
   Eläneko*)
   Seläneco

A translation of this song was not possible. My interpreters even insisted that it was not Kusaean. This of course is not the case, because quite a few lines can be translated. The poet, too, is still known to the old people: The father of the dead King supposedly made the poem with a few old men, according to an old and forgotten chant that served as a model. The names indicated with *) are old place names of reefs. It seems the chant is talking about the living areas on the reef of fofos-spirits. (Nien kolok as Jenan = »Jenan is a bad place«; nien fos = seems to be »place of fofos-spirits«.)

The recitation of this song has to be performed very fast.

C. Ra. (∂a).
14. Tumur maka
    Tumur maka
    Eja omo muän
    Fen »hold back« na oaka käsas
    Löleme
    The southern cross alone,
    The southern cross alone
    ..........?........................
    When a sailing boat is drifting in front of
    the island, the canoes of Lölö go outside
Eis top si lom Uotran. Take a bowl to fetch water in Uotrang.
Mualin sefonsis In extravagant society
Fulän in käskäs High flying words are spoken.
Teräk el sokma The teram is flying towards us,
Kötäk köro. Sö kom an? A white kötäk also
Lout süs müon katkat. I am the süs, the bird katkat.
Jömrä Jömrä Does not belong any more to Lölö; he
Telä Lölä ä fa Ualan wants to be an Ualan man,

Ä mata in fulnä. But he still wants to stay in our midts.
Muon si mun in taka A bird, a land bird
Palie serak ä san na. Shows the direction to
Met Jipan, Jeir oälaltäl. The Marshall and Gilbert Islands
Komtäl suaksak What is it? You are leaving
Moalil ruosjo safonfar And deceive (?) me credulous one
Komtal sääk mualil ruosjö You leave and deceive (?) me
Sokla la mefol saromrom I cut a piece of turtle shell and polish it
to shine

Pa in imoko Here, I wear it on my breast.
Nemomla-Ta ololma Safro Orion appears together with the Pleiades
Pa tumur el ues. Bringing the Southern Cross with them
Na tetelä na tetelä I am bathing, I am bathing
Komtäl ma na met sisik You think I am a man of the people.
Komtäl ma na met sisik You think I am a man of the people.
Sie ta toptop Who beats the sheath of the coconut
Sie ta fakfok Who spears fish
Sie ta laslas, Who cuts up meat
Isis manman osäs Singes it, roasts it, and eats it raw
Isis manman osäs Singes it, roasts it, and eats it raw

This is only a part of the chant. The continuation was no longer known. The translation was very difficult, as the natives did not know the meaning of some of the words as well as their connection. The poet is unknown and the metric quite lacking.

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1 Bird. 2 Sea bird.
D. Mänot.

15. Eräni toklä lo jon kora
   Luo fusi lokato
   Tuäini en moul
   Kosonkae köliä muelan.

A translation was not possible. Here too, they insisted that the language was not Kusaean, but more of the Marshall Islands, from where the Mänot dances came. But this is according to those natives who knew the Marshall language, and according to Prof. KRÄMER not the case.

The song resembles the chanting of a cleric. The underlined tones were sung high pitched and stretched, the others recited in the same pitch.

16. Ikeä finkiätor
   Kiätar iko fän lanso
   Funluir matoka kjo
   Sänä iñta rölik lasko
   Kosa iñtäo
   Apätar fän tan läši(ä)
   Kara irgso in roi

See the remarks to the preceding chant. Double underlined sounds were especially stretched. When sung, the last word of the second last line is added to the stretched and emphasized i.

E. Nepe.

17. Nepe Sänsik
   Ta met folako.
   Talik sö mata?
   Lukmänta,
   Lukmänta.
   Ta fenlo
   Felako ta
   Kalakin kumtäl
   Akejä.
   Seel koa in mäka
   U!
   Sik teka ikum.
   At Nepe in Suansik
   They bend forwards and backwards
   Who is this boy?
   Lukmänta,
   Lukmänta.
   He was on the reef
   And returns.
   He is taking you in the canoe
   With great strength
   In the twilight he is fishing
   Hu!
   ……..?………………
18. According to KRÄMER.

Seka doiak in sok mun
Sek se doiak sek bäros.
Kata se sokuma tooiame?
Sok bälan.
Sekä liä mon se ine
Kera luø, teram lejano
Uä lejana!
Mon sasaesekeran in len
Äl kakla.
Konoia, nätum muon se!
Käna natük le se.
Mon luoa kalikafa sök
Iniekeia topiak petati.
Kikänso mon sesa monan?
Fok se ko mäa?
Fen balän na kiaka se sek se
Sok doui nekulaø.
Monua mule oø se
Kululse sesitel.
Ses se manatek.
Katkat se pa ietouan.
Mon sesa! Mon sesa!
No to eïs ta kakela
Kufura tak se natek lanaia,

The Phaeton starts to fly,
The phaeton lifts itself, the red tailed one,
From where flies the frigate bird?
He comes from afar.
Look at those birds,
Two white ones, the teram here
The uä there!
The rooster crows
In the morning twilight.
You, for you the bird!
I whished I had the lo.
Two bats buzz
In the evening up and down.
Come quickly, what kind of a bird is this?
A flying fox or what?
When ? a Gygis, a Phaeton
The cormorant is coming and sits down.
Chicken, the dove with red feet,
The beach-walker*, they play.
One ses is mine.
A Katkat is just above you.
What kind of a bird, what kind of a bird!
I want to let cry
The young Phaeton, let my dog bark and the wild ducks cackle.

19. Nepe about old ships. According to KRÄMER.

Sikiak Taumak.
Inai Siperen
Siful forula.
Iä äkone
Takäpä met.
Bak Häfis.
Steri läoe inai.

The Taumak is arriving.
The Siperen is coming in
And turns around again.
Äkone
Was here before
The rowing boat Häfis
Is just coming through this side of the passage.

Cäptän Ses el sap:
»Aka let go anka!«
Sobalt, Krätoto, Mayflower,
Monoman usä fen taka.

Captain Ses orders:
»Lower the anchor from the ship!«
Sobalt, Krätoto, Mayflower,
Monoman bring people away to the island.

* [Pacific Golden Plover (Pluvialis dominica); comment CCHPH.]
5. Working Chants.

The Kusaeans supposedly did not have working songs sung by all workers together during an activity. On the contrary, their work songs were not commonly known but the knowledge of it was part of a treasure of knowledge of a master. It was kept secret and was called satal. They were only sung by him as the leader and actually at the beginning of work, in order to focus the concentration of the workers, so that at the end of it with strongly accentuated word, they would all start together. The recitation, with the exception of these words, by the way, was performed in a monotonous speaking chant with a small and unclear voice, as the trade and family secret had to be guarded. The loudly pronounced words could also be spoken by the workers as a choir.

Working chants of this kind existed for different occasions, accordingly they were also named differently. Of these different kinds three were still known:

1. Bas: Songs of the canoe builders, recited for dragging a tree trunk, which had been chosen as the rump of the canoe. Carpenters building houses also sang chants when erecting the main posts and for other occasions. These chants, too, were obviously called bas.

2. Amelä (from melä = quick): working chants, which were recited by each man at the beginning of the covering of the roof at all 4 corners of the roof, as a demand to finish the work quickly.

3. Supsup: After the ripening of the sugar cane each high title holding chief sent the King a large amount of it, several meters high, on a raft, The rafts were towed along the Lölö Channel while reciting a supsup.

Of such working chants only one example of the second kind, but quite a lot of the first kind were recorded. Nearly all these bas are from one man in Maläm, who had been taught during his youth by an old man. With one exception they were all used for the building of canoes.
That man explained the origin of the bas: »All bas have been handed down by spirits. Once in the old days the Mäläm people, who in former times had been excellent canoe builders, constructed a canoe. When they had felled the tree for it in the mountains all of them, with the exception of one man, returned home. But this one stayed over night on the mountains. Then a lot of spirits came to the felled tree and while dancing around it they were singing bas. The man heard them and taught them to the Mäläm people. Therefore most of the bas belong to Mäläm. The tree trunk, however, the spirits had it fly through the air to the place Uiak, where it sank in the swamp.«

This legend is an obvious expression, that the working chants were guarded as a craftsman’s secret. In contrast to this is the content of some, where the poet names himself.

20. Bas Nr. 1.

See also the legend about the building of the ruins in Lölö (p. 255). The bas is quite remarkable because of its poetic description.

20. Bas Nr. 2.

Uaitui no fenlo
Fasinla kalo
Sirpenla tanak.
Oii! Mutinsao
Nonornoria.
Mutinsao
Nonornoria.

They walk out to the reef
And they go flirting,
Cock eyeing dandies
Oii, in the channels of the reef.
The water flows back rushing
In the channels of the reef.
The water flows back rushing

This bas supposedly is connected with the building of the ruins in Lölö. When the raft of the magical master builder Satäf passed in front of Mäläm, a crowd of girls was flirting on the beach.

22. Bas Nr. 3.

Muän luo, muän luo,
Muän luo tojak o Jäp,
Toui Sunjuap rä,
Muän luo, muän luo,
Na muän Selonjäp
Na uisal talon.
Aula sekon soas.
Soas toko Jäp,
Toko Jäp, toko Jäp,
Soas toko Jäp,
Siokio fen soas.

Two boys and two boys,
Two boys flew up from Jäp,
and settled in Sunjäp,
Two boys and two boys.
I, the boy Selonjäp
I bring planing wood
Exchange the woods from the work
The work came from Jäp,
Came from Jäp, came from Jäp,
The work came from Jäp,
You ask me about the work.
Kom ma na tajä
Tajä tajä,
Kom ma na tajä
Numum nu Jäpo,
Eo!
Nom fafa Jäpo,
Eo!
In simet Jäpo,
Eo!
In mulä Jäpo,
Eo!
Jäpo Jäpo Jäp Jäp
Jäp seïk
Likin kate in Jäpao Jäpao.
Jäpo, Jäpo, Jäp Jäp
Jäp seïk
Likin katein in Jäao, Jäpao.

You ask where I come from,
From where, from where
You ask where I come from?
Drink the coconut from Jäp,
It is good!
Eat fafa from Jäp,
It is good!
Eat the kernel of the nut,
It is good!
Eat the dove from Jäp.
It is good!
Jäp is lopsided,
The outer long side of Jäp, of Jäp.

Explanation: The content of this bas is quite important. In it the place Jäp is mentioned again and again, but on Kusae there supposedly is no place of this name. Only the great depth on the western reef of Ualang, in front of the region Länmuot is called in the form of Jäp, further on it still is in the place name Sunjäp (region Koplö) and in Pikinjäp = »beach of Jäp«, a plot of land on Lölö. Therefore, the natives insist that Jäp should be a place, which is situated in »pälan« = »abroad«. It suggests itself to associate it with the island of Yap. The ancient knowledge about this island is also testified in another way, a group of the suf Lisnei sees in it their original homeland (p. 322). In addition, the description of the place Jäp at the end of the bas fits the vertical structure and the line of the comb of Yap perfectly. For the natives this section is not understandable, because none of them even knows Yap by its name. The place name Sunjäp of the bas obviously is based on the personal name Su in Jäp = »Su from Jäp«, the unknown personal name Selonjäp, which is the name of one of the canoe builders of the bas quite probable has been developed from sela in Jäp = »canoe builder from Jäp«.

Once we acknowledge the equation Jäp = the island of Yap, then the bas contains in the first two lines and in the latter question about the origin and the answer to this, also a proof for the immigration from there. Yes, concluding from the words soas took Jäp and the Selonjäp even the Kusae canoe or at least one of its forms comes from Yap! Incidentally the same name Yap also appears in several bas in a similar connection.—The underlined words were loudly pushed out and also shouted by the choir.
23. Bas Nr. 4.

Muän luo, muän luo, Two boys, two boys,
Muän luo, tojak o Yäp, Two boys flew up from Yap,
Toui Fuäl, They settled in Fuäl,
Muän luo, muän luo. Two boys, two boys,
Nä muän lok sa ot. The mountain wood belongs to me.
Konol sa pöla. A lizard is sitting on the leaf of the
pöla tree.

Anje säko? Where is the trunk?
Toje säko? From where is the trunk?
So use säko? Who moves the trunk?
Säko tojä? From where is the trunk?
Toja tojä? From where, from where?
Säko tojä? From where is the trunk?
Inso suako, The trunk,
Inso suako, the trunk
Äsäk, äsäk lift it, lift it
In so säko ! the trunk !

24. Bas Nr. 5.

Muän luo, muän luo, Two boys, two boys,
Muän luo, tojak o Kö, Two boys flew up from Kö,
Toui Tafojat they settled in Tafojat,
Muän luo, muän luo, Two boys, two boys,
Na muän Sapätko I the boy Sapätko,
Na ojak o Tenaf¹ I continue from Tenaf¹
Oaï o Toka² and I land in Toka²
Na ojak o Tenaf² I continue from Tenaf²
Oaï o Toka² and I land in Toka²
In manar Käoat³ ?
Ma Elonjäp⁴ ?
Teten meri ?
Teten mera ?
Sätin oastin ?
Sepema soas Sent my work
Loko nasel to him,
Sätinjaf Sätinjaf,
-tinjaf, -tinjaf, -tinjaf, -tinjaf,
Sätinjaf. Sätinjaf.

¹ Place on the reef. ² Place in Täfonjat. ³ Taboo place in Lölö, next to the harbor passage.
⁴ Slope behind Pikinjäp on Lölö
25. Canoe-bas Nr. 6.

Muän luo, muän luo, Two men, two men,
Muän luo, tojak o Kö, Two men flew up from Jöla,
Touï Tafojat the settled in Mäläm,
Muän luo, muän luo, Two men, two men.
Soikom sa pasok They wind themselves in taro leaves
Kauis bâ pala. And helped along with pala-twigs.
Ära suan They took once
Ma ärä luo They took twice
Muäta muät, run up, run up
Saromosarom Lightning, lightning,
Sarom folima Lightning flashes,
Inakää äna. Illuminates the place.
Sukmejelä bokinjoi Wrap me up, and bury me,
Fais jöjak Dig me out again,
Änäsnäslä Clean my bones
Äfokfoklä of all the dirt!

Explanation: The content is about the cutting of a tree for a canoe. Both men fly, spirit like, through the air to their workplace. What is meant with the wrapping in leaves was no longer known. It suggests itself that they do it as a protection against the rain, because they have been surprised by a thunderstorm. They try twice to move the trunk from its place. Then the storm breaks loose. The following is a reflection about death, which is either triggered by the mortal danger of lightning, or can also relate to the fact that they both were felled by lightning. KRÄMER actually also documented this bas in a similar translation and in the following form:

Sekä, ket in sekä
Sekä !
Moen luo, moen luo, Two boys, two boys,
Muen luo, doiak oe Jolla Two men flew up from Jolla,
Daui Mälam ra Fly down to Mäläm
Moen luo, moen luo, Two boys, two boys.
Sokom sa pasak Wrapped in pasok-leaves.
Kaul boäbäla Bound with bälä.
Iri suan ma iri luo An »iri«, two »iri«
Uäto uät saromo sarom Go away, go away lightning,
Saromo folma Lightning is coming
Inaka kana sukmäöla Lightned, wrap me up
Bakeniaui Faisieiak Put me in the grave, and take me out again
: Änesnesla äfokfokla : Made clean, made dirty
Remark: The first two lines were not translated in KRÄMER’S recording. They seem to mean: »Pull, let us pull, pull!« According to our estimation it is an addition, which does not really belong to the bas, and thus, should better be mentioned at the end.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>26. Bas Nr. 7.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soas si, soas si,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soas si tojak o Tumuuo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toui Uääak,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soas si soas si.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äaklä äaklä,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soas äaklä,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soas etolä,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etolä etolä,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soas etolä,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soas äflä,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äflä äflä,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soas äflä.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The content refers to the initially reported legend (p. 516) about the origin of the canoe-bas, according to which the spirits threw the tree trunk from the mountain down to Mäläm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>27. Bas Nr. 8.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ntetiki, Ntetiki,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntetaka, Ntetaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kot in summon säko,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Löpan summon säko.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men sä täfol,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Täfol(ä) lik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matän lejano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muuat muän lejana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pup pouä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falfala osäs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pup pouäe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falfala osäs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pup pouäe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falfala osäs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: Two men have just felled a tree trunk for a canoe and they are looking at their work. In doing so they think of the three taboos, which have
to be observed for such a task. It is forbidden to eat pandanus, have sexual intercourse, or to catch and eat salt water crabs (p. 418).

28. Bas Nr. 9.
Na mata palan My home hamlet is at the end
Taka Jarsufo Of the island Jarsufo
Likin Päpelamä In front of Päpelamä
Soas mo, soas momo. The work is well accomplished, very well!

Na soas Joanlüko, I work in Joanlüko,
Inisi Pal, In Insisi on Pal.
Taka sel Näfo The island belongs to Näfo,
Önüt Näfo. The spirit Näfo.
Nesa Nekot Nesa and Nekot
Nesa Nekot Nesa and Nekot
Likin säla, sail by outside,
Likin säla sail by outside
Kase ma toktok. And they talk indignantly.
Teken Pal säla They sail by the island Pal,
Eaho! Yes!
Kalal säla They paddle past it
Eaho! Yes!

Remark: The cited hamlets belong to the region Jesin and Mäläm.

29. Bas Nr. 10.
Na mata Inkie, I am sitting in Inkie,
Kom sap ma selüjo You send for me,
Nan tä soas. To finish the work, to finish the work
Nan tä soas I shall finish the work
Kap in folak muo, the end of the coconut sprout is good,

Än Insal muo The hamlet Insal is good¹
Än likin Jepotu The place in front of Jepotu¹
Likin Jipanko. In front of Jipank¹
Nukor suko Like a nukor-fruit
Nao I drift
Na patpat I drift
Oiä-o Around
Lailäp Jat from the harbor side of Jat
Lailap Ualang. To the harbor side of Ualang

¹ Place in Pikisik.
Kusipanak
Kusipanak
En ko.
Äsa
Kesesäsäl elo.
Eliejä eo!
Esepalje eo!
Penkoa nau muän
Räraua
Koi Räraua
Koi Sakoi.

Explanation: The bas refers to the following incident. Once a storm blew a house in Likinlölam into the lagoon. In vain, people tried to pull it out with ropes. Finally, they sent for Räraua from Penkoa in Pikisik. He came with both his sons Koi (»strong«) and Sakoi (»fast and strong«). He sang the bas and pulled the house to the beach. On his way to Likinlölam a strong current in Lölö-Harbor hindered him.

30. Bas Nr. 11.
Lukunum soas mo, Outside, in front of the house stands the good work,
Lukunum soas mo, Outside, in front of the house stands the good work,
Soas mo soas mo The work is good, is successful
Lukunum soas mo, Outside, in front of the house stands the good work,
Na mata likin kota I am sitting in front of the loom
Na kenesla suf on läno. And cut the tread at the knot
Kalata malup Then the shell breaks,
Tölä mokera. Dirt falls down.

31. Bas Nr. 12.
Na mata Insikär. I live in Insikär.
Na uti utolo Inätam. I built a stretcher in Inätam.
Na sok touä Inhor. I lift it on the shoulder in Inhor.
Katin Fenserau Katin Fenserau
Kafis taluk notum. Carry your child.
Ipänlan matanta We walk to the next bend in the path.
Ta sok fulijo Come, lift up, put down,
Päla säe käs. Rest and talk to each other. (?)
Explanation: The bas describes how a man carries with his people a heavy beam. They use a special device for carrying, utol, as depicted here (illustr. 164). It is a rectangular frame made of sturdy poles a a and b b, on which the beam c is attached. With the poles a a the heavy load is carried on the shoulders. A woman with a child—according to the opinion of the natives obviously an aristocrat, who supervised the workers—walks ahead. At the next bend in the path they rest.¹

Illustr. 164. Frame for carrying, utol.

32. Bas Nr. 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lotu lotu lotu</th>
<th>What are you doing in the morning,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fusa seka in mä?</td>
<td>Prince, in the bush?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oi sapsapo !</td>
<td>Take good care !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta nine kesejo</td>
<td>Here are dangerous places (?),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äna mualulu</td>
<td>Swampy places,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Äna sakenken.</td>
<td>Stony places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katinpilik sopejo</td>
<td>Katinpilik sends me,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusä elä,</td>
<td>To fetch the prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elä elä</td>
<td>To fetch, to fetch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusä elä.</td>
<td>To fetch the prince.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. Bas Nr. 14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pator pator Jemuak Jemuak</th>
<th>Let us go fishing in Jemuak, Jemuak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pator pator Jemuak Jemuak</td>
<td>Let us go fishing in Jemuak, Jemuak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kom folo sie folo.</td>
<td>You make a fish-basket!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na folo sie fota.</td>
<td>I make a fish-basket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanäki! Kot ta!</td>
<td>Show! Let us go!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejela manäs</td>
<td>Take away the catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manäs manäs</td>
<td>the catch, the catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejela manäs</td>
<td>Take away the catch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Via Matante as a measurement for the road, see under measurements.
34. Bas Nr. 15.

Fuenpeläp muo,                  Fuenpeläp is good,
Peläp is good, Peläp muo       “” “” “”
Fuenpeläp muo.                 “” “” “”
Kala kala kaus kala           paddle, paddle, steer, paddle,
Kala semona                   Paddle to the swarm of birds
Oätu naten                    Sail down the horizon
Äanuk sáfoso                  Scoop up the sefos-fish,
Fen sufén aluol.              Over the heads of the aluol-fish.
Fien i, fien fuat, sael        I fetch fire,
Na ta su jä                   Who came from the reef
Länäl Neatiat                 To warm Niatat
Ta fen la me                  Is cold an ?
Mosis käla                    ? ?
Käla käla                     ? ?
Mosis käla                    ? ?
Pai kio pâi kio               ? ?
Elä, elä, pâi kio.            ? ?

Explanation: The natives do not know the name Fuenpeläp. It is either mutilated or the old name of a canoe. The following lines describe the trip out to the open sea to catch sefos-fish, small fish, as long as a finger. They are sometimes chased by big fish of the open sea and then gather at the surface of the water. People notice these spots by the swarms of seabirds, especially the black seagulls, which also chase them.

The second part of the bas relates the return from the fishing trip. Leaves of different plants are heated over a fire and placed on the body to heat it. In a poetic way the fishermen do not talk about themselves but about their protective fishing goddess Niatat.

35. Bas Nr. 16 Lepan-Mät.

Fon bok Lâmo                   On the beach of Lâmo
Fon bok Lâmo                   “” “” “” “”
Lâmo, Lâmo                     Of Lâmo, of Lâmo,
Fon bok Lâmo                   On the beach of Lâmo,
Maja boko?                    How does the sand get there?
So use boko?                  Who brought the sand there?
Boko tajä?                   From where does the sand come from?
Inlokpus mo                  Inlokpus is beautiful
Mo l mo                       Beautiful, beautiful,
Inlokpus mo
Fen bok Siäla
Fen bok Siäla
Siäla, Siäla
Fen bok Siäla
Äk in kof Fuäe
Äk in kof Fuäe
Fuäe, Fuäe
Äk in kof Fuäe
Moalil poron
Moalil poron
Porono käsal Nefuo.
Infaron kao
Fai koekot
Koekot, koekot
Ikuot ikmä, ikuot ikmä!

Explanation: The bas is about the account of Lepan-Mät, therefore, it also has this name. For better understanding we refer to it (p. 428). Here we only want to remark that the place with the sandy beach in Lölö is called Inlokpus. The bas also names it after the big basalt boulder there in Lämo.

36. Bas Nr. 17.

Fen bok Jelän muo The sandy beach of Jelän is good
Fen bok Jelän muo
Jelän muo, Jelän muo
Fen bok Jelän muo.
Jeläno élan käkla In Jelän there is élan
In sal Bäses On the mangroves of Bäses.
Ken muo. Et smells good.
Kom na saluä? Did you rub oil on yourself?
Na somuä saluä. I have not yet rubbed oil on me.
Kom na saluä? Did you rub oil on yourself?
Na somuä saluä. I have not yet rubbed oil on me.

Explanation: The bas praises the élan-parasite, which is considered good smelling and is added to coconut oil. It is rubbed into the hair as perfume.

---

1 Hamlet in-between the regions Täf and Utua.  
2 Hamlet of Jelän.
37. Bas Nr. 18.

To kuki löni  
Sugar cane came from heaven  
“To kuki löni”  

Soko sänal Nälik  
One was lowered by Nälik  

Soko sänal Nälok.  
One was lowered by Näok  

Joki kä oae.  
They plated it with a paddle  

Sala kä oae.  
And gave the root the form of a Paddle.  

Joki käsoko  
They plated it in Käsoko  

Ekla ba esen,  
Then one leaf became esen-reed  

Ba esen ba esen  
Esen-reed, esen-reed  

Ekla ba esen.  
Then one leaf became esen-reed  

Tiä säma  
Do not take a reed  

To soko!  
As an ear decoration!  

Senälä luotnu  
They cut off 4 reeds  

Senälä tontono  
They cut off 6 reeds  

Kolosot kolosma  
and they peel it.  

Nasel Sakulus,  
For Sakulus,  

Sakulus, Sakulus,  
Sakulus, Sakulus  

Nasel Sakulus.  
For Sakulus.  

Na no söläkläko,  
I am in a hurry,  

Sepaliä. Esenlä  
That nobody gets there before me  

Uä esenlä  
The esen-kind is more common.  

Esenlä esenlä  
Esen, esen  

Uä esenlä  
Esen is more common.  

Explanation: The sugar cane, especially the kind eïr, supposedly originates from the gods Nälok and Nälik. When planting it, the second, more common variety esen, developed on the stem of the reed at a spathe. The second part of the bas seems to refer to an unknown personal experience. The name Sakulus is formed from kolos »peeling«. 

38. Bas 19.

Jekela  
The waterfall of Jekela  

Kelen ikä.  
A fish is blocking it  

Ulölö  
Maggots  

Ulön ikä.  
The maggots of the fish  

Je sa  
are in the blood,  

Je san ikä  
in the blood of the fish,  

Jalko  
the arteries,  

Jalko ikä  
the arteries of the fish,
XII. CHANTS.

Je son
In the water of decomposition
Je sanon ikä
In the water of decomposition of the fish
Toata
The back
Toon ikä
The back of the fish
Pöla
The tail
Pölan ikä
The tail of the fish
Päl
With time (?)
Pela ikä
With time (?)
Toktok
They cut it
Tuota
In small pieces
Motmot
Take it into pieces
Jalko
The arteries
Sirär makip
?
Sikarära sikarära
?
Kükten neri sinerinineri
?

Explanation: The waterfall of Jekelä in Uiä (Ualang) has a small pond at its foot with a dam in front of it, so that little water flows off. According to the legend, a whale created this dam. It supposedly crept all the way up here and lay down in front of the waterfall. When the bas describes the decomposition process of the whale it focuses on the seeping of the water through the dam’s mass of rock.

39. Bas Nr. 20.

Sikä si, sikä si
A sika, a sika¹,
Sikä si tojak o Yäp
A sika flew up from Yap
Toui fen eolon kapum
and sat down on a cheek of your buttocks.

Sikä si sikä si.
A sika, a sika.
Elos ta Fenlaklak
They flew to Fenlaklak
Fut mesmes
and pulled mesmes-grass.
Kot nikärörö,
The spirit Kot speaks in weedling tones

»Säk natal Selik!«
»The wood belongs to Selik!«
Ukokla ukokla.
And ran after, and ran after.

Explanation: The context is not clear. It seems that a sika annoyed the spirit Kot. First by sitting on his ass. That was when the spirit chased it and the other birds away from a meadow, where they had settled to feed.

---
¹ Small grey bird.
40. Bas Nr. 21

Süs sä mäun o,          The süs are fighting
Süs sä mäun o.          “    “    “    “
Kum tanoijo           They shout at each other
Na tanökum.            One at the other
Süs sä mäun o.          The süs are fighting
Süsa kasla             The süs, they are calling,
Panonjo jak,           They wake me up.
Taf on lotu            In the early morning
Süs matan räno          At dawn
Räno räuno            At dawn
Süs matan räno.        In the early morning

Explanation: The süs use to loudly gather in great numbers before dawn. People easily wake up from their shouting.

41. Bas Nr. 22.

Masok masok                 The mouse, the mouse
Sa jäk sa jäk,               quickly hollows the sugar cane like a canoe.
Masok masok                 The mouse, the mouse
Sa jäk sa jäk,               Quickly hollows the sugar cane like a canoe.
Masok Pal.                  The mouse from Pal.
Jisen nükün jäk            The one from Jisen cannot do it.
Masok Sipiena              The mouse from Sipiena
Eta jäk                   Knows how to hollow out
Masok Sipiena              The mouse from Sipiena
Eta jäk.                  Knows how to hollow out.

Explanation: The mice supposedly gnaw at sugarcane in such a fashion, that they open it on one side split-like. They get the inside out and skillfully ignore the knots, so that a gnawed reed has a similarity with canoes knocking together (jäk = »to hew the canoe, hollow out«). The bas says the mice of Päl in Mäläm and from Sipen (in Utua) knew how to make this, though the ones from Jesin do not know.

42. Bas Nr. 23.

Muän luo, muän luo,          Two boys, two boys,
Muän luo tojäk o Täf,        Two boys flew up from Täf,
Toui ketok,                  and came down in Ketok,
Muän luo, muän luo,          Two boys, two boys,
Jäkesara –kesara             Jäkesara –kesara
Jämesara –mesara.            And Jämesara –mesara.
Uaikla kakin                 Count the coconuts
Telämän                      And distribute them.
Sie malal Nikon     Leave one for Nikon,
Sie malal Nälam     Leave one for Nälam,
Suksuk o Patak¹      The met-suksuk from Patak.¹
Ojajak Pönak         We dig in Pönak,
Sokák Pönak.         We lift in Pönak
Eot si eot si        one stone, one stone out,
Eot si eot in tuktukla falfala One stone, one schlagstein that had sunk.

Kolol tueluklä. Jöjä Wouä It is sinking again back. Jöjä and Wouä,
Pukpuk räto räto      Dig the earth and heap it up,
Pukpuk räto räto.     Dig the earth and heap it up.
Laipunmueä Laipunmueä Laipunmueä Laipunmueä
Fösfös eolö eolö      Lift the supporting posts up,
Fösfös eolö eolö.     Lift the supporting posts up.
Eolö kumus tujak      The supporting post is standing firm,
Eol tujak             The supporting post is standing firm,
Tujak tujak           standing firm, standing firm.
Eol tujak!            The supporting post is standing firm!

Explanataion: The bas is not spoken when a canoe is built, but at other occasions, as for instance erecting a house post. Generally when lifting up heavy loads. The content refers to this. Initially the leaders of the work seem to present themselves. Before it starts people eat first. The following describes two different occurrences. First a basalt ringing stone that had sunken into the ground—this could be a kava stone, a pounding stone for fruits ar a stone bell—is dug out. In the end the erection of the supporting posts of the house is described.

¹ Hamlet in the region Pönak.
XIII. Miscellaneous.

1. Art.

In the otherwise artistically poor Micronesia, the eastern and the western end of the Carolines distinguish themselves significantly from their neighbors. We may even declare that in this regions the Micronesian understanding of art has its greatest development. However, this does not relate to sculpture, which generally did not find a propitious field in Micronesia. Nevertheless, considering most of the visual forms of cultural goods in Kusae, we find a well developed sensibility for style. This impression is emphasized by the manifold use of color for painting and the many ways it is used for ornamentation.

Concerning painting, we have to call attention to the fact that in former times on Kusae there were few cultural objects made of wood, that were not colored, mostly in the characteristically pleasant red color, from coconut shells used as kava bowls, all the way to the canoe and to the house (compare especially pp. 153, 225, 233).

Quite often ornaments accompany the painting. Woven products are especially eye catching, because here the colors are lavish and varied and are connected with technical means. A. KRÄMER has already more or less exhausted the great variety of forms of ornamentation in his contribution about order and ornaments of the clothing mats (pp. 188). The ornamental wealth of clothing mats is achieved by the combination of 4 different techniques:

1. Use of colorful vertical designs created by coloring the warp threads.
2. Interruption of the colorful, vertical warp designs by »embellishing-stitches«, as they are called by Prof. E. KRÄMER (pp. 185), which creates horizontal designs next to the vertical ones. Thus, here the weft is used for the design, actually not a colored weft thread, but the use of a new variety of weave, instead of the plain weave.
3. Changing the color of the warp threads with the help of a knotting technique, which, at the same time, creates a step-like vertical design and a horizontal design (p. 169).
4. By weaving a pattern with a needle during the weaving process (pp. 184).

Besides the woven belts the ornamentation was, in the first place, used on the warping bench, which is related with weaving (p. 169 and 170). Further on it is

---

1 Compare Ephraim, pp. 3.
given special attention in the weaving of meshes and bags (pp. 156) and to a large extent, in the decoration of canoes and houses by painting them and applying ornamental bindings (compare pp. 225, 233, 236).

If we look at the treasure of ornamental forms, then on closer inspection the wealth is mostly based on an accumulation of individual ornaments and the variation and combination of a few basic types. These are the simplest geometrical designs, the line, straight or broken, and in a zigzag, the triangle, the square and the rhombus, while spirals and circles are completely missing. For the sake of completeness we replenish KRÄMER’S set of forms (pp. 192) with some illustrations of not yet mentioned or listed ornaments.

Illustr. 165: kolol tuluk = »walk backwards« supposedly »because the angles of a zigzag line are facing each other’s back«.

Illustr. 166: ikunkof, as in illustr. 1 only the angles of the zigzag line are more pointed. The natives did not know the meaning of the name. Otherwise the word describes the land at the source of a watercourse. Maybe it is a disfigurement of ik in kof »fish in the water« (?) and refers small waves that a swarm of fish creates near the surface of the water.

Illustr. 167: kolol tuluk muis in bäko = »to walk backwards, Teeth of the shark«. The fine kolol tuluk- lines supposedly are the teeth of the shark.

Illustr. 168 a, b: fos = »turtle shell«. The design supposedly depicts the individual plates of the shell
of the turtle. It has a strong similarity with the Ponpei (Bonbei-) ornament, illustr. 109, and the Talpe-ornament, illustr. 110, and with the kul in mos-ornament (illustr. 171), which is mentioned further down. Therefore, it is difficult to keep these four different ornaments precisely apart.

Illustr. 122 a on p. 193 is a variation of the fos-ornament.

Illustr. 169 shows only half of the design illustr 168 a. Therefore, it is also called fos lä mä = »turtle shell, half the thing«. This half fos-design is what we have in illustr. 112, however, it is obviously combined with other ornaments.

In the same fashion, other designs are also only used in half and, therefore, called as such. Thus, under kolol tuluk lä mä we understand half the design of illustr. 165. Here are either only the ascending branches or the descending ones present, thus rows of parallel inclined lines, as in illustr. 65.

Illustr. 170 is also only half a design, it was called bäko lä mä = »teeth of the schark, half the thing«. The ornament supposedly comes from the Marshall Islands and has only been introduced from there, in recent times. It is identical with the one in illustr 114 e in A. KRÄMER’S contribution and obviously a combination of ornaments.

Illustr. 171 is considered a combination of two ornaments and is also only half a representation, because it is incomplete on the sides. The local name is kul in mos kolol tuluk lä mä = »skin of the breadfruit, walking backwards, half the thing«. Of this kul in mos is the rhomboid ornament with the cross in the middle. It supposedly resembles the rough surface of the breadfruit, which is covered with fine warts. Kolol tuluk is the zigzag line, which runs here from the top to the bottom.

The ornaments of illustr. 165—171 have been taken from sewn bags and sitting mats but they also appear on the clothing mats and the other decorated products.

Illustr. 172, a—e, brings, next to the ornaments mentioned on pp. 192 or above, some new ones, which have been taken from warping benches. Unfortunately, there are no related statements of the natives.

Considering the technique of ornamentation besides loom weaving, when it is used on wood then the ornamentation is usually in form of notches (p. 170). On a canoe (plate 36) and on a house (plate 37) the order is brought out according to the length of the wood, which has to be ornamented.

On the sewn mats and bags the ornaments are attached by weaving them in with the help of a needle, as we have partially seen with the loom woven mats. Only this technique can also be found at the woven saki-mats, where the ornamentation is conspicuously simple and poor (illustr. 69 on p. 158 and plate 23,1). This proves that pure woven designs do not exist on Kusae. This fact is the more remarkable as the biggest part of the
ornaments seemed to have initially originated from woven designs and that the secondary technique of weaving enjoys great popularity. Considering the close connection to the Marshall Islands, as it has been proven by A. KRÄMER in the art of ornaments (p. 193), Kusae therefore has not only been a giving partner, but also a taking one, as real weaving patterns are very common in the Marshall Islands.

When it comes to sculptures, we only saw them on three occasions. They were all made of stone:

1. A human figure made of basalt was found by Dr. HAMBRUCH in the ruins of Lölö. It was a very rough relief and obviously unfinished, made from one basalt block and about 30 cm high. Due to some mistake the piece remained on Kusae. The natives could not say anything about its origin and its significance and only looked at it distainfully.

2. and 3. two busts sculptures made of coral (illustr. 173 a, b). The smaller one is from Matante. It stood on the extreme projection of the high stone platform of the house depicted on plate 39,2. A young man, already deceased, had made it for his own pleasure. According to our information, he was not following any old custom. It probably goes back to the same source as the bigger, 46 cm high sculpture, which was from the region Mot, where it was used in a similar fashion. The sculptures of this bust, two men, were still alive. When questioned, they said they had fashioned it after the model of a head on the bow of the »Morning Star«, a sailing ship of the Boston-Mission. They had executed it 15 years after the ship had run aground on the reef of Kusae.
The natives did not know anything about artistic activities in wood or stone in the old time. There also is no hint about it in literature.

2. Medical Knowledge.

In former times, knowledge about medicine was a family secret. Medically knowledgeable people were called satäl. Their clients paid them.

The general medicine (medicine = ono) was a mixture of all sorts of pounded roots, blossoms, and leaves. All was wrapped into a leaf of coconut and bound tight. These small bags, like a child’s pacifier, were stored hanging in the dwelling house as is still the case today. The liquid that is pressed out is either drunk or rubbed on the body.

Further local means were:

Putting broken limbs in splints (käla), using wooden sticks and bindings. (borrowed?)

Massage (haä) for pains of the abdomen and for abortions (compare p. 309).

Applying heated bushels of leaves against a cold. Especially young i-leaves (Inocarpus edulis) were used, fät leaves and banana leaves (= saeal).

Water was splashed on people who had fainted. In order to do so, somebody submerged his head into the sea and then wrung his long hair over the unconscious person. (Compare also the account »Lapan-Finpukal« on pp. 466.)

The women chewed the acorn-like fruits of Inocarpus edulis (i or hi) during their menstruation for its »cooling effect«. (Compare also the account »Nelik« on p. 472.)

Drinking pounded bal-leaves in fresh water supposedly gives physical strength. (Compare also the account »Nepartak« on pp. 373 and »Wonrak and Wonesän on pp. 479.)

Concerning sicknesses compare p. 63 and p. 75.

The unit of length is the span of wide stretched arms = näna. Special terms for shorter distances are no longer known. People mentioned also:

täf in näna = 1/2 näna,
lä un (= »half the breast«): distance from the middle of the breast to the tips of the fingers, of the arm extended on the side,
lä bo (= half the arm): the length of one arm,
taf in bo (= »one half on an arm«): one half length of an arm.

Small distances are indicated by spanning the other arm at a certain spot with the thumb and the index finger, in order to indicate the distance, from the tips of the fingers to the spot where the arm is spanned.

As a unit of length people also had the old expression matanta = the distance from one place of rest to the next one. People used to take a break at the bend of a path or at a crossing.

4. The Calendar.

Today, people use the European calendar. The local one has nearly completely been forgotten.

There is no longer a special word for »year«; people use the English term year. Also the traditional names of the months have been forgotten.

People distinguish 2 seasons:

1. muis: Approximately the time from March to August, a time of little wind and waves, though of lots of rain. In former days, these were the days for fishing on the open sea.

2. enanen: Approximately the time from September to February when strong eastern winds prevail and high waves, though less rain.

According to KRÄMER and LÜTKE the days of the month are:1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KRÄMER</th>
<th>LÜTKE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. maspan, the 1. day of the young moon</td>
<td>maïspang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. mesalam</td>
<td>maza-lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. meson</td>
<td>moze8on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mesoit</td>
<td>moze-ut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. mesoal</td>
<td>moze-oal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. latlato</td>
<td>alatlato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. matal</td>
<td>matal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. siofon</td>
<td>chëovan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. arefoko</td>
<td>arf8ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 LÜTKE 1835/36, II, p. 171.
Krämer and Lütke noted down the following times of the day:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KRÄMER</th>
<th>LÜTKE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. sekambör</td>
<td>sagainpoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. lofsen</td>
<td>olofchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. olmuen</td>
<td>olm8en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. moes</td>
<td>moeche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. äl: moon raisin at sunset</td>
<td>eal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. lalt</td>
<td>lelti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. gomola met¹</td>
<td>kom8la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. gomola tok</td>
<td>kom8la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. sopas</td>
<td>seupache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. apnak</td>
<td>eapnag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. —</td>
<td>oislang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. —</td>
<td>eapnag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. sobas</td>
<td>seupache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. senak</td>
<td>sennak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. kesaf</td>
<td>kesaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. soanbör</td>
<td>sa8anpoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. arpi</td>
<td>arpbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. i</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. sopup</td>
<td>chepbip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. lenänen</td>
<td>lingenbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. lenalan</td>
<td>lingalang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerning these I found the following in my records:

4—5 o’clock in the morning tafon lotu (»half the morning«).

¹ In the nights of both these days the land crabs walk to the water. Therefore, these are two important nights for the fishermen.
² Lütke 1836/37, II, p. 370.
XIV. Language.

Until now no grammar and no dictionary exist for the Kussaean language. The translation of the bible by the »American-Bible-Society« represents a valuable document for the study of the language besides some few, short lists of words.\(^1\) THALHEIMER already used it in his »Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Pronomina personalia und possessiva der Sprachen Mikronesiens«.\(^2\) Not being a linguist, I did not want to process the language material the expedition had collected together with the previously known one and to add it here. An expert will catch up on it at a later date. In the meantime the inserted passages of the language can provide a hint for this language although it was not possible to keep the translation interlinear. In addition a few provisional remarks.

The Kusae language belongs to the Melanesian language group within the Austronesian language family. This has been established since THALHEIMER’S conclusive examination. At the same time it has a certain independent position within the languages of Micronesia and it shows a certain closer relationship with the language of Yap.\(^3\)

To what extent the Kusaean language demonstrates a mixed Papuan character as P.W. SCHMIDT has detected\(^4\) for the Ponapean language using GIRSCHNER’S material and which he also extended to Kusae based on one example of GIRSCHNER\(^5\), as far as I can see, there is unfortunately no evidence in the material gathered by the expedition.\(^6\) On Kusae people knew about an older language, which had been spoken before though has been forgotten now, as people later on no longer understood it. However, this language supposedly was not a complete one. It consisted of a lot of words, which the later Kuseaen language no longer has. An example for this older Kusaean language seems to be the words in the account about the fish-people (pp. 416). Generally speaking there is no value attached to such a statement of the natives. The change of language, unknown to them, is enough of an explanation. Further on,

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\(^1\) Kusaean scriptures. New-York: American Bible Society, 1902.
\(^2\) Stuttgart 1908. J.B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung.
\(^3\) THALHEIMER, pp. 93 and p. 95.
\(^4\) Compare Anthropos V, pp. 560 and VII, pp. 503.
\(^5\) Anthropos VII, p. 504.
\(^6\) Unfortunately, now writing these remarks concerning the language I am no longer so familiar with the material as I had been before.
translating the many times not understandable texts of songs, the natives initially quickly voiced their opinion that they contained foreign words or an older language. The memory of an older, extinct language can actually be in these statements after the mixed Papuan character of individual Micronesian languages has been proven. In this context the existence of the former »wild people« on Ualang appears also in a new light.

According to TALHEIMER the special position of the Kuseaen language within the languages of Micronesia is based on the following characteristics:
1. Maintenance of k before naturally final sound u.
2. Peculiarity of forming duals and trials with pronouns.
3. Missing pronominal conjuncta for personal pronouns.
4. Differentiation of an absolute and objective personal pronoun 1. pl. include.
5. Absence of a special class of nomina that directly suffixes possessive suffixes.
7. Stem la- of the composite possessive pronouns in contrast to na, a of the other languages.
8. Postposition of all composite possessive pronouns behind the verb.

These results are not expected to change, although the Kusaean material TALHEIMER was working with was rather scarce.

Concerning the dual and trial forms, for the pronouns personale, they have been stated on p. 304 in the complete fashion, as TALHEIMER could have known them. The different possessive forms are on pp. 304 and below. The trial indicates a small majority (3—4).

In the 1. pers. pl. of the pronoun personale the absolute pronoun kot was stated to me also as the objective pronoun.

Quite a few possessive pronouns can be added to the composite possessive pronouns recorded by TALHEIMER, besides the directly suffixed possessive pronouns that are all in a postposition. Thus, temporarily we have the following complete series:

a) TALHEIMER’S pron. poss. In the stricter sense:
   1., 2., 3. pers sing. lok, lom, lal; 1. pers. pl. excl. leital, leitotual, leimeim;
   1. pers. pl. include. loktal, loktotäl, las; 2. pers. pl. lomtal, lomtotäl, lomos;
   3. pers. pl. laltäl, latotäl, lalos.

Elevated language (pp. 303) 1., 2., 3. pers. sing. lan lout, lalos, lal; 1. pers. pl.

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1 Compare with what has been said on p. 499.  
2 Compare pp. 62 and p. 370.
excl. leitalos, leitotälos, leimleim; 1. pers. pl. incl. loktalos, loktotälos, las; 2. pers. pl. lomtälos, lomtotälos, lomos; 3. pers. pl. laltälos, laltotälos, lalos.

b) TAHLMHEIFER’S pronoun edivum:
1., 2., 3. pers. sing. nak, nom, näl; 1. pl. excl. neität, neitotä, nameim; 1.pl. inkl. naktäl, naktotä, näs; 2. pl. nomtäl, nomtotä, nomos; 3. pl. naltäl, naltotä, nälos.

Elevated language: nan lout and the forms of the elevated language d.

c) While b is used for all cooked food and things to eat that are not eaten raw or cannot be eaten raw, another pronoun edivum is used for raw food (eating something raw = osas):
1., 2., 3. pers. sing. oseik, oseim, osal; 1. pl. excl. oseitäl, oseitotä, oseeimeim; 1. pl. incl. oseiktäl, oseiktotä, osas; 2. pl. oseimtal, oseimtotä, oseimos; 3. pl. osaltäl, osaltotä, osalos.

Elevated language: osein lout, osalos, osal, etc. analogous to a.

d) An indifferent pronoun edivum and at the same time a more polite form is:
1., 2., 3. pers. sing. kofeik, kofeim, kofail; 1. pers. pl. excl. kofeitual, etc. kofeimeim; 1. pers. pl. incl. kofeiktäl etc. kofais; 2. pers. pl. kofeimtal etc. kofeimos; 3. pers. pl. kofaitä etc. kofailos.

Elevated language: kofein lout, kofalos, kofail etc. analogous to a.

e) THALHEIMER’S pronoun potativum (nüm = to drink):
1., 2., 3. pers. sing. nümak, nümön, nümäl; 1. pers. pl. nümbeitals etc. nümbeimeim; 1. pers. pl. include. nümaktäl etc. nümäs; 2. pers. pl. nümotä etc. nümös; 3. pers. pl. include. nümaktäl etc. nümäs; 2. pers. pl. nümomtal etc. nümös; 3. pers. pl. nümaktäl etc. nümäs; 2. pers. pl. nümomtal etc. nümös; 3. pers. pl. nümaltäl etc. nümalos.

Elevated language: nüman lout and further on forms of the elevated language d.

f) For fruits which are sucked (for instance pandanus, sugarcane):
1., 2., 3. pers. sing. niak, niom, nial; 1. pl. excl. nietäl etc. niemeim; 1. pl. incl. niaktäl etc. nias; 2. pl. niomtal, etc. niomos; 3. pl. nialtal etc. nialos.

Elevated language: nian lout, etc. analogous to a.

g) THALHEIMER’S pronoun adessivum:
1., 2., 3. pers. sing. sik (not sik!)*, sum, säl; 1. pl. excl. siltäl etc. simeim; 1. pl. incl. siktäl etc. säs; 2. pl. sumtal, etc. sumos; 3. pl. sältal, etc. sälos.

Elevated language: sin lout and further on analogous to a.

h) For children, domestic animals, the spear, and others: natik, natom, natital, -totäl, -meim; natiktäl, -totäl, natos; natumtäl, -totäl, natumos; nataltäl, -totual, natalos.

Elevated language: natin lout and further on analogous to a.

i) For the canoe: okak, -om, -al; okaital, -totäl, okameim; okaktal, -totäl, okas; okomtäl, -totäl, okomas; okaltal, -totäl, okalos.

Elevated language: okan lout and further on analogous to a.

* [The accents, which cannot be printed in the English translation show the special intonation of the words; comment CCHPH].
k) For planted fruits, plants, and flowers (sak = tree, bush, plant): sena; senom; senal, sänetäl, -total, senameim; senktäl, -totäl, senas; senomtal, -totäl, senomos; senaltäl, -totäl, senalos.

Further on we have to mention:
The substantive has no form of genus.
Just as the person is not expressed in the verb by a prefix, the times are also not expressed (na som = I go; nä som = I will go).
The transitive verbs form passive forms with the suffix –ok. It remains the same with the different persons. Here the pronoun can be positioned before or after (lie = to see; liejok na or na liejok = I am seen, people see me).
Remark. From all the recorded family trees, those presented in these genealogic tables, refer to the origin and family context of the last 16 established rulers of Kusae. They are actually united into a single one. Accordingly, they are most of all thought to enhance the accounts about the history of Kusae (pp. 378: 2. The Historic Time) and the succession to the throne (pp. 342). The Kings are printed in bold fonts.

Further on, the tables give testimony of the extreme decline of the population in the time of the middle generation, due to lack of children. They also give testimony of the strong increase in the last generation, due to a wealth of children (compare with pp. 55 and p. 58).

It also is remarkable that these genealogic tables originate from aristocratic families. Concerning the purity of the nobility in the last generations compare pp. 355.

About Kusaean proper names compare pp. 300 and pp. 302.
# Genealogical Table IV

(Addition to II)

Kênțe-Kînnawic ʘ
Lepâlk Melâkk ʘ

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(before Sêsa)</td>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sîkên)</td>
<td>[Kênțe-Intrîlônt ʘ]</td>
<td>[Lepâlk-Sîc ô]</td>
<td>[Title holding chief: Sêmûta]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Kênțe-Intrîlônt ʘ]</td>
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See Sunmîsâf III.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sêsa)</td>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sêka)</td>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sêka)</td>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sêmûta)</td>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sêmûta)</td>
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From a and c each 1 infant, from b: ʘ

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sîkên)</td>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sêsa)</td>
<td>(Title holding chief: Sêka)</td>
<td>[Kênțe-Kînnawic ʘ]</td>
<td>[Lepâlk-Kînô ô]</td>
<td>[Lîkîlwc-Scô ʘ]</td>
<td>(Lepâlk-Kînô ô)</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Lepâlk-Ôô ô</td>
<td>1. Bêns ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Kîlîfà-Lêînô ô</td>
<td>2. Jozû ô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|------------|------------|-----------------|
### Genealogical Table VI.

**(Addition to II.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Åoi Nēšu V. Ṣ. (Nr. 13)</th>
<th>Sēpe Infāra 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kēnie-Nimāko 9</td>
<td>2. Šē-Tafar 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Pāluk-Šū Ṣ. 6]</td>
<td>[Ālik-Nēna-Mokkēta 8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ul. 4.</td>
<td>as infants? 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ālik-Nēna</td>
<td>lost with a canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Tēle-Sēmāla 9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tēle-Sū Ṣ. 6</td>
<td>7. Tēle-Sa Ṣ. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Šēpe Nekēsen 9]</td>
<td>[Šēpe Nekēsen 9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ālik-Pēa 8</td>
<td>11. Ālik-Pēa 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sēpe Nekēsen 9</td>
<td>3. Šēpe Nekēsen 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† as a girl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Šēpe Nekēsen 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ālik-Oā 8</td>
<td>7. Sēpe Nekēsen 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sēpe Nekēsen 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Genealogical Table VII.

**(Addition to III.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Åoi Nēśpēluk I. (Nr. 7)</th>
<th>Sēpe Infāra 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Åoi Nēśu III. Ṣ. (Nr. 8) (before Kanko)</td>
<td>2. Ālik-Lof 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Šēpe Nukālu Ṣ. 9]</td>
<td>3. Šēpe Nēpōru 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Ālik-Sa Ṣ. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† as a young man</td>
<td>5. Kēnie-Khāmmāt 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† as a girl</td>
<td>6. Kelāfa-Lēnō Ṣ. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(title holding chief Ṣēkēra)</td>
<td>[Kā-Kifēl 9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēpe Infāra not married!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a compare genealogical table V
From b: —

compare genealogical table I
## Genealogical Table V.

(In addition to II.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>† as a boy</td>
<td>[Kēnie-Kētinmuāk 9]</td>
<td>† as a young man</td>
<td>[Ālik-Sā 9]</td>
<td>[last title holding chief Sēsa]</td>
<td>† as a girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Kēnie-Kētinmuāk 9]</td>
<td>[Inkitar 9]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Kēnie-Kētinmuāk 9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Pāluk-Šu</td>
<td>2. Sēpe-Insafokfor 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kīla Sēpe-Insafokfor 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Woman from Nauru.*
**Genealogical Table II.**
*(Addition to II.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Šēpe-Nēkāl ṣ</th>
<th>[priest Sēkōl ṣ]</th>
<th>2. Nēue-Ša ṣ</th>
<th>Ālik-SA ṣ</th>
<th>(title holding chief Kāndē)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Ālik-Sa ṣ</td>
<td>(title holding chief Sēvelō)</td>
<td>[Sēpe-Álik ṣ]</td>
<td>3. Tēlēn-Ša ṣ</td>
<td>[Sēpe-Anil ṣ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Āōil Nēnah II ṣ (Nr. 6)</td>
<td>3. Pēl</td>
<td>[Sēpe-Nēnah ṣ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Šōwā-Imōnti ṣ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

3. Āōil Nēnah II ṣ (Nr. 6) with the epithet Šēle-Tāni  
*Mūš (1)*

---

1. After the war against Āōil Nēnah he was demoted to Šēkejo because he had been his ally.

---

**Genealogical Table III.**
*(In addition to II.)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From a: 1. Šīk-Nēna ṣ</td>
<td>Aōil-Nēphātuk II ṣ. (Nr. 10)</td>
<td>[before Sēwāta, then Kāndō]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2. Klāk-Kōn ṣ  
*(title holding chief Sēlik)*

---

2. Kēnē-Imōnt ṣ  
*(title holding chief Sēlim)*

---

1. Aōil-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a boy  
a) Sēfīrah ṣ  
b) Līlāk-Sa ṣ

---

3. Šōf Pēmāni ṣ

---

2. Klāk-Ša ṣ  
† as a girl

---

3. Tēlēn-Ša ṣ  
† as a woman

---

4. Sēpe-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

See genealogical table VII.

---

1. Aōil-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

See genealogical table VII.

---

2. Klāk-Kōn ṣ  
(Kēnē-Imōnt ṣ)  
† as a child

---

4. Sēpe-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

See genealogical table VII.

---

1. Aōil-Ša ṣ  
[before Sēwāta, then Kāndō]  
† as a child

---

2. Klāk-Ša ṣ  
† as a child

---

3. Tēlēn-Ša ṣ  
† as a child

---

1. Aōil-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

3. Tēlēn-Ša ṣ  
† as a child

---

1. Sēpe-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

4. Sēpe-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

5. Tēlēn-Ša ṣ  
† as a child

---

2. Klāk-Kōn ṣ  
(Kēnē-Imōnt ṣ)

---

3. Šōf Pēmāni ṣ

---

1. Sēpe-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

2. Klāk-Kōn ṣ  
(Kēnē-Imōnt ṣ)

---

3. Šōf Pēmāni ṣ

---

1. Sēpe-Nēnah ṣ  
† as a child

---

2. Klāk-Kōn ṣ  
(Kēnē-Imōnt ṣ)

---

3. Šōf Pēmāni ṣ

---

2. Klāk-Kōn ṣ  
(Kēnē-Imōnt ṣ)
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Relation</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sépe-Áoá</td>
<td>Álik-Sa, daughter of Áoá Néaša II (N. 15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Áoá Néaša II (N. 15)</td>
<td>(before Áoá, then Süo-Áoá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kénie-Kitímmáak</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Páluk-Ná</td>
<td>as title holding chief Süo-Áoá, then Kánko, then Süo-Áoá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Páluk-Ná</td>
<td>(as title holding chief Süo-Áoá, then Kánko, then Süo-Áoá)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lepáluk-Mátóók</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Süo-Áoá</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Télén-Sa</td>
<td>(title holding chief Télén-Sa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Súo-Nemeliki</td>
<td>(title holding chief Súo-Nemeliki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Álik-Néa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a: -
From b: see genealogical table V
From c: see genealogical table VII
Genealogical Table VIII.
(In addition to I)

1. Sepe-Inapisi  
   Telen-Su (title holding chief Sili)

2. Muaz  
   Aca Nnui II (or. 6) (called Stel-Tair)

3. Noo-So  
   comp. genealogical II

1. Kilika Koa  
   [Talpe-Nemeta 0]

2. Noo-So  
   [Likim-Atemkoda 0] (as title holding chief Sama)
   a) Sepe-Inapisi
   b) Noluf-Kerab

3. Plik-Na  
   comp. genealogical II

1. Sepe-Nanmado  
   Loka-Karn  
   a) Noluk  
   b) Stam-Ndza

2. Telen-Nkamts  
   [Stal-Oka 0]

1. Sepe-Nkamts  
   Plik-Na  
   a) Sama-Na  
   b) Telen-Su
   i. Plik-Na  
   † as a boy

2. Stata-Ntemla  
   [Tseb-Ntna]

3. Stu-Nkamts  
   [Tela-Nkamts]

2. Sanaka-Fesem  
   [Noluf-Sa 0]

1. Telen-Su  
   a) Stal-Sam  
   b) Nossee a)

2. Sepe-Inapisi  
   Tela-Nkamts  
   [Lepp-Kun 0]

3. Loka-Karn  
   a) Sama-Na  
   b) Tela-Nkamts

1. Loka  
   a) Alfred
   b) Noluk-Na  
   c) Stana

2. Loka-Karn  
   a) Sama-Na  
   b) Tela-Nkamts

1. Lea  
   2. Ral  
   3. Nkma  
   4. Sora  

3. Loka-Nkamts  
   a) Sama-Na  
   b) Tela-Nkamts

1. Lea  
   2. Noluk-Na  
   3. Stana

2. Sepe-Inapisi  
   a) Noluf-Kerab

3. Kilika Koa  
   [Talpe-Nemeta 0]

1. Telen-Su  
   a) Stal-Sam  
   b) Nossee a)

2. Sepe-Inapisi  
   Tela-Nkamts  
   [Lepp-Kun 0]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōn 9. [ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>épé-Intāra 9 From b): 2. Tēlēn-Su 9 klak-Sa 9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numēlīlī 9 7 children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésa II. (Nr. 15)</td>
<td>comp. this genealogical table</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tammtafel III From c):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a): —
From b): 1. Tēlēn-Su 9 [Nināpa 9]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Šā-Nimānuān 9 [Kīlāfa-Kōn 9]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Šūa-Nikaāa 9 [Tēlēn-Su 9]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nehemā 9</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Likāk-Lānā 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sālik-Fēnmā 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nathan 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jōan 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pāluk-Kōn 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kēlāfa-Kōn 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sépe-Nēpēprē 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a): 1. Šāa-Intā inhō sik 9 as a girl
2. Kēnie-Nuānpe 9 as a child
b): —

From c): —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Tēlēn-Oā 9 9 Terfmā 9 [Nauru-woman]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Sépe-Kōl 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ālik-Sū 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kēnie-Liēpās 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isik 1 9 [Tēlēn-Sa 9]]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jārnā 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esansōā 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mānnān 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kēlāfa-Kōn 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Šā Inšāl 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ālik-Sā 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ismaēl 9 (not married)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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(The text in bold under parenthesis indicates the acronym under which the source is mentioned in the text.)

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[Translations from Duperrey, Dumont d’Urville, Lesson, Lütke and Kittlitz were cited from Ritter and Ritter, The European Discovery of Kosrae Island, Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report Number 13, 1982 (R.+R.); comment CCHPH.]

Misprints

Page 311, paragraph 2, line 7: esäka instead of ekäsa.
Page 347, last line before paragraph IV, add: see pp.363.
Page 352, topaje instead of potaje.
Page 354, line 2 of the prayer: tartok instead of taktok.
Page 395, line 20: Chapter X, nr. 16, p. 437 instead of Chapter X, nr. 17, p. 347.