

## The Texts

Narrative 1 Told by Tepou Hoa,<sup>1</sup> December 31, 1973, at our house, Nanumea. Present at tape-recording session: Tepou, Anne Chambers, Keith Chambers.

[Tala i aa Tefolaha -- The Story of Tefolaha]<sup>2</sup>

(1) Ko Pai mo Vau. Tino hauai laa. Konaa ni ommai lua faafine konaa, ni tino ailoa. Pelaa laa ni maua mai e Tefolaha, e noho i konei. Telaa ni fakatuu e laaua te fenua tenei. E, me ni ommai i ai, ka ko Nanumea nei i aa Pai loa mo Vau. Ni fakatuu gina e laaua telaa a Lakena hoki koia. Ko te one ni ommai mo laaua. Tenaa te tala ni ommai mo laa kete, fakatuu e laaua a Nanumea. E ommai naa laa mo laa mo one, ka fai koa tuku laa mo one, ko te fenua koa fano o tupu. (2) [I te taimi telaa e hee ai ni laakau] me ko te hauga naa a Tefolaha. E oko mai Tefolaha, taايا loa i ai e Tefolaha. Taa i ai ke olo, me e ona te fenua. E hee tonu a Tefolaha. Ka ko te fenua e o Pai loa mo Vau. Tenaa laa tteke tokoluaa me e o laaua te fenua. Muna a mea, "E oku te fenua!" Muna a Pai mo Vau, "E, ko ai maa igoa?" Ke hee iloa e Tefolaha. Telaa laa e i ai tala pelaa. (3) Ko takapili ai Tefolaha ki na feitu aitu. E lua ona feitu. Ko fano ai pelaa ki luga o noho mai luga i te fale. Mo mea kolaa e nnoho ai mai lalo tokoluaa. Ka koa noho mai luga. Ka koa avaifo ai na loko. Telaa e taku nei loa ki te loko. E loko a Tefolaha. E i ai ni mea pelaa me he fulufulu piho e fuaniki kkii. (4) Tenaa laa kae i ai he manu telaa e lave i ai. He manu tea foinini kkii ailoa. Telaa e fakalave e ia. Ko tona uiga he loko. Te mea tenaa. Koa tuku ai e Tefolaha ki lalo.

Penei me i tokoluaa e fai a laa mea, e ffili a laa titi. Pelaa te kamataga o te tala. Tena e fai a laa mea penaa. Kae pula atu a Pai.

(5) Pula atu naa laa a Pai kia Vau, a te mea telaa ko tuku ifo i toku piho, ko ia ko fanaifo ki lalo. Tena ko te loko a Tefolaha. Avaifo, ko muna a Pai, "E Vau, e Vau, a te mea tenaa ko tai hepaki ki tou piho." Ffuti ake te loko a Tefolaha. Ko naa iloa i ai ko Vau telaa. I aa, ko fanake. Koa galo atu laa te loko tenaa. Koa noho. Aue! Koa avaiko hoki te loko a Tefolaha ki te piho e oku me ka hee naa iloa toku igoa. Avaifo naa. (6) Kae tenaa, "E Pai, a te mea tenaa ko tai hepaki ki tou piho." Ko futifuti ake i ai te loko. Ko naa iloa i ai ko Pai mo Vau [Tepou chuckes]. Tena fanaifo i ai Tefolaha. Taa loa i ai ke olo. "Ko ai maa igoa?" "Ko Pai mo Vau." [Tepou laughs] [Fanaifo] mai luga i te fata pelaa iluga. Me ko te mea ko ia laa he aitu. Koa fano laa ki na feitu aitu. Hee mafai o lavea. (7) Tena koa hau i ai, "E, olo, e oku te fenua!" "E o maaua loa te fenua! Ko ai maa igoa?" "Ko Pai mo Vau." A, aaua, ikai olo laa, tagi la tokoluaa, koa olo. Koa tagi tele laa me ikai, me e o laaua laa te fenua. Kae he loi laa te mea a Tefolaha. Ovatu i ai, olo ki Lakena, fakatuu loa i ai Lakena e laaua, ki te laa kete one. Kae i laa ologa, ni maligi a laa mo one, i te laa kete one. Telaa i Lafogaki, ni maligi, maligi ki lalo laa mo one, tenaa ni tupu ai a Lafogaki. (8) Koa tuu i ai te mea tenaa ko Lafogaki, pelaa he motu foiniki. Ka olo i ai o nnoho i Lakena. Ovatu, fakatuu Lakena. Oti ai, e tuu Lakena, pelaa koa gata mai te tala ikonei i aa Pai mo Vau, pelaa e fai fai i aa Pai mo Vau ni olo ki Kilipati. Galo nei loa i ai te tala i aa Pai mo Vau. Fakaoti atu

loa uunaa i Lakena, galo i ai, galo ailoa. Koa noho a Tefolaha, koa noho ikonei. Fai i ai na aavaga. Aavaga aitu ko Laukite. Laukite he aitu. (9) Ni noho mo Tefolaha. Pelaa laa he aitu. Noho laa i ai. Ia Tefolaha hoki laa he tino kae liu aitu, koa aitu. Ke iloa, telaa fai na aavaga he aitu, ko Laukite. I Nanumea nei e faigataa o iloa e laatou te, a te igoa o te aavaga a Tefolaha. E hee iloa. Laukite, pelaa he tupua, Laukite he tupua. Pelaa he tupua naateahoo. Telaa laa koa fakaola gina e Tefolaha mo mea a fai na aavaga. (10) Fai i ai, nnoho loa i ai, fai loa i ai laa tama. Fai a laa tama. Tenaa laa faanau mai te laa tama muamua. E kai tino, pelaa a fekai ko ia, e kaitaua. Taa mata tama naa. Mate. Toe faanau mai i te lua. E penaa hoki, kai tino hoki. E fai mai me, mea naa ko te motou kaaiga ailoa tenaa. A te tino he tino ailoa penei, ka ko te gutu pelaa mo te paala, te ika. E gutu, e gutu paala. (11) Kae he tino loa penei ka ko te gutu laa e loa pelaa mo te gutu o te paala [Tepou laughs]. Tenaa e penaa katoa e toko faa tama a Tefolaha ni fai. Konaa ni taa mate katoa me fekkai, kai tino. Kae faannau mai i ai ana tama fakamuli. Ko Koli. Telaa e lelei e hee kaitaua. Tuku loa i ai ke hao a Koli. Fano fano fano, koa lahi a Koli. Tukua loa e Tefolaha ke pule a Koli. Ko ia ke aliki i uta nei i Nanumea. Kae e fai ai o fano a Tefolaha ki Saamoa. (12) Tenaa i na hauga tenaa. Koa fakatoka o fano. Ka koa faannau ana tama e tokolua. Faannau laa ko hee faannau i feitu aitu. Kae faannau i te tamana. Telaa, ko te uiga o te muna tenaa "faannau i tagata," ko faannau i te malamalama. E, koi faannau i te pouliuli. Pelaa me ni fai laa aitu i tinaa tino ko malamalama penei, a tama konaa. Ia, hee iloa

laa me ko Laukite. Ko hee aitu. Ka koa, koa tino ailoa pelaa ke iloa.  
 Ko hee ai hena feitu aitu. (13) Tenaa laa ni fai ana tama e tokolua.  
 Fano a laa o fano ki Samoa. Ko toe ffoki a Tefolaha. Ka koa nnoho laa  
 a Koli mo ona tuagane kolaa koi foinini, Teilo mo Tepaa. Fano fano  
 fano fano fano laa, koa lahi ona tuagane konaa. Tuku gina loa i ai e  
 Koli ke olo o aliki i te fenua, a Tepaa mo Teilo. E aliki, ka koa noho  
 a Koli o pula, o pula kia laa mea a fai. Telaa e i ai he mea e see,  
 ko Koli koa fakatonu atu kia laa. (14) Penaa te laa faiga. Ko ia  
 te pule, mai luga i aa Tefolaha. Ka ko tana pule, ke olo ona tuagane  
 o aliki. Tenaa noho loa i ai. Noho loa penaa. Tenaa laa ko te tama  
 mua telaa ko Teilo. Ko ia te aliki. Kae penei, ka fai koa hopo a  
 Teilo o aliki, e i ai te muna pelaa faka Nanumea, a te kata, e kata.  
 Mana fai, ko te kata o Teilo mana koa hopo ki te aliki, hee maua o fai  
 atu, me koa aliki a Teilo. (15) Konaa laa a atu ko hee maua loa o fai,  
 i te moana, a paala mo takuo. Ia, ko te fenua hoki i uta penei, ko  
 hee maua o fai te ua, me ia Teilo koa hopo, koa hopo i te aliki. Ke  
 iloa, koa fano ko ia o noho o aliki. Konaa loa ona kata, e kata ki  
 te moana, kae kata ki uta i te fenua. Hee maua o fai a ua. A pii uke  
 kkii a niu i te fua. Teilo. Ka fai koa hee aliki a Teilo, ka koa hau  
 a Tepaa o aliki, a ika i tai kolaa, manini mo ika taa tili, e uke uke  
 kkii. Koa hee maua o fai te ika. Ko Tepaa tenaa mana koa fakahopo.  
 Nei hoki kahee ai ni ika ake ka ou lua lavea gina. (16) Mea e taku  
 ki te ika ake. Hee maua loa o fai te ika mana koa fai koa ake a ika.  
 Mea naa laa e ake katoa i te motu i Lakena. Ika ake, te homo, ni aa,  
 ni ika kuma, uke uke kkii. Ka fai penei koa fakahopo a laa a Teilo.

Aatafata laa, a te fenua koa sauniuni katoa me ia Teilo koa fano o aliki, o fakahopo ki luga i te aliki. Taea naa kae tuku mai te ua! Ko tena uiga e manuia, manuia te noho aiga tenaa a te [aliki]. [Kafai] koa noho laa a Teilo, e, ka ko Tepaa koa fano o noho i te aliki, tenaa, i ika i tai uu laa, gaa manini mo [ika penaa] i te papa, kolaa i galu koia, hee maua loa a fai. (17) Uke a ika ake. A te ika ake, oo, koe nei ka hee ke lavea. Taatou e olo ailoa penei, a puke puke loa ki lalo i ika. Tenaa te failoga a lua aliki naa, mana hohopo. Ko Tepaa, ko te papa. E uke a ika i te papa. E uke hoki a ika ake. Ko Teilo, hee maua o fai te atu, atu, takuo, paala, ko te ika i te moana. Kae i uta penei, uke te ua. Hee maua o fai te ua. Telaa a niu, ko fua kkii. Koa uke a pii. (18) Tenaa te mea, konaa lua aliki muamua. Fano Tefolaha. Toe foki mai, toe hau. Toe foki mai, olou muna laa telaa na aavaga he Toga. He aavaga fou. He tagata, he tino loa, koa tino loa penei. Tefolaha hoki koa hee aitu. Tenaa ommai laa i ai, ko toko tolu ana tamalliki. Ko Tutaki mo Fiaola mo Lavega. Konaa ana tama ni ommai mo ia. Tenaa laa ommai laa i ai, ka koa nnoho laa tama kolaa, a tama a Tefolaha kolaa i te aliki. Fakahopo gina loa i ai e Tefolaha, ke ommai o tautua mai tua, kia Teilo mo Tepaa. (19) Pelaa ko laaua ko Teilo mo Tepaa, koa olo o aa koia, o nnoho i uta i te aliki, ka ko laatou naa e fai a mea a te aliki. Telaa laa ko Lavega, ko ia e tavili penei, "E, ni aa mea a te aliki?" Pelaa, e mea koa fakahopo, tenaa koa maua laa te tonu i te kau kolaa, i aa Lavega. Mea na ko te kaaiga o Lavega. Koa fai ai ki te fenua, "A ttou mea, a ttou motomoto taki selau." Pelaa, mea nei e mahani o fai i maga, i maga e fitu. Tenaa

koa olo ai taatou o fai mai ttou mea. Koa avake i ai ki uta i te maneapa uu laa, o tuki, o tuki a poi o mmiti. Me hee ai he mea ake, e fakahopo te aliki tenaa, e fai loa ki te poi. Ka ko Tutaki ko ia e tufa i gaa uta, tenaa na galuega. (20) Tenaa laa ko Tutaki koa tuu o tufa, o tufa a mea, a poi ki tino, e ana te galuega tenaa, me e noho laa me i te fakahopoga laa o te aliki. Ka koa i ai laa ni faiva ni olo o fai. Me hee maua loa a tiiaki a te, a faiva, me ni olo o ahi i te aa, i te aliki. Koa fakahopo. Me i ai ni ona ika fou. O aahi, o aahi pelaa ki te moana, ke iloa. Me olo o taa tili, me o aa. Ko maua mai laa a ika. Koa hopo ai a Tutaki, a Fiaola. Koa fano a Fiaola o pula i ika. Tenaa laa fai fai fai te kaatoa. (21) Muna a Fiaola, "E Tutaki, te kaatoa telaa o ika." Tiiaki loa e ia. Koa hau ai Tutaki o tufa a ika. Tenaa te galuega. Konaa galuega a laatou. Tutaki e noho o tufa. Ko Fiaola, kafai koa i ai ni ika e aumai, koa fano Fiaola o pula. Me e fia te aofai o ika. Kafai ni ika lahi, ko ia telaa e helehele a ika. Helehele, fakatau ki tino ko ia o te fenua. Tenaa na galuega a Tutaki. Ka koa hau a te tino telaa o te tufa, me e ana, ko na galuega a iloa e tufa. (22) Ka ko te kau laa i aa Lavega, koa hee ai ni llou mea e fai. Tenaa e noho a iloa, ko laatou a iloa e tausi te aliki, me i te kau naa e mafai e laatou o hiki te matagi. Konaa te kau i haa Takitua. Ko muna mua o te aliki. E tausi laa e laatou penei. Koa fai laa i ai, muna a Teilo, "Au koa fano ki Lakena." E faagu ki te kau naa. E faanoi atu kia Lavega, "Aku e fano ki Lakena aatafata." A, ko llei. Ko ia laa e fano o kave te aliki. Lavega. Kafai laa e ili pelaa te matagi, me e tuu mai konei, ia, e llei laa e fano.

(23) E fano iko. Fano laa koa noho i Lakena. I te taimi laa koa fai o hau, ko aumai laa te aliki ki konei. A ko te matagi e tuu i konei. Ko kalaga te aliki ki te matagi ke fanatu. Oo, a Lavega. E. Ko fanatu te matagi. Fano o aumai te aliki. E i ai ailoa ni muna a laatou e tavili, e tavili ki luga i te matagi. Kolaa, mea laa ni mea naateahoo, e. E hee iloa laa i aso nei me koi mafai ai o fai penaa, me [ikai], haa Takitua. (24) Au hee kau iloa nei me e mafai nei laatou, me ko hee mafai. Ka ko muna loa a laatou, konaa katoa ailoa. Me ko laatou hoki, kafai ko ia e i ai he malaga koa fano, pelaa koa olo nei ki Nanu-maga, pelaa o follau, ko faanoi atu kia laatou. Ke hau he tino mo laatou o fano o kkave te malaga. Me kafai laa e tupu ni fakalavelave pelaa a maofa vaka, e hee mate laatou. Me e maofa, kae tuu ki lalo, e tuu ki lalo, e tuu ailoa pelaa me e tuu i uta i te fenua. (25) E i ai te ika, e i ai te ika o laatou, e aa ko ia. Koa tuu i ai. Ko laaotu laa ke tuu iluga i te ika tenaa. Ko fakaola, mafai ai o ffau o llou vaka, koa hopo ki luga. Tenaa, tenaa te llou galuega, ko te fakaola o te [malaga] me i ai laatou, e i ai te ika tenaa e aa koia. Mana fai e fakalavelave pelaa, koa aapulu a vaka, koa tuu ki lalo. Tenaa te kau o Lavega, konaa ollou mea e fai. E aliki i te tai. Ko laatou e olo ki tai, ko fanatu te llou aliki me ia laatou e pule i tai. (26) Ikai, konaa ollou mea e fai. Ka ko ommi ki uta nei, koa noho, e noho laatou i te feitu mana koa fakahopo te aliki. E i ai ni mea a te aliki e fai, ko laatou e tavvili e. E tavvili laatou e, "A mea nei a taatou e fai pelaa...." Oti i ai, koa tonu i ai, koa fai ai ki te fenua, "A ttou mea ni mea kolaa, kolaa, pelaa." Tenaa te galuega a

laatou. Ka fai laa koa ommai ki gaa uta, koa i ai laa ni meakai pelaa  
 e uke e. Koa hopo laa Tutaki o fano o tufa. A koa i ai ni ika, koa  
 aumai ni ika, koa hau Fiaola o fano o tufa, o helehele, mana fai e  
 lahi a ika. (27) Me e mahani, he fonu, a te fonu, kafai e oko mai e  
 aumai uu laa, hee ai he tino e fano o fai. Tena ko te kau i haa  
 Fiaola. Ko te kaaiga loa o laatou. Me ommai loa laatou o helehele te  
 fonu. Nei, kae pula nei koe, kafai nei e mate te fonu, ko Laiti loa  
 e fanake o, kae nei ko ia nei koa fanake o helehele te fonu. Me ko  
 te pologa, he pologa a llou mea naa. Ko tona tofi ailoa tenaa mai mua,  
 tenei e oko mai ki poo nei, tenaa, ko tena pologa, pologa o te kau naa  
 ko te tufa. Ko te helehele o mea, o ika. Ko te pologa o Tutaki, ko  
 tufa. Ko te pologa o Lavega ko te fai, ko olo o tavili me ni aa ttou  
 mea e fai i te aliki. (28) Konaa a pologa o te [kau naa], e oko mai  
 nei loa ki poo konei. Konei loa e fai nei, ka ko te mea laa pelaa me  
 koa hee ai he aliki e aa koia, o Nanumea nei e fai. Ko hee pelaa mo  
 fenua Kilipati. Fenua lahi kolaa haa Butaritari e noho loa te aliki.  
 Kae i uta nei ko hee fai. Ikai, pelaa me koa tapu mai paalagi me koa  
 hee ai he aliki. Ikai, ka konei laa e noho loa tino o te aliki i uta  
 nei. [I poo konei a Tutaki mo Fiaola] koa fai katoa fakatahi te llou  
 galuega tenaa. Ka ko Lavega, e noho loa mo ona galuega tenaa. Ko te  
 kau katoa, konaa, ko te kau a Lavega, e tokouke te kau naa. (29) Ka  
 ko au laa ko hee ai haku haga e fai. Naa laa ko taku noho. Ka fai loa  
 e noho penei, ka fai e i ai he tino e see, ko au loa ko fai atu, "E,  
 hee fai te mea tenaa me...." A aku, toku nohoaga i uta nei i Nanumea  
 [Tepou laughs]. Ka kolaa laa koa nnoho mo llou aliki, koa nnoho o  
 tausi llou fenua. Ka ko taku galuega tenaa.

Narrative 1

## English Translation, Tepou's Tape

[The Story of Tefolaha -- Tala i aa Tefolaha]<sup>2</sup>

(1) Pai and Vau. People of Hawaii. Those two women came there [they were] real people. Well, [they] were found by Tefolaha, [they] were living here. Those two made this island. Yes, because [they] came, and Nanumea belonged only to Pai and Vau. They made it [and] Lakena also. They brought the sand with them. That is the story, they came with their baskets, they made Nanumea. [They] came with their sand, and if they put [down] some sand land would grow. (2) [At that time there were no plants] because [they came with] the coming of Tefolaha. Tefolaha arrived, Tefolaha chased [them] right away. [He] told them to go [saying] the island was his. Tefolaha was not truthful. The island was Pai's and Vau's. So those two [were] angry because the island was theirs. What's his name [Tefolaha] said, "The island is mine!" Pai and Vau said, "All right, what are our names?" Tefolaha did not know. Well, there is a story [about] that. (3) Tefolaha changed to his spirit nature. He had two natures. [He] went up to sit up above the house. The place right where those two were sitting below. [He] sat up above. And [he] lowered down his "loko." That [thing] is called a "loko." Tefolaha's "loko." There was a thing like a very thin hair. (4) And there was an animal attached to it. A very tiny white animal. Attached to it. That was the "loko." That thing. Tefolaha lowered it down.

While those two [were] doing their thing, weaving their skirts. That is the beginning of the story. So they [were] doing their thing like that. Then Pai looked [up]. (5) Pai looked toward Vau, that thing was being lowered down on my head, it was going down. That [was] Tefolaha's loko. [He] lowered [it] down, [and] Pai said, "Hay Vau, hey Vau, that thing is almost touching your head." [Tefolaha] pulled up his "loko." He knew that that was Vau. Well, [the loko was pulled] up. The "loko" was gone. [He] sat. Oh! The "loko" of Tefolaha was lowered down to my head because [he] did not know my name. Lowered down there. (6) And then, "Hey Pai, that thing is almost touching your head." [He] pulled the "loko" up. [He] knew [they were] Pai and Vau [Tepou chuckles]. Then Tefolaha went down. [He] told them to go. "What are our names [they asked]?" "Pai and Vau." [Tepou laughs] [He] came down from the attic above. Because the thing is he [was] a spirit. [He] went to his spirit nature. [He] could not be seen. (7) So [he] came, "Hey, go, the island is mine!" "The island is ours alone! What are our names?" "Pai and Vau." Well, no, [so they] went, those two cried [but] they went. [They were] really crying because, well, the island was theirs. But Tefolaha's [words] were lies. [They] went, went to Lakena, those two made Lakena from their basket of sand. And in their departure some of their sand spilled from their basket of sand. There at [the islet] of Lafogaki their sand spilled, spilled down and Lafogaki grew [up]. (8) The thing called Lafogaki, a small island, stood there. [They] went, to stay at Lakena. Went, [and they] made Lakena. Afterwards, Lakena stood there, well this story of Pai and Vau ends here, they say that Pai and Vau went to Kiribati. The story of Pai and Vau disappears there. [They] finished

there with Lakena, disappeared, [and were] gone. Tefolaha stayed, remained here. He married. A spirit wife named Laukite. Laukite [was] a spirit. (9) [She] stayed with Tefolaha. [She was] a spirit. [She] stayed there. Well, Tefolaha [was] a person but if he changed to a spirit [he was] a spirit. You know, so he married a spirit wife, Laukite. In Nanumea today it is difficult for them to know the name of Tefolaha's wife. [They] don't know. Laukite, a god [of old], Laukite the god. [She was] an ancient god. Tefolaha slept with her [at] the place where [they] married. (10) [They] did that, stayed there, [and] had children. They had children. So their first child was born. It ate people, it was cannibalistic, [it was] fierce. [He] killed that child. [It] died. [Laukite] gave birth a second time. [It was] like that again, cannibalistic too. [They] say, [well], that was [known in] our family alone. The body [was just] a body like this, but the mouth was like the "paala" fish. A "paala" fish mouth. (11) So the body [was] just like this, but the mouth [was] long like the mouth of the "paala" [Tepou laughs]. So all four children Tefolaha had [were] like that. So [he] killed [them] all because [they were] cannibalistic, [they] ate people. Then his later children were born. Koli. And [she was] fine, [she] was not fierce. Koli was allowed to survive. Time passed, Koli grew up. Tefolaha allowed Koli to rule. She [was] to be chief here in Nanumea. But Tefolaha prepared to go to Samoa. (12) [He had] come [from] there. [He] prepared to go. But his [other] two children were born. Born, [but] not [to his] spirit side. But [they were] "born to the father." Well, the meaning of the phrase "born to the man" [is] born in the enlightenment. [Previously his children were] born in darkness. [They] were [born] of a spirit [together with a] real person [who] was enlightened as now. But [I] don't know

if it [was] Laukite. [It was] not a spirit. But [it was] a real person, you know. It had no spirit side. (13) So [he] had two children. [He] went to Samoa. Tefolaha returned [to Samoa]. But Koli and her still-small brothers Teilo and Tepaa remained. Much time passed, her brothers grew up. Koli allowed Tepaa and Teilo to become chiefs of the island. [They were] chiefs, but Koli remained to watch, to watch the things they did. So if there [were] something wrong, Koli would correct them. (14) That [was what] those two did. She was the leader, according to Tefolaha. And her decision [was that] her brothers became [the] chiefs. So it remained [like that]. Remained just like that. Well Teilo [was] the oldest child. He [was] the chief. And when Teilo reigned as chief, there is a Nanumean phrase, the "blessing" [literally, "smile"], [it was] blessed. If, the blessing of Teilo if [he] assumed the chieftainship, [there was] an abundance of skipjack tuna [atu], because Teilo was chief. (15) So [there was] an abundance of skipjack tuna in the sea, [and] king fish and yellow fin tuna. And also the land, here ashore, [there was] an abundance of rain, because Teilo was reigning, reigning as chief. You know, [he was] serving as chief. Those were his blessings, a blessing at sea, and a blessing on land. An abundance of rain. Drinking nuts, coconuts, [all] produced abundantly. Teilo. When Teilo was not chief, and Tepaa came to be chief, there were abundant fish on the reef, "manini" fish and fish [caught with] nets. Abundant fish. That [was] when Tepaa assumed the chieftainship. Today too [this happens], but you two have not seen fish swarm (16) That [phenomenon] is called "ika ake" [when fish swarm]. There is an abundance of [reef] fish when fish swarm. They all swarm at Lakena islet. Fish swarms, "homo" fish, "kuma" fish, many many [of them]. If Teilo was going to be installed [as chief],

tomorrow the island would prepare because Teilo was going [to be] chief, to be installed in the chieftainship. In the morning would the rain ever fall! That meant that it was blessed, the reign of the [chief] was blessed. [If] Teilo were to rest and Tepaa were to assume the chieftainship, then the reef fish, the "manini" and [fish like that] on the reef, by the breakers, would be abundant. (17) Many swarming fish. Fish swarms, well, you have not seen [them]. We [would] all go [out] like this, just picking up fish. Those were the hallmarks of those two chiefs, when [they] reigned. Tepaa's [hallmark was] the reef. There were many fish on the reef. And many fish swarming. Teilo's [hallmark was] abundant skipjack tuna, yellow fin tuna, kingfish, fish of the deep sea. And ashore here, much rain. Abundant rain. And the coconuts really produced. Many drinking nuts. (18) That is how it was, those [were] the first two chiefs. Tefolaha [had] gone. [He] returned, [he] came again. Returned, they say [he had] a Tongan wife. A new wife. [He was] a man, just a person, [he was] just a person like this. Tefolaha was no longer a spirit. So [he] came, [he had] three children with him. Tutaki and Fiaola and Lavega. Those are his children [who] came with him. So [they] came, but their children, Tefolaha's children, remained in the chieftainship. Tefolaha appointed [the latter three] to serve Teilo and Tepaa, from behind. (19) So Teilo and Tepaa went to, to sit inland in the chieftainship, but those [three] there prepared the things of the chief. So Lavega, he spoke in this manner, "Well, what are the things [we should do] for the chief?" Things to do with the installation [of a chief], the orders of that group, Lavega's, would be received. That is Lavega's family. [They would] say to the island, "Our things, our 'motomoto' nuts, one hundred from each [family]." Well, it is customary to do this in chiefly lineages, the seven chiefly lineages. So

we would go and prepare our things. [They] would be taken up inland to the community hall, to pound the "poi" [for all] to sip. Because when the chief was installed there, there was no other [food suitable], it was done only with "poi." And Tutaki distributed [food] in the hall, that was his work. (20) So Tutaki [would] stand to distribute, distribute things, "poi" to people, that was his job, because it was the installation of the chief. And [they] would also have gone fishing. One could not omit the fishing, because [they] were going to inspect for the chief [who was to be] installed. Whether there were new fish. To inspect, to inspect the sea, you know. Whether they [would] go cast nets, or what. [They] got fish. [Then] Tutaki, [I mean] Fiaola, took over. Fiaola went to look at the fish. So [he] counted the total. (21) Fiaola [would] say, "Hey Tutaki, that is the total [number] of fish." [Then he] left it. Tutaki came to distribute [the] fish. That is [his] job. Those are their jobs. Tutaki stayed to distribute. And Fiaola, if there were fish brought, Fiaola went to look. [To determine] the total number of fish. If there were any large fish, he cut up the fish. Cut [them up], thinking of [the number] of people in the community. That was Tutaki's [sic] job. Then the person of the "distributors" would come, the work of distributing was his alone. (22) But Lavega's group, there was nothing for them to do. [They] just remained, they cared for the chief, that group was able to call up the wind. That is Takitua's group. [That] was an ancient skill of the chief. [They] cared for them like this. Teilo [might] say, "I am going to Lakena tomorrow." All right. He [would] go to take the chief. Lavega [would]. If the wind blew thusly, or came from here, well, fine [they] went.

(23) [They] went there. Went, stayed in Lakena. At the time [they] were preparing to come [back], to bring the chief back here, if the wind blew from here, then the chief would call to the wind to go [there]. Oh, [I mean] Lavega [would call]. Yes. The wind [would] go. Go to bring the chief. There are words of theirs they speak, speak aloud to the wind. Well, those are ancient things. [I] don't know if today [they] can still do it that way, or [they cannot], Takitua's group. (24) I do not know if they can [do it], or cannot. But those were their own skills. And it was them, too, if there were a sea voyage going, say going to Nanumaga, sailing, they were notified. A person of [Lavega's] group to go take the voyage. Because if any trouble happened, the canoe was damaged, they [would] not die. If [the canoe] were damaged, and [they] stood down, [they would] stand as if standing ashore on land. (25) There is a fish, there is a fish of theirs, [which they] stand upon. They stand upon that fish. [They are] saved, able to lash their canoe and climb [back] aboard. That is their job, the saving of the [voyage] because they are [there], there is the fish [which they stand upon]. If there is trouble like that, the canoe is sinking, [they can] stand down. That is Lavega's group, those are the things they do. [They are] chiefs at sea. They go to sea, their rule takes over because they rule at sea. (26) Well, those are the things they do. But [when they] come to shore, they rest, rest [until] a chief is to be installed. There are things of the chief [they] do, [that] they say. They say, "We will do these things thusly...." [That] accomplished correctly, [they] say to the community, "Our things [we'll do] are that, that, and so on." That is their

job. If [they] come ashore [and] there is a lot of food, Tutaki goes to distribute [it]. If there is fish, fish are brought. Fiaola comes to distribute [I mean] to cut up, if the fish are large. (27) And it is customary [when there is] a turtle, a turtle, if one comes, one is brought there, no one [is supposed] to handle [it]. That is the [job of] Fiaola's group. Just their family. And they come to cut up the turtle. Today, if you watch, if a turtle is caught today, it is Laiti's [lineage] alone that goes, today it is he who goes to cut up the turtle. Because it is a "duty," that [job] is a traditional responsibility. That is his responsibility from ancient times, right down to today, that is his responsibility, [the] responsibility of that group is to distribute. [And also] the cutting up of things, of fish. Tutaki's responsibility is distribution. Lavega's responsibility is to do, to go to speak about what our things are [we'll] do for the chief. (28) Those are the responsibilities of [that group], right down to today. Here [they] are still doing [it], but the thing is that there is [now] no chief who, which Nanumea selects. It is not like the Gilbert Islands. [In] those large islands like Butaritari the chief remains. But ashore here there is none. No, it was forbidden by the Europeans, there was to be no chief. Well, but the people of the chiefly [lineages] are still here. [Today Tutaki and Fiaola] are doing their work together. And Lavega still sits there with his work. That group, the group of Lavega, that is a very large group [of people]. (29) But me, I have no work to do. Except for sitting [here]. If [I] sit here in this way, if someone is in error, I just say "Hey, do not do that because...." [That is] me, my position here in Nanumea [Tepou laughs]. But they all remain there with their chieftainship, sitting [there] to care for their island. And my job is that [which I explained].

## NOTES

1. I discussed this tale and its ramifications with Tepou on numerous occasions in 1973, 1974 and 1984, copied it verbatim from his family ledger book, and tape-recorded it at least three times. This version was recorded during a long interview early in my fieldwork. A few questions which my wife or I addressed to Tepou in order to clarify points in his narration have been omitted in the transcript here.
2. "Historical" narratives of this sort have no set titles, although often the first sentence or two will provide a working title (as Narrative 2 here does).

English material in brackets is supplied to make the translations readable. Where Tuvaluan words or phrases are enclosed in brackets, they were omitted in the taped discussion, or appeared in a slightly different form in response to a question during the interview. In the few cases where this happened, a slight rearrangement of words was necessary to make the text comprehensible. An ellipsis (in Narrative 2) indicates minor omission of short passages which were redundant.

For ease in comparison, numbers have been assigned every few sentences throughout the texts and to their English equivalents in the translations.

3. While this tale is "Takitua's," it did not come from Takitua directly. As noted in Chapter 1, Takitua approached me early in my stay in Nanumea with this tale, and I took down his long rendering of it then in English. Subsequently, there were several other opportunities to discuss it with him, and to inquire further into his views of the origins of Nanumea and the chiefly system. Although I eventually tape-recorded several narratives from Takitua, the story of Tefolaha was not among them. The tale which is presented here, then, is that of a young kinsman of Takitua, Sosemea. Sosemea learned the story from Takitua, and had recently gone to refresh his knowledge of this and other stories from Takitua when he recorded it one evening at our house. The major difference here from Takitua's telling of the tale is in Sosemea's omission of explanatory material accounting for the organization of the chiefly lineages.
4. The incestuous relationship referred to in somewhat uncertain fashion here is explained in Takitua's narrative in Chapter 3, and diagrammed in Figure 3-2.