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1926

PALAU

BY

PROF. DR. AUGUSTIN KRÄMER

Palau Volume 3

Section V. Material Culture
Section VI. Intellectual Culture

With 227 Figures in the text
and 21 Photographic plates

HAMBURG
L. FRIEDERICHSEN & CO.

1926

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Preface

Seven years have passed since Volume 2 appeared. The writings of the subsequent volumes were also available and ready for print at that time, in 1919, but unfavorable circumstances and the situation at the time held back their printing.

The 7 sacred Palauan years of hesitation also had advantages. This spring, I finally received more news from my translator, WILLIAM GIBBON, conveyed by the German ambassador in Tokyo, Exc. Dr. SOLF, to whom I would like to extend special thanks here. Mr. Gibbon sent in a long work about the social structure of Palau, which was already covered in Volume 2, and he also reported on various other developments that have taken place in the meantime. Anything that was important for this volume, I added, to counter the potential charge that what is recorded here is outdated.

Many thanks to the museums of Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Leipzig, London, and Stuttgart for their help. The photographs of Palau (except for a few by KUBARY) are my own; some of the illustrations are by E. KRÄMER, some were created at the Hamburg museum.

Stuttgart, August 27, 1926.

AUGUSTIN KRÄMER.

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Abbreviations and Definitions

(see also Vol. 2, pg. XIII)

Fig.	=	Figure
<i>bl.</i>	=	<i>blai</i> residential house
E. K.	=	Elisabeth Krämer, member of the expedition
<i>gald.</i>	=	<i>gáldebegēl</i> club (pg. 279)
Gor.	=	Goréör Vol. 2, pg. 205
Ham.	=	Hambruch, member of the expedition
Hbg.	=	Museum of Anthropology in Hamburg
He.	=	Helliwig, member of the expedition

K. or KR.	= Krämer, Bibliography Vol. 2, pg. 367
KUB.	= Kubary, Bibliography Vol. 2, pg. 364
<i>loc. leg.</i>	= <i>loco legit</i> collected on site
<i>log.</i>	= <i>logúkl</i> pictorial stories, see Bai
M. Cl.	= MacCluer Vol. 1, pg. 119
v. M. M.	= v. Miklucho-Machay, Bibliography Vol. 2, pg. 364
Mel.	= Melekéiok Vol. 2, pg. 87
Mus.	= Museum
Rub.	= rúbak chief (pg. 292)
Stgrt.	= Linden Museum in Stuttgart
Wall.	= Walleser, Bibliography Vol. 2, pg. 366
Will.	= William Gibbon (see preface)
Wils.	= H. Wilson Vol. 1, pg. 106
<i>armeau</i>	= Village people (pg. 293)
<i>bai</i>	= Men's house
Bai 13 VI a	= 13 th Bai, VI tie beam forward, example of where to find a pictorial story in the list in Vol. 4.
<i>blsebúd</i>	= Magic (pg. 344)
<i>blebáol</i>	= Trophy head (pg. 298)
<i>blekátēl</i>	= Payment of sisters (pg. 286)
<i>blolóbol</i>	= Love excursion (pg. 276)
<i>bítang</i>	= Side (pg. 280, 287, 290, 293, and Vol. 2, pg. 3)
<i>delép</i>	= Soul (pg. 347)
<i>delásēg</i>	= Totem (pg. 287)
<i>diong, metéu l diong</i>	= Bathing place
<i>Galid</i>	= Forest Spirit, priest (pg. 335)
<i>gamágēl</i>	= Quid and club members (pg. 61 and 282)
<i>gólei</i>	= Magic (pg. 344)
<i>gosóls</i>	= Singing (pg. 319)
<i>gosisál</i>	= Messenger sign (pg. 294)
<i>kemedángēl</i>	= Messenger (pg. 294)
<i>klepkal'l</i>	= Privilege (pg. 296)
<i>kleblīl (singular keblīl)</i>	= Clans (pg. 290 and appendix)
<i>klegadáol</i>	= Chief excursions (pg. 281, 286, 291, 292 ⁴ , 309)
<i>mangalil</i>	= Predictions (pg. 345)
<i>mlagēl</i>	= Priestess (pg. 343)
<i>móngol</i>	= Paramour (pg. 274)
<i>pelú</i>	= Village (Vol. 2, pgs. 3 and 315)
<i>sagaleī</i>	= Friend (pg. 293)
<i>tangadik</i>	= Kingfisher (pg. 340)
<i>táog</i>	= Channel, entrance
<i>tiakl</i>	= Payment for fisherman (pg. 309)
<i>ulogóug</i>	= Rosted copra (pgs. 41 and 335)

//Krämer, Palau, Vol. 3 Plate 1//



Women adorned for celebration, Goréör



Mrs. Tepidói, of Family I Melekéiok, with earrings

Section V.

Material Culture.

Division of labor: The men are responsible for the following: war, hunting, fishing, care of the trees, cutting for palm wine, woodwork, construction of houses and canoes, navigation, rope-making and preparation of fibers, and the drilling of money. The women are in charge of: taro patch, weaving mats, pottery, making clothes, tattooing, cooking.

1. Clothing, Ornamentation, Tattoos

a) Clothing

Palauans' clothing has always been very limited. There were no headdresses; in fact, the islanders were forbidden to wear them, as this was considered a privilege of the gods, as SEM. correctly states in Vol. II, pgs. 97 and 284. The Galid of Ngaraus, for example, appears with his head covered (Plate 18). Only title-bearing high chiefs, who were considered *měáng* "sacred" as in Polynesia¹, were allowed to cover their heads, not with a hat, but with a *telutāu* mat (see Plate 11), so that unholy things could not touch them; this fact was previously reported about the Ibēdul on his visit to Ngasiás (see Vol. 2, pg. 214).

For protection from the sun, women working in a taro patch wear a banana leaf as a headdress, and fishermen at sea wear a similar covering, called *lkóu* (also known as *bedebúd*, WALL., see Fishing). Reports by the first discoverers reveal that the men originally went naked most of the time, or at least went unclothed on canoe trips. Fig. 4F in Vol. I, pg. 71, shows them, as the Spanish added, "entirely naked." HENRY WILSON reported in 1783 that the king appeared totally naked, and JAMES WILSON verified this in 1797. Even v. M. M., in 1876, saw many people working in the nude, and noticed that they conversed with passing men and women without bashfulness. Nudity is also quite visible in the pictorial stories in the Bai, in which the strong man displays "his spear"² (*lisél*) as a sign of his vigor. Occasionally, however, bundles of leaves were used to cover the privates, as reported in Vol. I, pg. 99.

It is difficult to establish positively whether the loincloth, the *a úsakěr*³ (poss. *usekerél*), was introduced by outsiders or has been around since ancient times, as there are no references to it in the literature. KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 209, believes that in old times only chiefs wore the *úsakěr*, while the common people (*armeáu*) went about in the nude, and that this explains the origin of the term; there is no proof to back up this view, however.

The loincloth, whose use was widespread, was put on in the following manner: you take a piece of cloth 1 foot wide and as long as a man is tall, pass its middle under the perineum; the front end is pulled, at navel height, sideways to the back, while the back end is pulled sideways to the front. The ends are intertwined in the back and the front, so that a little piece is left hanging over in both places (see Vol. 1, Plate 3). In earlier times, breadfruit tree bark was probably used for the loincloth, as KUB. states in Vol. VIII, pg. 209. Today, imported cotton is used to make the *úsakěr*, which was worn by all in 1910.

In contrast to the men, women were always clothed once they reached maturity. Their embarrassment and the lengths to which they go to avoid appearing nude, is in direct contrast to their liberated love life, which is discussed in detail in Section VI in the discussion on family. Their dress is the grass skirt *gerévut*⁴ or *geréuot*, which sounds like *gréud* (poss. *geritél*); it consists of two aprons, one in front (*madál*) and one in back (*dél*), held in place with a cord. I call this cord a hip cord, in contrast to the belt cord. Both are shown in Plate 1 in Vol. 2, and in Fig. 1. As I have explained previously⁵, the former runs around the hips or haunches, between the crest and the round head of the femur, while the latter runs around the waist, the sides, like a real belt. They are tied in front. In the past, the **hip cord** *tágúl*⁶ (poss. *tágělél*) consisted mostly of dugong skin and was called *tágúl l mesekíu* (Fig. 2), or it was simply a cord with little slices of coconut shell (*galevės* or *galeús*)⁷ (Fig. 3) or turtleshell (*golúüŋp*) (Fig. 4), often double, i.e. two strands together. Cords that are entirely black are called *migo* “band” (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 187). Two double cords (Figs. 5 and 6) come from the GODEFFROY collection, which is now in Leipzig; they are 73 and 68 cm (Mi 1650 and 1634 Mi) long, respectively.

Our collection in Hamburg includes a cord of the same type (4703^{II}) without the white shell ornaments and the connecting pieces (Fig. 6), which bear a strong resemblance to central Carolinian models. 2830^{II} is a band that was acquired in Palau but was imported; it is of the type made in Ngulu, Feis, etc.; 2829^{II} is a specimen that consists of many strands woven from human hair, of the type commonly used in Eastern Micronesia, but which appears only occasionally on Palau, as hair ties *togúl a gúi*.

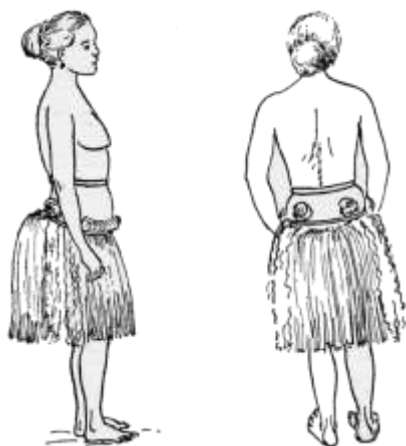


Fig. 1. Women's dress.



Fig. 4.

Turtleshell hip cord K. 39 (Hamburg 2828^{II}).



Fig. 2. Dugong hip cord HE. 1083.



Fig. 3. Coconut hip cord
HE. 64 (Hamburg 3805^{II}).



Fig. 5. Black and white hip cord.



Fig. 6.

Hip cord with clasps, Leipzig.

KUB. VIII, Plate XXII, Fig. 17 and 16, depict both types; KUB. Fig. 15 is another double strand, of which KUB. speaks in Vol. I, pgs. 17 and 60, that this *Kau*-band was made in Ngaregolóng and consisted of 150 to 200 smoothly polished pieces, each broken out of the red-colored hinge of a shell, which would often take a man years to make. KUB. VIII, pg. 186, mentions the difficulty of catching the Hippopus shell⁸ *Bliniey* in Ngaregolóng, the only place it occurs, and where, in the village of Gólei, the hip cords are made. This double belt is about 1m long; towards the ends of the strands, the little round disks become long and quadrangular (44mm long, 8-10mm thick, and 5mm thick). (Fig. 7). There are a total of 850 pieces, each polished by hand and with a hole drilled with a sort of flint. In the middle of the strands, the little disks are only about 5mm wide and are interspersed with little disks of *Conus millepunctatus* and coconut. The red hinge of the shell (*Spondylus*, *Hippopus*, *Chama*) is knocked off using a piece of glowing coal and is ground on basalt. For polishing, the pieces were then placed into a running channel. KEATE, Plate 6, also shows the *kau*⁹, but with a single strand. During my stay, no trace of this could be found, and I cannot help but speculate that the *kau* is a material culture from Yap, from whence it was introduced

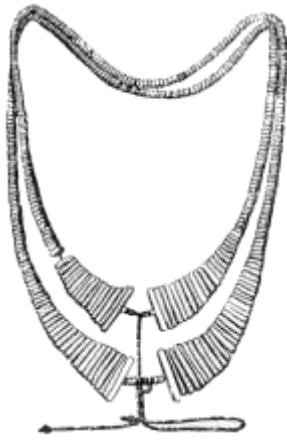


Fig. 7. *kau* hip cord.

to Palau, where it has since found temporary usage. Of course, KUB. says that the Yapese, who were more hungry for ornamentation, came to Palau to quarry their stone money, and eagerly bought up the *kau*, in order to wear them as highly prized necklaces.

Indeed, I often saw them worn as necklaces on Yap¹⁰, but never in Palau, seeing as jewelry is not considered so desirable by Palauans, and in shape and material they are entirely central and east Carolinian. We never saw one in Palau, and there is probably not a single one left in the archipelago. So even if one admits that the *kau* hip cord has been in use on Palau since ancient times and was probably also made here, it was probably adopted and should not be considered typically Palauan.

The **belt ptek** (poss. *ptekél*), which is worn around the flanks and usually cuts into them quite a bit, most often consists of woven *ptek l bluběu*¹¹ and commonly has a black diamond pattern (Fig. 8) (see Vol.2 plate 1).



Women Skirts

Women's skirts

Women's skirt (see Plate 2)

1. back apron
2. & 3. *ririáměł* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 4964^{II})
4. & 5. *gorědákł* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 2837^{II})
6. & 7. *kěrdíkěs* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 3793^{II})
8. & 9. *ulálek* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 4970)
10. & 11. *telngúděł sosól* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 4967^{II})
12. & 13. *vang* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 3728^{II})
14. *vang* skirt packed in mats. (12 and 13)
15. *sosól*≈ skirt (10 and 11) packed in Areca palm leaves (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 3724^{II})

Occasionally, the dugong hip cord is also worn around the flanks, in which case it is called *ptek l mesekú*.

The grass skirt *gerévut* comes in many varieties of shapes and colors. KUBARY mentions about 20 names, some of which are only valid under certain circumstances, however. One must take into account that those made for temporary use, such as those for fishing, are not called *gerévut*, but *kelkál*; the natives put them on at home and wear them to work.

Two types are most common:

- a) *měolt* (Hamburg 4713^{II}) made out of young, fine “coconut pinnae” after they have been boiled, dried in the sun, and woven; or out of hibiscus leaves, often dyed with *reng*.
- b) *vang* (Hamburg (Kr.) 3728^{II}, Plate 2¹² & 13 “dried Pandanus leaves,” split into wide strips in the manner of the *ter'rói pelú* (Plate 2¹² & 13 and pg. 9).

Then, of course, there are more simple clothes for women that are made in the field and worn to protect the good skirt. This simplest form is called *gongoátěl*¹². If banana leaves are used, for example, the skirt is simply called *lél a tu*, etc.

Other types that are still considered *gerévut* are not as durable and are good only for a short time and for a particular purpose. These are:

1. *samk* “root fibers” of taro, washed, sun-dried, then woven and dyed with *telegótog* (a mixture of *reng* and oil).
2. *ěáměł*, the aromatic herb of the taro field, from which the skirt is made. A *mónggongg* Areca leaf sheath is soaked in oil, and leaves of the *garítm* Parinarium tree are laid in it, grated turmeric root is sprinkled on this, then the root of the *maráděł* orange tree and *keskús* lemon grass are crushed and sprinkled over the little *ěáměł* plants, which are placed in the leaf sheath. The whole preparation is warmed overnight on a low fire. The following morning, the plants are taken out and woven into the skirt, which can be done in a single day.
3. *těvěgěl* (KUB. *towekel*) leaves of the “Nipa palm” are gathered when they are green, the ribs are removed, and the leaves are then twisted and broken, dried in the sun, woven, and dyed with turmeric oil.
4. *uórok* dried “taro leaf stalks” are picked from the field when the field is dry, woven, then split by hand, sewn, and dyed with turmeric oil.



Fig. 8.
Belt K. 43
length 78cm.

Of course, none of these pieces of clothing are durable. The following are clothes that are durable but also serve as ornamentation and income:

5. *búngungau* (KUB.: *Buñan*), the “red” skirt, which was formerly the primary and best type, but is not used any more these days, can often be seen in red on the *logukl* (Bai pictures). In SCHMELTZ-KRAUSE, pg. 412, Nr. 542, an orange-yellow *Bungau* is mentioned. Young *garamál* sticks, sacred *blábuk*, are soaked in saltwater for 10 days, then skinned, and after the bark has been stripped, the fibers are dried in the sun. After this, they are woven and skeined with the *tógěd* comb. Following this, red earth (*gorĩg*) is mixed with expressed coconut milk and some water in a wooden bowl of about arm’s length, called *gomlútěl* (Plate 5¹). The skeins are individually washed in this mixture and then hung in the shade to dry. When they are dry, they are sewn together. This was the *klepkál’l* privilege of *Blai Těgěkí* on Gorěör. According to KUB., it was considered most prized ornamentation and was placed in the grave with the dead.
6. *gáramal ulálek* (KUB. *Ulálek* HE. *ulálak*, Plate 2⁸ & ⁹), this is like the one just described, but dyed “black;” depending on the taste of the individual, it may contain yellow *lap* fibers; privilege of the royal families, as KUB. tells us. This means *a Uděs* in Melekéiok and *a Idid* on Gorěör.
7. *ririáměl* (Hamburg 2835^{II}, 3729^{II}, and 4964-65^{II}, Plate 2² & ³), nowadays the primary and most valuable skirt. KUB. says: “*ririamel*, all parts made of *lap* fibers dyed yellow; a woman’s skirt, very expensive, sometimes costing an *adolóbok*.” The name comes from the light yellow color of the falling (*rir*)¹³ leaf of the *riáměl* tree, the *Pangium edule*, and is a reference to its beauty. Contrary to what KUB. believes, however, it is not made only from the fibers of the *lap* tree, but also from the fibers of *galsău* and *gúgap*, even if *lap* is preferred. The fibers of *lap* feel like wool in your hand, but must be soaked in sea water for 10 days to soften them; they are lightly dyed with red *reng*, but not much, then they are split, etc. The front apron has 13, the back one 12 *del̄l* (see below, pg. 10). A special type is the *ririámělblsúkl*, from *blsukl*, the term for “row” (KUB.: *pelsúkul*), because it has white and yellow spots, arranged in rows. KUB. mentions that the skirt is decorated with tropic bird feathers for dances and that it is a privilege, a *klepkál’l*, of the *a Mid* family in Melekéiok. I was also told that is it the privilege of the family Nr. II Ngaraikelău in Gorěör and Nr. III Jóluidíd.
8. *klol’lil*, name of the wandering plant *Acanthus ilicifolius*, apparently because the braids in the weaving run in zigzags.

The outer front layer is woven into stiff braids of multiple strands. (KUB.: *klollil*. Young coconut leaves. Outer layers woven together, the inner ones split. Pendants fastened to it: “hibiscus”). SCHMELTZ-KRAUSE, pg. 413, Nr. 546, correctly describes a *klollil*; *klepkál'l* from Ngaruseblük on Goréör (Plate 3, bottom).

9. *ulekláočk* (KUB.: *Aulokláok*), the color is a mixture of red *gorīg* earth, yellow turmeric *reng*, and oil, with which the leaves of *sug*, *vang*, or *gorădăkl* are treated after they have been dyed black (*ulálek*). In the past they were common, these days they are not made very often due to the fact that the color easily becomes dirty.
10. *telegótog Iváng* (KUB.: *Tolgólhok*) Hamburg 4969^{II}, dried Pandanus leaves dyed with turmeric oil (pg. 10), split into narrow strips. They are also suitable for *goubesós* slitting, however (see Plate 3 top and pgs. 9 and 19), like Nr. 16; front 6, back 5 *delíl*.
11. *telegótog l sug*, same as 10, but with young Pandanus leaves, gathered while they are green, dried in the sun, split, dyed.
12. *kěrdikěs* (KUB.: *Grdikes*, HE. *krrdīkes*); Hamburg 3725^{II}, 3793^{II} (Plate 2^{6 & 7}), and 4968^{II}; club rushes are used with reddish¹⁴ or blackish stalks. (Vol. 2, Plate 1). The hard stalks are cut off with knives (*klebéděp* from *mangeděp* “to cut off”). The fringes are often dyed (*galtíot*)¹⁵ with yellowish red *reng*; frequently, the rushes are split all the way using the *tógěd* comb, an action known as *telógěd l kerdikěs*. These skirts are very popular and are made often.
13. *sosól* (Hamburg 3724^{II} and 4967^{II}, Plate 2^{10 & 11}); the leaves of this zinziberacea are processed in various ways:
 - a) gathered when green, pulled off the ribs (*meltekákl*), and split into narrow strips (*telngúděl*); placed in the shade to dry, so that the strands turn white or at least get lighter,
 - b) then broken by rolling on a rock or rubbing between the hands. The act of breaking is called *gělilekélek* (verb *mangilekélek*),
 - c) split into wide strips like the *ter'roipelú* (pg. 9), sometimes dyed with *reng*.
14. *būk* (Hamburg 2836^{II}), the wide Pandanus (the one from Pelíliou, called *lolói*, is highly prized). Leaves are gathered when they are still green, placed over taro and boiled or heated on stones. Strands are either split with the *tógěd* comb before drying or are cut with a shell like the *ter'roipelú*. Sometimes they are dyed black *ulálek l būk* (Hamburg 2838^{II}). Purchased for about 4 marks.
15. *galagadál a tú* “the trunk of the banana.” KUB. calls this skirt *Ulálek*, like Nr. 6, but says that it is made out of the pith of the banana trunk, with hibiscus fibers affixed to it.

The skin is stripped off the trunk and the inner fibers are taken and dried in the sun; these are then woven and split by hand; dyed black or with *reng*.

16. *lo-* or *gorědákł* (Hamburg 2837^{II}, Plate 2⁴ & ⁵, 3726^{II}, and 4966^{II}) “grass tree.” Leaves are gathered while still green, boiled, combed very finely using the *tógěd*, woven while still green, then washed well in saltwater, wrung out, then finally dried in the sun; dyed black or with *reng*. Because of the delicacy of the fibers, it has 15 *delīl* in front, 14 in the back; *gorědákł* is suitable for *goubesós* slitting too, however (see skirt 10). KUB. mentions a skirt by the name of *Horodákł-Ougoltigay*, Dracaena leaves, blackened in the taro patch; *ougoltikáik* means “with something behind me.” Purchased for about 2 Marks.
17. *gongol ngabárd*¹⁶; recently, pineapple was also used. The leaves are boiled while still green, combed with the *tógěd*, then dried and woven; dyed black or yellow.
18. *rekósol*, also modern, made of wool yarn.

These *gerévut* are undoubtedly old types that have existed since early times. I must also mention something about the **privileges***klepkál'l* (poss. *klepelél*), some of which originated in Ngáruangěł, according to KUB., Vol. II, pg. 119. Indeed, privileges apply to some types of skirts, at least for celebrations. For instance, in Gorěör, 7 families have the *klepkál'l* of wearing colored skirts when dancing in the dance house (see Plate 18):

1.	Blai VII.	<i>a Ingeáol</i>	a white one (Nr. 13)	at the <i>but l bai</i> , the back of the house
2.	Blai IV.	<i>Těgěkí</i>	a red one (Nr. 5)	the white and black skirts are
3.	Blai II.	<i>a Ikelāu</i>	a light yellow one (Nr. 7)	particularly visible on Plate 2
4.	Blai I.	<i>a Idíd</i>	a black one (Nr. 6)	
5.	Blai III.	<i>Jóulidíd</i>	a light yellow one (Nr. 7)	
6.	Blai V.	<i>Ngaruseblūk</i>	a brownish one (Nr. 8)	
7.	Blai VI.	<i>Gětět</i>	a white one (Nr. 13)	at the <i>mádal a bai</i> , the front of the house

Details can be found in the discussion on dance in Section VI 3^a.

Weavings and women's skirts are made from the following materials:

1. *gongór*, Pandanus of the heath; its dry leaf is called *vang* and is available year-round, young plant¹⁷ are called *sug* (Hamburg 2871^{II}, 4791^{II}). The pineapple, named *gongól ngabárd* after the Pandanus, is also used (see skirt 17, mats, roof for house).
2. *būk*, wide Pandanus. (*būg* or *búög* is the betel palm *Areca* sp.), see skirt 14.
3. *gáramal*, the flame linden hibiscus *tiliaceus*, see skirt 6.
4. *lap*, a type of hibiscus *Abroma molle* P.D.C. (material Hamburg 2876^{II}, 4792^{II}).
5. *galsáu*, *Trichospermum Richii* Seem, see skirt 7.



Two women's skirts

top: *telególög l vang*, Mi 1621, Leipzig

bottom: *klol'il*, Mi 1628, Leipzig

6. *gúgap*, a forest tree with sulfur yellow blossoms, see skirt 7.
7. *gorědákł*, grass tree, see skirt 16.
8. *kěrdíkěs*, a hollow, rush-like grass, particularly abundant in Ngaregobatáng (Hamburg 2872^{II}), see skirt 12.
9. *ěáměł*, a plant in the taro field, candelabrum-like, aromatic, see skirt 2.
10. *sósol*, like *kesól* the turmeric plant, a zinziberacea, see skirt 13.
11. *líus*, coconut palm.
12. *tővéğěl*, Nipa palm, see skirt 3.
13. *tu*, banana, see skirt 15.
14. taro (Arum).

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 209, also mentions *galido* (*gar*, see Fishing Nets), *uósög* fig, *běděgál*, *gosúgěd* *gui* Urena, *gartókět* *giuěl* types of Freycinetia, *karángěl* vine, *ngiděg* fern, *aulúi* vine, *gogáol*, *goliběg ra kikói*.

The **preparation of plant materials** varies. (KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 213: The peeled-off bark of most plants is softened in water, usually sea water, and then scraped using mother-of-pearl shells (*melábak*) to remove the epidermis and the slimy parts (*ngapděl*), and is finally thoroughly washed and dried in the sun. The aromatic *ěáměł* herb is treated in a special manner.

Vang leaves are gathered dry (see above, *gongór*), at any time of year; they are broken with *gasívög* shells.

Banana leaves (pg. 5), *lél a tú*, can be used green at any time; soaking them in sea water is called *melilěg ra dáob* (Nr. 7); gathered while green and then boiled, see skirts Nr. 14, 16, 17;

dried in the sun *samk* (pg. 5) Nr. 3, 5, 11, 15, 16; (*bilingīs ra sils* to bleach in the sun); dried in the shade Nr. 5 and 15.

Often breaking (*gelīlekělěk*) is necessary, Nr. 3 and 13; Pandanus leaves (1 and 2) are split by hand (*meloódp*), Nr. 4 and 15; otherwise, splitting (*mangíut*, *melíud*) is done with pieces of shell called *gongíut*, which are usually triangular, or with whole mother-of-pearl shells *gasívög*.

To split into wide strips is called *ter'rói pelú* (compare the gable board in a Bai); this is applicable to *vang* leaves (pg. 5); to split into narrow strips *telngúděl* (1, 3): split all the way down *ultoběd*; split with the comb *telógěd* (5, 12, 14, 17): not split all the way down *goubesós* (Nr. 10 and 16), rustles when the skirt-wearer walks, like the leaves of lilies (see Plate 3, top, Mi 1621).

Tools. As mentioned, fibers are split by hand or using shell pieces *gongíut* (from *mangíut*) or whole mother-of-pearl shells *gasívög*.

More delicate splitting is done with the comb *tógěd*; *telógěd* “split” comes from *melógěd* “to split with a comb.” The comb can be the lower jawbone of a Halfbeak, Belone, with sharp teeth,

or it can be a piece of wood into which fish spines or thorns from trees (for example, from the lime) have been embedded and tied down. (Fig. 9, Hamburg 2839^{II}, 4750^{II}).



Sewing *resíměl* (from *měrásm* “to sew”) is done with the needle *rasm*, which has different shapes depending on its use.

Fish bones are used for delicate work. Then there are the thin needles made from ray barbs (*rus*) filed to the right size, which are used primarily for making the *delūs* bags (see below, Weaving), which is why they are called *rasm ra delūs*. Thicker ones with eyes are called *rasm ra sug*, and are used for the younger *gongór* leaves. For the tough *būk* leaves, however, needles made of bamboo are used; these are spindle-shaped, with an eye in the middle (*rasm ra būk*). Details and illustration are found in the section on roofs.

Dyeing *omúrúk* (it. KUB.; WALL.: *omurk*) is either done with red earth *gorīg* (see skirt Nr. 5), resulting in red, or with the red (Nr. 7, 12) and yellow types of turmeric dye *reng*, resulting in yellowish red or yellow.

Fig. 9. Strand comb. A mixture of *reng* and coconut oil (*samk* 4, 10, and 11) is called *telegótōg*. (KUB.: *melgóttok* to rub yellow turmeric powder mixed with coconut milk into fibers.)

Dyeing something black with soot is called *omálěk*; dyed black = *ulálek*, *gadelekélěk* = “black” (6); you can also use mud from the taro swamp to dye things black, by burying the fibers in it (Nr. 16). According to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 213, the fiber or the whole skirt section together with leaves of *gavés*, *gurúr*, and *gotógěl*¹⁸ are boiled for a day with mud from the taro patch, and the material is then laid into the taro patch itself overnight. It is then rinsed and dried in the sun, and the fibers turn white from drying in the sun (Nr. 13).

E.K. describes it as follows: The leaves of the *gavés* tree are put up with water and heated over the fire until the water evaporates; the strands are dunked in the liquid, then buried in the taro field. After 24 hours, they are rinsed, dried, and a dye solution is rubbed into them, which consists of one handful of red earth and 2 tablespoons of coconut oil; a piece of turmeric yellow the size of a chicken egg is worked into this. The woman dips her fingers into the dye mass and rubs it into each of the strands using both hands.

Parts of the *gěrévut* skirt.

galagád (poss. *galagadál*) the base, the center piece of the skirt. Depending on the strength of the material, it consists of 5-15 *delíl*, the “fringe layers,” which are laid on top of one another like the pages of a book and are then sewn on using a *koreól* – “thread.”

The *delil* themselves are created by weaving together *lél* – leaves into a triple-stranded *golil* – “cord.” The leaves are split into *telbéngěd* – strands by hand or with combs (*togěd*). When the *delil* are finished, they are, as already mentioned, laid on top of one another, and then comes the *melúičs* – sewing, opening up paths through the loopholes of a double-stranded string¹⁹ using the *golúičs* – needle. Every stitch causes a *bled*²⁰ – little bulge, which raises up when the thread is pulled tight and is then called *deliákl* – knot. In a row, all of the little bulges or knots form the *gěsingěl* – seam area (poss. *gěsngelél*). At each end of the seam area there is a *klováičs* – bulge, where the *goloáděľ*²¹ – side tail sticks out. At the back of the skirt is a second *golebangkil* – rear tail, with a *dilibuk* – knot that holds the skirt tight. *Gör’rtógot*²² (poss. *gär’rtagatéľ*) seam on a woman’s dress.

The following section describes the making of a women’s skirt.

The making of women’s skirts

by ELISABETH KRÄMER

There are a whole series of women’s skirts, about 15 types, each more or less elegant, depending on its design, and each lighter or darker, depending on the wearer’s preference. Individual taste prevails in this simple clothing, and even a certain amount of coquetry. The brown beauties understand very well how to carry themselves, and how to produce a silky rustling or a slight rattling by swaying their hips²³. The latter can be produced quite well, for example, with the *vang* skirts, for their thick Pandanus strips are combed out and frayed all the way down, except for the last 5 cm, and these little unsplit end panels knock against each other. They are called *goubesós* because of their resemblance to orchid leaves. The full, silky rustling is the result of the swinging of the rushes when the wearer of the skirt walks. This skirt made of *kěrdikěs* (rushes), which is the one that is worn most often, is the one I want to describe here.

Rushes growing in fallow taro swamps are pulled out and bleached in the sun until they turn light yellow. Like many species of plants, these rushes are dark reddish near their roots, and these red portions constitute the fringe ends of the skirt,

producing a lovely color effect. Plate 1 in Vol. 2 shows this very clearly on the standing girl. Plate 6 in the same volume also serves as an example; all of the women in the bottom photo are wearing rush skirts. If we examine these little skirts more closely, we can see that they are divided into a front apron and a back apron, which are held together over the hips with a pretty cord and leave a larger or smaller gap at the side (see the dance photo in Plate 16 and Fig. 1). The opening at the side is covered to a certain degree by thick bundles of fiber, usually flax-like frayed hibiscus fibers (*garamál*), which constitute the side ends of both aprons left and right. Two additional fiber bundles are sewn into the apron at the back, and their thick knots hold it in place. This is necessary because, although the upper end of the front apron is tucked all the way under the hip cord and held in place by it, in the case of the apron in back, only the knot is tucked under. The rest hangs loose and kind of billows out the back (Fig. 1). Nearly every woman has in her front apron a small, woven bag *gotúngěł*, containing betel leaves, Areca nuts, and similar things. You can see the upper edges of these bags clearly on some photos (see Vol. 2, Plate 6 top and bottom right and Plate 18³). I observed an unusual practice that I found to be common among Palauan women, namely the lacing of the waist. While most native peoples wear their clothing, be it matting, bundles of leaves, or, as here in Palau, a skirt, not over the waist, but below it, in the hip area, directly over the perineum, leaving the waist exposed, Palauan women wear a tight belt made of woven material, cloth, or sometimes strips of leather. When I inquired about this, I was told their stomachs feel better with the support²⁴.

But let us return to the discussion of the making of rush skirts. After the rushes have been dried and bleached, they are arranged in little bundles or weaving strands (*telbéngěđ*), about 3-4 of them, and are then woven with a thread (*golıl*) of hibiscus fiber (*garamál*) or strips of the Areca sheath (*būg*). This *golıl* thread is split into three parts, and the bundle of rushes is laid between these parts in such a way that it covers the upper and lower part of the *golıl* split thread, leaving the center one on top of the rushes (Fig. 10a). The rushes, in turn, are arranged in such a way that the nice, long pieces with the reddish ends point downward; what pokes out at the top is shorter and less conspicuous. To remove all doubt, I shall name the top thread o, the middle one m, and the bottom one u. The bundle of rushes in the upper part I will call o-B¹ = upper rushes. The u thread is bent upwards, laid over m and under o and o-B¹ (Fig. 10b). This work of weaving and binding strands is called *melái*. The o thread is combined with the upper rushes o-B¹. A new bundle of rushes o-B² is laid under o and o-B¹ and over m (Fig. 10c). Now the m thread is pulled up and laid over o and o-B¹. The u thread is combined with the new o-B², twisted between the fingers like a string, then bent downwards from left to right across m, while this latter thread points upwards (Fig. 10d). The

m thread now points upwards, u runs horizontally from left to right, and o points downwards. The upper part of a new bundle of rushes (o-B³) is combined with m and laid under u and over o. o is freed from the o-B¹ rushes with which it was combined (these are left hanging down), and laid upwards over u and under m, after which m and its o-B³ rushes are twisted together and bent downwards over o. o now points upwards, m points to the right, u points downwards, just as in the beginning. In the process just described, three strands of rushes were woven in (Fig. 10e).

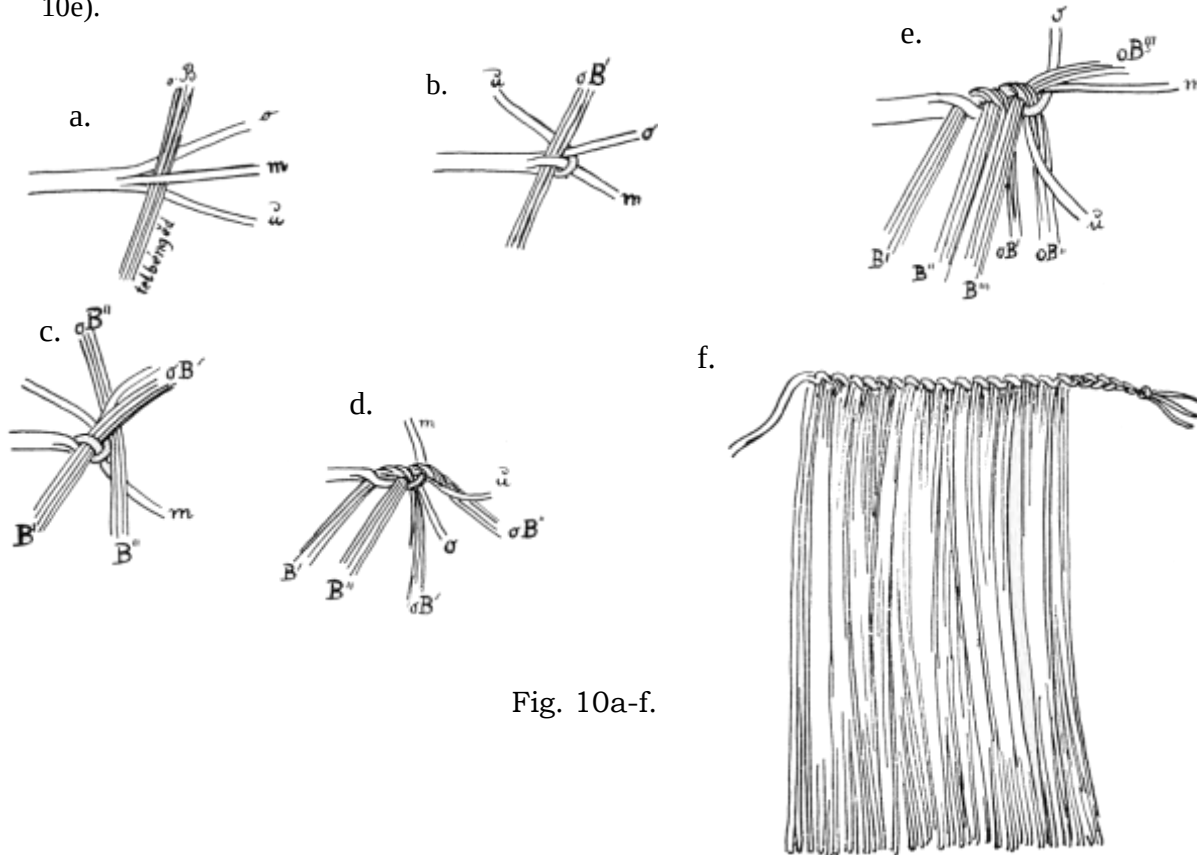


Fig. 10a-f.

The same steps are repeated continually: the upper end of a new bundle of rushes is laid over the upper thread and under the middle thread with its rushes. The lower thread is separated from its rushes, bent upwards over the middle thread with its rushes and under the upper thread with its rushes. The middle thread is twisted slightly with its rushes. When about 15-30 such weaving stitches have been made and an equal number of bundles of rushes have been incorporated, the three threads o, m, and u are woven into a small braid (*delidai*) and secured with a knot to prevent the braid from coming apart. And so one unit *delil* equal to one layer (fringe) of the skirt is now finished (Fig. 10f).

One skirt half consists of approximately 5-15 such *delíl* laid on top of each, with the back apron requiring one or two pieces fewer than the front. When all of the pieces are ready, they are laid one on top of the other precisely, seam to seam, the rushes hanging loose at the bottom are tied together, and the sewing begins. The yarn used for this is a strong cord *koreól*, which usually is made out of 2 strips from the Areca sheath twisted together; this thread is called *koreól bugõbug*. Also needed are two black strings to sew through; these are laid against both sides of the *delíl* pieces that are being joined.

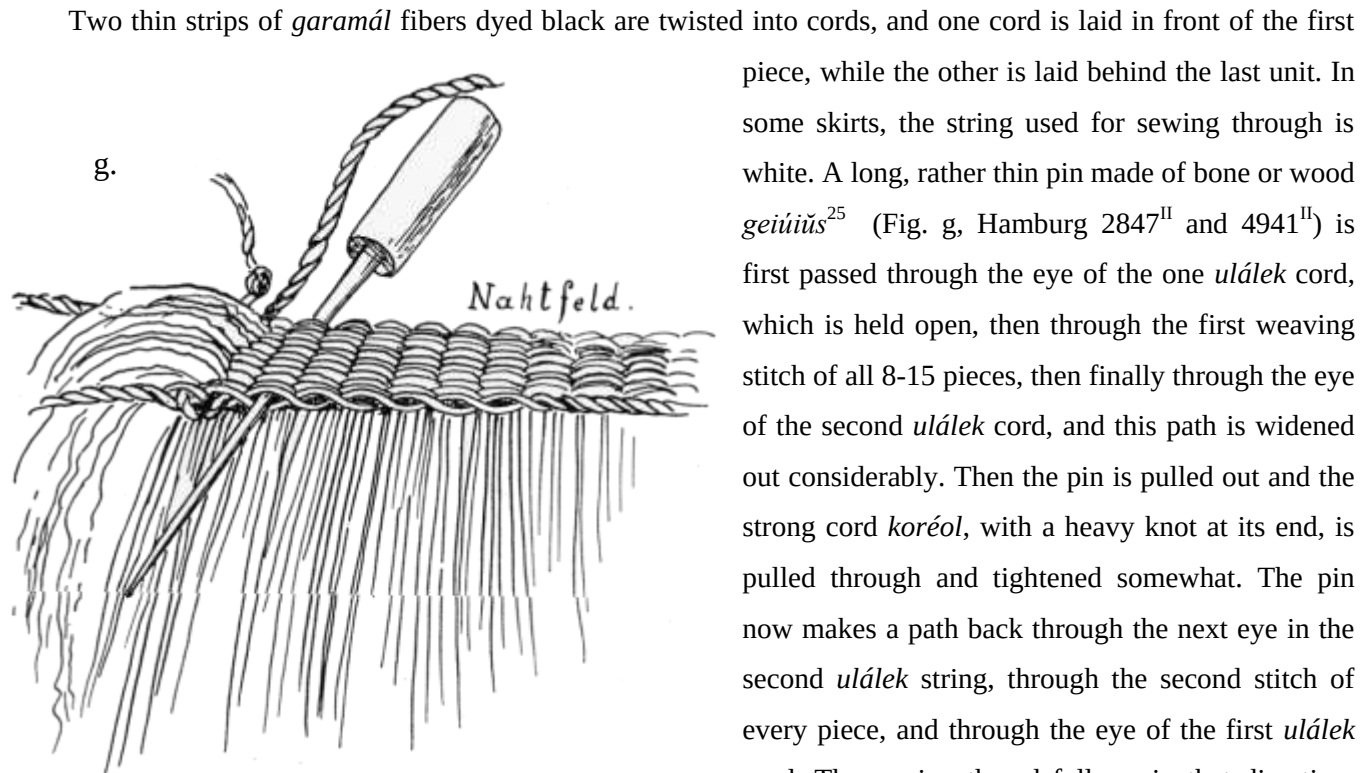


Fig. 10 g.

Two thin strips of *garamál* fibers dyed black are twisted into cords, and one cord is laid in front of the first piece, while the other is laid behind the last unit. In some skirts, the string used for sewing through is white. A long, rather thin pin made of bone or wood *geiúiũs*²⁵ (Fig. g, Hamburg 2847^{II} and 4941^{II}) is first passed through the eye of the one *ulálek* cord, which is held open, then through the first weaving stitch of all 8-15 pieces, then finally through the eye of the second *ulálek* cord, and this path is widened out considerably. Then the pin is pulled out and the strong cord *koréol*, with a heavy knot at its end, is pulled through and tightened somewhat. The pin now makes a path back through the next eye in the second *ulálek* string, through the second stitch of every piece, and through the eye of the first *ulálek* cord. The sewing thread follows in that direction, thereby stitching all of the pieces together a second time.

Between the first and second sewing stitches, the side closure *goloáděł* is added, the thick, fluffy tail mentioned earlier made of frayed hibiscus fiber *garamál* or of *lap*, a subspecies of same, which is even finer. This is done in such a way that a strip of fiber about as thick as a little finger is inserted from top to bottom between one piece *delíl* and the next,

so that the short end disappears inside between the pieces, and the other, longer one hangs down to the side of the *delīl* pieces.

Sewing continues, first from the inside outward, then from the outside inward, until all of the stitches of the woven pieces have been incorporated, and the fiber strips of the other side closure *goloádēl* have been worked in between the next-to-last one and the last one. The stiff sewing thread is not pulled tight during sewing, but is at first left in little loops. The stitches are pulled tight one after the other once the sewing is completed. When they do this, the women are seated; they press the skirt up against the wall of the house with both feet and pull the thread with all the strength in their hands. The even sewing of the stitches of the individual pieces creates transverse ridges at the top = *bled*. After the sewing thread has been pulled tight, these become more prominent and are then called *deliákl* knots. The whole area of the ridges is called *gesingēl* (poss. *gēsngelél*) = seam area (Fig. 10g).

In the case of the back apron, two more thick bundles of fiber known as *golebangkil* are included (as whole tails, not divided up) in addition to the side pieces *goloádēl*. These are laid in a little more towards the middle, approximately between the third and the fourth piece, where they are sewn in. The lower part of the tail is hidden between the *delīl*, while the upper part rises up between the tightly packed weaving stitches, the seam area as I call it, and is wound hard over the latter into a simple knot *dīlibuk*. This knot, as previously mentioned, serves to hold the apron in place with the hip cord (Fig. 10h).

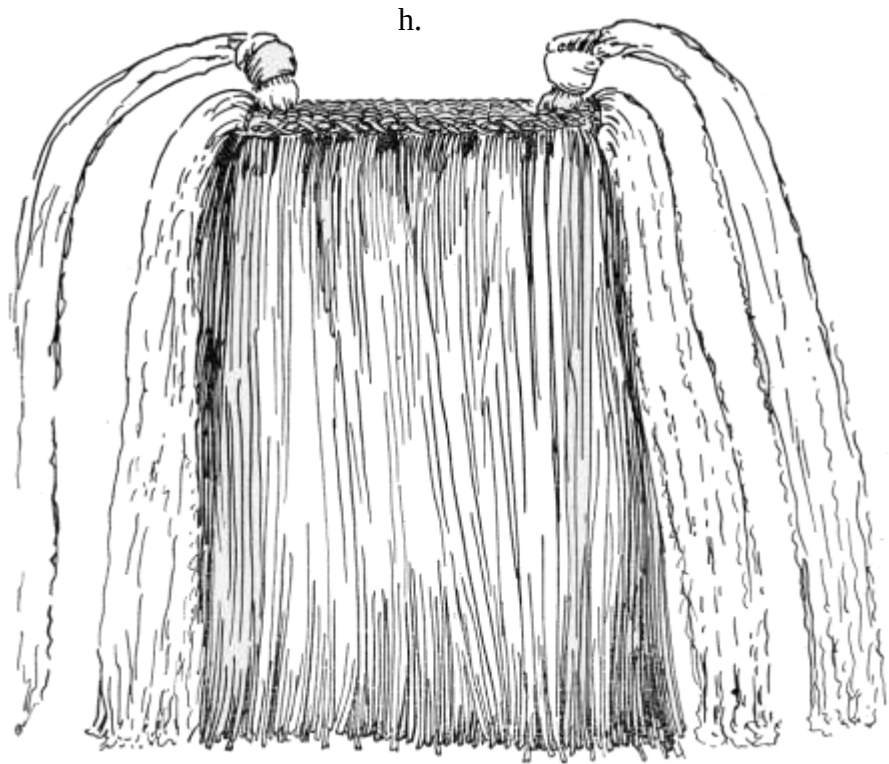


Fig. 10 h.

The various *golīl* threads, the beginnings and the end braids, which were used to weave together the individual pieces and that hang to the right and left underneath the tails, are combined with the ends of the *ulálek* cord into a tight braid *delidái*, to create the fastening on the sides.

These two braids, right and left, are tied together inside, between the middle *delīl* pieces of the apron.

This explains why some claim that the skirt is divided into a front piece and a back piece; *ruklél* “its piece,” from *meróus* “to divide”; *blingelél*, from *omí* “to divide into two pieces.” The last thing left to do is to embellish and enlarge the side closure, the tail *goloáděl*. For this purpose, the knot of the strong *koreól* cord (which fastens the pieces together) is untied, and a strand is isolated and laid across the seam area (those tightly compressed, bulging upper edges of the individual pieces) (Fig. 10i).

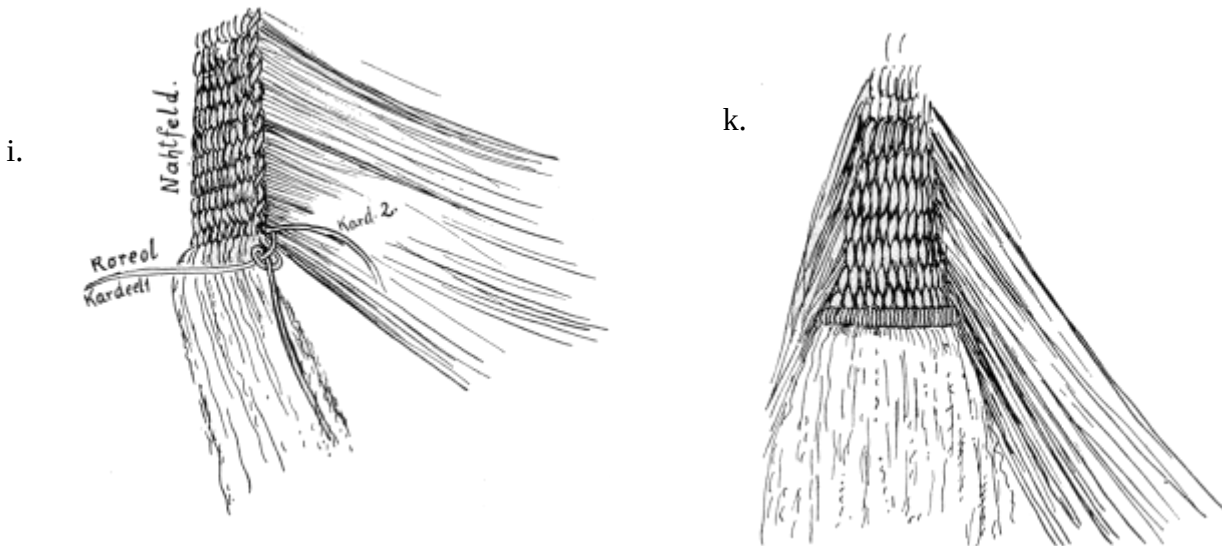


Fig. 10i, k.

Starting at the base of the strand (from right to left in the illustration), small pieces are separated one after another from the fiber tails of the side closure and laid around the *koreól* thread with a simple running knot, as shown in Fig. i, while being twisted with the fingers and pulled tight. This continues until the *koreól* thread is covered with small running knots across the entire seam area. This knotting technique is called *meloáiěš*, and the ridge that it creates is called *klováiěš* (Fig. k). When this is done, the end of the strand from the *koreól* cord, which is covered in running knots, is guided under the fringes of the skirt and knotted together at the bottom with the other strand (2), which had been left hanging on the right. The result is a neatly made side. Naturally, the other side is treated in the same manner, as are the two sides of the other apron. When the double apron is almost completed, the person who is to wear it ties it on, and another woman trims any rushes that remain uneven so that the skirt is knee height when judged by eye. The woman wearing the skirt turns slowly during this process. The side pieces and the back tail, which up to this point consisted of unimpressive, contiguous fiber, are combed out (*melógōd*) and frayed using a comb-like instrument called *tógěd* (Fig. 10l),

until they spread out nice and fluffy²⁶. Some women like to comb out the rushes to a certain degree, as well, but this is done less frequently. Now the skirt is finished.

Grass skirts can become caught very easily between the wearer's legs and become bothersome, so occasionally a small protective mat *klebitáng* is worn on the inside of the front apron to prevent this. The rushes of the undermost layer of the apron itself are used to weave this.

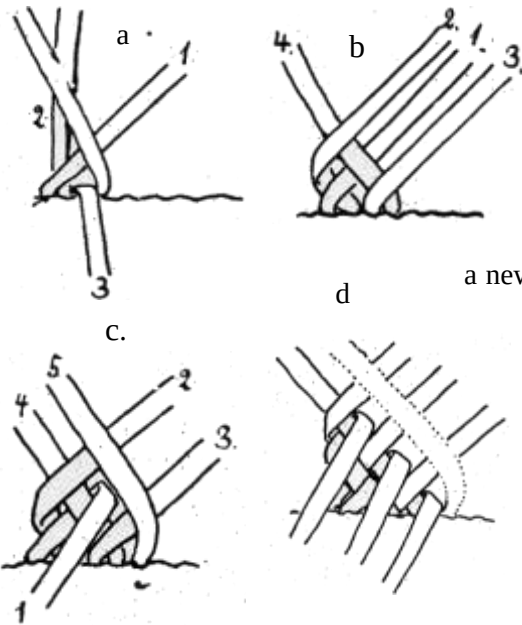


Fig. 10 1.

Making of the *klebitáng*, the Small Protective Women's

Mat Attached to the Grass Skirt

When a woman wants to weave a *klebitáng* mat into her grass skirt, she lays the front apron – only this one is provided with a mat – on her lap, with the inner side facing up and the upper finished edge, the seam area, pointed towards her, and begins weaving with the first rush on the left. She crosses it over the second rush with a quarter turn to the right. She leaves the second rush there, bends back the third rush, and crosses the fourth rush over the first rush, with a quarter turn to the left (Fig. 11a).



The second rush lies over the fourth rush in a half turn to the right, forming the edge. The third rush, which was bent back, returns in that direction and somewhat to the right, so that it also crosses the fourth rush (Fig. 11b).

The first rush is bent back over the fourth, which covers it, and a new rush (*ongorúl*, the weave-through rush), the fifth, is added. It is laid

across the woven strip with a quarter turn to the left, so that it crosses the second and third rushes (Fig.

11c).

The weaving proceeds in this fashion. Repeatedly, the rush on the left edge is bent to the right with a half turn, the one following it (the first, third, and fifth, etc.), is laid back,

Fig. 11a-d.

the ones previously laid back (the second, fourth, sixth, etc.) return in that direction and are covered by the newly added rush from the right in the direction of the woven strip (with a quarter turn to the left) (Fig. 11d).

The weaving proceeds at an angle until the last rush on the right is reached. Because there are no new rushes left to weave in, one bends the rush that is protruding the most to the right in a half turn to the left and lays it to the left over the woven strip (Fig. 11e).

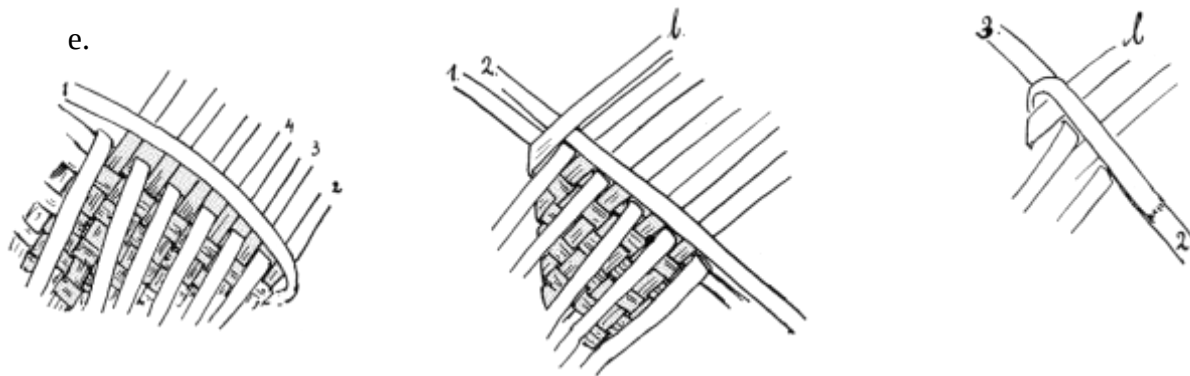


Fig. 11 e, f, f'.

The second one follows, then the third, fourth, etc., in each case after the rushes to be woven through have been bent forwards or back, whichever is necessary for the type of weaving being done. This creates the edge on

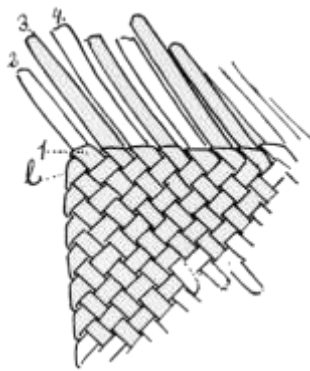


Fig. 11g.

the right side, *utkul*. The weaving continues until it is as long as a hand span, then the finishing edge *aulisül* begins (Fig. 11f). This is begun on the left edge, after it has reached the length of a hand span. Here, the last rush (l) of the side edge lies bent in a half turn to the right, thus covering the first rush (the first rush of the finishing edge) and the rush just laid down, the second rush. Now the first rush is bent back over l (the last one just mentioned), over the strip of the second rush, thus covering it, in the opposite direction, of course (Fig. 11f'). Then the rushes of the woven strip are adjusted, as already described, the ones bent backwards are straightened, while the straight ones are bent backwards. The next weaving rush, the third one, is bent over the woven strip and covers all of the extending rushes of the strip except the last one, which sticks up next to rush l. Rush l now makes a half turn downwards to the right, covers the aforementioned last rush of the strip and the third rush, over which it lies, pointing in the opposite direction (Fig. 11g).

The weaving proceeds this way, with the new weaving rush being laid over the prepared strip, but not covering the last rush of the strip or the one to the left of it.

The latter is bent in a half turn over the last rush of the strip and is laid so that it covers the strip of the last weaving rush. This moves the finishing edge *aulísul* to the right, until it is completed, and the ends of the rushes hanging out can be trimmed.

Words associated with *gerévut* making

<i>mangabagēiēp</i>	to sway while walking
<i>vang</i>	dried Pandanus leaf
<i>goubesós</i>	“lily leaf,” i.e., solid pieces of Pandanus at the bottom edge of the skirt that have not
<i>kěrdíkēs</i>	type of rush
<i>gerévut</i>	women’s skirt
<i>garamál</i>	Hibiscus
<i>bugōbug</i>	thread made from the Areca sheath
<i>golīl</i>	thread for incorporating skirt fibers in the creation a <i>delīl</i> = piece of a skirt, a fringe
<i>melái</i>	weaving ties from strands on a skirt
<i>telbéngēd</i>	weaving strand of a women’s skirt
<i>mangiut (a suk)</i>	to slit (Pandanus) into fine strips
<i>omad</i>	to turn into thread, to twist
<i>mangarēl</i>	to turn (two threads) into a cord on one’s knees
<i>golúīēs</i> or <i>geiúúūs</i>	awl, stick made of bone or wood, used to poke holes for the sewing thread (women’s
<i>goloádēl</i>	(poss. side closure of the skirt
<i>golebangkīl</i>	knotted tail of the rear apron
<i>dílibuk</i>	knot on the tail of the rear apron
<i>deliákl</i>	knot in the sewing thread
<i>dēlidai</i>	Braid
<i>gēsíngēl</i>	(poss. seam area, upper finished edge of the skirt
<i>meloáiēs</i>	to tie on the little fiber pieces of the side closure of the women’s skirt
<i>klováiēs</i>	row of slip knots, cross ridges on the <i>goloádēl</i>
<i>tógēd</i>	comb-like instrument for fraying the Hibiscus fibers or the rushes on the skirt
<i>melógōd</i>	to comb out, to fray the fibers on the skirt
<i>mangímd</i>	to trim (the fringe of the skirt) at the bottom to an even length

Here at the end of this discussion on the elaborate skirts worn by the women with so much pride and grace, I would like to remark (and this applies to the houses and the canoes and the overall unique way of life of the people as a whole) that all possible attempts must be made to retain this in Palau. One need only look at the lovely figures in Plate 1 of Part 2 and Plates 16 and 17 in this volume to understand why even the catholic missions have spoken out in favor of preserving this traditional native dress. This is stated in the journal of the 1908 missions, pg. 7: “As the islanders consider their grass skirts to be decent and beautiful, this should not pose an obstacle for sanctioned missionary activity.”

Of course, this statement resulted from the fact that the Palauan women, trying to hold on to their customs, did not heed the request of the Spanish and German missions to come to church in European clothing, and instead refrained from attending mass at all. Another sentence follows: “The next generation will certainly approach the issue of clothing with more understanding.” But the cultivation of Christianity proceeded just as well in grass skirts, as we can attest. When my wife took leave in 1910, she appealed to the sisters to keep their distance from the clothing of the whites, and they unanimously agreed, also with respect to the fact that it would be best to continue work in the taro patch in old skirts.

Nevertheless, the 1914 mission report shows a few children in cotton dresses, a premonition, it seems, of the inevitable. When those who hold influential positions out there, and who after a short while no longer notice the nudity, express their support for the retention of this custom, they are hounded and swayed from their original position by the small-minded Philistines at home, who are outraged when they see the pictures. In this case, only public interest can intervene. Should it not be possible in this wonderful country, with such highly developed native artistry and so little fertile soil, which is not suitable for the crops of whites, to retain this beautiful little piece of Earth? In 1914, I indicated (KR. IV) the need to keep Palau as a national park, and I renew this call here, before it is too late.

b) Ornamentation

This plays only a minor role. First there is the necklace, called *lebú*²⁷ (poss. *lebungél*). Usually this is a string *gomogáiol* with a pendant *golbiungél*. Plate 1 in Vol. 2 shows two women in daily garb. The skirt, the belt, and a small piece of money on a string around the neck is all they wear. Plate 6¹ shows Bilung this way, and the women in Plate 6² and Plates 18¹, 3, and 4 are not even wearing money ornaments. This ornamentation is worn less for beauty and more as a sign of rank. Children and young girls wear green *galdóiög* glass, older women wear the pretty *meriměr*, or the red *móngongāu* piece, or the yellow *br’rak*, which in Palau is comparable to wearing a large gemstone in Europe. Bilung and the woman in Vol. 2, Plate 18² wear such pieces of money, which is described in more detail in “Money,” below. There is more about the *sákěr* necklace below in the section on weaving, where there is also a lot about coconut frond ornamentation (Plate 11), as on pg. 31 as well. There is more on the *kau* chain above, on pg. 4, in the discussion on the hip cord. Vol. 2, Plate 18¹, bottom right shows a girl with an **earring** on the right, which is generally called *telāu* (poss. *telúl*). It is in the shape of a horse shoe, with one or two glass beads at each forked end, i.e. a total of two or four beads on one earring (Fig. 12).

The bow part of this ornament is made out of turtleshell. More on this shortly. The actual earring, however, is a small rectangular plate of turtleshell, called *súběd*, its one short side is tapered towards the top, to accommodate the hole for hanging it (Fig. 13). KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 192, says the earrings fall into two categories: *subut* and *géro*, “the latter (Plate XXIII, Fig. 21) are made from the thin sheets of a stomach plate²⁸ and are worn primarily by men.”

“Some *Géro* are hung on the ear using a special, elongated, rectangular chain link, as seen in Plate XXIII, Fig. 20, for example. The women wear

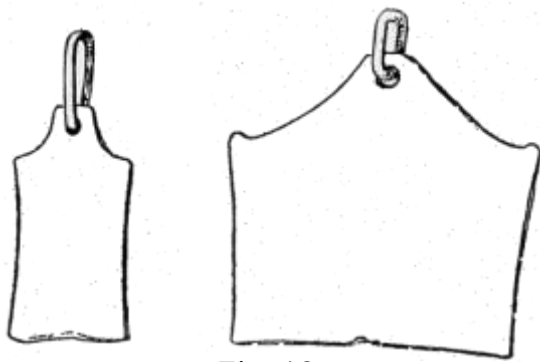


Fig. 13
suběd turtleshell earring
(Hamburg VI 7640, Hamburg VI 7512b).



Fig. 12
telaū earring
(Hamburg VI 12636, 751b).

earrings made of thick turtleshell, whose shape resembles that of the *Géro*, but which are usually smaller and have at their tip a square (Plate XXIII, Fig. 18) or round (Plate XXIII, Fig. 19)

fastener that moves on a hinge, allowing them to be removed easily. These earrings, known as “*Súbut*,” are also worn by men, although in a somewhat different shape. The “*Súbut*” of the women is about 50mm wide and equally high; the one for men either has the same shape, but is only half as large, or it is thin and significantly elongated. In all cases, these earrings are only worn by young people of both genders. The typical men’s earring is the “*Atalán Kim*²⁹” (Plate XXIII, Fig. 22), which

consists of a small, curved piece of turtleshell, at whose ends in the past were fastened four round beads made of *Tridacna* shell, but to which today are most often fastened white glass beads, usually imported from Manila.”

The last ornament mentioned above was worn a lot by girls during my visit there, but less frequently by men. You can see it on the *a Rāklāi* in Vol. 2, Plate 6, and then there is the large picture of Abba Thule in KEATE’s book, which shows the one-bead earring in the right ear, so there can be no argument as to how old this custom is. KEATE, on pg. 319, says that only the left ear of the men was pierced and adorned with beads; the women, however, had holes in both ears.

The women also wore another type of earring, which is shown in the picture on the right in Plate 1.³⁰ On this photograph, the hole in the earlobe³¹ is also visible, into which they would often put an aromatic bundle of leaves or something similar during dances, as seen on the left in Plate 1. Occasionally, of course, a flower is worn behind the ear, but this might also be a *gólei* to protect against the wrath of a Rubak; it is called *gutegárgar*. As early as 1797, JAMES WILSON remarked that pierced ears were common and that the natives who came alongside in canoes wore bundles of leaves an inch wide in them. In fact, the same thing is still done today. Favorites are the leaves of Croton (*késuk*) ferns, the pleasant-smelling taro patch weed *ěáměł*, palm fronds (*měólt*), the purple flower *lokomodelák*, etc. Finally, I should mention another earring here, which is pictured in KEATE, Plate 3⁴, and which seems to have consisted of a stick of black wood about as long as a hand, inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The ornaments on top were two millipedes, at the bottom there are two *kim* shells. KEATE says that this piece of jewelry was worn by high-ranking women.

There is no doubt that bracelets (*klilt*) existed in the past, but they are hardly worn these days, least of all by women, although for men the dugong bracelet is still seen as a sign of distinction.

From old stories I learned something that was previously unknown, namely that in former times Tridacna bracelets (*klilt l kim*) were made in Ngarabesūl, near Ngariáp on Pelíliou. No details are known about the shape of these bracelets, but the picture in Plate 10⁴ in Vol. 2 shows the bracelet of Semdíu. Perhaps the Tridacna bracelet (Plate 4¹) in Leipzig that WEBER collected represents the old shape. In KEATE, Plate 3¹, there is a bracelet made of 32 cornelian beads, i.e. of *kau* shell pieces like the hip band, and Plate 6² shows a bracelet made of turtleshell, the same kind that MÜLLER presents for Yap in Yap, Vol. I, Fig. 27. It is typically Central Carolinian. He also shows, in Fig. 26, a bracelet made of Trochus shell *semúm*, very similar to one we found in Palau. The *gěkóio*k snail was also used to make them. Trochus bracelets usually have etchings on the outer sloping side, usually horizontal “X”s with vertical lines (see Fig. 14, Hamburg 3689^{II} and 4710^{II}).



Fig. 14.

6.5cm

7cm

The cone snail *gotótěł* also provides material for a bracelet, the well-known Yapese *yātáu* (MÜLLER I, pg. 30, Fig. 33). It can be found on Palau, too, but, as HAM. learned, it is usually only placed in the grave with the dead. I never saw one of these bracelets worn. The most important bracelet, which is only worn by men,

is the dugong neck vertebra, called *gologólt*³², which was in the past erroneously called *klilt*, which is the generic word for bracelet.

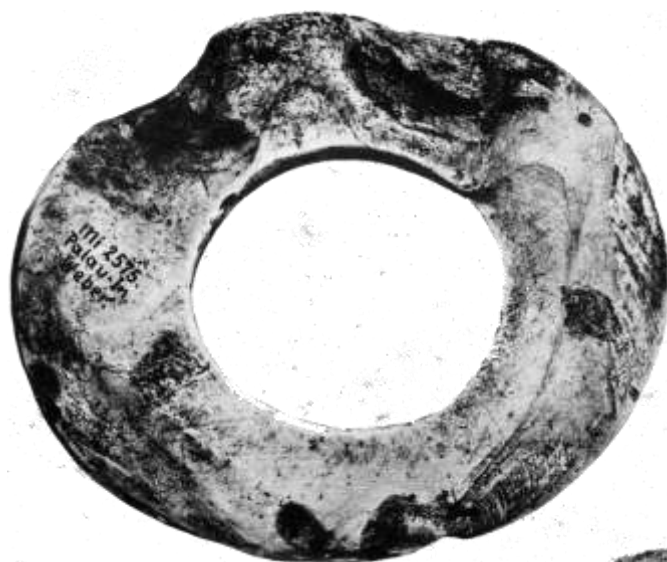
As early as 1783, WILSON (see Vol. I, pg. 117) was made a Rubak of the first class and was given the “bone” Klilt and when MC CLUER came to Palau in 1791, he was at first mistaken for WILSON, and his left hand was closely examined to see if the Klilt was still there. HOCKIN, pg. 56, mentions that in 1791 they disturbed a musague (*mesequíu*). MC CLUER reports: “They take the bones from this animal, which constitute the symbol of honor for the rupacks. Three of the bones are taken from this fish for that purpose, and they have a high value; the first is taken from the skull or the forehead of the animal and signifies the lowest rank of the rupacks; the second is taken from the middle section of the head and may only be worn by the head rupack; the third bone, finally, is the vertebra between the head and the neck; this is the largest bone and is bestowed on men who are not rupacks but who have distinguished themselves by some brave deed.”

SEMP., in Vol. II, pg. 114, says the following: “Klilt is the word for the first neck vertebra of the dugong, the Indian sea cow (*Halicore dujong*), which the natives have used as a real order for men. The king alone has the right to bestow it; and he alone has the right to take it back from one who has been disgraced. The bestowal and removal of the decoration are gruesome procedures. The hand is forced through the narrow hole; often a finger is lost, and always the skin is torn away. Arakaluk lost his thumb. The order cannot be bought; the state purchases it, for a lot of trepang, from sailors who bring it occasionally from the Philippines. The noble men and women (the kikeri rupack) may receive this honor; the men of Armeau never receive it, neither do the women.”

KUBARY, in Vol. I, pg. 27, reported in a lot of detail the purchase of a Mysogyu (*mesequíu*), as the animal is known: “The killing of this animal is celebrated with dancing and the sounding of conches and causes jubilation all around. Only the rich may catch it with nets or buy it, and the purchase of the Klilt is a political custom. One of the first great deeds of a chief who has newly attained his title is the acquisition of a head for the war dance. This brings in money, and then he must try to find a Mysogiu, which gives him respect. A single Klilt is no small item and costs one to two Kalebukubs.³³ When Ajbatul³⁴ in Angarard³⁵ was on the Moloik³⁶, a warriors’ club from Ngarbukut³⁷ caught a Mysogyu and Ajbatul had to buy it, because his rank forbade him from passing up this opportunity to purchase.

Today the entire government of Ngarbukut was in Megetyj³⁸; for the last three days, the foreigners have been living in Korrer, and large quantities of food and drink have been carried from the houses to the guests. Today, Ajbatul is supposed to turn over the money. I sat near Ajbatul in one of the entrances of the Ajdit³⁹ house; in front of the house, Mat⁴⁰, Karaj⁴⁰, and other chiefs of Ngaruau were sitting on the Golbet⁴¹. Ajbatul had the money sitting in front of him, and he gave each piece individually to the chief Kleknuur Irmeriil⁴², who held it up, turned it to all sides, loudly called out its name and the name of its new owner. Then, with a bow towards Ajbatul, he gave it to the chief who had been named. One after the other, the Klilt, the skin, and the two sides were paid for⁴³, which brought the total to three Kalebukubs, several Kluks and Adoloboks⁴⁴. Added to that was a Kalebukub as a gift for Karaj, and one for Mat, and about 30 pieces of bad money were distributed among the Kaldebeks⁴⁵. The Irajkalau⁴⁶ of Korrer also received another Kluk for being present."

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 175, corrects the story that claims the Klilt is a decoration for bravery, etc.; saying: "The Klilt is not a sign of honor that only the rupacks may wear, nor is it an order that is bestowed on entitled people by high-ranking chiefs. It is simply a very expensive bracelet worn only by those who have the means to buy it or who can otherwise acquire it." This is certainly the correct viewpoint. One of my youths, *a Ililāu*, who appears in Vol. I, Plate 3, wore the bracelet, although he was still young and immature. But he happened to come from a well-to-do household in Ngaregolóng. Vol. 2, Plate 20 also shows a young man wearing one. On the other hand, it is true that all Rubak who can in any way afford one, wear one, as seen on *a Rāklāi* and Rul in Plate 6 in Vol. 2, for example. Occasionally, in fact, a high chief will wear two, as WILSON reported (Vol. I, pg. 115), perhaps because he had to take over the bracelet of his predecessor when assuming his title and was unable to take the old one off. People from of smaller, subordinate districts, for example from Nggeiangēl, *a Ngeaur*, Ngarekobasáng, etc., are not allowed to wear it, as KUB. explained in Vol. VIII, pg. 176.



1



3



2



4



5

Bracelets

1. Tridacna, diameter 17cm, Leipzig Mi 2575
2. Dugong vertebra, Hamburg 4715^{II} (He)
3. it London
4. it Stuttgart (Kr)
5. Women's bracelet *deruál*. Stuttgart

Purchasing the animal and wearing the bracelet are not privileges – *klepkal'l* – of individuals but of certain villages, as already discussed in the section on privileges in Vol. 2, Section III. This is the situation, as presented by KUB.:

Catch of the Dugong		Purchase and Sale of the Dugong	Purchase and Wearing of the Bracelet
missing in Pelíliou	District IX	---	Pelíliou
Goréor	District VIII	Goréör	Goréör
Melekéiok	District IV	Melekéiok	Melekéiok
<i>a</i> Iméungs	District V	<i>a</i> Iméungs	<i>a</i> Iméungs
---	District V	---	<i>Roispelú</i>
<i>Ngabúkěd</i>	District II	<i>Ngabúkěd</i>	<i>Ngabúkěd</i>
<i>Galáp</i>	District II	<i>Galáp</i>	<i>Galáp</i>
<i>Keklau</i>	District II	<i>Keklau</i>	<i>Keklau</i>
<i>Ngarekeai</i>	District VI	<i>Ngarekeai</i>	<i>Ngarekeai</i>
---	District VI	---	<i>a Imul, Gámliangěl</i>
---	District IV	<i>Nggəsár</i>	<i>Nggəsár</i>

I should add that in all of the villages sacred to the Galíd Medegeipélau, such as *a* Irai, Ngarsúl, Ngátpang, Ngivál, Ngardmau, Ngabiul, Gólei (Ngaregolóng), etc., the priests claim the animals and the bracelets for themselves, forbidding the people to wear this ornamentation.

KUB. also reports in detail how the high chief, who already has a bracelet himself, takes care of his sons, the children of his women, and his “cousins” on the maternal side, who help him retain his rank and support him, by purchasing animals and bracelets. If each of them has at least one, he is proud. In order to prevent jealousy, he allows the “cousin” whose turn it is to take the bracelet that is hung in the house. Occasionally, however, a cousin who possesses a *gologólt* must give it back, because another high chief is in need of one. In this case, the victim receives special payment for damages, which seems particularly appropriate in this case, seeing as putting on and removing the bracelet is very painful. The hand is rubbed with mucus from an octopus, the juice of hibiscus fiber, syrup, oil, etc. The hand is stretched with bands, etc. For details about the dugong itself, which appears to have entirely disappeared in Palau, see the section on fishing and zoology.

In recent times, Palauans have taken to painting one or two bumps on the vertebra with red sealing wax, which they call *sapúsik*, livening up the otherwise monotonous color of the bone. Nothing is known about how the custom of wearing the dugong bracelet first came about. KUBARY believes that it is unique to Palau⁴⁷, because nothing similar has been observed elsewhere.

This is not entirely correct, as similar bone bracelets are worn on the small Sunda Islands, on Tenimber, Timor-Laut, etc. FINSCH, in Vol. II, pg. 156, shows an *Epistropheus* from Timor-Laut; I have seen similar specimens from Tenimber in the Museum of Anthropology in Berlin. SERRURIER and SCHMELTZ report similar findings (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 182). FINSCH, in the same work, corrects KUBARY's claim in Vol. VIII, pg. 182, that in the past not only the atlas, but also the first four vertebrae were used as bracelets, and that the names of the bones were *holhól*, *ñordimmel*, *oñobáñel*, and *holhul*. I myself heard of only three: *gologólt*, *gordiměl*, and *gologúl* = women's "ring," made of the vertebra bone at the back of the head. KUB. says "the last and largest was the most valuable and was reserved for the chiefs; the others had various lesser values and were worn by the relatives of the chiefs. Over time, however, the uncomfortable large bracelets fell into disuse, and only the ones made from the smallest, the atlas vertebra, survived." FINSCH says KUBARY "let the natives pull the wool over his eyes in grand fashion." After all, he claims, the atlas is the neck vertebra with the largest hole and is the only one that can be used. This is incorrect.

I took several measurements of the 7 neck vertebrae on a dugong skeleton in the Stuttgart natural history specimen collection. I arrived at the following figures for the open diameter of width: atlas 48mm, axis 35mm, third vertebra same as atlas, then gradually increasing in size up to the seventh vertebra, which was 60mm wide and 50mm high. Although the walls of the atlas measured 28mm thick, they were very thin in the last vertebra, making it rather unsuitable for wearing, because it could break too easily. Thus KUBARY was quite right. The same cannot be said of MC CLUER's statement above, which is not comprehensible. The hole at the back of the head, after all, is almost equal to that of the atlas; otherwise only the much larger nostril would come into consideration. One must assume that he is mistaken, and that KUBARY's more precise statements are accurate.

FINSCH portrayed Wilson's Klilt in London and KUBARY's in Berlin, but inadequately, of course. WILSON's is also shown in KEATE, Plate 4³, where it looks quite wide, as it has been scraped on the inside. My illustration based on a photograph in London gives the same impression.

Measurements of various bracelets resulted in the following figures:

	Outer dimensions		Inner dimensions		Photo
	length	diameter	length	diameter	
Hamburg (4715 ¹¹)	100	61	45	42	(Plate 4 ²)
Stuttgart (Kr.)	100	70	65	50	(Plate 4 ⁴)
Berlin (VI 7600)	98	62	69	54	---
London (WILSON's)	91	66	71	52	(Plate 4 ³)

The first two are more recent, the last two are from an earlier period.

The women's bracelet, which is similar in importance to the men's *gologólt*, is the *deruál* (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 184, *dérrwar*, MÜ., Yap, pg. 30, *dārūál*, a turtleshell ring), a hollow cylinder of turtleshell rings stacked on top of each other that is smaller in the middle, (Plate 4⁵). It must at one time have been special jewelry of the rich; you can see it on the *dilugai* figures (see Vol. 4); but today it has disappeared entirely. However, I was till able to buy a nice specimen in 1907 for 30 marks from a man of clan Nr. I Ngarakláng in *a Imeúngs* (District V). There are most likely very few left, as these pieces have long been sought after for the value of their turtleshell.

Its measurements are: total height 125mm. Outer diameter top 116, bottom 107mm. Inner diameter top 69, bottom 60.

It consists of 47 rings⁴⁸, each varying in thickness from 1 – 5mm, held together by two bands (nowadays wire), which run through holes at the edge of the rings.

In addition to this turtleshell bracelet, there is another, simpler one that resembles a napkin ring, but with the ends loosely crossed; it is of the type worn in Yap, but no longer seen in Palau. KEATE displays it in Plate 6, Fig. 2.

HE. also collected several Trochus bracelets (*ngelekúku?*) (HE. 17, 3760^{II}, 3767, 4662, 4710, 4762-63), of the type that young men make for girls. The rings in 1907 often have some carving on them. Young girls frequently wear several of these rings together, so that they rattle, for which they have a special word: *melngód*.

Just as the dugong bracelet has similarities to bracelets in Indonesia, the *deruál* has similarities to bracelets in Indonesia and Melanesia; on New Pomerania on the south coast in Plingli-Wewép, for example, there are similar cylinders of stacked, linked turtleshell rings, except they are narrower and have a larger hole.

I would like briefly to mention the ornaments worn at celebrations, particularly those that are customarily worn at *ruk* dances (Section VI, 3a). On these occasions, adornment *omesīg* is necessary. For the most part, coconut fronds wrapped around arms and legs, commonly called *klilt* arm band, are worn, as shown in Plate 1 and in Vol. 2, Plate 20. Neck adornment generally consists of leaf ornaments around the neck, called *lebú*, as mentioned above. The *temétēmengéd* = “our ornament” is made of fronds and *reng* (see Section VI, 3a). The adornment worn on the forehead is called *belótēl lē gasuāi* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 105, *bolótel kasuáy*, but erroneously labeled “adornment for hands and feet”). Washing and applying of oil *metególp a táiu* (*táiu* coconut shavings with which the skin is rubbed after bathing), as well as application of turmeric yellow, are also necessary. We had excellent occasion to observe the preparations for a celebration in *a Irai* on July 27, 1909. One of the dancers, all dressed and adorned for the celebration, was captured in watercolor by my wife (see also Plate 16).

The various types of decorative painting (see Fig. 15). Turmeric yellow keeps the skin smooth; after it is rubbed off, the skin stays yellow, but it is clean.

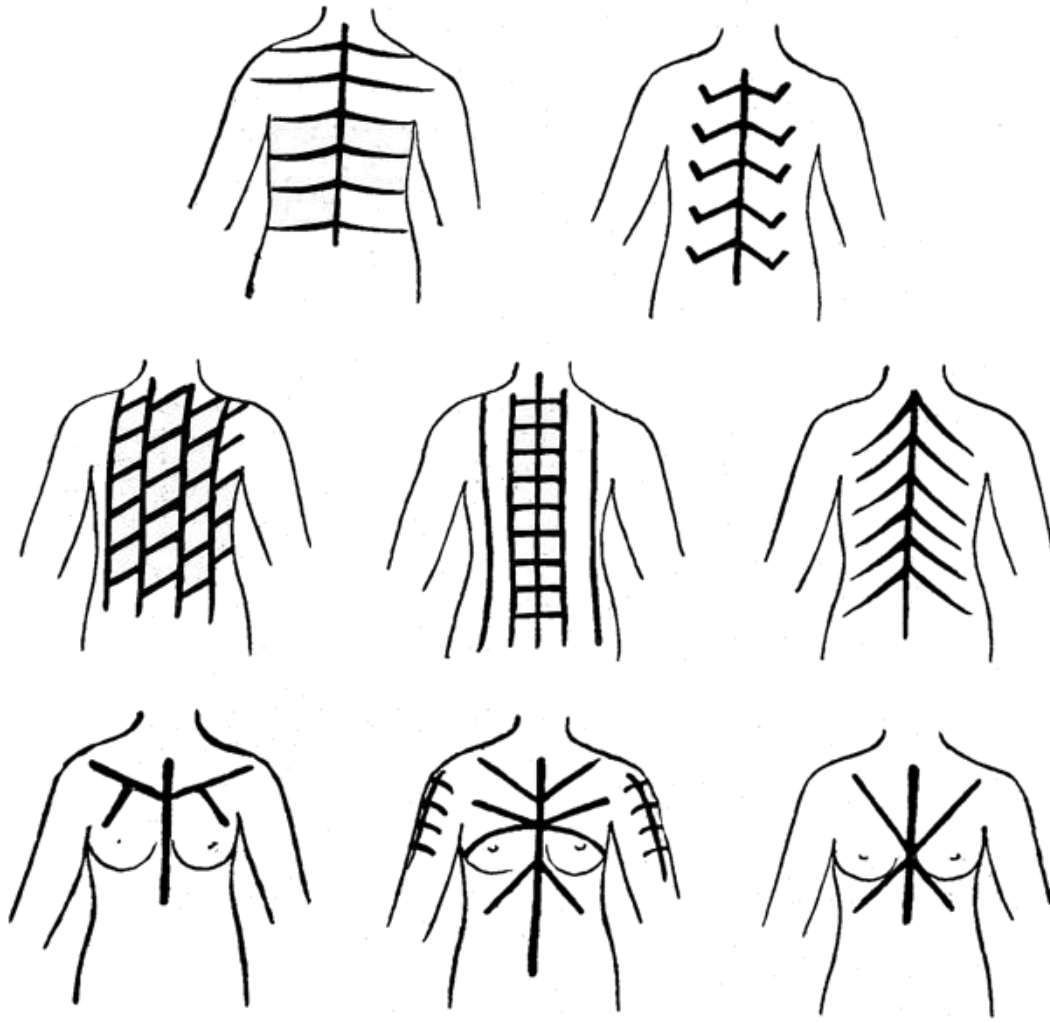


Fig. 15. Women's painted decoration, top: back, bottom: chest.

On the whole, **personal hygiene** is good. Every village of any importance or with any respect has a bathing pool *díong*, as the maps in Vol. 2 show. In fact, there is usually not only a bathing pool reserved for men, there is also one for women, both strictly segregated. The women usually bathe in the morning and evening, including the bath after working in the taro patch; the men wash their entire body in the evening, especially after they have spent time in the saltwater. After the bath, people especially like to rub coconut shavings

táiu into their hair and onto their skin; if the shavings are scented, this is called *beúmk*. Story 39 describes an attempt to win hearts with it. Every 3-5 days, the hair is rubbed with *táiu*⁴⁹, then rinsed with fresh water. The use of oil alone is less frequent.

Delousing *meláis* also plays part in the life of the islanders, as seen in Story 89.

For more on head ornaments and decorative **combs** *blsebúd* and *gomókēt* (poss. *gomoketél*) with *goubesós*

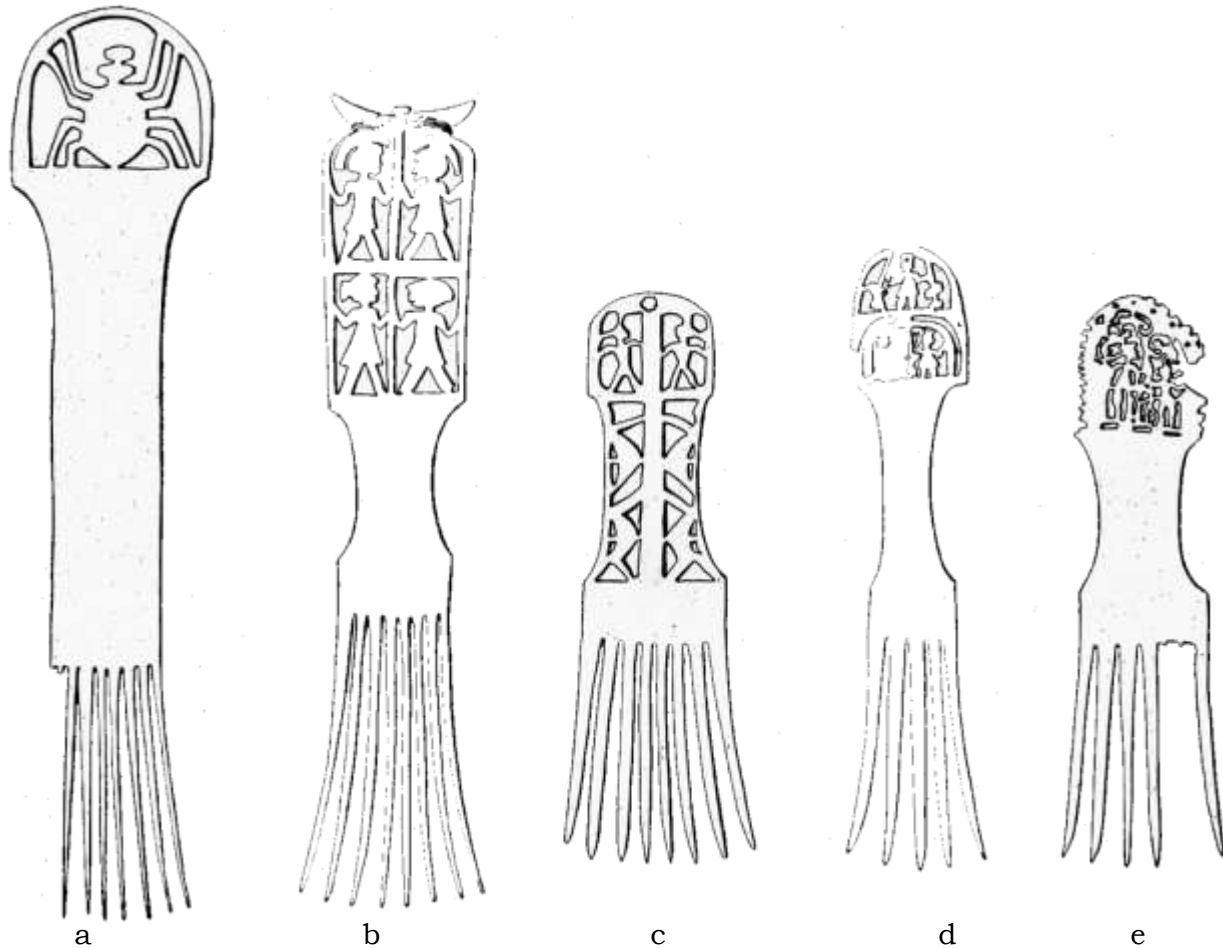


Fig. 16. Turtleshell combs, Berlin.

leaves, see Fig. VI, and for the type with blades of grass *godensél* in the case of Gorágel, see Story 13. Head ornaments include the comb *gosónd* (poss. *gosendél*). DUMONT d'URVILLE 1841, Vol. 5, pg. 208, says: some wear a human bone in the shape of a comb on the head. It is unlikely that the Palauans wore combs made of human bones, but the dugong bracelet is nevertheless an indication that bones were commonly used as decoration. There is nothing to be found in the literature that mentions turtleshell combs in earlier times. KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 192, was the first to refer to them, but he shows only one in Plate XXIII, Fig. 16, which I have reproduced here as Fig. 16c. This specimen resides with four others in the Berlin Museum of Anthropology, and it is 24cm long. On top, two men are represented, and on each side are two curlews (*delārók*, not

Tariik KUB.). Fig. 16b also shows men, in this case four foreigners, likewise 16d shows two men with rifles, and on 16e a pair of figures is clearly visible by a tree on which monkeys play. These last three obviously were made under the influence of the whites, while 16a, which is the longest at 38cm and depicts a spider under and arch, is, like 16c, entirely Palauan.

For curiosity's sake, let me say that the *Galíd* Medegeîpélau fashioned a comb out of the spine of the *rái* = flounder, which is said to be the origin of the name *a Iraî*.

In addition to these combs made of animal matter, there are some made of wood. KEATE, in Plate 3, Fig. 4, depicts one in a piece carved from orange wood. The author says there: the handle and teeth fashioned from the solid wood, and not in separate pieces closely connected together, like those brought from most of the late-discovered islands. I was under the impression that these combs composed of little sticks were introduced from Yap, although in recent times they must be acknowledged as being part of the indigenous culture. In general, however, the Yapese combs have 2 – 3 teeth on top, while the Palauan combs are cut straight across on top; but

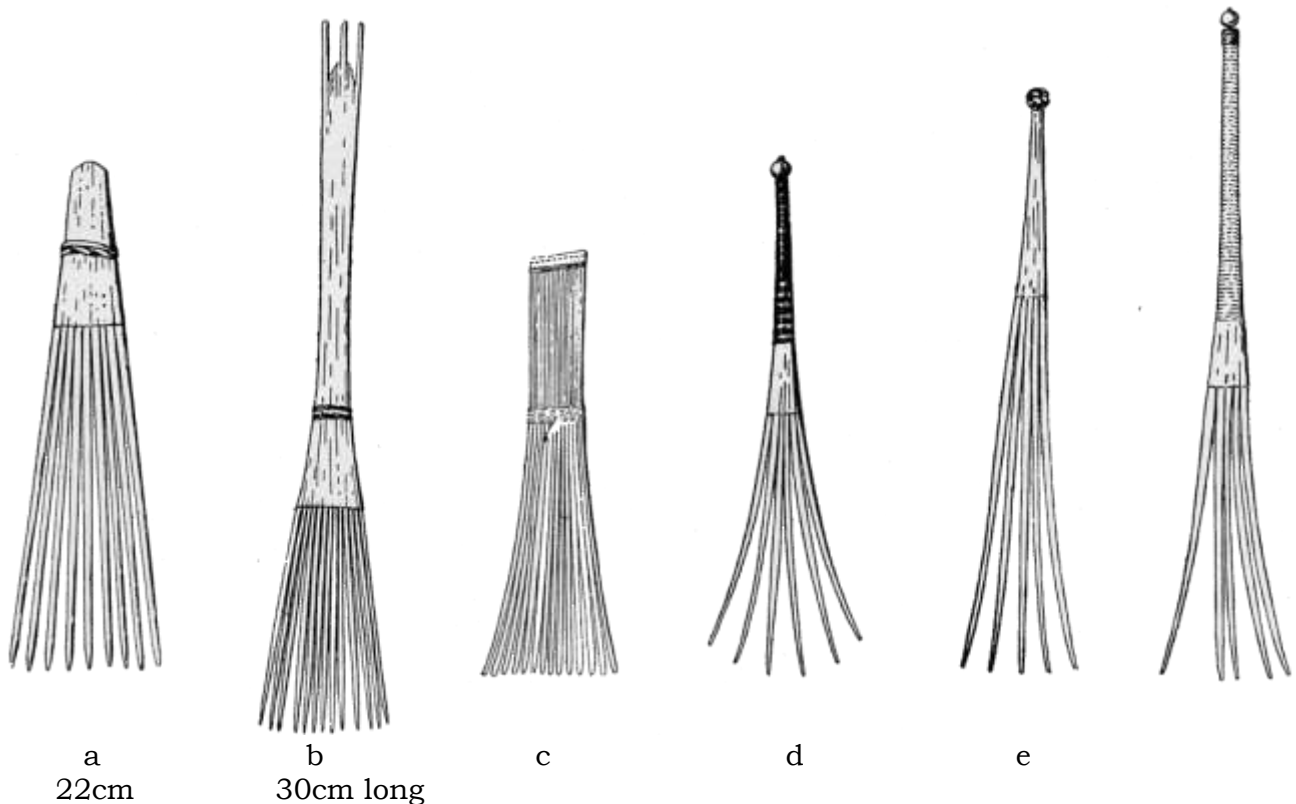


Fig. 17. Wooden combs.

this is not a hard and fast rule. In fact, KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 194, calls the combs carved from a single piece of wood the original ones and uses the term *didhuaek*, while using the terms *roai*⁵⁰ and *kareal* for other types.

In Plate XXIII, Figs. 30, he depicts a *teleól*⁵¹ comb consisting of 10 little wooden slabs

that are laid together. Hamburg 3768^{II}, Fig. 17a, which we collected, is made of the *tebëgěl*⁵² mangrove, as is Hamburg 3685^{II}, Fig. 17b; to be more specific, it is made out of the *ráod* stilts (Vol. I, pg. 245). The body of such combs is called *galagadál* (“his body”), the teeth *gógil* (“his leg”), and the outermost ones are called *saus*, like the corner posts of the Bai. The wooden pins that are stuck through the holes of leaves to hold them together are called *děl*. The “louse comb” *gosónd rakud*⁵³ is similar (KUB., Plate XXIV, Fig. 1), see Vol. 2, Plate 13³. The *gasëgës* combs were somewhat more delicate and ornamental (KUB., Vol. VII, pg. 195, *Kalsëkes*, and Plate XXIV, Fig. 2, with six teeth), their very slender bodies are decorated with alternating small slices of *kim*, turtleshell, and little red shell slabs. The comb bears a strong resemblance to those from the Central Carolines. Fig. 17e and f each have five teeth, they are Indonesian. These were no longer worn at the time of our visit. But around the year 1870 they seem to have been very popular on Palau, according to KUBARY⁵⁴. The connection between the leaf combs and Yap is also evident in the fact that chiefs usually carry their combs in a basket, which is why one sees so few of them in the pictures; only young men use them as adornment (Vol. I, Plates 3 and 4). That is why young men remove the combs from their hair when talking to a Rubak (see Story 195).

The German Colonial Paper of 1901, pg. 449, mentions black combs. These are apparently made from the black parts of the wood that grow in irregular shapes between the bark and the core in very old tree ferns, i.e. probably *Cyathea* ferns.

Finally, I must mention once more the *gosendél a Gorágěl* mentioned in Story 13, in which Gorágěl stuck a drooping blade of grass into his hair, casting a spell on the people (see also the magic *gomógěl* and Story 215). On festive occasions, the women, too, like to put two coconut leaf ribs decorated with little bows (*lobusegolóid* E. K.) into their hair, or coconut fronds with serrated edges, or knotted coconut leaves *garderīd*, which are either worn whole or split into finger-wide strips and worn around the neck and limbs (see Vol. 2, Plate 20).

Little can be said about the **hairstyle**. Apparently, the men formerly wore their head hair long, hanging down, as shown in Fig. 4 in Vol. I, pg. 71. On pg. 99 DON BERNARDO de EGUI (1712) reports that the islanders have very long head hair, but no beard, which corresponds with the photo just mentioned. WILSON, too, (KEATE pg. 318) says: Their hair is long and flowing, rather disposed to curl, which they mostly form into one large loose curl round their heads; some of the women, who have remarkably long hair, let it hang loose down their backs. So not only the men, but also the women let their hair hang down long⁵⁵, tying it into

a bun *blengtélél*⁵⁶ whenever necessary, as is almost always done these days. In general, it has long been customary for men and women to pin up their hair, because certain magic stones, such as those in Melekéiok and Ngariáp (Vol. 2, pg. 296) are considered “**devourers of hair**” *mangagúi*, i.e., they were believed to cause hair to fall out if one passed by them with unkempt hair. In Gámliangěł (Vol. 2, pg. 174), next to the Bai Tulau there is such a stone, as shown in Plate 14. When women do not wear their hair neatly, says v. M. M., the hair eater Mangachu comes.

In the men, this results in a tuft of hair at the back, which is distinctive in the *logukl* pictures. Plate 13³ in Vol. 2, pg. 228, shows the outline of such heads; on the same plate, at the top, are also two Rubak with beards. During our stay, a Regúgěr was known as having a full beard, as was the a Ibědul at the time (see Vol. 2, Plate 12³ and Vol. I, Plate 4⁴). This shows clearly that even if beards were not worn in the past, which cannot be assumed, this is certainly no longer the case today. Incidentally, there were depilatories for beard hair, called *dauădam*, which were made of two shell halves that closed precisely (*gum*, *kikoi*, etc.), connected with a string. See Section VI, 1^a for information about the women’s hair dress *telók* after the first child is born. The Rungūlbai (see Vol. 2, pg. 168) was called *merengūs a reng*: “to oil up with turmeric yellow.” If nice yellowish-red *reng* was used for this, white hair would gleam a beautiful red. This helps explain the assertion of the first discoverers, Vol. 1, pg. 51, who reported that some natives had red hair.

Blackening of the teeth was no longer a widespread custom during our time there, which it had previously been; I observed it myself on Yap. The teeth generally turn black from betelnut chewing anyway, which is practiced only on Palau and Yap in the Carolines. In former times, young people on Palau seem to have corrected this defect, as evidenced in the literature, and as Story 169 shows. It no longer occurs. KEATE, pg. 319, tells of Libu and how on the voyage to England he found an herb on St. Helena that had the desired effect. Although WILSON advised him against it, he nevertheless used it, apparently because he missed betelnut so. The youth described how on Palau one would grind together the herb he found with four other herbs (one of these being *dairot*) and mix it with a little chinam into a paste, which one would apply to the teeth every morning. Those who had received this treatment would lie on the floor, so that the saliva could drain, and the paste would not be removed until evening, so that they could eat something. This process was continued for five days, and it was very painful and made the people sick.

In Vol. I, v. M. M. wrote: “Blackening of the teeth is known as *molau* or *melau*.⁵⁷ Just as the natives of Palau find noses that are not flattened unattractive, they consider white teeth disfiguring to the human countenance. When they reach maturity, both men and women practice blackening, despite the fact that this procedure involves considerable pain and requires much patience over several days.

The procedure is carried out with a small piece of banana leaf and black earth, which the natives call *teldalek*. It begins in the evening and a new package is applied several times. The next day, the patient consumes only fibrous or soft food (milk from grated coconuts, ground taro), which he can swallow without chewing. The mucus membranes in the mouth swell and become sore.”

By the way, the teeth are cleaned using small hulls of the Areca nut (*melátög a ungelél* “to clean one’s teeth”).

According to my notes, the recipe is as follows: one takes some bituminous black earth *deldálăg*, which is found in *a Irai*, *Goikúl*, and *Ngátpang* (see Vol. 1, pg. 235), smokes and dries it, then pulverizes it. One then scrapes the skin off of *déngēs* fruits (*Bruguiera gymnorhiza*), takes leaves of the *roro* (*Erythrina* sp.) and the *dairot* tree, as well as little pieces of the trunk of a type of banana called *garásăg*, and finally the herb *reberbelél a tangadík*, grinds everything together, puts the whole concoction into a leaf sheath of the coconut palm, called *tageiēr*, and squeezes the juice into a coconut shell containing the pulverized earth.

This porridge is then smeared on one side of a strip made from a dry banana leaf, and the side with the dye is applied to the teeth for four days.

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 169, remarks that only those who have had their teeth blackened will eat the locust shrimp *galauoságal*; the others are afraid that their teeth will become striped like the shrimp.

The discussion on blackening of teeth leads us to tattooing. For details about the enlarging of the labia minora, see the section on sexuality.

c) Tattooing⁵⁸*delngód*(verb. *melngód*⁵⁹)

JAMES WILSON, on pg. 302, says: In tattooing at Pelew, their legs and thighs appear as if they had been dipped in a dye of bluish black, the same as at the Carolinas; but they mark their bodies also with figures, like fingers or gloves. The tattooed limbs of the Palauans truly do look as if they had been dipped in bluish black dye, and we had the impression that this was purposely so. This form of ornamentation is primarily intended for women; when they climb out of the taro patches after completing their work, after having submerged their arms in the bluish-black mud, they provide a model for the coloration. One need only look at Plate 1 in Vol. 2.

H. WILSON refers to it very briefly, but MC CLUER, on pg. 59, recorded a little more detail about this custom: “The custom of tattooing, or Melgotirens as the natives call it, as well as the blackening of the teeth, is a well-established practice for both genders;

women are marked in this fashion when they are six or seven years old already. The process begins with the hands, proceeds to the arms, then up to the shoulders, after which the feet are tattooed, and the legs up to the hips. For women of lower rank, the time this process takes depends on their ability to pay the woman who administers it; seeing as a girl cannot marry or become engaged until she has been tattooed, this process is generally done before the onset of menstruation”.

The photo of Abba Thule in KEATE’s book shows that tattoos of figures were applied primarily to men; he has snakes and birds on his shoulders and chest. I myself occasionally saw older people with similar ornamentation; I present Figures 24 and 25 as examples. For details, see below.

v. MIKLUCHO-MACLAY also contributed quite a bit to this subject, but KUBARY was especially informative. In the big book by JOEST on tattooing, he tackled the Micronesian area, and covered Palau particularly in detail. He included illustrations of patterns and areas of ornamentation, but these are in dire need of supplementation and explanation. The following passage summarizes everything.

First a word about the **instruments**:

1. The tattooing prick *dngód* (KUB.: *tngot*, v. M. M.: *ntnut*, WALL.: *dugód*) has a familiar shape; the handle (*gordóměľ*) is passed through a hole in the little slab (*madál*), which is made from the bone of a fruitbat



Fig. 18. Tattooing pricks.

or a *kedám* bird⁶⁰, and is held in its horizontal position with string (Fig. 18^a Berlin 7742 and 18^b Hamburg 2826^{II}). KUB., Vol. VI, pg. 79, shows a prick from the side, though rather incomplete, and over it two small slabs called *tibek*⁶¹, one with two teeth, the other with seven teeth, *greel*, or more accurately *ker'rěľ* = string, line. KUB. earlier mentions that the teeth are sharpened on a whetstone or on the hard skin of a type of bamboo⁶². W. MÜLLER reports the same in Yap, pg. 32; he publishes a similar illustration there. I should add that the belt of Orion, thought to be a tattooing prick, is called *tpárd i dngód*.

2. A piece of the green stalk of the Zingiberacea *sui* or *geisāpsáp* (*Costus* sp.), as long as a hand span and as thick as a finger, serves as a mallet *besópěs* (see Story 203, line 120), as reported in Story 203, line 119 of Madlutk. Two of these instruments are needed, one for the tattooer and one for the person being tattooed.
3. For dye *vúičd*, they use soot, which is caught through smoking (*mangát*) in bowls or shards over burning resin (*běrór*) or derived from oil poured onto burning wood (*ilalitl*). It is mixed with normal water for use. The mixture is not stirred much; the ashes swim on the surface.

Other accessories (case, basket, etc.) are lacking.

The tattooing itself is **performed** by women. The tattooing artist, like the master builder, is called *dágālbai*. The work is often divided among several people. Before she begins the actual tattooing, the woman draws an outline with a coconut leaf rib. According to KUB., before any drawing *omúrs* is done, the skin is rubbed with the leaves of the *kilkuls* plant, a fern, which apparently makes the skin soft and supple. In addition, before the tattooing begins, the goddess “Tahatoguttom” and the god “Melimrasak” (“blood drinker”, see Section VI, Cap. 4) are invoked to avert evil consequences. KUB. fails to mention, however, that the *mangālil* magic begins when the mallet is cut already. If a piece falls to the ground during this process, and if it is intended for the person to be tattooed, work ceases because it signifies life-threatening danger for the *dágālbai* or her relatives. This is heeded especially before the difficult and dangerous leg tattooing, which is generally not done until a person is fairly old. Usually, tattooing on young girls, done when their breasts start to develop, and on boys, begins with an arm band⁶³ on the lower arm or with a finger.

As for the technique, I can report from personal observation that on each spot two quick beats are made one right after the other; the dye and the blood are wiped off with a sponge and water, and later the juice of *ouderódōg* fruit is applied (see the discussion in that section).

The following is the order **observed** in tattooing:

1. For women, the arm (Figs. 19 and 20); most certainly the outside *lag aīkr*⁶⁴ or *i krél a pelú*; for this reason, this term is often used for the tattooing of the entire arm,

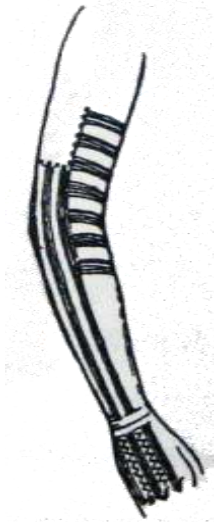


Fig. 20.

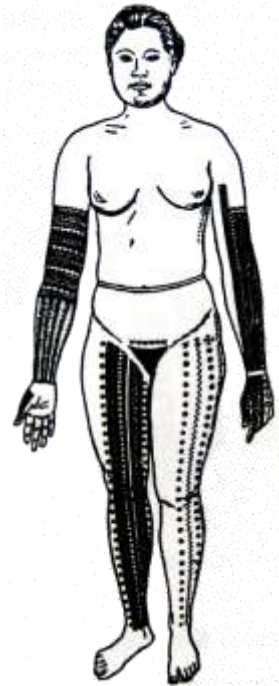


Fig. 19.

although a distinction is made between the outer and the inner *lág a gelsél* “piece inside”. The outer pattern reaches to the middle of the upper arm and ends with a line that projects like a “wall rafter” *delägór* and is therefore called *delägörül* (poss.). The cuff is called *oulkóu*. The decoration on the fingers (*galdíngěl*, also *klom*) is called *lag a galdíngěl*, the hand that appears as though it were covered with a black glove is called *klemíngěl*. The inner area of the elbow is called *medéu* “valley” according to KUB., and the area from

there to the wrist is known as *kalsotm* (see Story 204, line 2).

2. Leg, Figs. 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, usually only the right section of the back of the leg with a dark surface from the heel up close to the fold of the seat. The name *delepësákl* (WALL. *delbesákl*) signifies that this one-sided ornamentation divides the person into two parts, a rear section and a front section⁶⁵. KUB. calls the tattoo *dalabasákl* or *telekáu*, without any further explanation. The latter term, however, applies only to one side (poss. *telekúl*, see Story 214) and comes from *melekáu* “to present



Fig. 21.

something on one hand.” Some high-ranking women also have the front parts of both legs tattooed, and even the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, whose blackening is illustrated as *golútūm gógil* in Story 206 (*gútum* the dark “earth”).



Fig. 23.

3. Genital area, Figures 19 and 22, the mons veneris, covered with a tattoo in the shape of a triangle *tongg* in women; KUB. *telengékel*⁶⁶.

In women, the arms and legs, and in men, primarily just the legs, are tattooed, but not in a regular fashion but arbitrarily. Even the whites who lived there underwent this treatment, as Vol. 1, pgs. 120 and 134 show.

KUB., in Vol. VI, pg. 78, adds: “If a *mur*, a feast, has been held because of the woman, she has the right to extend the tattoo starting at the *telengékel*, in a narrow stripe on both sides of the genitals and to the anus. If, on the other hand, her husband has held a *honget* or a *mur turukul* on her behalf, which can only be the case in connection with some of the more important feasts of a community, then she is given the *kelteket* tattoo.

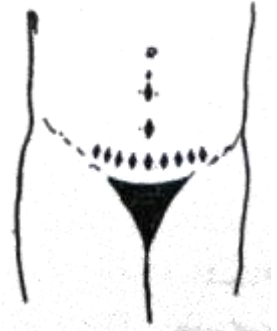


Fig. 22.

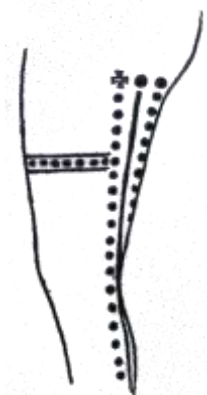


Fig. 24.

In this case, the areas on the legs that have remained untattooed until now are covered with the usual pattern, so that they look like they are clothed with black leotards” see the Fig. pg. 77 there.

An absolute must for every Palauan woman is the ornamentation of the right, and as soon as possible also the left, outer arm and the hand. Then follow the inner sides of both arms, first the right, again, whose inner tattoos are called *garmél abúik*⁶⁷ “sweetheart of the boys”, because infants seem to stare at it in wonder.

The extensive tattooing of the legs is greatly feared and is therefore mostly confined to the right leg, and even then it is often not performed until the person is much older. Often, after great feasts, when the jealousy of the less beautiful is aroused, older women decide to have their left leg decorated, as well.

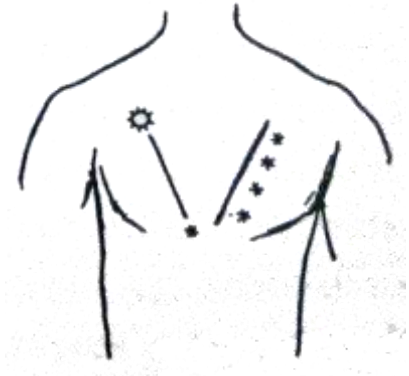


Fig. 25.

According to v. M. M., the mons veneris is tattooed after the hands are, once a girl has started menstruating. Anyone who does not have it done is ridiculed. The hair, considered dispensable, is removed. Fear of the procedure is apparently not unwarranted, for both KUB.

and v. M. M. talk about the danger, strong swelling, infections, and fatal cases. I myself treated the arm of a Tkelgáng (Vol. 2, Plate 14²), who later died of consumption, for a long time; it was swollen and covered with pus. However, when KUB. says, on pg. 80, that Palauan tattooing is “actually a combination of pigment patterns and scarring,” and that it was the need to make the work deep due to the dark color of the skin that caused the infections, I must dispute this, as I dispute v. M. M.’s supposition of an idiosyncrasy. For *obúřek*, the Palauans use expressed coconut milk or the juice of *ngólom* leaves, which is won by crushing the leaves and squeezing out the juice using a coconut leaf sheath.

People who have recently been tattooed may eat the meat of chickens, pigeons, and pigs, but no fish, until the swelling has passed. Intercourse is also forbidden.

Naturally, the *dágǎlbai* are well paid for their work. Their pay *goróděł*⁶⁸ for the *góngotul*⁶⁹ a *vúičed*, “the smoking of the soot,” is one *geimól a kúkau*, for the arm one *góngiakl*, and for a leg one *madál a kluk* (according to KUB., for both legs the payment is one *a delóbok*, up to *madál a kluk*).

KUB., in Vol. VI, pg. 80, has this to say about the *tongg*: “When the *telengékel* is done, a piece of family money, as large as possible, is laid on the mons veneris, the implication being that the woman shall hopefully increase her family’s wealth through relations with the opposite sex.”

The areas routinely tattooed are, as everywhere else, adorned with numerous ornaments of all types, with small patterns *tiběk*; these may also occur outside the regular ornamentation.

Of the men, KUB. says in Vol. VI, pg. 77: “The men have no prescribed tattoos on their arms, however, one almost always finds various playful drawings on the young people, such as individual stars, crosses, and such. In former times, it was especially popular to decorate the front side of each shoulder with one *goále*⁷⁰ and each side of the chest with one *patáok*⁷¹ sign.”

As mentioned previously, it is helpful to look at the picture by KEATE of Abba Thule, on whose shoulders a snake is clearly visible.

In 1907, I myself saw old Ngira gosúlap of Ngivál, who had a line running at an angle from each of his shoulders down to the pit of his stomach, where they converged, at the upper and lower end on the right there appeared a starfish, and four starfish under the line on the left (Fig. 25); he also had his right arm tattooed like a woman (see Men as Priestesses, Section VI 4).

v. M. M. says that the insides of women’s loins were tattooed with crosses, lines, circles, and stars; he also saw on their faces, on the cheeks and on the nose, small spots, very similar to the beauty marks our ladies once wore, and lines from the corners of the mouth across the cheeks to the ears, like the tattoos of the men.

Undoubtedly, the **reason** for tattooing is the desire for ornamentation and splendor, which through practice and habit becomes an obligation and a duty. In the case of the women, it is possible, as already mentioned, that the origin of this practice may have been limbs blackened by taro mud. This seems to be substantiated by Story 165, in which a Rubak, in a vengeful rage, rubs mud onto his left arm and then paints himself.

Some signs are also applied to commemorate certain events, as, for example, the bite of a fish was memorialized in Ngirakaderáng with a drawing of a fish (Story 49). Religious reasons for tattooing are entirely nonexistent. The statement in the Globus periodical of 1872, Vol. 22: “On the Palaos, only tattooed girls were allowed to marry” can only be interpreted as meaning that few men would take an untattooed girl for a wife.

All of the standard and freely chosen decorations are composed of the following ornaments *tiběk*, and let me repeat that the black areas are called *gútũm* or *golútũm* “earth”. Fig. 26.

KUB., in Vol. VI, pg. 75, provides 21 drawings of these **patterns**, together with their names, but he does not give them any explanation, an omission that I want to correct here, to the extent possible.

Fig. 26.	KUB.	KR.	Meaning
 a.	Gréel	<i>ker'rél</i>	"string, line"
 b.	Blásak	<i>blásăg</i>	"zigzag", from <i>omăsăg</i> "to cross"
 c.	Tíbek	<i>delebégěl</i>	<i>tibek</i> means "pattern" in general, <i>delebégěl</i> means "plumb line," incision
 d.	Kibelgúyus	<i>guklăgarm</i>	"bird claw"; KUB. illegible, meaning perhaps connected to <i>ngúiěs</i> "snake." Usually tattooed on the ankle.
 d'.		<i>geibělguíěs</i>	
 e.	Kliok	<i>blăsăg</i> s. B.	KUB. means <i>klívuk</i> , which is the word for the opened Tridacna clam, but this is depicted differently.
 f.	Bedok	<i>tíběk palatóng</i>	KUB.: ? KR.: Pattern on the Chinese "plates"
 g.	Deloékel	<i>delebégěl</i>	"incision" (see Vol. 2, pg. 209) and above.
 h.	Pilsisk	<i>blsisk</i>	"ants"
 i.	Klemókum	<i>klemókōm</i>	<i>kemókōm</i> Derris uliginosa with alternating leaves
 k.	Ngíáes	<i>eáiěs</i>	"flies"
 l.	Klikoi	<i>klikói</i>	<i>kíkoi</i> Cardium shell with serrated edge
 m.	Semoluk	<i>bōdēsagăr</i>	blossom of the <i>găr</i> seaweed. KUB.: ?
 n.	Bombátel	<i>bombátěl</i>	"chain"
 o.	Tangatáng	<i>tángătang</i>	"starfish"
 p.	Uródok	<i>uródok</i>	"inlay in wooden bowls, etc."
 q.	Patáok	<i>badáoog</i>	"tern", also interpreted as <i>galemūlgosepekěl</i> ⁷² la <i>gasísualík</i> broken wing of a bat
 r.	Butangteléu	<i>blútal teléu</i>	"open cross" (<i>blútang</i> cross)
 s.	But. Klewídel	<i>blútal klevíděl</i>	"closed cross"; <i>klevíděl</i> = <i>galsíměr</i>
 t.	Goálek	<i>goálăg</i>	sea urchin; also <i>klerdéu</i> a small fish
 u.	Kalebúkub	<i>galebúgěp</i>	piece of money (see discussion on money)
 v.	Deliáes	<i>kelidásap</i>	(KUB.: flies?) Hanging of <i>sap</i> fish nets? or plumb line hanging down
 w.	---	<i>mesíkt</i>	Pleiades: a more recent addition
 x.	---	<i>besepeśela</i> Ngorót	vine of Ngorót (from <i>besepeś</i>)
 y.		<i>kldărm a lkul</i>	"notched edge" (see breadfruit)
 z.			

KUB., on pg. 81, mentions “**burn scars**” *kalidūdūs*⁷³, as forerunners of tattooing.

“Most often, it is young girls who burn a series of round scars on their arm, in the method of *klogóul* (not in earnest), using smoldering coconut leaves.” This widespread form of skin decoration by the youth is also often used for healing purposes; I found it a rare practice.

Finally there is the **painting** of the body, which was briefly discussed in the case of Ngirangáruangēl in Story 165. Apparently, it was a belligerent mood that drove him to rub his arm with mud and then draw two black and yellow lines of soot on his arms and cheeks.

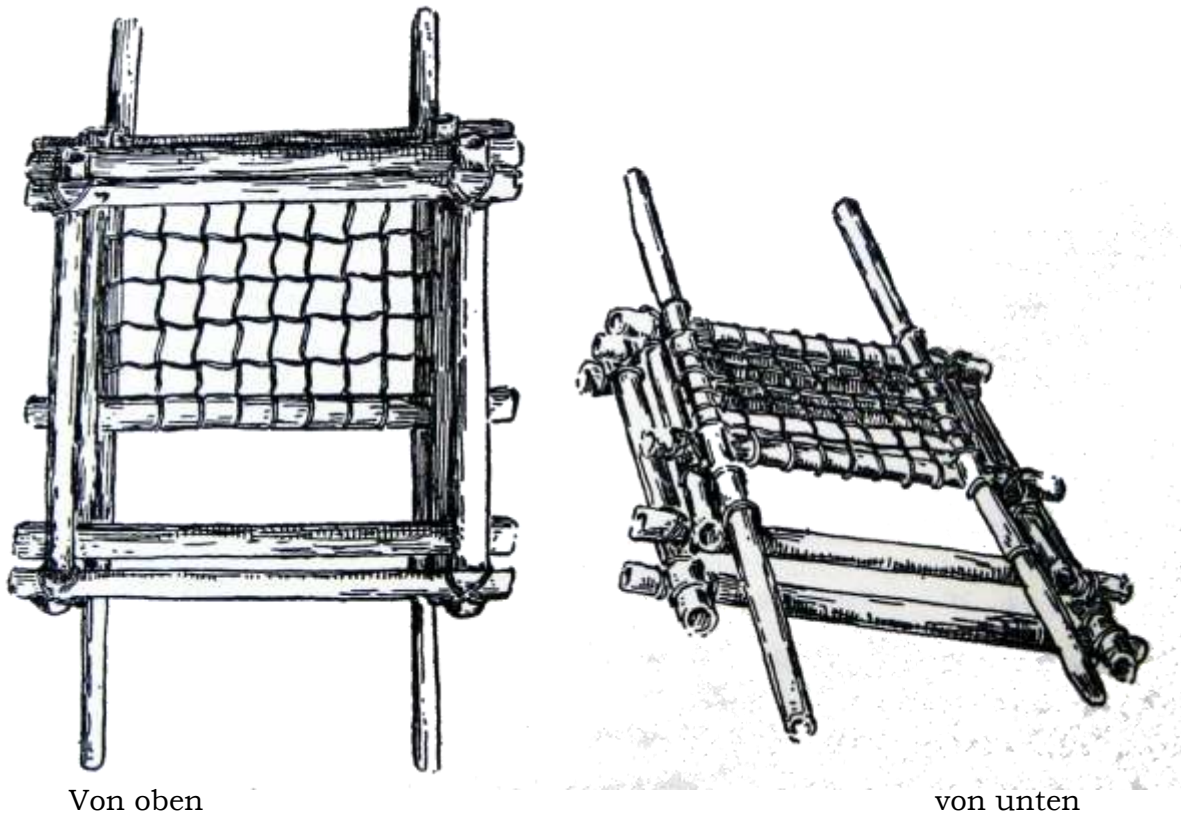


Fig. 27. Sieve for obtaining turmeric yellow.

Ornamental painting with turmeric yellow *réng* (Vol. 2, pg. 315), or a mixture with oil *telġgótōg*⁷⁴, as is customarily practiced to the extreme on Truk, for example, is limited today to celebrations and dead bodies in Palau. Dancers appear with a chin stripe and spots on their forehead; their torsos are also rubbed with turmeric red, and their skirts display their ornamentation as already mentioned on pg. 10 above. In former times, rubbing the skin with *reng* was more common on Palau⁷⁵; Story 195, for example, tells

how *a Ibēdul* no longer wanted to appear in front of his assistant painted “red,” because he did not want to overshadow him. A pair of vertical stripes of soot on the cheek may also have a magical effect, as Story 213 shows. KEATE, pg. 300, says the women painted themselves with turmeric. This is still the case today on the occasion of celebrations. Painting for celebrations in *a Iraī* is shown in Figure 15, Section IV 3a.

Obtaining the yellow and reddish-yellow dyes from the root of the *kēsól* plant is dealt with in detail in the description of Truk, where this skill is practiced on a very large scale. I once saw a strainer, called *gorokódēl* (Fig. 27) (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 208, *gorogódol*), on whose wide-meshed net a mat or a *tagēiēr* leaf sheath is spread. The ground root is washed out with water, which drips into a wooden bowl that is placed underneath, which resembles those from Truk (Fig. 28). Planting takes place in October and the harvest is in the spring (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 164). The turmeric powder is stored in small bundles made of Areca leaf sheath (see Plate 2^{15 and 11}). The rubbing fluid *gilt* (from *mengilt* “to rub in”) is kept in hanging coconut shells, which are called *gongilótēl* when used this way.

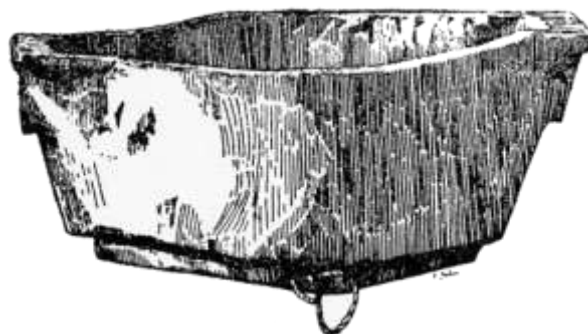


Fig. 28.
Bowl for rainwater (Hamburg 2889^{II}).
32cm long.

The most common salve at celebrations, especially the celebration for a woman who has recently given birth *ngásāg* (see Section VI) is *biúm̄k*, for eliminating the smell. It consists of singed coconut *ulogóug* (the favorite food of the Galíd), which is grated, and the shavings *táiu* (see above, pgs. 27 and 29) mixed with aromatic lemon leaves that have been minced; ground turmeric is added to this. The mixture is rubbed onto the skin and produces a nice but strong smell of cake and similar things.

2. Economy

Acquisition and Use of Food Stuffs

Men and women are involved almost equally in the provision of food, but the women shoulder somewhat more of the burden, because they are responsible for taro patch cultivation, which provides the daily bread, and because, for the most part, they do the cooking.

The men, on the other hand, are responsible for fishing, which can be a big job, for producing palm wine, preparing it, gathering coconuts, etc.

Meals: Food *kal* (poss. *kelél*) is almost always eaten cooked; in fact, it is frowned upon to eat fish or meat raw, except the liver of the ray.

People usually eat at midday and in the evening; but there is also a kind of breakfast.

The following are distinguished: *blngúr* (poss. *blengrúl*) breakfast (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 106: *hongráol* = *gongráol*, Vol. VIII, pg. 166: *smungur*), *goléngěl* (poss. *golengelél*) midday meal (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 106: *oléngel*), *blsóil*⁷⁷ (poss. *blsílél*) evening meal (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 106: *Huus* = *gúēs*, and Vol. VIII, pg. 166: *omosoil*).

Eating customs: eating with the fingers (*omódög*) is customary; for liquid food, spoons made of turtleshell are also used (see details in the discussion on turtleshell). According to E. K., eating utensils are called *golíēg*, and *ouliēg* is the term used for eating with utensils⁷⁸. There is a type of fork *táod* (poss. *todél*) in addition to the spoon; *meláod* means to spear with a fork and knife. The food is placed on wooden bowls (see details there). The Rubak are given the best; high chiefs, e.g. *a Rǎklāi* in Melekéiok and Rekamesíkt from Ngát pang, have their own cooks (see Vol. 2, pgs. 100 and 159). *a Ibědul* (pg. 213) also has one during title conferral. See below for details about the prime pieces they are given from the pig, shark, turtle, *máměl* fish, dugong, etc. The “almond fish” *mesekíu l mēg* is considered a delicious sweet dish (see details there). There is more about eating raw fish below, in the section on fishing, and in Story 22. For details on the taboo about eating totem fishes, see the totem section. In general, one eats everything that is put on one’s plate, or one takes it along; this is especially true for food received during a banquet. Common drinks are syrup water and coconut juice; see Story 193 for information on pouring liquid as an offering before drinking. Another thing worth mentioning here is that the natives are familiar with the concept of a lavatory; it is called *orogěrtól* (poss. *orogěrtelél*); defecating is called *moróurēbai*, the wiping-off material is called *ologúi* (see Vol. 2, pg. 213); men are not ashamed to leave with some under their arm (it consists of coconut fibers).

a) Food from Plants.⁷⁹

Most important are the coconut palm and, even more important, taro.

Coconut palms *líus* (poss. *lisél*) are not as numerous on Palau as they are on most other South Seas islands, which is why KUB. gives them short shrift in Vol. VIII, pg. 172. The quality of the fruit, the number of different species and trees, cannot even begin to compete with those of the coral islands of the Carolines, where the coconut constitutes the main source of food, as is also the case on Nggeiangěl. However, as a source of oil, the palm is highly valued everywhere and can thus be found in most villages, even if only in limited numbers. Larger groves are found along the beaches of Melekéiok, Galáp and *a Gól*, as well as on the southern rock islands Pelíliou and *a Ngeaur*. I have previously mentioned in Vol. 1, on pg. 231, that in some places it grows rather poorly and slowly on the volcanic Palauan soil, which contains little limestone. There is probably not enough calcium in the soil. I never saw the natives add any limestone when planting a sprouting nut in a shallow hole in the ground, which most certainly would lead to better results.

By the way, after 1900, the German government was concerned about the planting of new palm trees, and in a Rubak gathering on August 4, 1904 (Vol. 1, pg. 157), they determined that 32000 had recently been planted. Unfortunately, Yap and Palau were experiencing an outbreak of scale insects, which caused the palm fronds to wither, giving the green palm tree groves a yellow appearance in some places. The government took rather strict measures; every native had to stay home for three days during the full moon and tend to his palm trees. If the police soldiers found yellow leaves during their inspection, the owner was punished. This regulation proved to be beneficial.

Coconut palms are climbed either with a climbing strap *ngaptákl*, which is put on the foot, or without one, with the arms outstretched; the steps cut into the trunk help a lot. They can be seen in Plate 2¹ in Vol. 2.

A good indication of the importance Palauans place on the coconut is the names that they give the fruit depending on its age:

1. *gaspád* size of a walnut (WALL.), *gobubaremad* size of a betelnut (WALL.)
2. *gosbógöþ armád* size of a fist (WALL.)
3. *kléu* a little larger, but still without a kernel
4. *ngebengebógěl* small kernel (WALL.)
5. *múngur* (WALL. *mengúr*) poss. *măngărengél*, the common, young drinking nut, which has a kernel that is still soft and dissolvable, but that is pleasant to eat. This word is commonly used for young coconuts.
6. *medegesúg* (WALL.: *medechedúch*) more mature
7. *goldimél a l mekebúd* still green, but good to eat with *mekebúd* sardines; *goldimél* poss. of *godóim* “meat, and other foods” (WALL. and KR.)
8. *magád* (WALL.: *mechás*) husk somewhat yellow and wrinkly; also the term for old women
9. *metáu* ripe (also used for girls) falling, and over-ripe; ripe for cutting into copra (*ngabongabókl* rich kernel)
10. *súbog* already sprouting (WALL.: *dúbog*); this is also the name of the “sponge” that has replaced the fruit’s juice *gasagél a líus*.

The lovely children’s tale that is illustrated in Bai 147 III^a reveals what the ripe coconut, the *mětau*, is used for in daily life:

When the *mětau* falls off:

1. the gatherer *goru* comes, who takes
2. the stick *gongégád* for splitting, then comes
3. *golit* who makes the holes, then
4. *golim* who drinks. He is followed by
5. *gomu* who cracks open, and
6. *gongés* who scrapes. Then comes

7. *tageĩěr* who squeezes with the “blossom sheath,”
8. *gósaur* who binds together the *tageĩěr*, and finally
9. *melegóng* washing
10. at the water hole *brór*.

For details about “coconut milk,” “**expressed milk**” *dísěg*, which is squeezed out of the *táiu* shavings after they have been wrapped in the *tageĩěr* leaf sheath, see the section on culinary skills. The same thing applies to the oil *góluk*, which is produced by boiling and ladling off the top using the spoon *gongósu*. It is stored in pots, and in Nggeiangěl, it is usually drawn from these with a pump (ship’s model) made of cane sealed with *Calophyllum* sap; HELLWIG calls the instrument *métmelásăg*. For information about the *beúmk*, see above, pg. 29. The use of pieces of the shell for ornamentation was previously discussed on pg. 2. Use of the husk to make string and rope is discussed below, in the section on trade and industry. The leaves are used for baskets and other weavings (see 3^b); the frond *a dúi* is believed to have magic powers; high-ranking titles, which have the same name *dúi*, are conferred with it. The stalk of the frond itself, called *úlag*, has no further use. For the Palauans, the most important product of the coconut palm, next to the nut itself, which is eaten, is the **palm juice**, which is one of the stimulants and is a great favorite. For this reason, stealing palm juice (known as *melebútěl*) is a daily occurrence (see Story 108). As long as the coconut cluster *ridm* is still a blossom (*bung*), enclosed in the spathe *gosěgósű*, it is full of juice. A cross-wise cut is made into it after a band *uĩr*⁸⁰, made of hibiscus fibers, has been wound around it, and the juice flows out into a coconut flask that is hang below it, called *delbódb* or *ulekngál*. This flask is taken down and emptied every morning and evening, the blossom shaft is cleaned and, if necessary, a slice is cut off, the way one cuts a little slice off of a sausage. At noon, the setup is usually just checked (*mesúběd*)⁸¹, which is why noon is called *gosbáděl*. Similarly, the evening hour between 5 and 6 o’clock is named *golongosóngěl a sils*, after the *songosóngěl* palm trees that have been identified for cutting (*melengés*); it is the hour of the blossom cutters and binders. The “raw,” sweet palm juice obtained in this manner is called *gamádăg*, or *keĩb* (M. C.: Kype). It begins to ferment after a few hours and turns bitter and alcoholic within a day. But on Palau, it is not consumed at this stage. On the contrary, the islanders try to cook the juice as quickly as possible, to obtain the desired syrup *a iláot*.

Cooking is not done in the iron pots that have recently been imported, as they are not very well suited for this task, but rather in the clay pots *golakáng*, which are home-made and are placed on three stones (Fig. 29). After eight hours at a full boil, during which the foam *ěóng*, which children love, is skimmed off, the juice is still called *blóděs*; in the evening on the same day, it is boiled another four hours,

and on the following day 7 – 8 hours more, after which it is considered thick enough and is done (E. K.). At this stage it is called *ailáot*⁸², as already mentioned, and is stored and traded in large earthen containers, called *bakāi*.



Fig. 29.

Preserving syrup, according to E. K.



Fig. 30. Spoons.

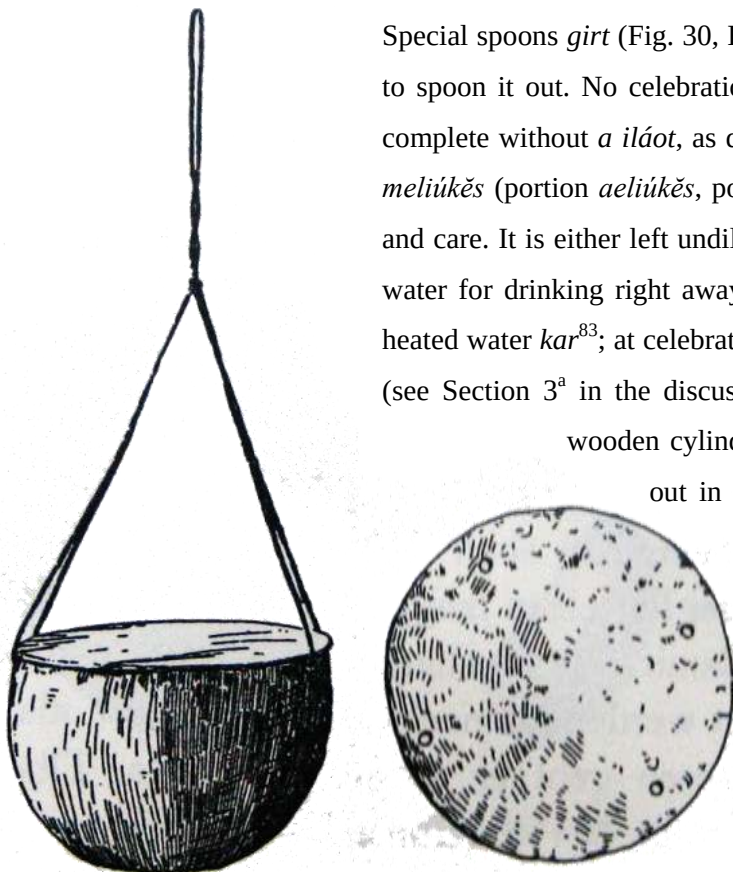


Fig. 31 a and b. Coconut shell with lid.

Special spoons *girt* (Fig. 30, Hamburg 2881^{II}, Hamburg 3675^{II}, 3788^{II}) are used to spoon it out. No celebration, and especially no funeral feast, is considered complete without a *iláot*, as described in Section VI⁵; this is where the serving *meliúkēs* (portion *aeliúkēs*, poss.: *dikesél*) begins, which requires a lot of work and care. It is either left undiluted so that it can be taken home, or diluted with water for drinking right away. Syrup diluted with water is called *búlog*, with heated water *kar*⁸³; at celebrations it is prepared in the large *a iléngěl* containers (see Section 3^a in the discussion on wooden containers, and Plate 5⁵), large wooden cylinders on four legs. Served as *golugāu*, it is passed out in halved coconut shells, called *kvál*, *galebínğěl* or *biúl*⁸⁴, similar to kava in Samoa, although no formalities are involved (K. 989, HE. 1095, HE. 370,

K. 74, HE. 825, HE. 1096). There are also bowls that hang on three or four strings, called *vák* = “anchor” (poss. *kul*). These have lids *dángěp* (Mi. 3369, 1932 and 1631) made of turtleshell or wood, which have holes in them through which the strings pass (Fig. 31^{a and b}). Special hooks exist (K. 6 and 1035). Occasionally, the lid is simply a coconut shell turned over and placed on top. Halved coconut shells like this, with a 3-4cm large hole at the bottom, are called *gátívut*. They are put over the blossom shaft, so that the opening of the hanging coconut flask is covered, for protection from rats, lizards, and birds, because everything likes to nibble on the sweet juice, as recounted in Story 108.

Ailáot is also used to prepare numerous sweet dishes (see the section on culinary skills). The cutting (*melengés*) of the palm trees with *gasívög* shells sharpened on the *kim* shells lying in front of the Blai⁸⁵, is a



Fig. 32. Palm wine cutter's compound.

special skill and an honored profession. A Rubak's palm wine cutters form a collective called a *klāuasák*. Numerous stories, such as Story 193 of Těláměš, who is considered the inventor of the trade, demonstrate that even high-ranking chiefs do not scorn the work; they always have one or more people who belong to the *klāuasák*⁸⁶ for this purpose, whom they pay. The cutter has a long rod with a hook, at both ends if possible (Fig. 32), so that the flasks hung on cannot slip off, and so that the rods can be hung up anywhere. Often, there are more

than a dozen flasks hanging on one rod. The cutter takes these to the palm trees (see Vol. 2, Plate 3⁴), taking down the full ones and replacing them with the empty ones. In the evening, the day's bounty, which may consist of many dozens of flasks, is transferred to the cooking pot. Fig. 33 (HE. 892) shows a nice coconut flask with a woven cover.

The ladles *girt* or *gongirt* (Figs. 34 and 35) deserve a special mention, the simpler ones (Fig. 30) are used for the brew⁸⁷, and the more elaborate ones are for ladling

the *ailáot* syrup or the *blúlog* or warm *kar* drink. Generally, a couple is carved into the handle, a man and a woman standing one on top of the other (see Plate 8). The man on top is squatting, the woman on top is standing, and above her there is a lizard⁸⁸, and finally a rat, the animals that nibble on the juice. In Fig. 36 there are three

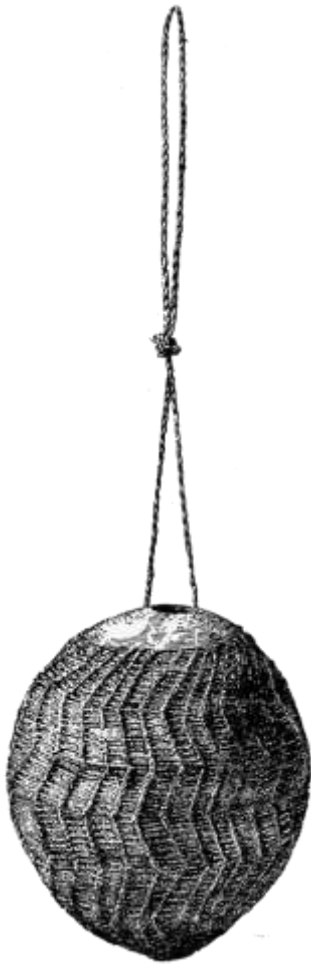


Fig. 33.



Fig.34.



Fig.35.



Fig.36.

women. The ladles made of nautilus shell *kedárm* and *rudél* Meliagrina should also be mentioned here, and the stirring spoons *gongósu*, of which several examples are depicted in the section on culinary skills.

Most Important Words Related to the Coconut Palm

líus poss. *lisél* coconut palm and nut.
leipoetic for *líus*.
 Terms for stages of growth, pg. 43.
múngur (poss. *măngărengél*) young nut.
ulenggiděl the nut's hull.
mengetīt to husk.
gogotí husk it.
ulekngál the fruit.
delbódb l kvál coconut flask with a narrow neck.
gětirbel having a wide neck.
vak (poss. *gokúl* or *kúl*) the string for hanging.
dángěb (poss. *dangăbél*) the lid.
gongilótěl hanging bowl for rubbing material (see decorative painting), pg. 41.
melengés cutting blossoms.
uīr bundle
omīr to bind.
búng (poss. *bknğál*) blossom.
gamádăg, kēib nectar.
blóděs juice that has been boiled once.
a iláot or *a iláng* boiled palm juice = syrup.
blúlög syrup with water (a drink).
kar warm, diluted syrup drink ("medicine") in lidded containers.
*golugau*⁸⁹ diluted cold drink in *ailéngěl* containers (lemonade).
merémăg to stir.
klauasák palm wine cutters' collective.
gosbáděl noon of the cutters.
golosóngěl a sils evening of the cutters.
songosóngěl set of palm trees identified for cutting.
ngaptákl (poss. *ngapseklél*) foot strap for climbing palm trees.
domikěl leaf rib (KUB.).

rúel (poss. *lél*) leaf.
*kval, biúl, gomáil*⁹⁰, *galebingěl* half shell, cup.
gativūt half shell, open on the bottom.
gólug (poss. *golugúl*) oil.
gongesmól a "bell" is made from this (Story 174).
gongósu oil ladle, stirring spoon.
girt, gongírt ladle
*găsăgel alius*⁹¹ fruit water (this is also what the foreigners in a village are called).
súbög sponge.
disěg expressed milk.
táiu, kless, delepdép grated nut.
mangés to grate.
uliógöl the rest.
měólt, telotáod fronds.
ngabongabókl rich meat.
dúi (poss. *diál*) coconut frond, therefore also title and torch.
gokál (poss. *gokelíl*) burning torch.
gogerdúi uppermost leaf.
úlag frond stalk.
galings skin of the groove in the *úlag*.
ridm fruits or blossom cluster (*goeáng* WALL.).
tagēiěr leaf sheath (WALL. *techiir*).
gosėgósu (poss. *găsegěsuél*) blossom sheath.
súld (poss. *súdel*) mass of fibers.
bangki (poss. *bangkingál*) fiber.
beúmk aromatic coconut shavings for washing and for fishing, see Section VI.
gamlól fermented nut.
disěg expressed milk.
ulogóg burned nut.
korúms (KUB.) burned piece of shell.
delú siáoog steps chopped into the palm tree for climbing.

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pgs. 156-162, discusses taro in quite a lot of detail. He describes how important the possession of taro patches is for the family, and that even high-ranking women cannot be dissuaded from doing the work themselves. As you know, the women are responsible for the care of the fields. May I add that, as previously noted in the discussion on Goréör in Vol. 2, pg. 215, the taro patches are of great importance as *lkúl a dúi* “foundation for the title”, and that taro seems to have been more scarce in the old days than it is today, as evidenced in Story 113. It is curious that the taro plant *Colocasia antiquorum* Schott does not have a special name; it is simply called *klap* in its raw state, *kúkau* when cooked; more about this in the section on culinary skills. The large taro is called *brak*, more correctly spelled *br’rak*. The wild kind, which is occasionally eaten on Pelíliou, is called *písěg*⁹²; this is also the name of a species on Nggeiangēl that has enormous leaves. One very small type of taro is called *br’rak a ngél a béap* (*brekängél a béap*).

Taro plays a very important role at celebrations, where it forms the basis of the event. For months, the women work in the fields to prepare for it. At a celebration, taro is usually piled on the *tóluk* benches, *nglkóděł* “to the height of the navel,” or *galdáiěł* up to the height of a man. E. K. studied the planting itself in a lot of detail. She reports the following:

The Taro Patch (*meséi* poss. *meklegél*)⁹³, see Figs. 37 and 38
by E. KRÄMER

On many South Seas islands, taro is planted on newly cleared areas of forest, but on Palau islands this is the exception⁹⁴ rather than the rule. The majority of taro in this country is grown in swamps. Taro swamps are laid out very skillfully and thoughtfully, usually near the mangrove swamps, which surround the islands almost everywhere. The various patches are irrigated with running water, and they resemble rice fields in that they are slightly terraced, with one always a little higher than the next. They are separated from each other by embankments, on which there are paths. Next to these paths, and sometimes on them, there are narrow water channels. The patches that I was able to observe myself had all been planted a long time ago; it was no longer possible to tell how they had been created. A taro swamp consists of many patches, 20, 30 or more, and each patch is, in turn, divided into various units, which the natives can easily recognize and tell apart. Almost every single patch *meséi* contains one and sometimes two reserved areas set aside for celebrations or for sale; the taro in these areas is spared during the daily harvest. This reserved area is called *a ulebóil*. The next-largest section is called *a blú*, the third-largest is *a urárs*. The smallest sections, which are used to harvest the daily taro allotment, are called *a ulegáro*; they are often only a few square meters in size.

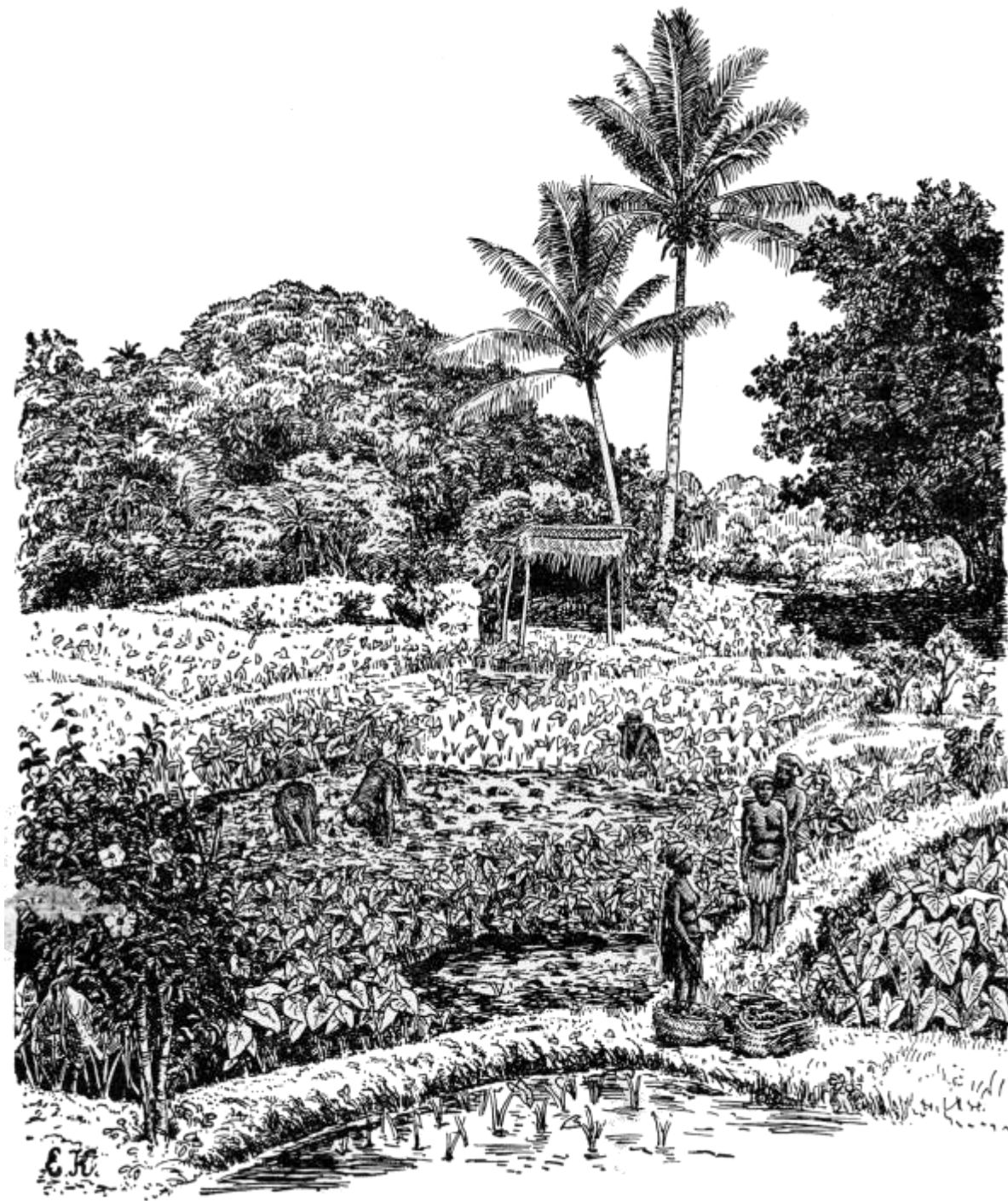


Fig. 37. Women at work in the taro patch.

The just-mentioned individual patch *meséi*, which contains the sections just named, is always surrounded by raised dams with beaten paths, except in cases where there has been a division of property due to inheritance circumstances, in which case the boundary lines are invisible, known only to the owners. The entire complex of single patches, the taro swamp as a whole, nestled as it is between the dry land and the mangroves, is called *gomoklógěl*, and of course, several such taro complexes belong to one village. A woman owns, on average, 4-5 *meséi* individual patches, which are located in different *gomoklógěl* swamps. Good, suitable taro swampland is called *mesersúrög*. If the swamp is very deep (*admólog l meséi*), so that the women in it sink up to their chest, then large, somewhat coarser taro (*br'rak*) with long root fibers *samk*, which are used to make a particular type of skirt (see pg. 5), grows in it. Then there are shallower swamps, in which women sink up to their knees, *magéd l meséi*. These produce mature taro in shorter time (less than 6 months); this taro is significantly smaller, but has a better taste. Tending the taro patch is very hard, unpleasant work, but the women do it willingly, and their hard work keeps the islands well-stocked with this nourishing food. Every two or three days, the woman goes to the taro patch and harvests taro, which is called *klap* in its raw state. A full taro basket usually holds 10-20 tubers, which would have occupied 1-2 square meters in the swamp, depending on their growth. The spot that is vacated is worked down to a depth of 1 ½ meters⁹⁵. Using her hands, the woman digs out the sticky mud and piles it on another spot. Hard bits of earth *ngeásěk*⁹⁶ are set aside, and green leaves and grass are put into the swamp as fertilizer (*rámák* or *tólóug*), where they constitute the lowest layer. On top of this come the following plants, in order: *sui*, *bedél*, *ngasíl*, *ngél*, *bóbai*, *delebesépěs*, etc. The mud is packed on top of this in such a way that the mud that was previously on the surface is now on the bottom, closest to the fertilizer. The woman takes it from another spot, and the effect is that of our trench-plowing. The mud from lower down is now placed on top, and the surface is leveled. The finished swamp area awaits new planting, which takes place several days later. Some women rework their patch immediately after harvesting taro, while others let it lay fallow for a while. If a big section of the large *aulebóil* reserve has been harvested for a particular occasion, such as a celebration, several women get together to rework it. Now and then even the men help, although I was never able to observe this. Swamp patches that have lain fallow for a long time are soon covered with grass⁹⁷ and reeds; the latter provide the highly valued material for the most common skirts (see pg. 7). To gather fertilizer, a woman goes into the bushes or onto the meadows and collects the fertilizer leaves. She pulls up grass, breaks branches off

bushes and strips the leaves off, which she puts into a large, coarsely woven basket *goluókl*⁹⁸ and presses down hard. The basket is filled to capacity and is heavy, yet she carries it to the patch on her head. There, as previously mentioned, she harvests the taro for the next day. Using a small, sharpened oyster shell, which serves as a knife, she scrapes the taro root and cuts off the upper section with its attached leaves, which is used as a shoot for the new patch. The shoots are bundled together and stuck upright into an empty patch of mud until planting time, which is several days later.

During planting, the shoots are placed in the taro swamp with greater or lesser spacing between them,

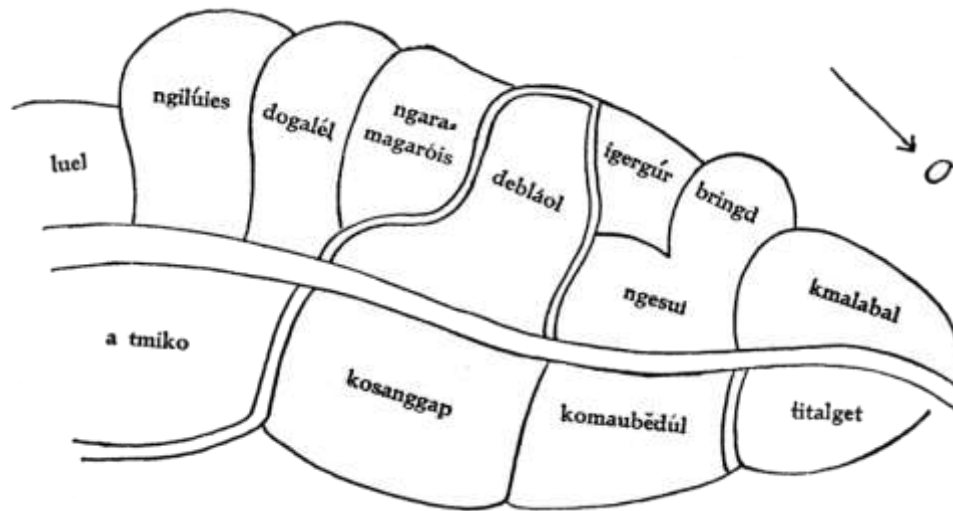


Fig. 38. Subdivision of a taro patch.

depending on the type of taro being planted.

I was told of the following types:

1. *a kardēi* large fruit
2. *a idelúi* large fruit
3. *maigongáng* large fruit
4. *a ngauéi* large fruit
5. *a irētēg* large fruit
6. *ngilaumád* large fruit
7. *samelūk* large fruit
8. *mageberél*
9. *garakauúkl* very tasty, is boiled tied together
10. *ngarakobúkl* very tasty, is boiled tied together
11. *a galido* very tasty, is boiled tied together
12. *gorúsōg* tasty and small
13. *a tútau* tasty and small

11. and 12. are mentioned in KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 161 as 7. *Kalidhon* and 11. *Orúsok*.

Finally there were some types that my companions could distinguish by the color of their leaves:

15. *dung ra irētēg* when seen from above, there is a brownish-red spot (*dung* see under Origin) on the leaf at the stalk joint
 16. *dung ra golakáng* when seen from above, there is a yellowish-red spot on the leaf at the stalk joint
 17. *ramád ragalid*⁹⁹ violet spot, more elongated.
 18. *ngigongáng* yellow spot, red in the center
 19. *gerdéu* small leaves with a red spot
 20. *ngoberél* very small leaves, velvety
- Continuing:

Finally, I would like to present a sample composition of the *gomoklógēl* plantings of one village. Vol. 2, pg. 216, and Map 26^a, list the taro fields *meséi* of the 10 families of Goréör.

The *gomoklógēl* of Goréör has the following patches:

1. *a Ikesīl* on Map 26^a, to the west of the *taóg* Săgămús
2. *Ngablúgēl* to the west of 1.
3. *Ngërubúl* to the west of 2.
4. *Ngeriltóiēl* south coast near Madalái (see Vol. 1, Map 2). Belongs to Ngarbagéd. Some Goréör women have a part in it
5. *Ngaramesekíu* south coast to the east of it. Belongs to Ngarbagéd. Some Goréör women have a part in it
6. *Bablpelú* south coast near Ngarbagéd. Belongs to Ngarbagéd. Some Goréör women have a part in it.
7. *Ngesékēs* to the north of Ngarbagéd, near *Blai* 12
8. *Ngurugeál* south coast eastward, near Ngarekesauáol.

The following are the names of the women who are owners (compare the women's clubs in Vol. 2, pg. 220):

1. in *a Ikesīl*: Ngardókou *Blai* 24, *a* Gamngél *Blai* 32, Dirangél *a* Iegáng *Blai* 47
2. in *Ngablúgēl*: Diraingeáol *Blai* VII, *a* Súmog *Blai* VIII, Diuk *Blai* 44, Losí *Blai* 33, Rois Miráir Diragolngabáng *Blai* 36, Jegáng Dirangél *Blai* 47, Kúkong *Blai* IX. Diragamaimelē Mogóng *Blai* 46
3. in *Ngërubúl*: *a* Ibēdul *Blai* 13, Diratamarikél *Blai* 13, *a* Ngaseíar *Blai* (31) 17, *a* Ngabád *Blai* 42, Dirateliál mekēsóng (see Vol. 2, pg. 221) and other women of Ngarbagéd.
7. in *Ngesékēs*: Diraingeáol *Blai* VII, Délilau *Blai* 25, Laisang *Blai* 24. (also belongs to *Blai* IV in Ngarbagéd) Ngatuai¹⁰⁰*Blai* IX, Diragomrekóngēl from *Blai* I in Ngarekobasáng, Taldil *Blai* 39, Díuk *Blai* 44 and others.
8. in *Ngurugeál*, the main patch: Ngardókou *Blai* 24, Gopkál *Blai* 40, Dira tēgēkí *Blai* IV (see Vol. 2, pg. 231: main patch Ngilúíēs, not Nglilúíēs pg. 216), Diraidíd and Nggēiangēl daughter of the Ibēdul 11*Blai* I Ngarabilo-

báog (it. pg. 216). Dirakeklāu *a* Isíkl *Blai* 21, Gongelípěł (*Blai* VI), belonging to *Blai* VII in *a* Iebúkūl, Ngatageiár *Blai* 28 (*Blai* 39), Diraitúngěłbai *Blai* 37, Diragětět *Blai* VI, Ngasagadíl and Kubári *Blai* 25, Rois Mirair *Blai* 36.

These are joined by patches in Ngarebóděł, where, for example, Diragamaimelēi *Blai* 46 has ownership, further in Ngarekesauáol, where the following women still plant taro:

Ngardókou *Blai* 24, Diraingéol *Blai* VII,

Gopkal *Blai* 40, Dirasmangěsóng (see Vol. 2, pg. 221),

Ngatageiár *Blai* 28, Dirangél *Blai* 47,

Samoáng (Gor. At. 4 Gen. V) etc.

This should provide an general idea of the scope of women's work in the taro patch.

As concerns the fertilizer, KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 158, reports that they mainly use *Ipomea maritima* and a similar leafy, but labiatifloral vine. But there are many more. The former often grows at the edge of the taro patches. The related *keběás* vine, with its leaves the size of plates, is also used, as are numerous other vines, such as *bungaruāu*. They also use the foliage of *riáměł*, *kesiáměł*, of *garamál* and *lass*, as well as the grasses *gúděł* and *desúm*, the *uósög* fig, *gabagáp*, *kemím*, *kesíl*, etc., (see also the *Pandanus* blossoms *bageīei* in Story 203, Verse 9, see index Section VIII). KUB. adds: "In any case, the thick layer of leaves at the bottom of the mud prevents the water from draining to the bottom, and, in addition, the leaves and stems probably serve as fertilizer as they decompose over time. However, they are not allowed to rot entirely in the mud; instead, the layer is renewed every six months, and the remains of the old layer are removed as pieces of stems and leaf ribs are left behind, which cannot decompose completely during that time."

KUB. furthermore describes the cultivation of taro as safer and higher yielding than other plants, and says that only a great drought, of which there is an example in Story 63, could cause a famine. However, he also mentions a disease, *Obey*, in which masses of a very small insect called *nguk* cover the plants and cause them to wilt; the tubers apparently turn watery, tasteless, and are only reluctantly eaten. We did not observe this "taro rot," more correctly spelled *góbei*, nor did we observe a similar disease called *děkóděk*, which is spoken of in Story 203. However, we heard that shortly after our departure, a taro pest appeared in a large area and was still present in 1925¹⁰⁰.

Vermin *melaitúl*¹⁰¹ *ra dait* occasionally appear. E. K. recorded the following magic spell that is used to ward them off. It is directed at the first plant:

<i>gol'ládēm¹⁰²di ra d melaitóng</i>	Spell only against pests
<i>ng gol ditém gēlei, mak turumókl,</i>	here is your <i>dait</i> this one, and I plant,
<i>ua¹⁰³ke mo úgul líus, ua ke bākāi</i>	you should be like a coconut trunk, you like a pot of molasses,
<i>ke ma tēnga luóngor</i>	you like solid Pandanus (<i>gongór</i>).

KUB. provides no information on the origin of taro. Legend has it that it fell from heaven. The reason for this claim is that more than once, women have found new types of taro in the patches¹⁰⁴, and as they cannot explain their origin, they believe it must be supernatural. These new types of taro are called *dung* (poss. *dn̄gil*). When it becomes known that a new type has been discovered, people come from all around to look at it and pick up a shoot, if possible. The old, indigenous species, however, came from afar, from the West, with the goddess *a Iluógēl*, the mother of the *GalidGolungīs* (Story 170). These include, for the most part, the species *gongēsíměr¹⁰⁵*, *gingarengárek*, *blsáps*, *keserngerél*, *delagēsāg*, *tululásāg* (*telēiulāsag*), *tamói*, small species Ngariáp, etc. These names, some of which appear in Story 194, really do seem to hark back to ancient times. Especially worth noting is Story 203, Verses 6-9, where *rul'l*, *gokál*, and *takebesengíl¹⁰⁶* are mentioned. As for the rest, it is not worth the effort to name all the species of taro, as there appear to be almost 100 of them. In Melanesia, in fact, a woman once recited 200 types to me, and similar experiences are known elsewhere. E. K. listed over a dozen names above, of which only 2 appear in the 18 names presented by KUB. in Vol. VIII, pg. 161, and neither of those 2 is repeated among my 7.

Finally, KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 160, lists various forms of magic for ensuring a good harvest. I have presented one of these three chants in Story 225, independent of his account; remarkably, the words are almost identical, despite the fact that the recordings are almost 40 years apart. The goddess Diratmalaitóng, called Tmalaythoy and Thoy by KUB. in the other chant, is considered the protector of taro farming; however, no other details are known about her.

Thirdly, KUB. mentions a song from Ngērupesáng, where once in the past taro disease was danced out of the land.

Words Related to Taro

<i>melálem</i> or <i>mel'lálem</i> to plant	<i>merúog</i> to till (the soil)
<i>mangesép</i> to cut off, to snip (imp. <i>gosepí</i> ; <i>sopngi</i> to lift out with the hand underneath)	<i>mesálou</i> to dig up (the mud)
<i>kelól</i> mature taro	<i>smálou</i> dug-up piece

<i>a nglás</i> (poss. <i>gelsúl</i>) dug-up field	<i>galáběd</i> (poss. <i>galaběděl</i>) taro leaf stem
<i>ngeás</i> hard soil under the mud	<i>klap</i> raw taro
<i>ngeāsěk</i> light-colored soil under the mud	<i>kúkau</i> boiled taro
<i>deágěl</i> field laying fallow	<i>br'rak</i> large type of taro
<i>mesusúěd</i> to break shoots in the middle	<i>pisěg</i> wild taro
<i>ngamáel, ngálek, dáit</i> (poss. <i>ditél</i>) shoot ¹⁰⁷	<i>samk</i> root, tuber
<i>ulengīl</i> the rest	<i>góbei, děkódek</i> taro disease
<i>ulengāl</i> taro peel waste	<i>dung</i> (poss. <i>dngil</i>) new type of taro
<i>melóug</i> to fertilize	<i>meséi</i> (poss. <i>meklegél</i>) taro patch
<i>telóug, rámak</i> fertilizer	<i>ulebóiěl</i> area reserved for celebrations
<i>goloúkl</i> or <i>gológul</i> (poss. <i>gologělél</i>) basket for fertilizer	<i>ulegáro</i> patch for daily harvest
<i>mesúrěg</i> to create order, to fix	<i>blu, uárs</i> next larger piece
<i>galiúiěs</i> dam, edge (Story 211)	<i>gomoklógěl</i> village taro patch
<i>dúdul</i> work skirt	<i>maláměl</i> to pull weeds
<i>uórok</i> dry taro leaf stems (for skirts)	<i>ěáměl</i> Gratiola, pretty, aromatic weed, women like to wear it in their ears
<i>galdáel</i> pile of taro	<i>mékngit l mul</i> weed
<i>rongór</i> (poss. <i>rengerengél</i>) mat for protecting the back	<i>ngot</i> pounding board

Breadfruit*medú* (poss. *medungél*) is not nearly as important on Palau as on Samoa or Truk. Palau's soil is not suitable for it, although without a doubt it thrives on limestone, as I became convinced on Pelíliou. There, in Ngasiás, next to the Rubak Bai, stood a trunk that was several meters thick (see Vol. 2, pg. 272), its mighty palisade-like roots measuring over 10m in diameter. It was a subspecies of *Artocarpus incisa*. The breadfruit tree of Ngíptál, too, which is mentioned in Story 19 and is depicted on the Bai *a Dngoróngěr* in Goréör (Vol. 1, Plate 5, pg. 170) must have been very large, as fish and sea turtles were able to swim inside it. Of course, Ngíptál was a little island of coral rubble (Vol. 2, pg. 117). Nevertheless, breadfruit trees can thrive on volcanic soil, as well. I saw a trunk that was 60cm thick¹⁰⁸ between tall *Parinarium* trees at the *ked* edge of Goréör, and otherwise, *medú* trees can be found everywhere, albeit usually only a few. After all, Stories 34, 204, etc. also take place on Babldáob. The wood was occasionally used for building Bai (see Vol. 4, Bai 12 in Ngabiúl).

For details about the fruit, see the section on culinary skills. KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 162, names the following types: on the rock islands, the *medhún eliou*, with big seeds (M. C.: Mee-thou-lee with seed, WALL.: *medú*

lióu), on Palau the better types: *meriaúr* with round, smooth fruit, and *khabákhab* (M. C.: Cup-a-lap) with elongated, rough-skinned fruit; related to this: *khóruþ*, *kothululóuk*, *thmathm*, and *kasúluk*.

The **bananatu** poss. *tuál* (KUB. *a thú*) is planted everywhere, although sparsely. I did not see here the species KUB. lists for Palau, *karrássak*, which apparently was called *Raráč* in Ponape, and which caught my eye there because its fruit cluster points skyward at the tip of the tall plant.¹⁰⁹ The Kotháor species (driftwood; see Story 204) apparently originates from *a Ngeaur*, as do the *Kokháko* and *Keyámmel* species. I also heard of a red, indigenous species, *omuít pesengél*, which Tmélógod fished from the deep and planted in Galáp, where it can still be found (Story 14). One small species *basói kēam* owes its existence to a women's club that turned into bananas on Pelíliou (Story 169). A small, roundish species reminiscent of a peach (see there) is called *kěřekúr ra iderúrt* (lemon). Bananas are usually eaten cooked (before they are ripe) and mashed. For details on eating bananas *udóim tu*, see Vol. 2, pg. 214. Other less-important flora that are planted include:

Yams *telngót*¹¹⁰, as KUB. stressed, are not grown, and they are certainly rare. A wild species *Dalhákal* “with a stem that has many thorns, and a long, creeping tuberous root,” which is eaten on Ponape, is not utilized at all here. A second wild species *Bollóy* (*běloi*) is consumed only during famine. A third wild species is called *geibárs*.

Sugar canea *dep*, indigenous as well as introduced, not cultivated much.

Starch *sěbósōp*¹¹¹ (*Tacca pinnatifida*) hardly used, see also KUB. *rínyáng* palms.

Turmeric *kěsól* (*Curcuma*), from which the yellow substance is obtained, previously mentioned above on pg. 41.

Citrus species¹¹²; *maráděł* the common name for oranges, large species *golúgaū*, small *kerekúr*, sour *bekerséu*, other species *garítěł*. Lemon *meduk gangarél*; the wild lemons are called *deběgěl*, the large, possibly introduced ones are *tětáěł* or *deběger a ngabárd*, the wild round shaped ones *merés*, the small, round limes *malageiángěđ* (Samoa *tipólo*).

Pineapple *gongól ngabárd* “foreigners’ Pandanus.”

Pumpkin *kalabasáng* “calabash,” introduced.

Tapioca *telngót*, the term is the same used for yams, flour of the manioc plant, introduced.

Maize *mílu*, *máis*, introduced.

Papaya (KUB. *Bobay*) *bóbai*, introduced.

KUB. also lists rice (*Bras*), which they tried to cultivate in Goikúl at one time, but quickly abandoned; two species of anona (*Souersap* and *Ngerangabárd*), guavas, watermelon Semankang, two species of capsicum (one indigenous),

and sweet potatoes (*Kamóley*) *gomúti*¹¹³. Also, a gooseberry-like fruit *kámíns* Averrhoa Carambola L. should be mentioned here. Of all of the fruit listed, we were only occasionally given anona and sweet potatoes to eat.

The Terminalia almond tree *miěg* and the edible fibrous fruit *kéam* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) are occasionally planted near dwellings, possibly also the species of ficus called *uósōg*, which is strung neatly on cords when gathered. In addition to this, the wild ficus species *gosékēd* deserves some consideration in connection with cooking, because in former times its red cherry-like fruit was used instead of a *iláot* syrup in the preparation of fish, and because it served as food during famine, as reported by the inhabitants of Ngatangāu (Vol. 2, pg. 271). Similarly, the red nuts of the *gerságěl* tree, also known as *gamaklágěl*, a type of nutmeg, are eaten during famine, as the song of *Súrěg* reveals in Story 59. Occasionally, the small Crataeva tree *gědēpsúngěl* is planted near dwellings; it is not uncommon for people to like to eat its cucumber-like, smelly, yellow-spotted fruit. The head-sized fruit of the Pangium tree *riáměl* is eaten raw, and its large seeds, which contain prussic acid, are pounded and cooked with syrup (as are anona and pineapple) as food for a mourning feast *goléngěl* (KUB., VIII, pg. 173). The Spondia species *a éděl* and *titíměl*, the Jambose *rebótěl*, the small white fruit of the Eugenie *gasabēságal*, which are sour but tasty, and the Eugenie *kesīl* with small yellow fruit, etc., also play a role. The Pandanus fruit, which is so highly prized on the Ralik-Ratak Islands, is hardly consumed here, if at all, neither is the turmeric root (*kēsól*) or the root of the Morinda *ngél*; the starchy root *sěbósōp* is also not grown here. For all other details, see the plant index in Section VIII.

I cannot leave out the stimulants here, the Areca nut, the Betel pepper, and tobacco, which are mixed with lime, resulting in betel quid. For information about palm juice, see the discussion on coconuts, pg. 44.

The Areca palm tree *búōg* (poss. *bugél*)¹¹⁴ is given special care, because the nuts are indispensable for betel



Fig. 39a. Cleaning seat for betel palms.

chewing. Although the pods of the *riú* tree can serve as a substitute, this is rather unsatisfactory. It is particularly important to keep the fruit clusters free of pests and growths. For this the islanders use a small, reniform little board called a *gosómikil* or *goremáěl*, which they fasten to the tree with the indentation against the trunk. The diligent person treating the trees can sit on this, nay even sleep on it, as was shown in Story 107 about the betel palm of Ngesiség (Fig. 39^a

Hamburg 39^{II}). Specimen a, collected by HE., is triangular and has only one indentation, Fig. 39^b. He writes: “For greater comfort while picking nuts or cleaning the fruit clusters, one takes the seat up there, lays the convex edge against the trunk, and loops the rope around the tree and the open point of the seat.” The rope is almost 5 ½ m long (2 ½ of this woven, see b.), so it can be wound around several times, namely over the concave outer edge,

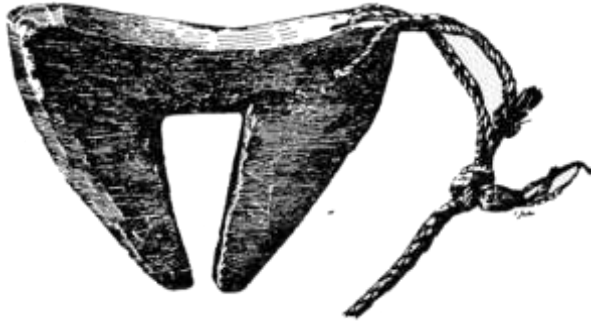


Fig. 39b.



Fig. 39c.

securely fastening the seat. Specimen a, collected by HAMBRUCH, has a convex area, known as *delél* “its stomach,” opposite the concavity, which he calls *klel’lél*. The prongs next to it are supposedly called *Xagedil* – probably *vag e dil* “woman’s thigh” – and the body *gosú bogélél*; I recorded *gosómikil* for the whole thing. Shape c, which I saw frequently, and which is most likely a newer invention, does not have an indentation, instead, it has two holes for the rope. In Yap there is a similar board-like seat, but it is used only for picking coconuts (W. MÜLLER Yap, Vol. 1, pg. 66). At the upper end of the trunk, where the leaf stem joins the trunk, the leaf blade *mónggongg* or *keai*, sits the straggly cluster, from which the walnut-sized nuts hang.¹¹⁵ Especially for celebrations, the entire cluster is taken down, hung up for decoration (see *log*), and then later the nuts are distributed. Betelnut picking is called *masáog* (imp. *sógei*) (see Story 200), *mangíp* to pick from the cluster, a short nut is called *mordúl l búög*, a long one *morgeiër l búög*. Where the leaf is joined to the trunk¹¹⁶, it is about a foot wide and 1-3 feet long; it is used to make bags, by folding together a piece and sewing it up at the two shorter ends, Fig. 40. This creates a purse *delūs* (poss. *delsém*), in which one can store gathered nuts, for instance; *delūs* means “umbrella,” because the leaf is used as protection from the rain; covers for skirts and pestles (see Plates 2 and 11) are also made from it, or turmeric yellow is kept in it, in fact, in general it serves as Palauan wrapping paper. As a sign of victory *galeótl*, the lower part of the leaf



Fig. 40. Leaf container.

is hoisted on a pole to wave in the wind (see Story 18); it can also serve as a seat; in short, it has all manner of uses. (All other details in the section on mats, Section 3^a).

The betel pepper *kěbúi* (poss. *kebiúl*), which is said to have come from heaven (Story 97), is a divine gift and is highly prized. It is frequently stolen, so it is planted near the houses and a fence is put around it, as can be seen in Vol. 2, Plate 12³. A branch with leaves is called *delbói*, *melbói* means to pick leaves, see also Story 61 about the channel of Kloultáog, which was overgrown with betel. The leaf of the cinnamon tree *gógod* is used with it; fishermen use *desúm* grass as a substitute (see pgs. 54 and 70), or *riu*, see the index in Section VIII.

According to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 164, tobacco *degóul*¹¹⁷ (poss. *degolél*) was once cultivated on the *ked*.



Magic was first cast on the land (*mesúběd a ked*), to drive away the gods of the soil. Then the heath was burned off, and after the ashes were removed, the seeds were sown. When the sprouts are 2 inches high, they are replanted at 2-foot intervals. Pests must be picked off the plants every morning and evening. KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 164: "Tobacco is either cut while it is still very green, dried in the sun and packed into bamboo canes, resulting in the ordinary tobacco called *Kalséngl* that is offered for sale, or it is wrapped in taro leaves and put in a basket to sweat then cut and later packed into canes. This type is called *Blangl*, has a dark color, is very strong, and is usually kept, like pressed tobacco, for daily use." Tobacco was probably introduced in recent times from the Philippines and it's cultivation has recently been abandoned due to the ongoing imports by white men. In any case, I did not see any cultivation of it. Smoking *molokol* cigarettes with banana wrappers is also hardly done anymore. Tobacco is used primarily to make a strong quid, a *meringěl a gamalél*, as it is called in Story 209. It is kept in little bamboo containers (Fig. 41).

Fig. 41.

A quid *gamágěl* (poss. *gamalél*) is prepared thusly: An Areca nut is split with an adze or with a turtleshell knife *gosisál* (Plate 8); this is then used to lift the kernel out of the hull, which is thrown away, although it does not taste unpleasant. Half the nut is then placed on a piece of betel leaf and sprinkled with lime, after which the moisture quickly turns it red. That is why, when the quid is chewed, red saliva soon appears, which eventually fades in color. If the taste also fades, the *gamágěl* is taken out and sprinkled anew; if the lime has too much of a bite, some betel leaf is added to make it milder. The *gamágěl* is chewed for ½ -1 ½ hours, depending on one's inclination and the quantities one happens to have available.

Old people with poor teeth place the *gamágěl* into a little mortar and smash it with a pestle before chewing,. The mash is then scooped out and enjoyed. That is why many mortars have a spatula *gongísp* (made of turtleshell, bamboo, etc.) or spoon *gongírt* tied to them (Fig. 42^{aand b})

The utensils used in betel chewing are the mortar and pestle, *gorúsög*¹¹⁸ (poss. *gorsěgél*).

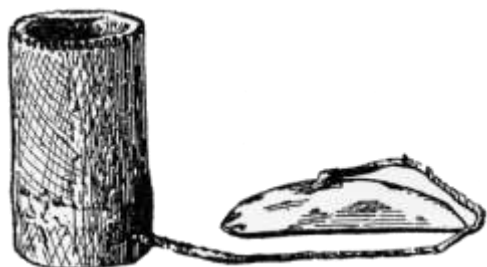


Fig. 42a.



Fig. 42b.



Fig. 43a.



Fig. 43b.

They are the symbol of the old Rubak, because on the *logúkl* one very often sees them sitting on the *ilíud* pavement, handling the mortar. The mortar is usually made of wood, most often from the *dort* tree, or from citrus or bamboo, *beókl* Fig. 43^{aand b}, occasionally cattle horn is used for it. The shape is usually that of a drinking cup, as can be seen in the figures. But there are also some with legs, as one specimen in Berlin shows, which KUB. collected in 1885 (Fig. 44). While the mortars are created in a rather slipshod fashion, great care is taken when making the pestles. A pestle is made from the *Tridacna* species *kísēm*: by heating and shaping with great skill, pieces as long as possible are produced. These are formed into a stick shape by repeated sharpening on lava rock. This skill is especially highly developed in Gólei. After lengthy, repeated bargaining, I acquired a splendid specimen from the Rubásäg of Goikúl, which measures 38.5cm long by 2.5cm thick (K. 979, Hamburg 3683^{II}). HE. acquired two specimens, which measure 34 and 22cm. They each have covers made from an *Areca* leaf sheath (see above), in which they are always carefully stored.

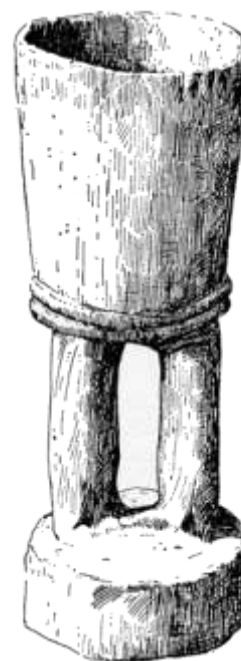


Fig. 44.

In Leipzig (Mi. 1705) there is one specimen from the KUB. collection that has a hole bored through it at the top and is equipped with a loop for hanging; it measures 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ cm (Fig. 45).

In addition to the mortar and pestle, there is the lime box, usually called *gáus* (poss. *gusél*), like the lime itself. The lime is burned out of the reef rock. Narrow, tapering coconut shells are often used as containers for it (Fig. 46^{aand b}) Hamburg HE. 1085 and Berlin VI^b 7637.

Another showpiece like the tridacna pestle is the lime stick, which is a long bamboo cane with a wooden



Fig. 45.



Fig. 46a.



Fig. 46b

Coconut flasks

stopper at the tip, with 10-15 yellow turtleshell rings on it. This turtleshell decoration is called *tangét* (poss. *tangetengél*). KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 189, has already described its assembly. The wooden stopper has a hole drilled through it lengthwise, and the 1-2mm opening is located in a triangular groove in the uppermost turtleshell plate. The hamburg specimen (Fig. 47 Hamburg 4368^{II}), which was collected in 1909, is 115cm long. KUB. accounts for its size by saying that a men's club would appear at *ruk* dances with just one such stick, for example, and it would have to serve all who were present.

The stopper bears a resemblance to a cylinder from the Biedermeier period which is enlarged at the top; the Stuttgart specimen has the shape of a *deruál* (pg. 27); sometimes, the bamboo canes are also decorated, as depicted in KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate XXIII 27 and 28, which is located in the Berlin Anthropological Museum. This decoration is not artistically rendered and must be considered mere play. The long lime sticks are carried in the hand. The men carry around the smaller utensils, however (the tobacco container should not be forgotten here) in the *tet* hand basket, which they constantly carry with them (Vol. 2, Plate 7⁴, Plate 11¹, 12^{1,3}). It should be mentioned that in the olden days this basket was often very small, easily fitting into one hand (see Story 152).

Fig. 47.
Lime stick

b) Food from Animals.¹¹⁹(animal: *garm*, poss. *garmél*)

Cannibalism was not a regular practice, although it was undoubtedly performed occasionally, especially by the Galid, as demonstrated by Stories 128, 156, 164, and 169, and especially Story 12, in which, admittedly, only the roast's savory smell is prized. Vol. I, pg. 133, shows that Palauans were once considered by the Carolinians to be cannibals. There is, however, no proof of this. The claims of extensive cannibalism reported by F. LÜTKE¹²⁰ were based on hearsay and must also be rejected. On the other hand, the use of a skull cap as a drinking cup (Story 207) and the end of a humerus bone as a pestle (see pg. 61) shows that they had no inhibitions when it came to the parts of dead bodies.

Domestic Animals: The pig (*babi*, poss. *babingél*) was imported from the West, as its name reveals. Though there is a word for it in use, *melikl*, it is probably not old. Palauans have attempted breeding, but only on a limited basis. They know about gelding; the castrated pig is called *klokósog*. Vol. I, pg. 120, describes the unloading of the pigs; the sheep, goats, ducks, geese, turtle doves, parrots, etc., which were unloaded at the same time, perished. The cattle, on the other hand, have survived to this day, as mentioned in that volume. As the pigs must not roam about freely, they are housed in special stalls. The simplest of these was the "pig house" on Nggeiangel, where a hollow tree served as living quarters, its opening enclosed by a fence made of tree trunks driven into the ground.



Fig. 48. Pig stall.

On Pelíliou, a bamboo framework was supported on four posts; part of the fenced-in platform was covered with a saddle roof. To reach it, one climbed up on one post (Fig.), as one does at a Bai. I saw the same kind of structure in Keklau at the stone path that is there, but it was set off from the path by one man's length, despite the sloping terrain. One accessed it via a bamboo pole, which was secured with a railing on both sides. Waste dropped down through the bamboo floor, as in a Blai.

The fact that the pig is valued as a food source is demonstrated by its distribution at celebrations. The shares are as follows:

No. I	the head and one leg (<i>gogíl</i>)
No. II	one leg
No. III	one shoulder (<i>geimál</i>)
No. IV	one shoulder
No. V	the loins (<i>singg</i>)
No. VI	the neck (<i>goldáěł</i>)
No. VII	the lower back (<i>búik singg</i>)
No. VIII IX X	parts of the spine (<i>degóiěł</i>)

The *uriúl rúbak* are given the ribs (*kak*) and the stomach (*díěł*).

If the high chiefs of Palau, the *rubukúl pélau*, are gathered, a Guóng from Mangal'áng (District I) is given the head of the pig because of his capture of the head of the Galid Mád a tumlógět, the turtle (see Story 148); see below for details on catch and distribution. The *máměł*, Napoleon wrasse, pg. 80, is also meant for the Rubak. Shortly before my stay on the island, a fisherman caught five large such animals in big fish traps; four were given to a Idíd in Goréör, and one to Júlídíd as a tribute from Klotráol, which was passed on to a Idíd; the head, neck, and first vertebra are considered the best parts. When No. I buys a shark, the head is given to No. II.

The dog *pílis* and the cat *gatú* were imported and are not eaten. The latter has found its way into the legends, as shown in Story 8, whose origins are truly ancient, and the well-known Story 118; Story 159a, too, makes an unusual contribution. The chicken *malk* (poss. *mekél*) was once sacred, existed only in the wild, and was not eaten (KUB. pg. 168). Even today, it is rarely eaten, as its stocks are limited. The assertion by the British that they had to show the natives that chickens are good to eat, is erroneous. According to KEATE pg. 301, however, the eggs were eaten; preferably after they'd begun to be incubated!

Wild Animals of the Land

Instead of chicken, the eggs of the Megapode (incubator bird) *bakái*, which is discussed in detail in Story 6, are eaten, but the hen itself is not eaten. One looks for its nest in the piles of leaves, *gongióng*, in the forest. The eggs of sea birds also seem to be very desirable, for example those of the white tern *sogósog*, as shown in Story 141.

The following birds are caught and eaten:

the fruit pigeon (Carpophaga) *belógěł, gaiép*
the Nicobar pigeon (Calönas) *laib*
the wild duck (Anas) *tabár*
the purple swamp hen (Porphyrion) *vek*
the Audobon shearwater (Puffinus) *gogáio*
the black noddy (Anous) *badáog*
the little pied cormorant (Graculus) *deróiög*
the tropic bird (Phaeton) *dudúk*

Hunting.

In addition to the birds, there is the flying fox *gólik*. It is caught with the *sigéro* nets as mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 162, *a Imül*. The nets are triangular and are fastened to long bamboo poles, so that the animals can be caught in flight. KUB. VIII, pg. 120, specifies the length of the arms as 230 cm, and the width of the net as 150 cm; he depicts one in Plate XVI, Fig. 3. The net we brought back had arms that were 190 cm long and a handle that was 480 cm long. Fig. 49a (4923^{II}) shows how this was connected to the pole, 49b shows another type of crossbar for connecting; let me also refer to the figures in the picture stories.

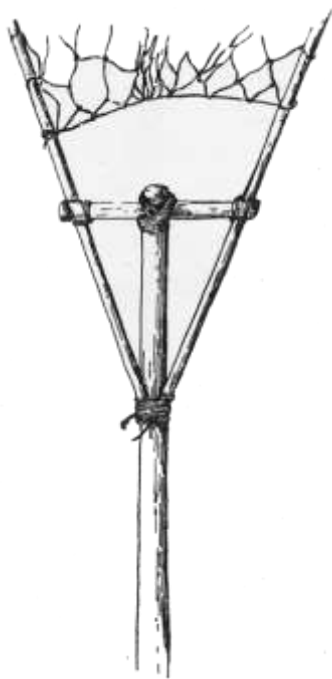


Fig. 49a.

Particularly noteworthy is the capture of fruit pigeons, which I have described in detail as the sport of chiefs on Samoa. It does not have the same importance on Palau, but it nevertheless has some fascinating features. On Palau the pigeons are shot mainly with arrows, as described by KUB. VIII, pg. 118. Since I experienced the hunt firsthand and have additional information to contribute concerning it, I would like to describe the process.



Fig. 49b.

The Galid *aTpalapálag*¹²¹ is considered to be the inventor of the pigeon hunt, as asserted in Story 17, which also presents the chant that is addressed to the mother of the Galid, the goddess Gobagád, at the beginning of the hunting season. It was Tpalapálag who made the first bow and arrow from the wood of the *pngáol* mangrove¹²². To shoot the pigeon, one looks for a *gavés* tree, whose fruit the pigeons like very much, and ties a platform to it. It is this binding, *meréngěd*¹²³, that gives this type of hunt its name; the platform itself is called *rongóděł*; it has a round roof over it, covered with fern leaves, and from this hiding place, the hunter shoots the pigeons, as shown in Story 125, for example. The hunt using decoy pigeons, generally called “animals,” *garm*, is much more exciting. A tame pigeon is also called *turtúruk*, as opposed to a wild one, *tepelík*. These tame ones are taken from the nest at an early age (see KEATE, pg. 301) and are fed in the house. By day, the animals are set on a pole in front of the house, tied by one leg, as shown in Plate 5⁴ in Vol. 2. At night, they are kept in large,

cagelike baskets that can be closed (Fig. 50). It looks lovely when the pigeons are carried to the hunting place on a shoulder pole, *góngolungěł*. This pole is often depicted on the *logukl*, as is the hunting blind, *golúměł*; in a cross-section, it really looks like a square, as Fig. 51 shows.

Four sticks are laid on top of four forked poles; the framework is surrounded and covered with

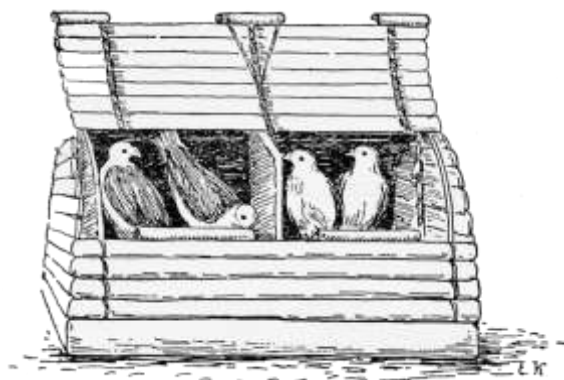


Fig. 50. Pigeon stall.



Fig. 51. Pigeon-hunting blind.

fresh, leafy branches. Usually, one places a decoy pigeon (tied, of course) on the fork at each corner. A small tree, called *klungūděl*, is stuck downwards through the roof, so that a small tree-top remains up above the roof. In a forest clearing, such a blind, inside which the hunter remains hidden with his bow and arrow, is not very conspicuous. As soon as the pigeons have been set out, they move about restlessly, fluttering and calling,



Fig. 52.
Bow.

especially when wild pigeons in the nearby bushes answer. These, in turn, begin to think that where so many pigeons are gathered, there must be a lot of food. So, for this reason, or perhaps purely out of the desire to fight, they come flying and settle down on the *klungūdēl* fake tree, where they are immediately hit by the hunter's arrow. The shot bird is brought inside unobtrusively, then the next one follows, and so on. The catch can be quite considerable. Then the Rubak hold their pigeons feast, to which the Rubak from a *Irāi* usually invite Ngarameketí, as mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 186.

Let me briefly discuss the bow, *úkar* (poss. *ukūrú*), and the arrow, *balág* (poss. *balagél*), after which the pigeon hunt, *omálag*, is named. Undoubtedly, the word *bálag* originates from the Polynesian *fana*, which was used as a general term for all shooting weapons. This old word indicates that the weapon (which, incidentally, is used only for hunting and playing, as in Polynesia) was not recently introduced, but is instead a part of their heritage. The arrow used for shooting pigeons is called *balag ra gavés*, also after the *gavés* tree, which is the pigeon's favorite food. The bow collected by HAMBRUCH (see Fig. 52) carries the following markings: convex side *ulkél* "its back," concave side *delél* "its stomach," on this side there are two raised places, called *tul*, each with a lengthwise groove, in which the slackened bowstring rests¹²⁴.

The bowstring¹²⁵ is usually made of fibers from the *gáramal* hibiscus or the *lulk* ficus and is twisted. The string consists of three strands; it is tied around the "ends," *rsél*, of the

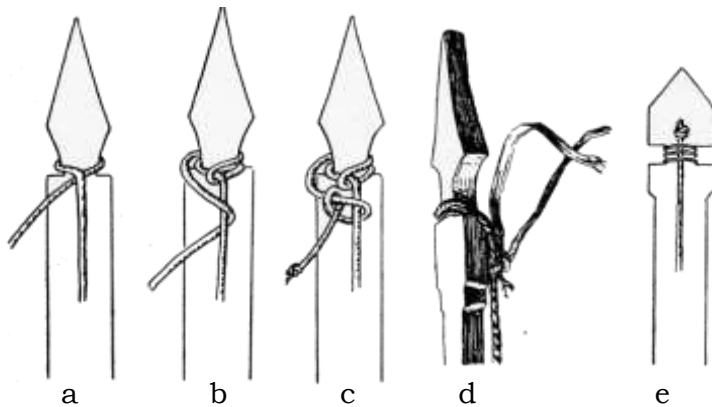


Fig. 53a-e.



Fig. 54a-c. Arrows.

bow, also called *ungelél*, “its tooth,” and knotted. These knots are tight at one end, but loose at the tooth (Fig. 53a–d). A string is tied over the bowstring around the notch at the end, so that the bowstring’s knot cannot slip off (Fig 53e) (Stuttgart). Drawing the bowstring is “secondary,” meaning that the arrow is held

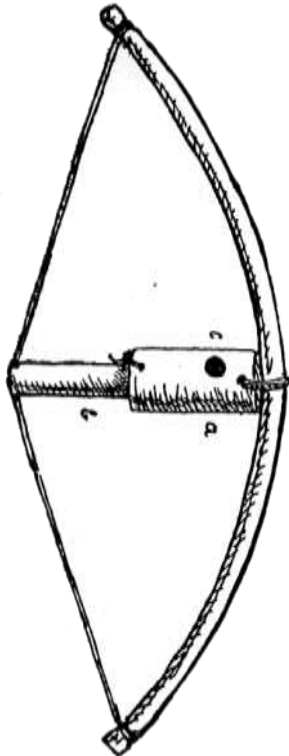


Fig. 55A.

Rat Trap Bow

between the thumb and index finger, while the third and fourth fingers rest on the bowstring and help pull; the arrow passes under the left thumb. The bow is approximately 2 m long (HE. 74 3813^{II} 193 cm) (Stuttgart 108, arrows 117 cm). The arrows, which are 200–220 cm long (Fig. 54a–c), are so closely related to spears that they are described in more detail in that section. According to v. M. M., bows and arrows were used more frequently in previous times than they are nowadays; apparently, they were never used in battle. See also the publications of the royal ethnographic museum in Dresden, Vol. IX, Plate VII, for depictions of I bows and II arrows.

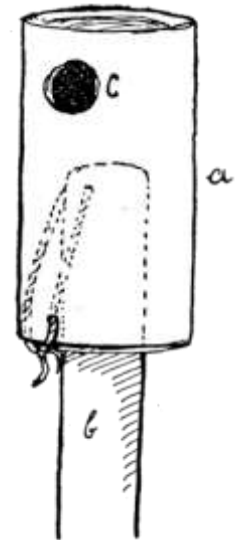


Fig. 55B

In addition to the bow, the blowgun is also used for bird hunting, but only in the open under the trees, because the tube is 3–4 m long and reaches very high when placed over the mouth. It usually consists of two pieces, as there are few straight bamboo canes of the necessary length. While the bow is part of the Palauan heritage, the blowgun was introduced from the Philippines in more recent times. In fact, it does not have a real name, but is simply called *bóes*, just like the guns, but with the distinction *bóēs ra ulékbút*¹²⁶, after the arrows. This word means “finished at the back,” because a simply carved little stick, or one with barbs, lashed at the bottom with coconut fiber or cotton, serves to seal out the air. Rarely used.

Pigeons are not only caught by shooting, however, they are also caught in snares (see Bai 119 V b).

These snares or traps are called *pedíkl*¹²⁷ and have been described and illustrated by KUB. pg. 120. As I have nothing of importance to add to his descriptions with regard to birds, I refer you to those.

There is, however, an interesting rat trap bow, which he does not mention and which I saw in 1907 in Galáp, that I must still describe here. A piece of bamboo, sealed at one end, is fastened on the inner side of a bow (Fig 55a); the other opening (the

one facing the bowstring), is open, and a thinner piece of wood (b) is inserted into it in a pump-like fashion. To catch the rat, the bow is drawn and, to keep it in the drawn position, the upper wooden end of b is tied to the lower end of the bamboo with a coconut string that has been drenched in coconut oil, see 55b. The rat enters the hollow bamboo through the hole c, and when it chews through the tasty string, it is squashed by the pestle.

Fig. 56 shows a simple cage for birds made from *monggongg* leaf blades.

Fishing (*omngikēl*)¹²⁸

is particularly important, as nearly all saltwater animals are eaten. I should say in advance that the consumption of raw fish is forbidden (see Stories 20 and 22^a). Fishing is practiced a lot and in elaborate forms; KUB. grants Palauans first place in this activity in Micronesia, and rightfully so. The fishing methods are described in detail in KUB. VIII, pg. 123–134. So I will keep this as short as possible and attempt to achieve completion, correct errors, and note spelling.

Like all hard work, a big fishing expedition is begun with chants. Such big expeditions are undertaken principally for celebrations, where the object is to obtain large amounts of fish for a defined period of time¹²⁹. The *gongéd* celebration, which is discussed further below, and the fishing canoe *gongēdīl*¹³⁰ have both taken their names from fishing, as *gomangéd* means “to go fishing,” and *géd* or *gei* means the fishing grounds, a *rungéd* (plural *ar umangéd*) means the fishermen’s guild, usually a men’s club, which catches the fish for the host of the celebration, as told in Story 6. The catch is called *galéd* (*galderír a rungéd* “their catch of the fishermen’s guild”).

Tēlámēs is considered to be the founder of the *gongéd* celebration¹³¹; he was the first to bring many fish together in Ngaregolóng. Story 193 shows the chant and the magic of the *omngélalei*, the “cracking open of a coconut” as an offering, which is part of the *buldil* magic (Section VI I^a). For this reason, people still pray nowadays to Tēlámēs to ask him to show the fishermen favor. The guild must follow many rules. They must all

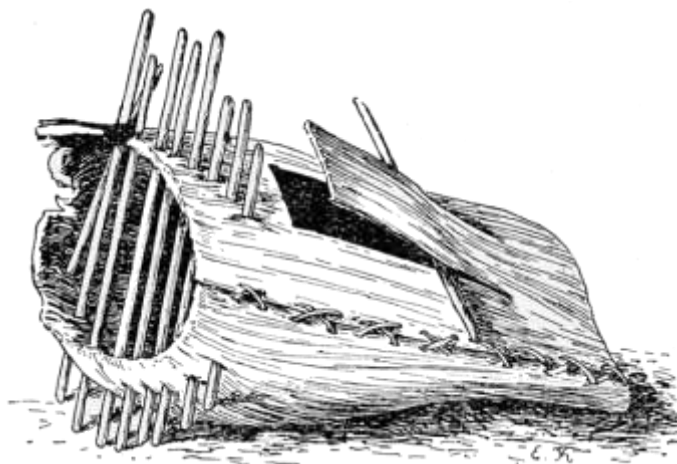


Fig. 56.

eat together in the Bai; there must not be any noise in the house when they enter. Instead of betelnut leaves, they use *desúm* grass¹³² when they chew; spitting is prohibited. The women who bring the food into the Bai must wear good skirts. Intercourse is – as usual during full moon, which is the best time for fishing – not allowed during the actual fishing period, but it is especially strongly prohibited while the *káep* canoe is being maintained. KUB. has the following to say about this: “The most important thing before departing, however, is the incantation of the vessel, which also must be performed on the previous day by the leader. He takes some taro and goes to the beach where the vessel is still set up on the supporting logs (*Gay*)¹³³, with its bow pointing towards the sea. Here, at the end pointed inland, he offers some taro to the god Obagáth¹³⁴ and at the opposite end, he offers some to the god Metimrásak¹³⁵, beseeching both to ensure a good catch and to protect the fishing line from sharks and from entanglement in the rocks. On the following day, just before departure, he again offers some crumbled taro to the god *Aye katheltoákl*¹³⁶. This ensures success, and if the catch is nevertheless poor, then it is somehow or other the fault of the men on the expedition.”

All of these chants and incantations are invoked especially for the dangerous shark fishing, *goungövävël*¹³⁷, which was practiced at numerous locations on the east coast, namely in Goikúl, Nggësár, Ngërupesáng, Melekéiok, Ngivál, and in Kekláu, but no further north. KUB. reported that when he was there only three expert shark fishermen remained, in Goikúl, Ngërupesáng, and in Kekláu. One of these was Ngira ngëtibúgël in Ngërupesáng, who seems to have died around 1900. He was apparently a son of the *a Răklai* 6 (see Vol. 2, pg. 104) and should have received the laurels. In more recent times, this type of fishing¹³⁸ seems to have been discontinued altogether. The incantation of the canoe sitting on the logs *koi*, thus called *měánglkói*, the “consecration of the logs,” is performed very thoroughly in this case. The stern, which is pointed inland, is under the protection of the Galíd Gou-

bádl'lóug (KUB. Koupathelóu), the bow under that of Merekrik(t), and the outrigger under that of Golubás (see Section VI 4). Each of these three Galid is offered a *tiakl*, the name for the fishermen's remuneration, in the form of a folded coconut palm frond instead of money, on the posts of the framework and outrigger floats, during the following chant:¹³⁹

Goubádl'lóu *tiakíd rekíd tiakíd a udóud.*

Goubádl'lóu this here for us this money.

Klukúk kid a mora géd; kau a mangkár re ngí.

Tomorrow we to the fishing grounds; you watch over them!

tagá mēi komokodír, ko ra lē mēi audóud beskák

Who comes, you kill him, if it comes money, give it to me,

ng mo úngil goielák.

it should be good, wait for me!

The chant to Merekrik goes, in part, like this:

klukúk korkedí ngikēl l mer a mlai

Tomorrow hold them tight the fish; comes the canoe (back)

a kid ma demēi e degór a nglóik

and we come, stand up the dance!

In the end, Golubás is supposed to avert any evil magic (*melēbál*).

The fisherman then puts his lines in order. Late in the evening, he brings to the *bláděk* spirits of the dead and to the family god an "offering of finely chopped coconut," called *ulsárs*¹⁴⁰ a *delepdép*, which is set down on the *reúkl* wallboard of the Blai. It is meant to ensure the catch of the flying fish, *gok*, the bait for the shark.

The following morning, the day of departure, the fisherman goes to the beach very early to take care of the "notification of the channel" *mesúběd ra toágěl*¹⁴¹. He takes a woven coconut frond mat called *blsebúd*¹⁴², which KUB. portrayed in VIII Plate XVII Fig. 5, and two coconuts and goes to the pavement at the landing. There, at the *ptangg* resting stone in the corner, he lays down the *blsebúd* with the following words to the village god:

tiakid a kloklém, ngak mo tuó gēlagáng a mesúběd

This is your thing, I will go out today to notify

ra toágěl, diak a kekerěi mekngit mēi re ngak!

the exit, not a little bad should come to me!

He then places one coconut on the northern side and one on the southern side of the pavement while invoking the spirits of the land and the beach (KUB.: Arbau), and then the ceremony is over.

In the meantime, the canoe has been set afloat. Everything is ready for the trip. No food is taken along; a few select taro, called *Kalsáko*, must suffice for the voyage, which sometimes lasts as long as two days. Smoking is allowed, but no betelnut chewing, which is only permitted for the leader after a chant to the Galid *a* Iegád Tutáol, Deber´rekím, etc. When the canoe is far enough away from the beach that one can see the hinterland, the leader, facing land, offers a *tiakl* offering to the goddess *gadei* (mother) *a* Udíbo. When the deep water has been reached, he breaks a roasted *ulogóug* nut and tosses half of it into the sea for the gods of the land; the other half follows when they exit the reef and is meant for the gods Delatmikaik¹⁴³, who are thought to stand on both sides of the exit, and also for the Galid Kereóměł bēgil and Klúbudsingal¹⁴³. Then the mast and sail are set, accompanied by invocation of the gods of the moor, the lagoon, the reefs, the ocean, and the ocean floor. Then they sail out onto the open sea.

When they cast the *mrér* line to catch the bait, *gok*, they invoke the gods of the sea, Láladang and Sáulang.

(Kub. VIII, pg. 131): “If, fortunately, the *Gok* is caught, it is tied to the float section of the *Oriúr* line and the vessel cruises back and forth, making wide sweeps into the sea, in search of *Hotáor*¹⁴⁴, driftwood. Here they beseech *Laladan* and *Asaolan*¹⁴⁵, to awaken the gods of the various shark species that are found at the bottom of the ocean: *Ayekáth a Madarart*¹⁴⁶, *Ayekath a Ryūk*¹⁴⁷, *Kobilteyoúl*¹⁴⁸ and *Ayekath susugíl*¹⁴⁹, and bring them to the surface. If success is delayed, the gods of the driftwood, *Ayekáth hotáor*¹⁵⁰, *Komák hotáor*¹⁵¹, *Honal ebegébek*¹⁵² are invoked.” – These incantations, which I have taken, as mentioned on pg. 71, from KUBARY’s reports, draw a clear picture of how the natives are driven by fear and superstition (see also spear fishing chant below).

I still want to mention the lovely *kumeréu* fish posts. One of these is shown in color in KUB. VIII in Plate 33 Fig. 5, and I still found it in Ngērupesáng in 1907 (see Vol. 1, pg. 164). Such magic posts, which are dedicated to guardian deities of the ocean, can be found near many houses. They say the god *Kumeréu* lives in the moray eel, which is worshipped as the *Galid* of the saltwater; he gave the stake its

name. Figure 57 included here, the illustration of piece 2796^{II}, which is located in Hamburg, shows on the front of the square post a moray eel devouring a turtle that it received as an offering. One of these is eaten during the turtle hunt to honor Kumerëu, with pleas for continued success or for protection against illness. On the left side of the stake, there is a man with a roasted *ulogóug* coconut, the Galid's favorite food. One of the nuts remains

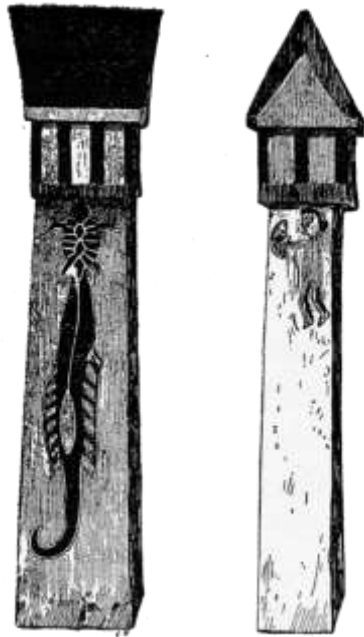


Fig. 57.



Fig. 58.

in the canoe, the other is laid down at the foot of the stake with pleas to bless the hunt. The families that have Kumerëu as their Galid do not eat any *keseböku* moray eels. On top of the post is a *gátekil'l* hut, which will be discussed more in the section on medicine. Votive offerings would be placed in the opening of the door, if it was not too small. This is possible with the stone *kumerëu* on Nggeiangel, which was already discussed in Vol. 2, pg. 43. Some other magic I would still like to mention is that of the roasted *ulogóug* nut, which is described in Story 17^c about Gosilé. The Pandanus fruit was also thought to bring good luck if it happened to be caught in the net, so it was always laid in the fishing basket (Bai 35^{IIIa}, Story 13). Special mention should also be made of the Galid Boi in Story 11, who is responsible for the schools of fish that appear in March (*táog*), April (*gorongódél*), and May (*geiág*), particularly around a Irai.

The particular **fishing methods** are as follows:

α) Gathering on the Reef (*ngaragei*), Spearfishing.

As everywhere, Palauans make their way to the fishing grounds *ged* or *gei*¹⁵³ at low tide, in order to search among the puddles and tide pools of the reef and rocks¹⁵⁴

in shallow water. They check in particular the holes in the rocks for the presence of small fish, crabs, octopi, etc. (see Story 134). Where the water is 1 – 3 feet deep, known as *vét*, the fishing spear comes into its own. All natives, including women, the elderly, and children participate in gathering these lowly sea creatures, known simply as *galéd* (poss. *galdíl*) “catch.” Whenever possible, the shells, etc., are removed on the spot and thrown away, unless the fisherman wants to make a *gólbed ë kal*, a “shell pavement,” as told in Story 146. Just about everything is eaten; poisonous fish, feared as “bringing death” *gomōkodál*, are few. While the *tiau* species (white spots and light belly) and the *telebúděl* species (light belly) are edible, it is mainly the *Diodon* fishes; the meat and liver¹⁵⁵ of the *goloduósog* species with the yellow belly, that is dangerous; the roe of all three, however, is poisonous. The gall bladder is particularly so. Shortly before our arrival, a Japanese man died eating one.

The skin of the black *gaoás* sea cucumber (Holothuroid) is also considered poisonous; it is scraped off and used for poisoning fish¹⁵⁶. As elsewhere, fish were poisoned with *dup* and *kemókōm* (see there), which is the subject of the Gatariáp magic in Story 215. *gamogóng* is also used, for small ponds.

The following lower-order creatures are important as they are considered good food:

the Tridacna clam *kim* (*mangím-kim* gathering)

kikói sea clam (*Arca*) (*mangikói-kikói* gathering)

ilúkūm highly prized on Pelíliou (*mangilúkūm* = gathering)

and *ngdūl* (*mangdūl* gathering), which lives in the mangrove swamp *kebúrs* and for which the women search using their feet¹⁵⁷; it tastes superb, especially when cooked with coconut for the dish known as *galiótěl* (Story 200).

The Sipunculus worm *geiúl*. KUB. VIII, pg. 153, erroneously calls it *mongyúl*, but *mongiúl* means “to gather *geiúl*.”

It is dug out of the sandy beach with a stick *gosíp* (Story 202) and its innards are removed with a smaller stick *golíbek*¹⁵⁸; its skin is eaten raw, just like the *ipo* on Samoa.

The Palolo worm is not known here.

Of the sea cucumbers, the innards of the *ngíměs* species are eaten, but only when the animals have been gathered early in the morning, before there is any sand in the entrails.

The *maramárag*, *sekesákěl*, and *irímd* species are edible. They are first tossed in a basket with ashes and *uósōg* ficus leaves, to remove the rough skin, then they are placed in a wooden bowl with water and *titíměl* leaves and left standing for a while, after which they are cut up and eaten with lemon juice.

Best suited for trepang¹⁵⁹, dried sea cucumber, are the arm-length *tamatámělgogáeo*, *babi*, and *badlěgalíd*; these provide the best goods at 10 cents per pound; as second class, *melitú*, *bláol*, *gosópěł*, *bibakmadál*, and *rekál* provide the worst goods; other usable species are *gărămrúm* and *mólog*, which rate only 4 cents per pound. They are usually gathered on the large reef flats west of Babldáob and Goréör, cooked in iron kettles and then dried. In the case of the *molog* species, papaya fruit and ficus leaves must be added so that the calcium in the skin dissolves. SEM. II, pg. 84 and 89–91 describes a lot about preparation and trade of trepang, so I refer to that.

The natives store trepang for their own use in bamboo cans (see Fig. 59), but only in very limited quantities.

Of the sea urchins, primarily the *goálag* (*Diadema*) and *aibúgěł* (*Echinometra*) are eaten, as elsewhere. They are pulled out of the holes with the *gogádu* tongs (see cooking utensils and Vol. 2, pg. 29). Of the starfish, the *gaisóis* (KUB. *Kayseyos*) is edible.

Of the cephalopods, the octopus *bukitáng* is common and is very popular, as is the squid *lūt* (which is also caught with the pear-shaped fish trap *butlūt*), and the cuttlefish *milngól*.

Of the crustaceans, first place is held by the spiny lobster *garabrúkl* and the locust shrimp *galauoságǎł*; they live in the holes in the reef. The latter is pulled out using a claw of one of its own species, which is tied with its hooks facing the wrong direction, as KUB. VIII, pg. 152, describes. “Known as *Potk*, this consists of a flat, flexible rod about 1 m long, made out of coconut leaf ribs, to the end of which the saw-like final joint of the claw of a locust shrimp is tied, with the teeth pointing upwards. A small fish is tied a little bit above this, and a piece of wood is stuck crosswise through the handle of the switch.”

One of the large crabs is the famous coconut crab *kětát*. The *gamáng* *Carcinus* is also an excellent crab, as is a species called *ksúl*, which comes onto the beach at low tide in the moonlight and can then be caught.

The children like to catch the *górogur* shrimp in streams using snares (Fig. in KUB. VIII, pg. 152, and Plate XXI, Fig. 10).

Story 187b describes the examination of rocks *melógǎd a bad*.

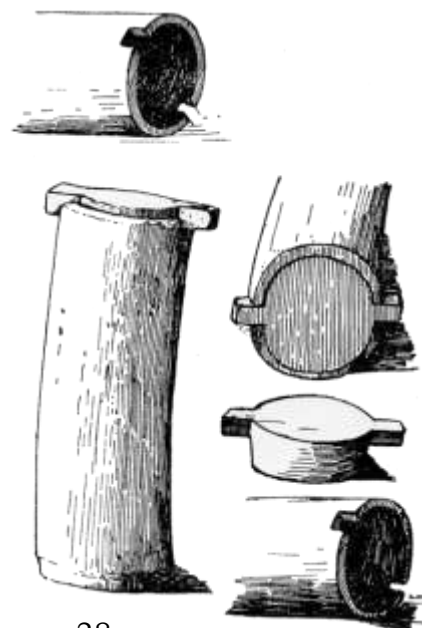


Fig. 59.

The fishing spears used are not especially noteworthy. They serve mainly to catch fish, which will now be the topic of discussion. The broom-like spear, or leister, called *táod*¹⁶⁰, also pronounced *táoěd*, is made with and without barbs (*togěd*) (Fig. 60). The natives like to throw the former at the needlefish *sekós*, which search for prey at the water's surface. For this reason, the leister is also known as *táoěd ra sekós*. They throw the smooth-tipped spear at schools of sardines, which is why it is also called *táoěd ra mēkěbúd*¹⁶¹. A spear with a forked tip is a *táoěd gerāu*, while one with teeth, like the war spears, is an *ubirīg* (HE.). The actual fishing spear *piskáng* nowadays usually has a single iron tip, often with small barbs, like the arrows. These are used for actual fish spearing (*omúrög*), and they are also the preferred item to use when poking around in the holes in the rocks, which is called *melikēlikēs*. The same word is used for cruising back and forth in a canoe in order to spear fish, while the trip from home for this purpose is simply called “poling,” *melikēs*.



They like to throw the spear especially from the bow of the canoe, at everything that crosses its path, as told in Story 103. So it is that I once saw a turtle run through with a spear. Despite the spear, it dove down repeatedly and escaped. The “spearing of rays” *rul sikhēs*¹⁶² *a goirúl*, is an especially popular sport, as Story 145 reflects and numerous *logúkl* prove. SEMP. II, pg. 85 describes a ray hunt quite vividly.

When a canoe is sitting at the jetty, ready for spearing fish, a chant is usually said. The fisherman lays the spear lengthwise on the canoe, sits down, and says:

Fig. 60.

a Júsěg mad ma Súběd reng
a Júsěg mad ke doiderékl ra kutelíng
ma Súběd reng a doiderékl ruriúl
ma ngak a doiderékl ra blú
ě ked ě melikēs, ě ked ě mo melkelikēs
*ma detóběd*¹⁶³ *ra madál a táog*
ě kau l Súběd reng a medengeli a ngikěl
*mě ke di kau lobá*¹⁶⁴ *mlai l bēdúl le ngi*
*ma Júsěg mad a mesáng mě ked ě m regēi*¹⁶⁵ *mōkódir*¹⁶⁶
*ě ked orēgěd*¹⁶⁷ *l te dongěréngěr*¹⁶⁸ *ar ngálek*

“Sharp eye” and “sharp mind”
Júsěg mad, you board at the bow
and *Súběd reng*, you board at the back,
and I, I board in the middle;
then we pole, then we pole around
and drive out to the mouth of the channel;
and you, *Súběd reng*, you know the fish
and only you, you keep the head of the canoe towards it
and look, *Júsěg mad*, we spear and kill them,
we are in a hurry, because hungry are the children.

And finally there is the diving, *oldúm* (WALL.), in which the natives excel, as do all islanders in the South Seas. KEATE, pg. 302, tells us that they often retrieve *Tridacna* clams from 6–7 fathoms of water, i.e. more than 10 m

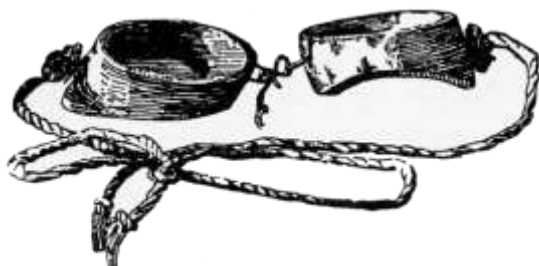


Fig. 61.

deep. It is worth noting that the white traders hired Palauans to fish for pearl oysters, and that the fishermen made their own diving goggles, fashioned after those used by the whites (Fig. 61). To do this, they cut window glass with scissors under water and grind it on stones. The goggles are also used in net fishing, when fish get stuck in the

mesh.

β) Angling *manger'rēl*

Angling is done with a line, *ker'rēl*, which is held in the hand. For the fishing pole, *bikēl*¹⁶⁹ yarn, *blad* (poss. *bldengél*), made of coconut fiber is used, 2 – 3 strands are twisted together. A small piece of elbow-shaped wood, *gěókl*¹⁷⁰ (Fig. 62), carved from mangrove wood, *rádod*, serves as a hook. This type of fishing with a fishing rod is called *beúmk*, after the fragrant coconut shavings mentioned above in the section on bathing. These are thrown into the water in the evening, because the young *kérs* fish, which eat them, get diarrhea and are then very hungry the next morning and devour the bait (tied down hermit crab tails or the *gúlad* worm). Another type of fishing with this *gěókl* is called *kitertár* and is only practiced at night. The venus clam (*gěsegúr*) is used as bait. The fish caught are *gúdōg*, *karamlál*, *besagámēl*, *mogúr*, and others. According to KUB. VIII, pg. 126, the *gěókl*, which he calls *Deléu*¹⁷¹, is also used to catch flying fish, which were already mentioned

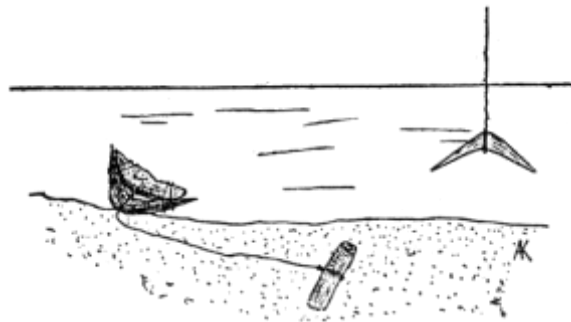


Fig. 62 Cast-and-leave fishing line.

in the discussion on shark fishing above. This is done with the *Mrer* line, which is about 15 fathoms long, consists of coconut fibers twisted about 3 mm thick, and is fastened to the end of a canoe that is sailing with a good breeze. Crab meat (*kum*, *rekúng*) serves as bait. When the canoe is sailing quickly, this is not possible¹⁷², because the only thing that can be used then for trolling hooks are lures. I cannot say whether the *deléu* is different from the *gěókl*. I heard that the *gěókl* is used only

when the canoe is at rest, for example, as a fishing line that is cast and left (Fig. 62). In this case, the line, with a float, is buried in the sand, so that only the bait is visible. The fish swallows the bait, then tires itself out, after which it can be grabbed (see *log. Bai 67^{IIIa}*). KUB. tells a similar tale of a small, straight piece of wood, which he calls *thodób* (more accurately *dódop*), which serves as a hook on a 2–3 m long line, which is tied to a float (*golúdög*) (Fig. KUB. VIII, Plate XVI, Fig. 16 and 17). This automatic fishing line is left to drift – baited, of course – and is watched.

I was told that one can practice this type of fishing only on a good sandy beach and with a sandy bottom. The fish that bite are *merírd*, *mogúr*, *a itótěg*, *kotíko*, *gesál*, etc.

Very different from this child's play is line fishing, which is men's work. For this one needs, in addition to the long *ker'rél* line made out of coconut fiber or *garamál* fibers, the fish hook *geirógěr* (poss. *giregerél*), and usually also a sinker, *gorúm*; *meliód* means to fish with a sinker from a canoe in deep water, *omedesákl* means to throw the line from shallow water into deep, *mangitertár* means to throw the line from the canoe in shallow water, to catch *gudog*, *karamlál*, *besagáměl*, etc. The hook is particularly noteworthy. I searched in vain in the earlier publications about Palau for a more detailed specification; I found an illustration of a single specimen in KEATE, Plate 2, which is almost identical to the one pictured in KUB. VIII, Plate XVII, Fig. 3. It is a horseshoe-shaped



Fig. 63.

hook, whose tip is curved sharply inwards, and it has a barb on the inside and on the outside. KUB. depicts a second one¹⁷³ (Fig. 4), but without the outer barb. They are made out of turtleshell and thus closely resemble the hooks of the Western Carolinians, such as those from Tobi¹⁷⁴, etc. They are joined by one that HE. acquired in Goikúl, which has “thorns” on the outside (Fig. 63 HE. 33). KUB. goes on to say that the *mova kersúuk* hook is baited with a piece of flying fish and fastened to the *mrenget* line made from hibiscus, which the fisherman then holds in his hand.

This is how one fishes for golden mackerel.

The situation is the same in this case as it is for the *Deléu* hook mentioned above, which, when baited, is unsuitable as a trolling rod in a fast-moving canoe, *mengetákl* (*gătákl* = WALL.: *chetákl*). Baiting with meat is superfluous at that point anyway, because at that speed the fish cannot smell or distinguish it. Besides, the greater the speed of the canoe and the clumsier the hook, the more force is exerted on the line, as I know from my own abundant experience, which makes holding it in the hand impossible for any length of time. Admittedly, MÜLLER, in his book *Yap*, Vol. 1, pg. 73, says in the case of a similar but longer hook made of bone: “The line, which is about 50 m long, is held by hand out over the stern of

the speeding canoe. A flying fish is tied as bait on the inside of the stem (not the tip of the hook).” I doubt that this happens when the canoe is moving quickly, and I must assume that the *Coryphaena*, one of the nastiest predator fish, which will even jump into the air in pursuit of flying fish, will, in its enormous gluttony, also hit a slowly moving bait that it can smell. In my opinion, this unusual type of fishing is due to the fact that the Palauans were not very familiar with or experienced in the use of lures. High seas navigation was a very limited activity for them as well, in contrast to the Central Carolinians. In Yap, MÜLLER points out that the “assembled fish hooks” on Yap, about which he has little to say, are of recent Polynesian origin. After all, they are also known as *pā* there, which is the Polynesian term for mother-of-pearl lures.

Similar lure hooks from Palau are extremely rare in collections, and we did not find any more on location. A search for illustrations of them in the literature is futile. Fortunately, the Museum of Ethnology in Leipzig has five specimens from Palau (Mi. 2733^{a, b}, 2734^{a, b}, and 2735) (see Fig. 64). These are distinguished from the Polynesian hooks by two barbs opposite one another on the inside. I am inclined to believe that it was principally this kind of hook that was used to catch the Dorado, *gersúög*, the Albacore, *tekú*, and the Bonito, which is simply called *garm* “animal,” like the decoy pigeon. But this kind of deep sea fishing was certainly practiced rarely, usually only after the flying fish had been caught for shark fishing bait and could be used to catch the *Coryphaena*, unless they resorted to the lure. Catching flying fish for food, an activity that was so important in other island groups, was apparently nonexistent on Palau! Likewise the hunt for tuna fish, the bold catching of which pervades Samoan tradition; how little one hears of it on Palau!



Fig. 64.

Even the tying of lures played a very special role in other places, and Kubary’s word for the line used to catch *gersúög* as mentioned above, *mrenget*, seems to indicate this; the word also applies to the fishing method itself and means *merénged*, “to bind.” Be that as it may, on Palau the use of the round hook *geirógěr* was preferred. The sacred, shiny hook of a *Tmëlógǫd*, with which he caught so many fish from the bridge in Galáp and even pulled out land (Story 14), surely also had this shape.

There are three other types of fishing with hand lines, used both by day and by night, that were also mentioned to me:

1. *diód*¹⁷⁵: strong line made from hibiscus fibers with a sinker, used in deep water; the *geirógěr*

hook is baited with octopus. Almost all species of fish will bite, but mostly *těmakāi*, *kedesāu*, *melangmúd*.

Recently, European lines with lead sinkers and several iron hooks have been used (KUB. VIII, Plate XVII, Fig. 1).

2. *bědēsákl*: even stronger line with no sinker, cast from the edge of the reef into the deep water. Catches all fish, including sharks.

3. *bidókl*¹⁷⁶: even stronger line than 2. Cast from the canoe at the edge of the reef outside the breakers, without a sinker. Big hook with fish bait, namely whole *ngiáog*, *geróng l bang*, etc. Catches sharks, large *těmakāi*, *máměł*, etc.

The latter, the huge wrasses, are caught in May at a Ulong on the west side. It is the sport of chiefs. The head is given to the Rub. No. I, the neck to No. II, the first vertebra to No. III, etc. They are also caught in large fish traps, where they can be kept alive for a long time (see above, pg. 64).

Line fishing, especially outside the barrier reef for flying fish (see Story 70), etc. is generally confined to the time of the west winds, when the ocean on the east coast is calm. According to KUB., shark fishing occurs at the time of the regular northeast trade winds, when driftwood is most abundant (see pg. 72).

γ) Stationary and Mobile Weir and Fish Trap Fishing, KANZEL and PARK.

The stationary fish fences made of wood, called *gabingěł*, are much more prevalent on Yap¹⁷⁷ than on Palau. Here I saw a larger structure only once, in the bay of Gólei, which Fig. 65 portrays; it was a *gabingěł ngéng*. It had three wings facing the beach, so that when the water receded at low tide the fish were guided through one of the fish trap openings to the enclosure that was situated on the ocean side. This enclosure had one door for entrance and for emptying. In the center stood a forked post onto which a person could step so that it was not necessary to step directly among the fishes, which might include Moray eels. The fence itself consisted of poles driven into the ground, between which thin canes were placed, tightly spaced, fastened with six horizontal bands, one above the other. The entire setup involved painstaking work. Kub. VIII, Plate XXI, Fig. 7 and 8 shows two schematic plans, but little else (pg. 150).

In connection with these fixed wooden structures, I should also mention the observation platform, the lookout *skokl*. This is erected either on a tree or in the open water. From it, the fishermen can observe the movements of the fish and other animals and can exert some influence on them, as W. MÜLLER reports from Yap and Story 14 explains.

The fish weirs built from stone are called *peng*, the enclosure *a ilalík*. The end of Story 8 tells how a Galid in the form of a *mangerengér* sea snake invented stone weirs when he lay down on the reef in the

shape of one. It is also told that until this day, whenever a new enclosure is dedicated, six coconuts are laid inside

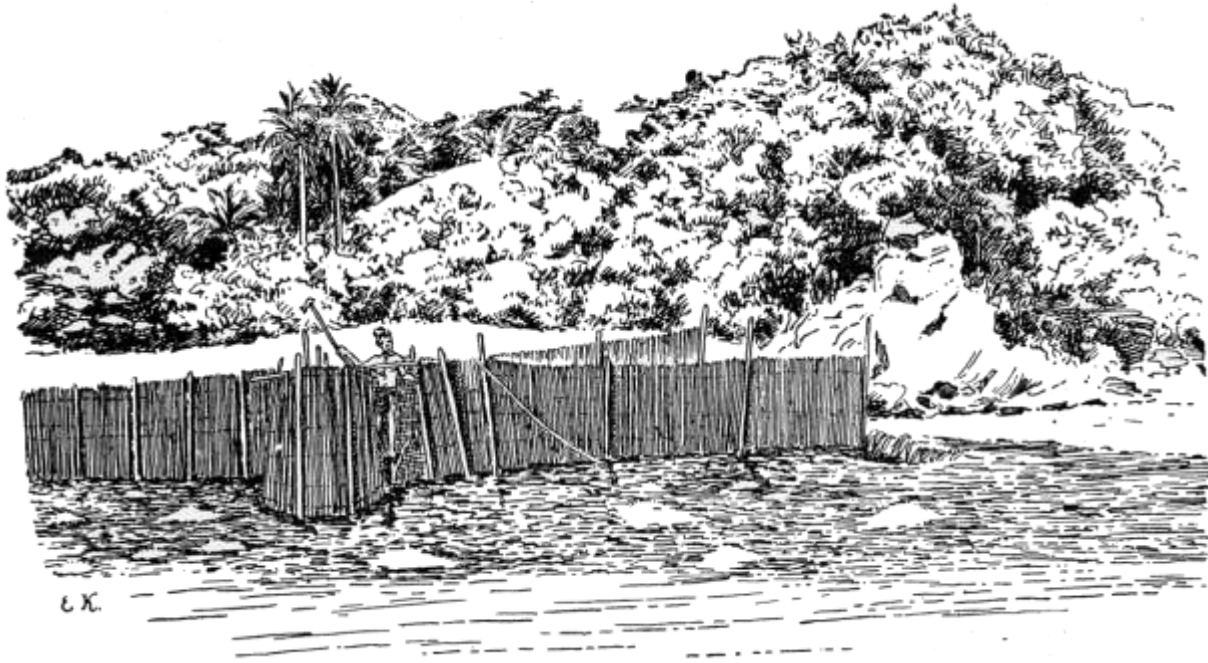


Fig. 65 Fish fence in Gólei at low tide.

for that Galid and for one other by the name of Rokieĩ (see the black dots in Fig. 66a). In reality, the reason for this is often to attract fish. The *peng* are shaped like arrowheads, with part of the shaft driving in the fish. There are also simple funnels (Fig. 66b), however, whose exit is closed off with a fish basket or a net. These funnels may be facing the ocean or the land, depending on whether they are meant for the incoming or the outgoing tide (see Story 71). The two stone fish traps of Ngaremeténgēl in Story 137 are fantastic.

Another stone structure for fish should be mentioned here: the fish park *gongriúr*. These are usually next to jetties. The walls are loose piles of stones through which the tidewater can flow in and out. In Vol. 2, pg. 26, Map 1^d in Ngarabāu shows such an annex; there is also a very impressive one in Goréôr at the Ngarekamāis bridge (Map 26^a). See also Story 215, in which a Galid uses magic to acquire fish that he can put in his pond alive.

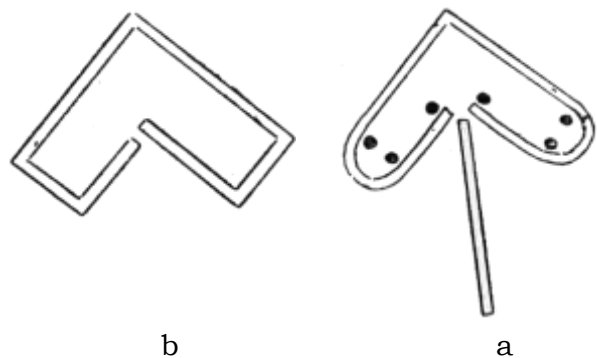


Fig. 66.

The portable fish baskets *bub*¹⁷⁸ (poss. *bngél*)

have numerous different shapes. KUB. VIII, pg. 140–148, writes so much about them, that I shall be content just to list them, especially since I had models made of almost all types. These are in Hamburg, and illustrations of them are included here¹⁷⁹. KUB. VIII shows only a few, in Plates XIX–XXI; he calls the *Galíd* of fish traps Kedhúl.

These baskets are usually made from ordinary reeds or canes, *lild*, but especially from bamboo, either whole or split. Used as binding are the vines *kerángěl* or *karángěl*¹⁸⁰, or the *gogáol*, which is strong, or the coconut string *ker'rél*.

The bottom is called *nglávěs* (Kub. *ngláos*)¹⁸¹. The thicker, crosswise bottom pieces are called *goreál*, those running lengthwise *gomeklevíťěl*¹⁸².

The entrance is called *oumád*¹⁸³, the front *madál a bub*, the top part *klebú*.

A hook with a stone attached as a sinker, known as *petkouí*, is used to lift the baskets (Fig. 67).

A series of yarn games, No. 75a–e, by RAYMUND, pg. 58–59, describes the weaving of a fish basket; for details refer to KUB.

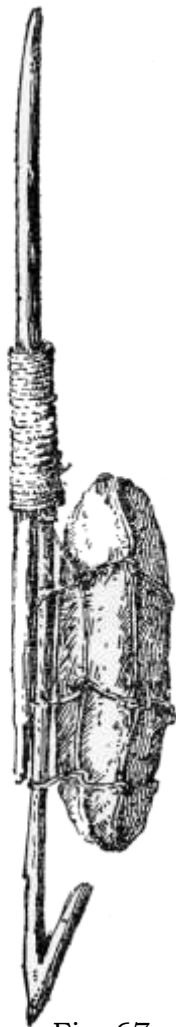


Fig. 67

Fish trap lifter.

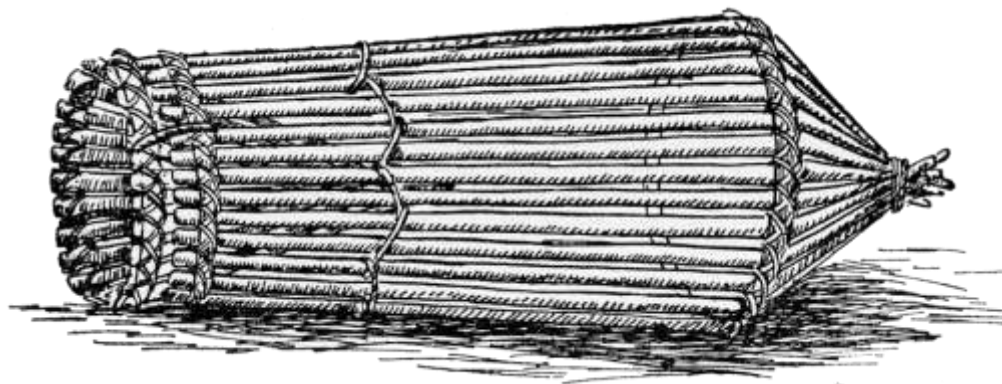


Fig. 68 (see pg. 84).

The fish traps are often baited. If a *Pandanus* fruit is caught in the net, this is placed in the fish trap to bring good luck.

The fish baskets are divided into two main types:

*delebóngěl*¹⁸⁴ vertical front side with no projections, as if “cut off” (from *melep*, “to cut off”). Roof domed¹⁸⁵, like a cylinder cut in half. This type is represented in Fig. 69, and it includes: *gis*, *goublálang*, *sop*, *kleol’l*, *tageiól*, *bub l komúd*, *a iléngěl gapsáděl* rounded, asymmetrical, and with protrusions (*ungelél*, from *uíngěl*, tooth). This type is represented in Fig. 74: *but l lūt*, *telegid ungelél*, *gotendél a béáp*, *bad*, *autangáol*, *bub l dég*.

Adjectives are:

ritěg low roofed

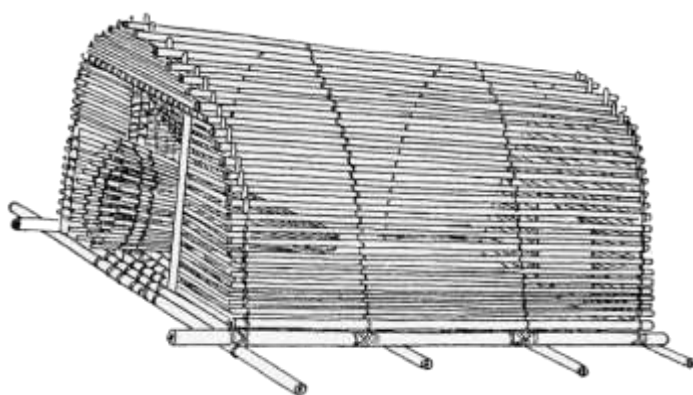


Fig. 69.

The different types of fish baskets are:

a) *delebóngěl*, opening *gis* (Fig. 69).

b) *tageiól* (KUB. *Taheyól*, WALL: *techeiól*) (3743^{II}, Fig. 70); sometimes over 3 m long or high. According to KUB., pg. 145, it cannot be lifted into the canoe, so it has a door on top through which the diver climbs and spears the fish caught inside. The opening is made from 2 cm thick peeled *garítm* branches and allows large *temakāi*, *kemedúkl*, *máměł*, and even turtles to enter.

ksékl small, suited only for shallow water to catch small grouper (*Serranus*), surgeon fish (*Acanthurus*), Julis, etc. (Fig. 68)

dăgál (WALL.; *decháll*) covered with stones, from *delágěl* “stone cover” (KUB.: *Dhaláy*, used in 10–15 fathoms; a coconut on a rope as a float) *blsépēs* tied to the land with lines (KUB.: *Belsébes*, swimming freely in the water) *galbitěl* old baskets that can no longer carry stones, used in deep water *berápěr* round in the back



Fig. 70.

c) *sop* (see house); opening *umád l pelú lagáp* “fish trap from Yap;” the entire thing is like two grand pianos joined at their straight sides, in the shape of a hammer.

d) *bub l kómud* (KUB. *Bub el kamuth*) “basket of the *kómud*,” a species of rudder fish.

According to KUB., pg. 145, it is flat on top and up to 3 m long, 2.5 m wide, and 2 m high. The bottom is made out of *bangarungúičs* flagellaria stalks, the sides are made out of *ráod* mangrove roots tied together with coconut string, and the lid is made out of *gabelúdēs* wood bound with *gogáol*. The basket is sunk with stones in 10 fathoms of water, and seaweed is hung inside. It is lifted with a hook (Fig. 67).

e) *ailéngēl* cylindrical, with an opening on one side, like a cylindrical wooden bowl. This also includes a small hand-held fish trap made of bamboo sticks, which is apparently used to catch octopuses; it floats and is baited (Fig. 68).

f) *a utangáol* (KUB.: *Anthangáol*) square (3752^{II} Fig. 71), with a “post” *útang* at each corner and also on the sides. According to KUB., this is the origin of the generic term used for all similar baskets with posts.

g) *telebér*, opening *siu l ngarek* (3750^{II} 3744^{II} Fig. 72^{a and b}). KUB. pg. 144: “In all fish traps that have a domed top, the split bamboo canes lie lengthwise, but in the *Telebér Bub*, the opposite is true, with the weaving running lengthwise. In this type of fish trap, the *oumáth* may take on various shapes, although usually the *mathalgis* is used.”

h) *gotengdél a béap* (3748^{II} Fig. 73^{a and b}); *túngd* fish bones or spines, *béap* rat. The opening is called *uldárs* (illustration of the opening KUB. VIII, Plate 19²), and the upper two main fish trap sticks are bent down to the floor in the back.

i) *gapsádēl* (KUB. *Kapsádhal*), opening *delebákl’loug* “stomach of the stonefish (*Synanceia*)” (3748^{II} and 3749^{II}, Fig. 74) round on top, slopes steeply in front, then turns into a step, both protrusions rounded in the front.

k) *telegíd ungelél* (KUB.: *Telhith ungelél*) a “finger’s width its protrusion” (3747^{II}, Fig. 75); one of them, you see, is rounded and protruding, while the other is cut off and short.

l) *but l lūt* (3745^{II}, Fig. 76) round, like the “rear of an octopus,” which it uses to swim backwards.

m) *bad* “stone,” round like a hat box (3751^{II}, Fig. 77). KUB. pg. 141: Fish traps called “*Path*” have a rounder shape that is more cut off in front, and the “*Gawir*” are completely round, like a circle. — Fig. KUB. VIII, Plate 21⁴ *Path*. KUB. pg. 148: The *Gawir* fish trap is evenly woven from split *lilt* reeds, small in size, flatly rounded, and with openings at the center on the top and bottom. It is used only by boys for catching small coral fish. This fish trap is set up between coral heads and retrieved after a short while, with the two openings being held closed by hand during retrieval.

n) *kleól’l* (3753^{II}, Fig. 78) (KUB.: *Kleol*; Plate XXI, Fig. 1, 2, 3; opening *Teluó ráod*, bottle-shaped).



Fig. 71.

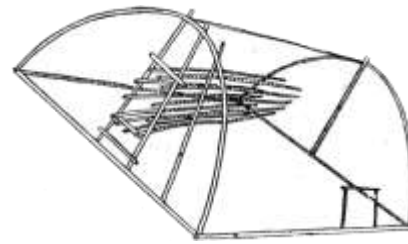


Fig. 72a.



Fig. 72b.



Fig. 73a.

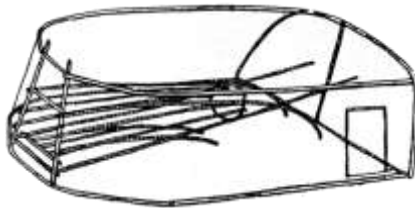


Fig. 73b.

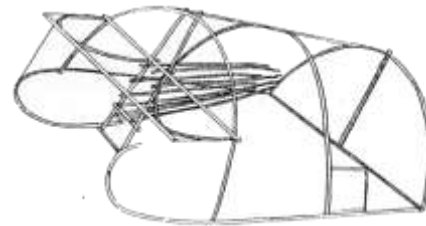


Fig. 74.



Fig. 75.



Fig. 76.

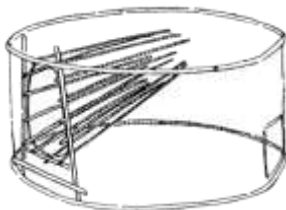


Fig. 77.

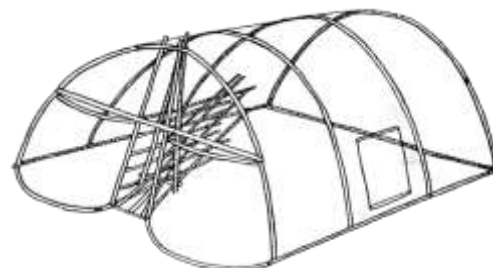


Fig. 78.

o) *goublálang* (KUB. pg. 147 *blálang*, Plate XX, Fig. 12 and 13), opening *siu l ngarek* “teeth” protruding far, with a long passageway.

p) *bub r gamáng* (KUB.: *Bub er Kamáng*, Plate XX, Fig. 1), opening in the floor.

The use of *rūl* lines when fishing with fish traps and nets.

Fish traps are not simply set afloat and left to catch fish by themselves; instead, attempts are made to fill them by driving fish into them. The best-known form of catching fish in this manner is called *kesókēs* (see Story 8 and *Ngirakesókēs Bai* 80). For this one needs long nets called *rūl*, which are made of coconut leaves, to close off parts of the lagoon. Coconut fronds are cut and split lengthwise (*meltakákl*), then twisted together with a line of



Fig. 79 Fish traps on a raft in Keklaū.

kebēas vines. Two sticks called *uldekól* are driven into the ground, which is swept clean around them. The following words are spoken as the sticks are driven into the ground:

Gobilbērēu¹⁸⁶ *ak ultúruk rekāu a melamákl aikál uldekól!*

Gobilbērēu I beg to you to take this stick!

Then the two double vine ropes are fastened to the sticks, twisted together with the coconut fronds, and laid down after the twisting; they are now called *rul*. Then the *golegútēl* raft is tied together. Afterwards, one lays a roasted *ulogóug* coconut between the two sticks and says:

Gobilbērēu, *kau ma Sagálageīma Kereómēl*

Gobilbērēu, you and Sagálageī and Kereómēl

tía kelíu mē mongáng, ě bo re golegutēl a ked ě mo ra gēi!

this your food, to eat, go to the raft we to the fishing grounds.

The *rūl* lines are then loaded onto the raft and driven out onto the water.

A different raft carries out the two fish baskets (Fig. 79), a larger, square one,

mostly called *gabíngěl*¹⁸⁷, and a smaller, rounded one by the name of *semáel*. They are laid out one behind the other on the reef, so that they are completely covered at mid-tide, and connected with a fish trap tube (Fig. 80^a). Starting at the opening of the larger basket, which is in front, a fish fence¹⁸⁸ several paces long on either side (as wings) is constructed of sticks from the *tebĕgĕl* mangrove. The two *rul* lines are then tied to these wings, extended, and closed to form a circle. Narrowing the circle and beating on the water with sticks, the natives drive the fish into the funnel, and from the funnel into the baskets. On May 29, 1910, I participated in such a catch in Keklau. I stood inside the *rul* circle, up to my stomach in water, and was surrounded by furious needlefish, which usually are greatly feared, because they can impale people. The plentiful catch also included mullets and several *lung*.

One of the fish that is caught is laid next to the *ulogóug* nut with the words: *tia keliu* “this your food!”

After one or two months, when the fishing season is over, the three Galid are asked to leave again:

ked ě merekól ngara gĕi ma ko mo ra sel
blimíu l

we are finished on the fishing grounds and you go after this your house of the
petáot me kom ngarengí ě di merék mo kikó kuláe,
ocean floor, and you stay there and only (when I will) maybe one day turn

re kemíu ě kom kuk mei!
to you, you then come!

I also participated in a type of fishing called *gomelágĕl* on May 26, 1910 in Ngarsúl. In this case, the fronds of the mountain palm *dĕmáilei* were separated from the center spine in such a way that they were still connected by a thin strip; this was wound around a *kebĕás* vine rope in corkscrew fashion. The two *rúl* lines were fastened to the two wings of the net at outgoing mid-tide and extended towards land. The net – in this case, no fish baskets were used – was set up on stakes, so that it formed a circle¹⁸⁹;

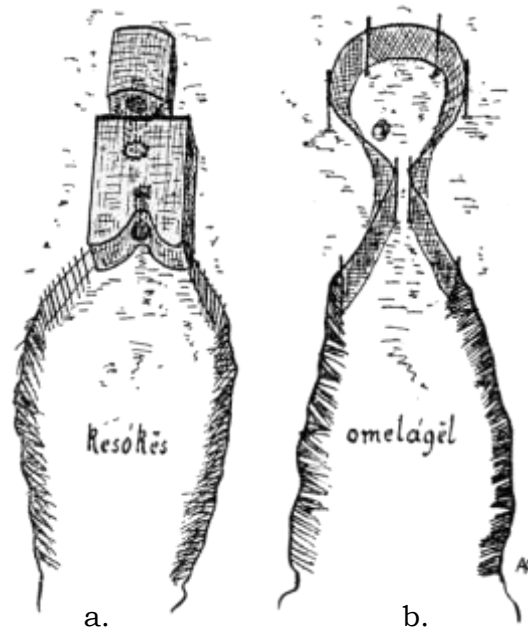


Fig. 69.

the two wings extended from the narrow neck (Fig. 80^b). As the tide goes out, the fish collect in the net pocket, but they must be secured fairly quickly. The *gomelágěl* net with *rŭl* lines can also be left to work by itself, as can an *oát*, a ring of *rŭl* lines that are left standing until low tide; the fish are then speared or scooped out with *deráu* nets (Fig. 81). Fishing with *titókl* nets is similar (KUB. Plate XVIII Fig. 6), except that a square net pocket is set up on stakes. It is “made of strong hibiscus fiber and has a mesh that is barely 1 cm wide. It is flat, pocket-shaped, with triangular sides and a wide, square, elongated opening. Meant for small species of emperors (*Lethrinus*).” Fishing with the *gosél*¹⁹⁰ (KUB. pg. 137 *Kosel*, Plate XVIII Fig. 5) is just the same, except that instead of the stake net, a round net pocket without stakes is fastened to the ground using two lines, in the shape shown in He. 1058, and there are floats instead of the hoop. The net is made of *goségěd* fibers. Fishing with the *derék* net (for details, see below, pg. 93) is done using loose nets and *rŭl*; of course, one must then also use a hand net (see below) or spears. Fishing with *rŭl* lines is generally called *mangesókěs*. *Rŭl* lines may also be used by themselves, to surround fish. This method is most successful with the unicorn fish (*Naseus*) *gum*, which it is also called *mangesókěs a gum*, or *sebú*. The fish that are driven together this way are either speared or poisoned in the holes in the reef (KUB. VIII, pg. 135).

δ) Net Fishing Without *rul* Lines

The *vúkěd* nets are divided into those with frames and those without frames. The former are either hand nets with or without handles, or nets on lines. The latter are set up on *tebéğěl* stakes, or held at the water’s surface with “floats” (see below).

The frame is usually made of the wood of the *gabelúděs*, *bungaruáu*, *garítm* (see pg. 90), etc., accompanied by bamboo sticks.

The nets are woven, *melikěd*, using the netting stick *gósu*. The materials used are the fibers of the *garamál* hibiscus, of the *lulk* and *gosékěd* figs, of the *gar* seaweed, of *kemókōm*, and coconut husk fiber.

The floats, *golúdōg*, are usually made of lightweight *garamál* wood. Sinkers, *gorúmk* or *běrák* (Bai 52, II^a), are usually coral rocks (see fish baskets). Large net catch in a sack, *put*. The most important hand net is called *deráu* (poss. *derúl*) (Bai 72 II^a):

Instructions for making this net came from heaven, as Story 10 relates. Young branches of the *garamál* hibiscus, having been soaked in saltwater for some time, form the frame. Other trees used for this are named below. The nets are used in pairs: a man holds one in his right hand and one in his left, and several fishermen encircle the catch (Fig. 81). If someone scoops with one, another

can use one to catch the fish in the air. Alternatively, one can beat the fish dead on his knee and string it on a line. Fishing proceeds as follows: When a new club is formed and moves into a small Bai, the members usually decide

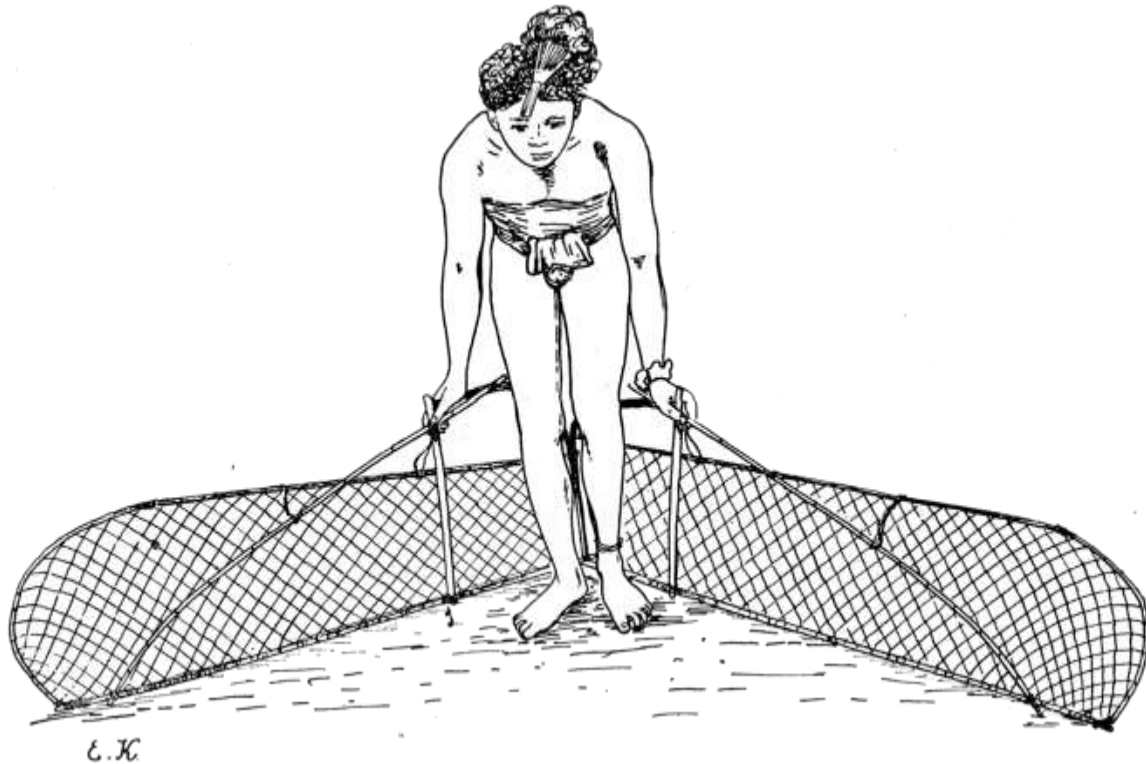


Fig. 81 A fisherman with two *deraū* nets.

to set out for *deraū* fishing. They form a group for this, which is known as *blëgëdókl*. They meet and discuss the width of the netting stick to be used by all. Then *garamál* fibers are produced for weaving the nets. When they are ready, the frame is prepared. At that point, the nets are attached to the frame; this process is known as *melúgës*. When all of the preparations are complete, they select the middle of an afternoon at low tide. The fishermen paint themselves with turmeric yellow and put on new *úsakër* (pg. 2); then, one after another, they go down to their side's lagoon, where one man has a roasted *ulogóug* nut ready. They form a circle around him, and he smashes the nut after saying a chant. Then he breaks off bits and tosses them into the air. The fishermen catch them with their nets and then run out on the reef. When the leader calls *bo re mél* "go into the center," they form a circle and put the nets into the water, one next to the other. When a fish appears, they watch to see whose net it goes into; this fish is not welcome, because it is seen as a bad omen. Once the first fish has been caught, they all wash and

put on ornaments. The fish is hung on a bamboo pole, and two fishermen carry it to the village god to report that this is the first fish caught, and to request that he eat it. Then everyone goes home. The actual fishing begins the following day. They generally fish at night, at low tide. They form a circle around a rock or a pile of rocks, and then someone in the middle turns them over, causing the fish to flee and rush into the nets. This turning over of stones is called *omkáis*, and this type of fishing is accordingly called *pkáis*. Usually, a man prepares the nets the evening before and hangs them on the back side of the house. When they are needed, he takes them down and says:

Gobildēiak ultúruk re kau ě ak melái aikal deráu
 Gobildēi I beg to you I bring this net
 I mo omkáis ě te kmál songeréngěr arngálek
 to turn over rocks they are very hungry the children
 ma derir rēGobagádme tuldurėgák¹⁹¹ I kmu:
 and their mother Gobagád they send me saying:
 bomsbēdi¹⁹² Gobildép ě bo ra gēi
 notify Gobildép (I) go to the fishing grounds!

Then he takes the nets, goes to the channel, sits down on the dock and says:

Jegád I klemadáol¹⁹³ ke subedí a Sagálagei
 Jegád I klemadáol tell him a Sagálagei
 tía Ngētepeláu¹⁹⁴ I mo omkáis r tía lē gēi
 this Ngētepeláu will fish on these fishing grounds,
 me ke medengelí me ke mekír a bangg¹⁹⁵
 that you know it and you prevent bites
 ma bek I tamàl¹⁹⁶.
 and all damage!

Then the fishing begins.

The frame of the net consists of the handle, *segúdēl*¹⁹⁷, a forked branch of the *gabelūdēs* or *bungaruáu* tree, bent into the shape of a horseshoe (Fig. 82). Two bamboo sticks are tied to this handle, the upper, slanted one, is called *a rtkókl*¹⁹⁸, the lower straight one, which is tied to the ends of the horseshoe, is called *segól*¹⁹⁹. At the point where the two intersect, a switch out of *garítm* wood is attached and bent upwards into a semi-circle;

it is called *botk*²⁰⁰. Strings called *utogótěg*²⁰¹ run from the base of the *botk* and from its tip, respectively, parallel to the *segól'l*, and back to the outer *segúděl*. The net, which has a pouch-like depression in the curve of the *botk*, hangs in this. Since there is only one string on top, this is lashed to the upper part of the *rtkókl* by means of a knot, which is called *geidáděb*²⁰².

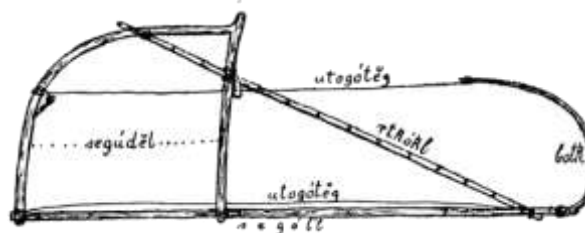


Fig. 82.

WALL. uses the following terms: *chologukl*, wooden base at the edge of fishing nets,

chongedáol, fine-meshed fishing net

rmechákl, type of fishing net.

In KUB., Plate XVII, Fig. 9, a sardine net *deráu a měkěbúd* is also depicted. It is similarly constructed, but has a more rigid shape, because the *utogótěg* strings are replaced with sticks. The net itself consists of thin coconut strings. Fig. 8 in that same section depicts a hand net called *thogón*, which has a similar, but somewhat simplified, shape.

Round Nets (see Bai 35^{IVb}).

With a non-movable handle: *mangidáp* (KUB. Plate XVIII, Fig. 2), used for hauling out flying fish, see above pg. 72. Made of hibiscus fiber, barely twisted, fine as a spider's web. Mesh 3 cm.

With a non-movable handle: *thěrákl* (KUB. *n. 'tkarákl*), used as a scoop at the opening of a stone fish trap, *gongiól*, like the round "pile of leaves of the Megapode (incubator bird);" a larger kind for catching mullets, see below (KUB. Plate XVIII, Fig. 7).

With a short handle: *goeáu* (KUB. *Oyán*, Plate XVIII, Fig. 3 and 3^a), used to pull out large fish traps, etc. The hand holds the handle and the net at the same time; when let go, the net slides down the hoop and closes.

Without a handle: *tageier* (KUB. Plate XVIII, Fig. 9), made from coconut fiber (HE. 1111, 1110, 1112, 1058). *gělep* or *golgědág* (KUB. XVIII, Fig. 8), auxiliary net for catching mullets, made of *gosěkěd* fibers (KUB. VIII, pg. 138); opening at the bottom for emptying the fish out into the canoe (see pg. 93).

kual or *klual* small, used by children and elderly to catch crabs.

Without a handle, hanging loose in the water on a line: *kval ra ngoáoł* "bowl of the deep sea." According to KUB. (Plate XVII, Fig. 12), the net has a 4 cm mesh and is made of *lulk* fibers. A hoop made of *gabelúděs* wood is suspended on three *nggul* strings. From the knot, a line with sinker stones hangs down to below the net. Usually, there is a fish (*kesáko*, also *rekúug* shrimp, etc. KR.) above the net, *blil a vávěł*, "the house of bait." Only the *tungg a ngoáoł*, a species of triggerfish that hangs out under driftwood, will bite, but some other smaller fish may also bite.

Without a handle, resting on the bottom attached to a line: The *kval a gamáng* “shell of the *Carcinus*” (KUB., Plate XVIII, Fig. 1), the net has a 5–6 cm mesh and is made out of hibiscus fibers. “In addition to the three strings that attach it to the hoop, there are two others that run up and intersect the bait string. This net is used to catch crabs (Lupa). It is sunk to the bottom of the shallow water of the mangrove forests, its hoop weighted with two stones. The hoisting line is fastened to the end of a reed that is stuck into the shore bottom at a bit of an angle. As soon as the crab touches the bait, which consists of chopped coconut, the reed begins to shake, and the net is quickly pulled up by the line.”

Triangular Nets.

With a short handle: *aikurs*²⁰³ (KUB.: *Aygurus*, Plate XVII, Fig. 11), Bai 72 II^a, net made out of hibiscus fiber, 3 cm mesh. A fork at the handle, elevated by a vertical curved piece, from the top of which two bamboo sticks extend to the tips of the fork. The resulting space is similar to the heel space in a shoe – but without a bottom – because the net is attached only at the upper and lower prongs of the fork; the sack hangs between them. This net is used at night, at *vet* depth (see above, pg. 74), i.e. knee-high water, where *měás*, *klsebūl*, *kesú*, *gúdōg*, etc. are found. It is pushed forward along the ground, and pulled up by the curved piece. This type of “sled net” from Yap is depicted in W. MÜLLER Yap Vol. 1, Plate 25, Fig. 6.

With a long handle: *sigéro*, for catching flying foxes, see above, pg. 65.

Instead of using the triangular nets to catch mullets as on Samoa, on Palau one uses the rounded *gonigól* mentioned above.

Nets Without Frames.

berdák (KUB., pg. 136 and Plate XVIII, Fig. 4) was already mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 112; it is derived from the hand nets. The small, barely 2 m long net has wooden sticks on the narrow sides, which are only 40 cm high. “One of these has a small hole, in which a short stick is inserted and fastened, to serve the fisherman as a handle. He holds one end of the net in his left hand, using a short string that is tied to the handle, and spreads the net around a rock using the stick held between the thumb and index finger of the same hand. He then lifts the rock with his right hand and catches the fleeing fish with the net.” Floats and sinkers; *gosěkěd* fibers, 15 mm mesh.

derék (KUB.: *Dhérek*, pg. 136), similar to the previous one with sticks on the sides, but made from bamboo, and without floats or sinkers. The net is made from *garamál* fibers, is up to 1 m tall and at most 10 m long. The size of the mesh varies depending on the fish to be caught, but is usually about 2 cm. If the net is to be used to catch *gal'lebesói*, coral fish, it is narrower, but for graylings, it is wider, more than 3 cm. This type of fishing is called *ěběd*²⁰⁴ (KUB. *ebet*), in contrast

to *metiláp* fishing, which is still to be discussed. “To use it, a fisherman takes one end of the net in each hand, so that three men spread two nets. In the other, free hand, each of the two wing men hold the end of a *Rūl*, whose other ends are handled, in turn, by two other fishermen. The fish surrounded by the *Rūl* crowd up against the *Dhérek* net (see pg. 88), which is held at an angle. As soon as a few fish are caught, the net is lifted, and the catch goes into the *Tahiir* nets, which are always held ready (see farther down, Plate XVIII, Fig. 9).”

The *metiláp*, fishing for grayling, *kělát*, is a highlight in the lives of the fishermen. It requires a particularly long net, which is also called *metiláp*; according to KUB. VIII, pg. 137, 80 m long and 2.5 m deep, coconut string that is 2–3 mm thick, 3.5 cm wide mesh (see also the *sap* that follows). Circular placement around a school of fish and gradual narrowing. As the mullets can jump over the net, catching on the outer edge is done not with triangular nets as on Samoa, but with round hand nets *gongiól*²⁰⁵. These have a diameter of 1–2 m and are made from the sheaths at the base of coconut leaves, *tageiěr*. The smaller *gělep*²⁰⁶, whose hoop is fastened to the upper edge of the *metiláp* net, serves as an aid. “The latter is lowered somewhat, and the fish rush out and into the net mentioned above, whose pointed end is open and can be pulled open and closed with a string. This end is now guided into the vessel, and the fish are emptied out of the Kélep into the canoe.”

In Story 60, this kind of fishing and an incident that happened during it are vividly described.

Another one is the *sap* net (KUB. pg. 135); it is woven out of *gar* seaweed, 2–3 cm mesh, Fig. Bai 72 II^a, square, 2 m high and up to 60 m long, float on top and sinker on bottom. This is produced mainly in *a* Gol and Ngrīl. The price is one *kluk*. *samsámk* is the term for setting up the net at low tide on the edge of the reef flat. Two men pick up the end pieces and throw stones into the shallow water (see Story 88^c).

a *iluái* or *mangidáp*, also known as *a ingerú*²⁰⁷ in Ngarbagéd, is very precious, because for the *měkěbud* sardines the mesh may not exceed 1.5 cm, with the length of the sides being 8 m. The weaving material is *gar* seaweed, as for the preceding net. Because of this, the price, according to KUB. pg. 138, is one *galebúgěp* and can only be afforded by high-ranking Rubak. This provides them with a steady source of income, “because the chief divides the catch into baskets and sends them to the different families, whose heads must pay for them.” For this kind of fishing, two or four frames, each constructed out of three poles, are set up around the fishing ground. One man stands on each frame, holding a corner of the net on a short line, while the net itself rests on the bottom. Next, the schools of sardines are driven over the net using long canes, then the net is quickly lifted. Nothing is known about deep sea fishing; on Yap the net is hoisted up on bamboo poles while the fishermen stand on the canoe and use

poles to keep themselves at a distance (W. MÜLLER Yap, Vol. 1, pg. 89). On Yap, this method of fishing and fishing for flying fish are much more developed and linked to more social conventions.

otirél a garm (not mentioned by KUB.); a large net made from coconut yarn is called *garm*, because when it is cast, the “birds” gather to grab the catch. Every man weaves one strip of it. Used to catch *goroviděl*, *súi*, *desúi*, *eáp*, *eáus*.

Encirclement in shallow water, where seagulls dive; two canoes drive the fish (*merík*: sweep, *gorík*: broom), two canoes handle the net.

direkórk (KUB.: *Dirgórok*, WALL.: *diregórog*) (illustration see A.B. MEYER 1881, Plate 5, Row 3) very large nets made of coconut string that is 3 mm thick or *kemókom* vines (Story 39), “in whose preparation the whole community participates.” For *mesekūk* and *Dugong*. The net consists of two halves *tědóbog*²⁰⁸ (KUB.: *Tedóbok*), each over 40 m long and 2 1/2 m deep.

“Each half in turn consists of several parts (*Bitañ*), their number depends on the number of chiefs of the community participating. The individual *Bitañs* are tied together with strings, and each half is stowed on a separate vessel.” Not many of these nets exist: one in *a Irai*, one in Ngarbagéd, one in Ngarmid, and one in Goréör, where it is stored in the Săgămus canoe house. It is used to catch the *mesekūk*, surgeon fish and the parrot fish *kěmědukl*, which often enter the net in schools of up to 500²⁰⁹. On June 26, 1910, I participated in this type of fishing in Malágal Harbor. The Ngaraderúdem club went there with six canoes. Two of them were carrying the two halves of the net; two others were used to extend the nets at the edge of the deep water. Then two canoes drove the schools from the shallow water into the nets. The catch on that day was only about a dozen *mesekūk*.

KUB. also mentions that groups of *rul* are closed off and speared in this way, but I did not hear anything about it myself.

*měráměš*²¹⁰ (KUB. *Maramas*, net 30–40m long, 4–5 m deep, 25–30 cm mesh, 3 mm strong coconut yarn) for catching turtles *a uél* (see Bai 145 III^b). These are highly prized by the chiefs. The chest muscles, *buklemél*, and the hind legs, *omeduátl*, which they like to eat with coconut milk, are distributed. On May 10, 1910, I was present when such a meal was prepared in the Meril *Blai*: The animal, which was still alive, first had to be killed. It was pressed up vertically against the stone wall of the *gólbed* by two men; one of them held back the right front flipper, while the other one pulled back the head, so that the throat was exposed; a third man then delivered seven powerful blows to the underside of the neck with a stick. Hot water was poured over the dead animal, and the turtle shell was detached

with a knife. Four posts were then driven into the ground, and the turtle was laid upon them on its back. A fifth post was used as a support under the head, so that it would not hang down. In this manner, it is possible to cook the animal in its shell, with a windbreak to shield the fire (Plate 15⁴). When the roast is done, the abdominal plate is removed and laid out on a mat in the Blai for the family to admire (see below, pg. 99).

biteptókl (KUB.: *Biteptákl*), the largest of the nets, used to catch the dugong, *mesekíu*. It has ropes that are thick as fingers, 60 m long, 5 m deep, with large floats and sinkers; usually belongs to a club that is allowed to catch dugong, see privileges in Vol. 2, according to KUB. VIII, pg. 176; pg. 177 distribution according to rank is as described above on pg. 64, 80 and purchase. First the animal is killed, *olongemetél a rengúl a mesekíu*, with a stab through the heart. Then it is blown on with betelnut spit, cut up, etc. Much was already mentioned above on pg. 23. Story 39 tells a lovely tale.

c) Culinary Skills.

The acquisition of fire: Story 17^a tells how Tipětíp akmiěg saw two trees rubbing together in the wind on the Island of Ngaregúr; smoke rose from them, and sparks flew. She laid her taro into the embers, and when she took it out, it was roasted and tasted delicious. She soon tried the same thing with dry twigs of *galuaîs* and *gosékěd*, by laying one piece down and putting the other one on top of it and twirling it until the sawdust ignited, then blowing and adding kindling until flames appeared. This widespread method of making fire by twirling, rubbing fire (*nggóngög*), is women's work, the men usually prefer friction; on Palau, however, even they eventually resort to twirling (see Story 156).

From a cultural history perspective, friction of trees being the origin of fire has great importance. However, I must add that on Palau there is also a pale version of the legend of the fire bird; Story 19 relates that the rail *terīd* received a blow to the head with a piece of wood from the Galid Gobagád, who hit it in anger, leaving a red mark. The Galid requested a spark from this fire so that he could start one himself, and then he killed the bird. This interpretation is just a legend, however.

Gathering.

Gathering firewood²¹¹ *omngár a idúngěl* is women's work; especially when celebrations are approaching, many go into the jungle and come back with large bundles on their heads. Dropping it with a lot of noise, which is considered a bad habit in many places, is scorned here, as well; at a minimum, one must say the following to apologize: *moedí a idúngěl*, otherwise ill fortune will follow, as shown in Story 30.

Utensils: Every well-to-do Blai has a cook house *vúm*²¹² (poss. *umăngél*), usually located to the left of it; formerly they were a privilege of the high chiefs (see Vol. 2, pgs. 89 and 233; Plate 5⁴, Plate 9², Plate 10³, Plate 12^{2and 3}). Inside, there is usually one section that is

raised on bamboo poles (cf. Story 6); on the earthen floor is the fireplace *gap*²¹³ (poss. *gěbúl*). There is another hearth in the Blai itself, but there it is built to the same level as the floor of the house. There are three stones *a ingúkl* in the hearth that serve as a base for

the pot, in which taro and fish, the main daily diet, are cooked (see *log* and pg. 45). The Polynesian earthen pit with hot stones is not used here, although the words *klum* and *múngum* bring to mind a similar type of cooking. There is one utensil necessary for taro cooking: the taro skewer *súmēs* (Fig. 83), which can be up to 128cm long and is used to test doneness and to take out the taro. It is a stick that is sharpened to a gradually tapered point, which is well-suited as a murder weapon (see Story 169). Otherwise, there is a tool for impaling things, called *táod* (poss. *todél*), which is similar to our fork (see Fishing Spear, pg. 76). To pick up hot things, compass-shaped tongs called

gogádu (Fig. 84), made of bamboo or coconut leaf stalk, are used. For grating coconut, the seal-shaped coconut grater *gongés*²¹⁵ or *gongsīl* is used, which is really rather plain (Fig. 85 HE.). For a quite a while already, this type of grater has sported an iron blade (*belébel* HE. 851) instead of the *kikói* = shell. The gratings *kless*²¹⁵ are wrapped in a



Fig. 85. Coconut grater.

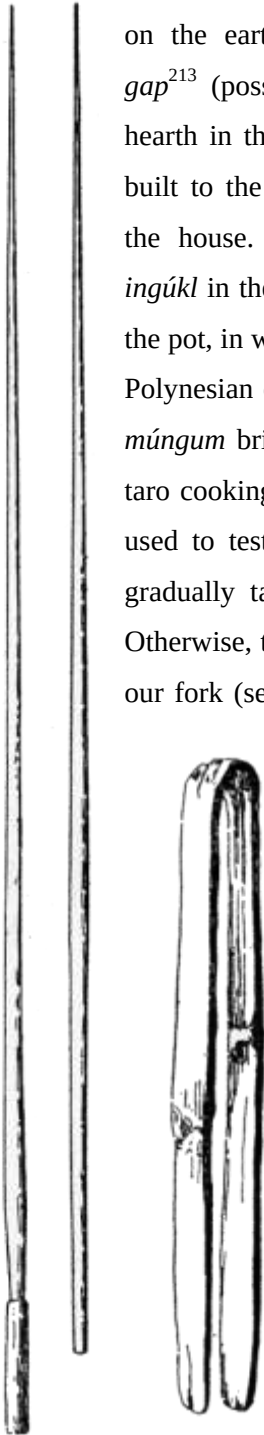


Fig. 83.

Taro skewers.

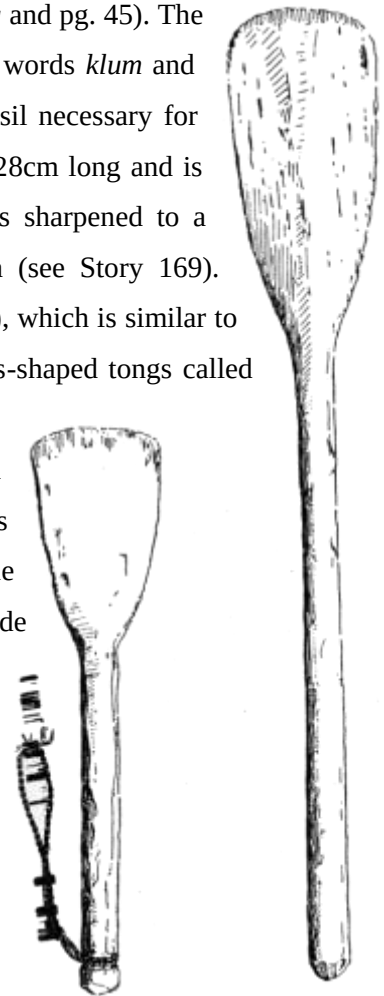


Fig. 86. Mixing spoons.

Fig. 84.
Tongs.

coconut leaf sheath *tageiër* (see pg. 100), then pressed out by hand. The expressed milk *dísěg* drains into a wooden container called *gologasákl* (from *melegěšěg* to express). In earlier days, taro was also grated on the *gongsīl*. The *utóug* hook is used to pick breadfruit, etc. Plates and bowls are used to present meals, as shown in Plate 15³. Details about them on pg. 121.

For more about spoons and mixing spoons (Fig. 86), see pgs. 45 and 47. Cutting is done using knives *golés* (poss. *golsengél*) made from bamboo and shells such as the black Pinna *sebúiēs* (see Story 164). Peeling and scraping are done with the *gěšěgúr*, particularly the pearl shells *gasívōg* (Meleagrina) (pg. 9) and the *rúděl* (Avicula), which are also used to ladle liquids. The shells are often opened and the halves ground until they are suitable for cutting; those with a straight lower edge are called *ngárěk* and are used primarily for scraping raw taro²¹⁶. Boiled taro is mashed using the pestle *gai*²¹⁷ and the pounding board *ngot* (see Story 98). Both are made of hardwood (*bars*, *dort*, or *ngis*). The pestles usually have a cylindrical, bell-like shape, or one that is tapered at the

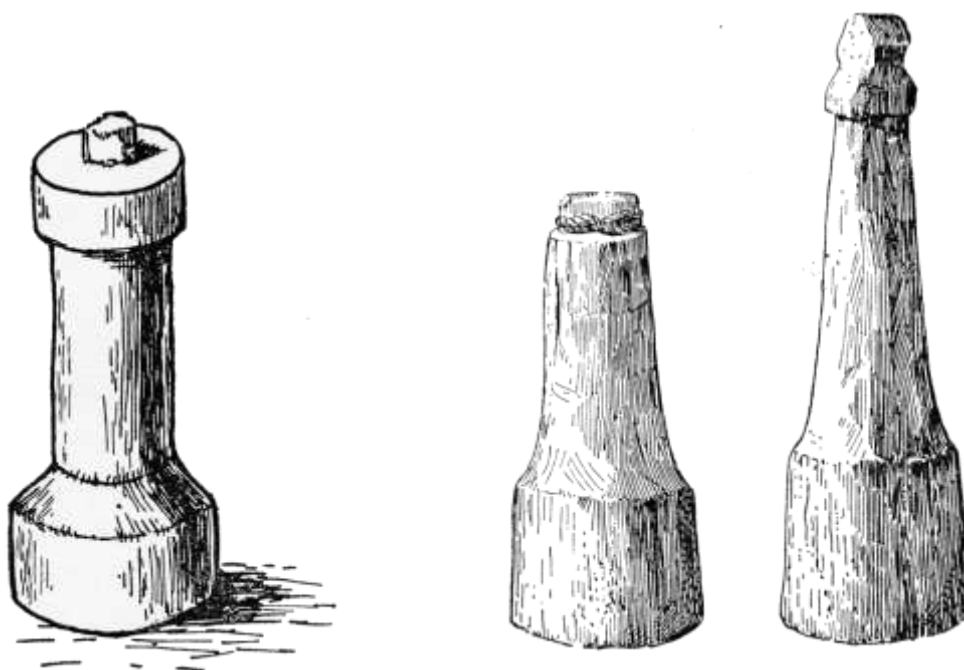


Fig. 87. Pounder Fig. 88. 2 Simple Wood Pounder

top (Fig. 88, see also the section on pottery). Generally, the former have a ledge at the lower end, and widen at the top, where they have a knob (Fig. 87). There are also older specimens that are made from Tridacna clams and even basalt (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 208). In Dresden (Nr. 5492), there is a pestle made from the head of a human humerus. The pounding board is a rectangular plank (often only 40:25cm) with a concave area, like a picture frame (Fig. 89 and Plate 5²⁴). These features give it the appearance

somewhat of a boat. Indeed, in the legend in Story 169, the cannibal Diragamartál followed the other women on her *ngot*, on which she kept pounding with her *gai*. It also appears as a Galid seat in Story 98 and below in Section VI.



Fig. 89.

Woman Pounding Taro.

Fig. 89 shows how taro pounding is done by the Palauan women. They tend to lay the board on their legs and often rub more than they pound. Swinging the pestle, and forcefully, noisily dropping and lifting it, which are commonly done in Truk, Hawaii, etc., are not done here.

Finally, there is the grater *ksóus*²¹⁸ (poss. *kseksél*, verb *mengsóus*), which formerly consisted of corals, but is nowadays usually tin with holes punched in it.

According to observations by Elisabeth Krämer.

Food is often seasoned with juice squeezed from peeled wild lemons, or with pepper water, which is made by steeping Capsicum beans in coconut juice in the sun, then storing the water without the peels in a bottle.

Cooking meat, fish, etc. is called *melongóiës*, and therefore, a meat-cooking pot is called *klongóiës*, as is a meat dish (see Story 150). Freshly cooked fish are called *blsaki*²¹⁹, when they are 2-4 weeks old they are called *bāsáol*. Here I must add the very strange fact that not only meat, but especially fish, is kept in edible condition for many weeks by boiling it twice daily in water (half saltwater, half freshwater), which is important especially when a great celebration is coming up. To this end, the fish are woven in coconut leaves, fish bundles called *galuóměi*²²⁰ (poss. *galumelél*) or *ulagém*²²¹, so that they retain their shape. We can confirm, from having tasted numerous samples, that the ones that have been in the kettle for four weeks taste at least as good as those that are freshly cooked. One prerequisite, however, is that they are left in the same stock, into which fresh fish are added. Occasionally, as necessary, this stock must be thinned with water; once the fish are gone, the liquid is simmered in the kettle until it is reduced, resulting in another unusual product: fish

extract *uásǎg*²²² (poss. *ǵǵǵǵǵǵ*). This fishwater is given to the host of the celebration, who thickens it slowly in smaller earthenware cooking pots, a process that usually takes three days. If the extract is too salty, it is diluted with freshwater, then boiled down once more. The result is a dark brown extract that looks and tastes just like Liebig fish extract. It is stored in a tightly closed pot. The extract is used to create stock that is served with taro (especially mashed taro *kless*) in times when fish are scarce. Often, two spoonfuls of *uásǎg* are added to a plateful of expressed coconut milk (see there) and boiled.

We can attest to the excellence of the fish extract; a small bottle filled with it always stood on our table as seasoning for soup; we recommend it as a great addition to our food trade; in times when there is an excess of fish, for example during herring catches, it would seem particularly appropriate to use them to produce fish extract.

In Palau, meat²²³ does not constitute the main dish, but is rather considered a side dish *godóim* (poss. *godimél*)²²⁴ to taro, which forms the basis for all meals, as the potato does for us.

Fish is smoked *galát*²²⁵ over the hearth fire in the house, on a grate *górangǵǵ* made of bamboo canes or mangrove roots, which is stuck into the four bamboos hanging from the tie beam. The fish are wrapped in coconut fronds, as noted above. According to one recipe: *klongóiǵǵ l ngíkǵǵ ě mangúǵǵ* wrap up a pot of fish, *ě solǵǵ mo ra ngau a malogúp ě górangǵǵ* put it on the fire or on the grate. According to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 167, when large quantities of fish are caught, some of them are cooked into a fish stew *Kalaklók*, the bones are removed, the meat is wrapped in Areca leaf blades, and the bundles are smoked. In former times, fish were also cooked with the red, cherry-like *gosǵǵǵ* figs.

Smelly raw fish are not rejected²²⁶, not even if they are spoiled *bǵǵǵǵ*. When they are in this condition, they are laid in the sacred groves *túngǵǵ* for the Galid (see below, Section VI 4). For details of what the Trukese are capable of doing in this regard, see there.

For details about the killing and cooking of turtles, see above, pg. 94. After the animal has been cooked, some women break off the four limbs, after they have removed the abdominal plate. Very carefully they remove the thin belly meat, the fascia muscles, which extend to the hind legs and can be removed like rope yarn. Any liquid

that flows out is collected with shells and spoons and slurped up. Now the bluish, thick peritoneum is visible, which is carefully opened. The blood that flows out is caught in a bowl. If eggs are found, they are carefully removed from the webbing; the membranes are eaten. The young egg yolks are placed into the bowl of blood. The intestines go into a basket, are rinsed clean in saltwater and are then cooked in expressed coconut milk. The flaps of skin on the shell wall (*ugail*) are torn off and added to the bowl of blood. Then both the blood and the skin are cooked in the bowl. This stock becomes very rich because of the pieces of fat on the hind limbs that are left behind when they are removed; it is considered a delicacy.

galiótl a uél Turtle dish with expressed milk

melengóiēs mo ra golakáng ma ralm ma dáob
e melongóiēs re ngí, a ogobelí²²⁷,
a mogúiēd re ngí a melengóiēs dikesēi,
a gomregórog ē merekóng.

cook in a pot with freshwater and saltwater,
 cook it, pour it out,
 press down on it, cook a little;
 when it boils, it is done.

galiótl geiúl Sand worms with expressed milk

ngulěgém²²⁸ geiúl
a kid ē melongóiēs re ngí ra ralm
l mo badául
a soláe ng mai gěřgém
malogúp ng gědeī
l mo ra kekerél 'lolakáng, e gamúiēd.

make bundles of sand worms,
 we cook them in water,
 until they are tasty;
 then take two bundles,
 or three,
 in a small pot, cook with expressed milk.

Kalbasáng a malk Chicken with pumpkin

Pieces of pumpkin are cooked with a chicken, with coconut milk added, it is a delicious dish.

Fat for eating is derived exclusively from coconuts; animal fat, the fat *lák* of pigs, turtles, pigeons, fish, etc. is just a side dish, and frying in fat *mangere dógōd* is rare, although it does occur²²⁹ (see breadfruit).

Anything cooked with coconut is called *galiótl*. Anything cooked with coconut and *ā iláot* is called *blăgákl²³⁰*. Grated coconut (*táiu²³¹*, *kless²³²*, *delepdép²³³*) is used as it is, or it is pressed²³⁴ with the coconut leaf sheath *tagēiēr²³⁵*, which is like sackcloth, to obtain the coconut milk *disěg*.

The fruit juice commonly called coconut milk *gāsāgēl a líus* “juice of the coconut palm” (see pg. 99) is just used for drinking.

Cooking taro, vegetables, etc. is called *meliókl*²³⁶ (*melióng*), therefore a vegetable pot is called *ngaliókl* (Story 150), in contrast to a meat pot (see pg. 98) (mash is called *sabāu*). This refers mainly to taro, which is called *kúkau* when cooked (see above, pg. 49). When it is harvested from the swamp, it is cleaned on the spot with the *ngárēk* shell (see above, pg. 97), then cooked in a pot of water until the *súmēs* skewer can penetrate it easily.

Another way of preparing taro is roasting *melúl*, which is done directly over the fire, as it is done with fish. Taro takes a long time before it is done. It is very important to turn it *omúlt*, because it burns easily. The skin is peeled off²³⁷ with the *gasívōg* shell (see pg. 9), and the taro is served like it is or in slices *blagídēl*.

KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 170: “To produce the *Bleyóp*²³⁸, which is intended to be eaten by toothless old men, the tuber is held in the hand and broken apart with a mallet, then cut up. When it is scraped with the mother-of-pearl shell and served in the form of dried patties, it is called *Kles*²³⁹; when mashed with a pounder made of stone and formed into patties, it becomes *Ulók*²⁴⁰; and when freshly boiled oil is mixed with it, it becomes the much beloved *Apelsiyek*²⁴¹. The latter could be called the official dish of the islanders; without it, *Klegodáol* (state visits), *Koluláut* (diplomatic negotiations), and celebrations in general would be unthinkable.” I want to make special note of the *blsík*, which is a popular and delicious dish, which we enjoyed often (see pg. 102).

Sweet dishes are called *merékós l kál*, also *goléngēl* or *debégēl*²⁴².

The most important dishes are:

*del'lúl*²⁴³ It means “something roasted,” namely taro, but it is generally understood to mean a favorite dish, for example the *mangael'lúl* of the mourning women with meat (not fish).

<i>ak dōrúr</i> ²⁴⁴ <i>a del'lúl mong mo márēk</i>	I roast the thing to be roasted until it is done;
<i>e ak ě kordí</i> ²⁴⁵ <i>ě rusōgí</i>	I scrape it off, mash it,
<i>ě rometí</i> ²⁴⁶ <i>a iláot e mo re ngí a díšēg</i>	and knead it with syrup and add coconut milk;
<i>ak omódog</i> ²⁴⁷ <i>l mo ra buk</i>	I divide it with my fingers in a bowl;

<i>ak merúr a delemédem</i> ²⁴⁸ <i>a geimól buk</i>	I make flat cakes in a bowl,
<i>e a geimó ra buk a bleób</i> ²⁴⁹	and in the other bowl patties,
<i>ak mangúiěd a dísěg ra kal.</i>	I squeeze out coconut milk for the dish.

derumal KUB. pg. 171: “When the tuber is broken open and cooked into a mash with coconut syrup, resulting in the dish called *Aulogéro*, which is served at funerals. When this dish has cooled down somewhat, it hardens, and if some fresh oil is poured on it, it becomes *Tolumár*, which is also prepared for funerals.”

*auléld*²⁵⁰ best known as long-lasting food, provisions *gokau* for ocean voyages, made out of grated coconut and syrup. Small patties are made, ranging from the size of a thumb to the size of a chicken egg, and each one is individually wrapped in a piece of banana leaf and tied. These are also eaten at celebrations, see Vol. 2, pg. 213. In 1918, 8 years after our departure from Palau, we ate the last pieces, which had been kept in a tin can. They had taken on a mildly rancid odor, but on the whole were still good and edible. When they are fresh, they taste like coconut macaroons.

úlei Preserves made from coconut and syrup, see Mangal 'lang, Vol. 2, pg. 15.

*galbákl*²⁵¹ Preserves made from pounded taro and syrup, hard. Story 16, Vol. 2, pg. 213.

merémět l br'rak (see pg. 49) *ma iláot ma dísěg* Kneaded taro with syrup and coconut milk.

<i>meliókl ra br'rak ě ngokot</i> ²⁵²	cook the <i>br'rak</i> and peel it;
<i>ě mangéss re ngí</i>	grate it,
<i>ě merusög re ngí</i>	mash it,
<i>ě merémět re ngí a iláot</i>	knead it with syrup
<i>ma dísěg ě meób</i> ²⁵³ <i>re ngí</i>	and coconut milk; make a ball from it.

kless l br'rak ě galiótl Taro mash with coconut milk.

<i>ak mangéss ra br'rak l márěk</i>	I grate <i>br'rak</i> that has been boiled until done,
<i>ak mangivětókl a dísěg re ngí</i>	I add coconut milk to it,
<i>e meób re ngí</i>	make balls from it.

blsík Taro balls with fresh oil poured over them. They are an important celebratory dish at dedication ceremonies for a new house, etc. (see KUB., Vol. II, pg. 77). Boiled taro is peeled and mashed on a large pounding board with a pestle. It is cut up into small pieces with a *gasívög* shell;

these are rolled in coconut oil, then laid in an orderly row on a plate. The oil must be freshly prepared (see above, pg. 44).

merēgāu ríaměl Fruit mash made of Pangium

dagíl a gǫlúg “Dirt of oil” sediment left over from boiling oil, sweet when fresh.

gámlol Fermented coconut. Grated nut is placed in an empty bowl, water is added, left to ferment for 3-5 days.

klsóus (bleób) l kéám Balls made of Inocarpus

*ngiěklí, ě dougi*²⁵⁴ cook it, peel it

*a kseksi*²⁵⁵ pound hard,

mo re ngí a díšěg pour coconut milk on it,

meób re ngí make balls from it.

galiótl kless ra bóbai Grated papaya with coconut

bóbai mo ra ngau, ě ngak e ngu I put the papaya on the fire,

*e tmudí*²⁵⁶, *diudí, ě mangéss, ě goití a budél* cut it crosswise, cut it lengthwise, grate it, throw away the peel,

l bagagás ě mungúíěd which is singed, (with coconut milk over it).

*galiótlbóbai*²⁵⁷ Roasted papaya squares with coconut

*bóbai mo ra ngau, a ldi*²⁵⁸, *tmudí, ě dobǫgě* I put the papaya on the fire, peel it, cut it crosswise, cut it lengthwise,

tmutudí a dobǫdobǫgi cut it thin lengthwise, cut small squares,

*lóia ra búk, ě goití*²⁵⁹ put it into a bowl, add (coconut milk on top).

sabāu a gabíngěl Papaya dish

*ak mo logá*²⁶⁰ *ra golakáng* I go (and) lay (it) in the pot,

ak melongóiěs re ngí, ě mo re ngí a iláot I cook it, (I) add to it syrup

ma líus, ak meléděs re ngí and coconut, I cut it into little pieces.

blāgákl a gabíngěl Rich papaya dish

*di a ikél a gabíngěl ě ke di míl*²⁶¹ These papaya fruit we peel them,

ě dméud ěngmai a geiusěl cut them in half, take them and lay them in the sun,

a melédēs ě mo ra ralm ra diósög

a remisŭ ěng mai l meĩ mẽ ke

de logá ra golakáng

ě guiár a iláot ra ralm

a merekáng ě rodeli²⁶²

l meĩ ra iluóděl a melái l mo ra

gorságěl a mo re ngí a díšěg

billŭm

a bedngíuk a dildí a diudí²⁶³

a rusegí ě sólang ě ngu a gasívög

melaegáb, omárěg ra geimád

ra iláot, a merémět

lodekiár²⁶⁴, oměob, omáil ra lél a sis

ě sourí ě mo logá a kúkau ma ralm

omgalugób, ě mo logá a billŭm

běbŭl sel lă galugób

a soláe tē omgalugób tial billŭm

e meliókr a rengí marěkél²⁶⁵ a kúkau

ng merekáng a billŭm.

cut them into little pieces, into the water in the pond,

wash them, bring them, we

lay them in the pot,

mix syrup with water,

done (cooked), take it away,

over here to the stand, put it on the

wooden plate, pour coconut milk on it.

Oldtaro boiled up again

moldy taro peel, cut up,

pound it. Then take a pearl shell,

cut off a piece, dip our hand

in the syrup, knead,

mixing, making taro balls, wrapping in sis leaf,

tie it up, lay the taro into the water,

put on a cover of leaves, lay the *billŭm*

on that cover of leaves,

then cover this *billŭm* with the cover of leaves,

boil it until the taro is done,

then the *billŭm* is ready.

basabasáng Rice water with coconut milk.

demók Sweet vegetable made from the leaves of taro shoots, which are first boiled separately in water for a long time. The water is then poured off, coconut milk and syrup are added; then, according to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 171: "The younger ones are boiled and, with syrup poured over them, eaten as vegetables, called *Galábeth*. Or the young shoots are boiled and tossed with coconut milk, producing the food known as *Thmak*, which serves as a surrogate for meat."

déngēs Fruit cooked in *a iláot*; after cooking, leave for three days in water, until soft. This dish is very popular (E.K.).

tórög²⁶⁶ Leaves of convovulus are prepared with syrup and coconut milk. The leaves of the small convovulus *tórög* are piled up in bundles and wrapped with string. Several bundles of this sort are laid into a pot, water is poured on them, and they are cooked for quite a while,

until they are soft. Then all of the water is poured off, and fresh, cold water is poured on, the strings are untied. The leaves are then taken out, a handful at a time, and kneaded into little balls. After these are rolled thoroughly in thick syrup, they are laid side-by-side on a plate. Finally, more syrup is poured over everything, and expressed milk is added too. Tastes very rich and good.

*uregereger l mǐěg*²⁶⁷ “Almond dish,” or simply called *mǐěg*, the important, sweet, hard almond dishes made by cooking the nuts *gotógěl*²⁶⁸ of the *mǐěg* fruit (*Terminalia catappa*) with syrup.

gotógěl mǐěg Almond cake See Vol. 2, pg. 99 and Story 134.

mesekú l mǐěg in the shape of a dugong See Vol. 2, pg. 99 and Story 134.

telngót Preparation of tapioca

ak mangīs a telngót, ak melíld ma mēngsós I dig up the cassava root, I peel and grate,

*ak melegésěg, ě guběli*²⁶⁹ *a lmél*²⁷⁰ I press it out (onto a leaf spread), pour off its water,

*a magěrel*²⁷¹ *mo medegěregě* leave it until it is hard,

*togōbi*²⁷² *lóia ra keai* take it away, lay it on a leaf spread,

e omngīs re ngi ra sils dry it in the sun;

l mo medidirt e meliók re ngi when it is dry, boil it,

*a rungúl ma uliókl a diúl di ngisál*²⁷³. sediment and residue can both be cooked.

Tapioca mash.

*telngót kseksi*²⁷⁴, *sokesōgi*²⁷⁵ *a ralm, lomét re ngi a ralm* tapioca grated, pour water over it, squeeze from it the water,

*a ngu mo ra sils, ě mei ked e momilí*²⁷⁶ *mo re ngi a golakáng,* place it in the sun, then come and put it into a pot,

omét re ngi a dísěg ma a iláot, a meus re ngi. squeeze onto it coconut milk and syrup; make mash from it.

aklióu²⁷⁷ l telngót Tapioca residue.

The crumbly residue is placed into a bowl, and coconut milk, squeezed out with a good deal of water, is poured over it. It is kneaded by hand for a long time and crumbled further. A lot of syrup is poured over it, until it takes on a light-yellow coloration, followed by water and some more syrup, if desired, until a thin mash is created. This is put into a cooking pot and cooked over a low fire, stirred constantly with a spatula or spoon, until the mash is done and quite firm.

mongósu re ngi, l di merék mo l muílěg²⁷⁸ kung stir it around, until it is firm.

ke klăgá²⁷⁹ re ngi mang díak l magás²⁸⁰ a golakáng watch over it, that the pot does not burn.

kless medú mărěk
a medú meliókr 're ngi a budél
mła mo mărěk
ě merekóng, kid e ngu ra golakáng
melíld a búdel, ě diudí
merekóng ě mo ra buk, mangěss a líus
mongúieđ re ngi běbul medú

Grated ripe breadfruit
 breadfruit cook it in the peel,
 until it is done;
 when it is done, we put it in the pot,
 peel the skin off, cut it up.
 when done, in the bowl, grate coconut,
 squeeze it out over the breadfruit.

galíotl medú rúsűk
 a) *delúl medú gamádăg*
merekóng, ě ngu, ě ldí, a budél goití,
ě diutí, morúsőg, meób re ngi
a kekerél bleób ě mo ra buk
ě mongúieđ re ngi
 b) *delúl medú gamádăg, morúsőg re ngi,*
óměob re ngi
melóbőg re ngi, mongúieđ re ngi
 c) *l marěk l medú*

Patties of breadfruit with coconut milk
 roast breadfruit that is unripe.
 when done, take it, peel it, throw the peel away,
 cut it up, pound it, roll it
 into little balls in a bowl,
 squeeze (coconut) on it.
 roast unripe breadfruit, mash it, turn it into
 sausages,
 cut little pieces off, pour coconut milk on them.
 In the case of “ripe breadfruit,” also eaten
 without coconut milk.

sabau l medú

Breadfruit mash

medú gamádäg melild

peel unripe breadfruit,

ë meliud, ë meliókr're ngí a ralm

then cut it up, then cook it, in water,

ma dáob ma disëg

and saltwater and coconut milk,

miūs re ngí, merekóng

stir it until done;

ma muilăg

and mushy.

kardókět

Breadfruit fried in fat

melild ra medú gamádäg

peel unripe breadfruit

kldärm a tkúl melebedóbok re ngí

cut into slices with notched edges

ë mangere dógod

then fry in fat.

telip. Breadfruit preserve

Cut up breadfruit, lay the pieces for 2-3 days in saltwater, then let it ferment for 7 days, then bury it in the ground (compare Truk).

3. Trade and Industry.

The preceding sections have already presented some examples of trade and industry, and the ones to follow shall present more of the same. It is a simple fact that Palauans will trade anything to obtain money. This section cannot discuss everything; it will have to be limited to a discussion of household items and small wares, things that for the most part are produced for trade.

a) Manufacture of Containers out of Wood, Turtle shell, Clay

Tools for Woodworking

The most important tool for hewing²⁸¹ wood is the adze *gëbákl* (poss. *gëbeklél*)²⁸². It is so useful for all kinds of work, such as splitting betelnuts, cutting off branches, splitting string, etc., that the natives always carry it with them, on their shoulder (see Vol. 2, Plate 6²; Plate 12¹; Plate 13³; Plate 20) or in a basket. It is the equivalent of our pocketknife. Since the earliest times, the word *gëbákl* has been used for “iron,” as can be seen from the records of Koypattle by MC CLUER, 1793. The first explorers realized that the natives already knew about iron (see Vol. 1, pg. 67); Wilson already found it in use there (Vol. 1, pg. 109). It was probably introduced by shipwrecked Malaysians or Chinese traders; so the name must also be old and was probably applied to the adze, which these days always has a plane-like iron blade. Blades ground out of *Tridacna kim* are called, appropriately, *gëbákl kim*.

Copper, it seems, was also familiar to Palauans in early times, as can be seen in Story 161. The Basás was called by the spirits, and when the Antelope ran aground in 1783, the smell of the verdigris on the ship's copper plates reminded the people of Basás; a more specific explanation was not to be had. I heard from another source the word *pěágěd*, which is also the name of the monster in Story 167.

The shape of the handle of the *gěbákl* adze (for which the best wood is considered to be *gerúměs*) deserves special mention, since it is distinguished from all similar hatchets by its strong curvature. It is shaped like a bow; with a length of 35cm, as in the figure shown, Fig. 90, it curves out about 5cm. The handle itself is about 25mm thick at each end, but only 12mm thick in the middle. This gives it a very unique shape. In the figure by KEATE, Plate 2, Fig. 3, this is not very visible, and in the one by KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate 29, Fig. 1, it is only visible to a degree; he calls it the modern Pulu axe. The handle is also made from lime wood or from *Calophyllum* from the heath *ptágěs a ked* (KUB.). The other shapes, most of which are crude, usually have the blade placed



Fig. 90.
The adze *gěbákl*.

in an adze position, i.e. crosswise, like a garden hoe (Fig. 91). Since the blades used to be almost exclusively ground from the smooth *Tridacna* species *kissěm* (poss. *ksemél*), all adzes carry that name. Otherwise, "hatchet" is called *gotílěg* (poss. *gotilegél*), a term that KUB. uses for a small hatchet that is traded (Boys-ax) in Vol. VIII, pg. 295 (*Kolílek*), while the larger axe with an iron blade is called *Wasáy*; but the twibil used for work on a larger scale is called *Karoákl*. Finally, KUB. mentions *Telebér*, "a small hatchet that is especially popular for chopping off heads." This

hatchet is mentioned in Story 200. According to KUB., in the old days, using the *gěbákl* as a weapon was a punishable offense.

There are mainly two types of blades. There are the wide type, of which KEATE depicted a specimen in Plate 3, Fig. 2. Its' cutting edge is wide at the top and usually triangular, which is true somewhat of the one from HE. 1105 in Ngarmíd (see Fig. 92) and the specimen I acquired (K 977).



Fig. 91.
Adze used for work.

Then there are the triangular, pointed ones (Fig. 93), which often resemble chisels²⁸³ and are used to hollow things out. As they can be used for this activity in any position, they are often placed on adjustable transverse shafts (Fig. 95). According to KUB., Vol. VIII, pgs. 201 and 204, they are called *Kasimímiel* axes. KEATE, in Plate 2, Fig. 3,

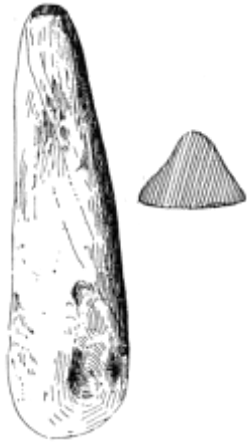


Fig. 92.

Wide Tridacna blade.



Fig. 93.

Sharp Tridacna blade.



Fig. 94.

Axe.

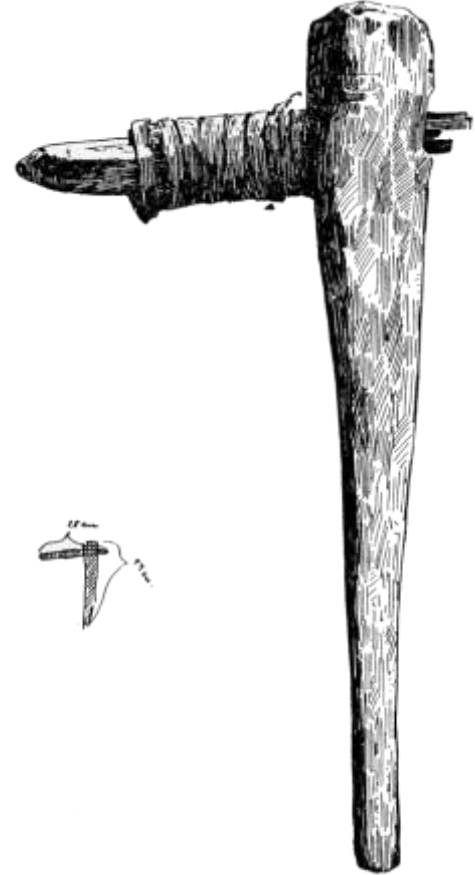


Fig. 95.

Axe with rotating shaft.

depicts an accurate shape; in this case, the transverse shaft rests in a groove in the upper end of the handle and is bound in place; in Leipzig there is a specimen with the transverse shaft embedded in the handle, which is thick and club-shaped (Fig. 94), (MI 1659 Palau Godeffroy). Another such embedded “hatchet” is also there (Fig. 95) (MI 1661); both are reminiscent of Indo-Melanesian models. The bindings on the two other axes there, which have a fixed transverse shaft, are neatly done, reminiscent of those in Yap (see Fig. 91).

These kinds of axes did not turn up during our stay.

For details about the *běap ruósěd* stone, see the section on household goods of the Bai (Section V⁵).

Other tools used in addition to the ruler *gerabái* (KUB. *ráel* or *karabáy*, WALL.: *gerrebai* poss. *gerrebíl*) (see Fig. 96 and KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate 29⁴) are the paintbrush, ashes (see Story 13 and Section Xa), the rope *ungamk* and the soot pot *gomogosóngěl* (see the section on canoe making).

The drill is called *bsips* (poss. *bsepsél*) (to drill *omsips* or *mangiúg*)

A larger type of drill is called *gongiúg* (KUB. *Honyúk* “small auger”)

The pump drill is *bsips a tumedíp* (HAM. 37, HE. 7097), *kul* is its cord, the crow is *galagadál*, and the transverse bar is *utrerél*, the flywheel is *gongopsúl re ngí* (Story 164). Fig. 97 shows two different types of transverse bar.

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The file *ksóus* (poss. *kseksél*), usually ray skin (HAM. 38) or bamboo. P. RAYMUND, pg. 42, also mentions a sponge *róut*.

Knife *golés* (usually *sebúiěš* shell, etc.).

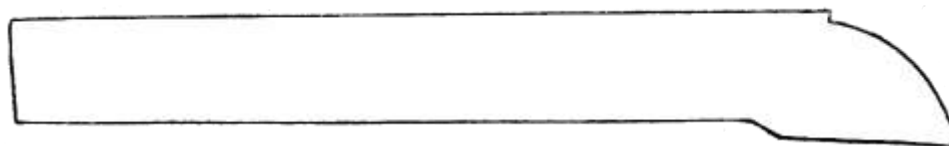


Fig. 96. Ruler

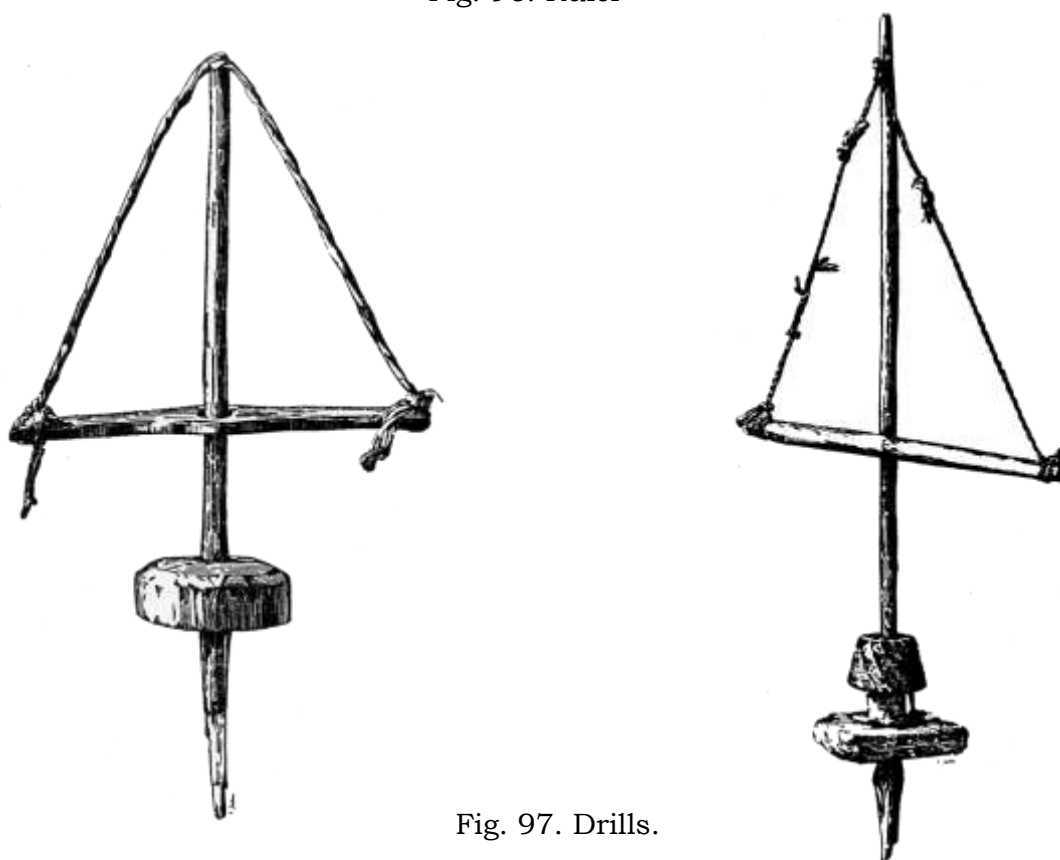


Fig. 97. Drills.

Chisel *gotúot* (poss. *gotutél*), which also means “cockspur” (KUB.: *Kotúut*, WALL.: *chotúut*).

Shovel *gongísp* (poss. *gongespél*).

Saw *gologódǒg*²⁸⁴ (WALL.), KUB.: *galgólok*; to saw *mongóiěš*.

Wedge *ditǎg*.

The most important types of wood used are the following (see the botanical index, Section VIIIa):

<i>medú</i>	breadfruit tree, for houses
<i>ptágěs</i>	<i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i> , used for beams for the framework of
<i>dort</i>	<i>Afzelia bijuga</i> , hard timber, used for wooden frames, pounding
<i>ukal'l</i>	<i>Serianthes grandiflora</i> Bth., used for houses and canoes. Sacred
<i>ngis</i>	ironwood, a Myrthaceae
<i>kelél a garm</i>	<i>Camptosperma brevipetiolata</i> Vlks.
<i>miěg, gotógöl</i>	<i>Terminalia catappa</i> , for building houses
<i>gáramal</i>	<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> , light wood
<i>gosm</i>	<i>Premna</i> sp., for Galid huts (see Story 83)
<i>ríu</i>	<i>Dolichondrone spathácea</i> K. Sch.
<i>rebótěl</i>	<i>Jambosia</i> (<i>Eugenia</i>), used for wooden frames
<i>déngěs</i>	<i>Brugueira gymnorhiza</i> Lam., for wooden frames
<i>gurúr</i>	<i>Sonneratia acida</i> L., for wooden frames
<i>mekėkád</i>	<i>Lumnitzera</i> mangrove, good wood for construction
from <i>pngáol</i> and <i>tebėgěl</i>	<i>Rizophora mucronata</i> and <i>conjugata</i> L., primarily the roots <i>rád</i>
<i>ger'regerói</i>	<i>Mussaenda frondosa</i> , rarely thick enough for use (see KUB., Vol.

Woodwork consists primarily of bowls and plates, commonly called *górsagěl*. A distinction is made between round and oval containers with lids *goromógěl kar*, bowls with flat handles *debí*, round plates *madál a gadéng*, with feet *ouág*, elongated plates with flat handles *gongál*, of arm's length *gomlútěl*, low-standing flat *tóluk*, high-standing *a iléngěl*. There are few peoples on earth who could display items whose beauty matches that of the Palauans' work in this category. It is worth noting that all of the bowls and plates, assuming their weight allows it, are provided with loops for hanging; more about these in the section on Blai (see Plate 14⁴). First, the general outer shape is created with the adze, then the block of wood is laid in water to soften up for hollowing out (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 201). To give the *madál a gadéng* bowls their circular shape, a type of compass is used, a measuring device *golúk* (from *melúk* "to measure") made of bamboo, which is fastened to a pin in the center (Fig. 98 HE. 893 *galsebsúng*). When the container of rough wood is finished²⁸⁵, it is polished with ray skin or with the rough surface of the *lild* reed, then painted red.



Fig. 98. plate manufacturing

Painting *omúōk*²⁸⁶ containers is unique to Palau and is extended to all containers except the huge fish bowls and the containers for expressing juice. Red volcanic dirt *gorīg* and yellow *gedú*²⁸⁷ are used, in addition to soot and chalk, with which canoes and Bai are also painted. Although only watercolor is used in the case of the Bai, all items that come into contact

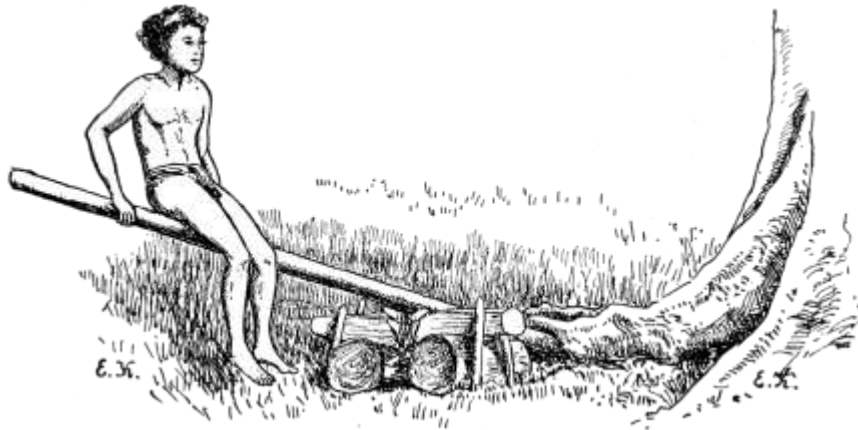


Fig. 99a.
Oil press.

with water are brushed with oil after they are painted. This oil is obtained from the fruits of the *Parinarium garitm* tree. It is produced as follows: the orange-sized fruits are peeled, then the kernel is grated (*mangsósus*), boiled (*melióng*), and stirred (*omult*) into a thick mash (*mëus*). It is wrapped (*omáil*) in a coconut leaf sheath (*tagēiēr*),

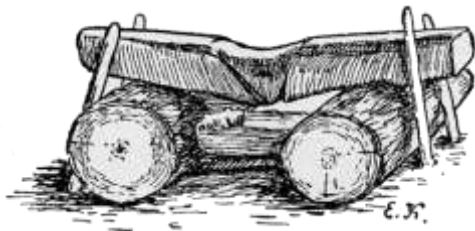


Fig. 99b.
Wind beam setup.

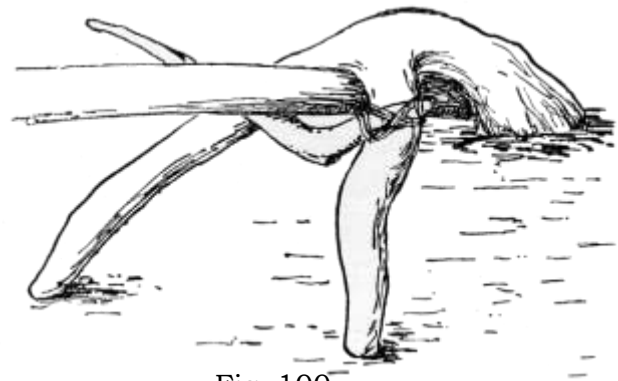


Fig. 100.
Stool for an oil press.

laid on a wind beam *gomosoókl*, and squeezed (*omăšévōs*) with a pole on which 1-3 men sit and that is anchored to a tree root (Fig. 99). The “oil of the nut” *lēkél*²⁸⁸ a *garitm* drips into a rectangular container that has been placed underneath, which is made of Areca leaf *mónggongg* or *keāi* and is therefore called *derílkeāi* (Fig. 59).

This ingenious press is often replaced by a simple, three-legged stool, whose one leg is driven into the earth, so that the pole that is wedged in at an angle, and to which the beam is lashed, catches itself on the fastened leg (Fig. 100).

Parinarium oil is only good when it is old and resinous; for that reason, it is stored for a long time under water in the taro patch.

Varnishing red-painted containers with oil is generally done by hand. The surface is then polished with *lild* leaves. Often, the container is painted a second time with red earth and varnished again with oil. Finally, expressed coconut milk and turmeric root are rubbed on, according to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 202.

Before paint is applied, however, there is often a fairly extensive process of inlaying of shell pieces *uródög*²⁸⁹ into the wood, using cement *delegúdög*²⁹⁰, which is made by burning chalk and red earth and mixing it with hot Parinarium oil. This is especially beautifully done on containers (Plate 7) and war canoes (see the section on canoe building).

The pieces of shell used for this (*Tridacna kim*, *Conus gotótěl*, mother-of-pearl *gasívög*, *Nautilus kedárm* and others) are usually white or at least light and glossy, and they are ground and filed to the right size. In recent times, shards of porcelain have also been used. The decorations inlaid are human figures, birds, fish (especially on the fish bowls), *Tridacna* clams, either single or double and opened (*klívuk*), starfish, worms, triangles (*Pandanus* thorns), seagrass blossoms, etc.

The first specimen to become well-known and achieve a certain amount of fame was the bowl shaped like a bird that WILSON brought to London, where it still resides in the British Museum (Fig. in KEATE, Plate 1)²⁹¹. It is completely covered with shell pieces shaped like birds, lines, and triangles. Its size is specified as 3 feet long, 1 foot 9 inches tall, so it is quite impressive. There is a similar wooden container in Dresden (Fig. 101). It is 56cm long and about 20cm high. The long beak is an indication that it is meant to represent a curlew, which, being the bringer of money (see Story 9), is the ideal of the Palauans.



Fig. 101.
Bird container. Dresden.

There is a similar one in Bremen, too, which is portrayed in L. PFEIFFER's Stone Age Shell Technique, Jena 1914, pg. 100. No birds are depicted on this bird-shaped bowl, but there are some to be found on a money box (Plate 7³) in London that consists of a coconut shell and is 10cm tall. In 1913, WILLIAM GIBBON sent me one like it as a gift, evidence of how some old pieces can escape the collection fever of numerous researchers; it is now in Stuttgart (Plate 7⁴).

As I mentioned, these money boxes are made from coconut shells and are thus a natural product and not painted; the white inlay looks particularly impressive on them²⁹². The small conical lid in Fig. 4 consists of 3 Conus bottoms that are impaled on the body of a wooden plug. There are also two other beautiful and richly inlaid round containers with lids in London. One of these (Plate 7²) is 16cm wide and 20cm tall and is decorated with a frieze of warriors carrying heads they have captured.

The other one, which is 18cm wide and tall (Fig. 1), has, in addition to rich decoration of *klívuk* patterns of triangles, worms, etc. on the lid, the curlews previously mentioned. There are some of these in addition to little figures of men on WILSON's famous wooden sword, which was discussed in Vol. 1, pg. 115, and that is depicted in KEATE, Plate 2 (length: 2 feet 10 inches). There, only the left side of the sword blade, which exhibits rather simple decorations, is shown, while here I show the right side, with the figures mentioned, in Plate 7, Fig. 5. The specimen is in the shape of a curlew, similar to Fig. 101.

These examples sufficiently illustrate the art of the Palau of yore in this respect and the most important

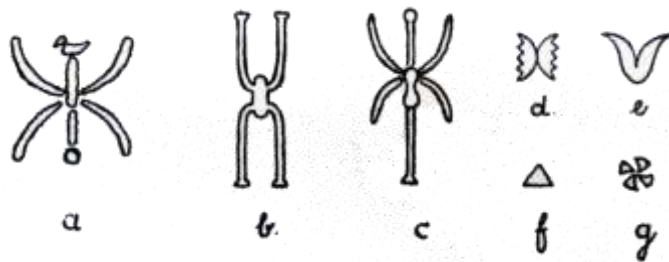
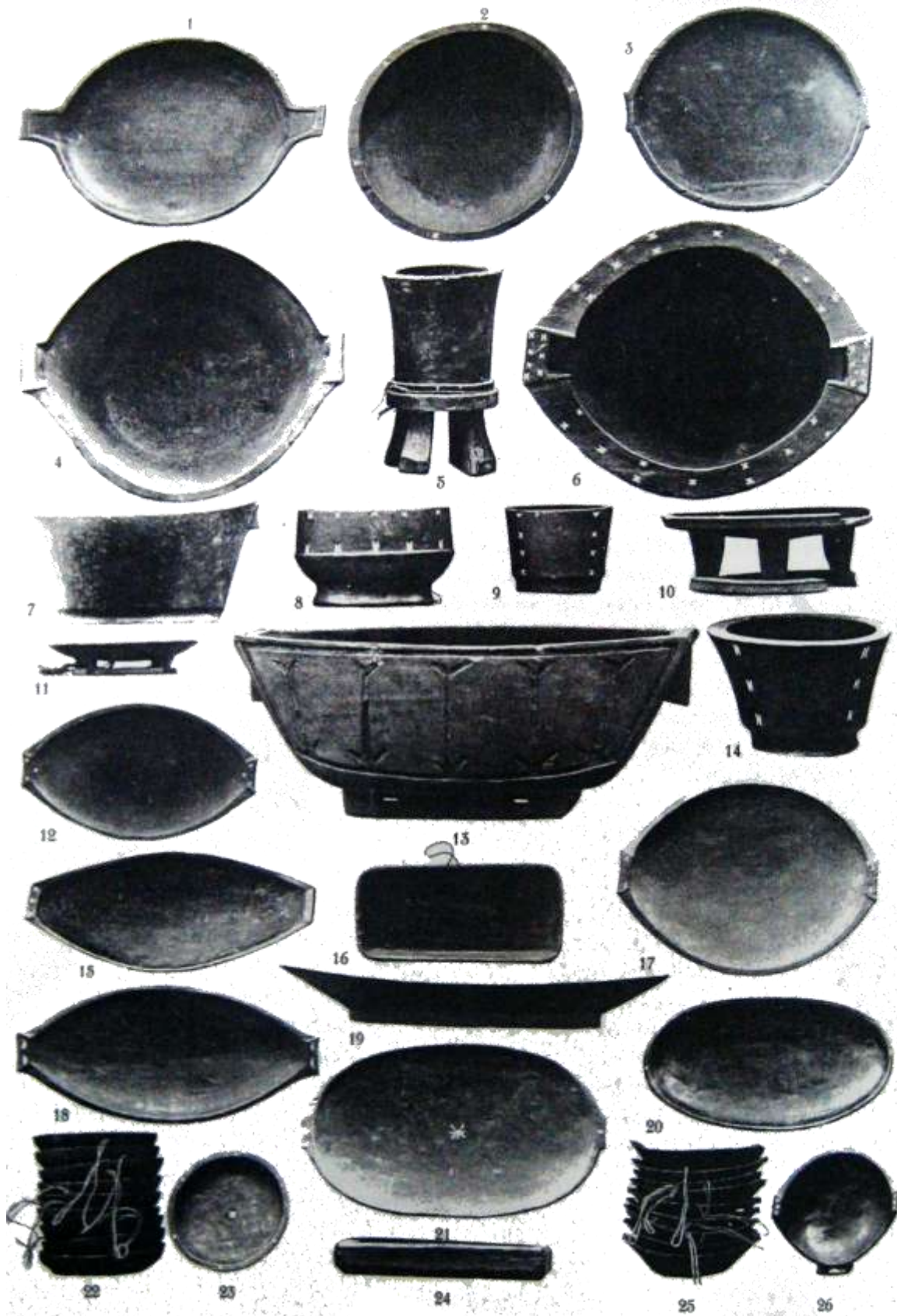


Fig.102.

Inlay patterns (see text).

ornaments. There are smaller ones related to the ones mentioned: starfish, *Tridacna klívuk*²⁹³, especially on the flat handles, the triangles or notches *kldarm* (Fig. 102f), the sea grass blossom *bódēsagár* (Fig. 102e), the zigzag *besepešél a* Ngorót (see Fig. 26y, pg. 39), etc. There is sometimes even a whirl decoration (*pipirói*) (Fig. 102g), for example on BEASLEY's *toluk*; a large photograph of this was reproduced from the front and

from in Man, March 1914, along with a wooden bowl. The owner, H. G. BEASLEY, also sent me a photograph of the piece. On the side of the bowl, between two bands, there are four large figures, which I have reproduced here in Fig. 102a. In Man, BEASLEY claims they are human figures with phalluses. Upon closer inspection, however,



Wooden Containers

Wooden Containers (see Plate 5)

1. Bowl for dye = *gomlútēl*. Ngatpang. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2892, Kr. 111) 1/10 n. Gr.
2. Round food dish, *gongsīl madál a gadéng*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2800^{II}, Kr. 9) 1/10 n. Gr.
3. Fish bowl. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4714^{II}, He 867) 1/10 n. Gr.
4. Bowl for fetching water. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4720^{II}, He 873) 1/10 n. Gr.
5. Cup for *a iláot* (molasses with water). (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 43^{II}, Ham. 43) 1/10 n. Gr.
6. Mixing pot for molasses, *goromógōl gár*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2897^{II}, Kr. 116) 1/10 n. Gr.
7. Bowl = *golugaságl*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4712^{II}, He 865) 1/10 n. Gr.
8. Oval bowl, *moterótēr lolúmēl*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3696^{II}, Kr. 994) 1/10 n. Gr.
9. Container for molasses, for hanging. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3794^{II}, He 49) 1/10 n. Gr.
10. Bowl for taro celebrations, *toluk ra Rubak*, from Ngáruangē! (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4775^{II}, He 931) 1/10 n. Gr.
11. Round bowl with feet for presenting taro, *madál a gadéng louág*. Ngatpang. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2895^{II}, Kr. 114) 1/10 n. Gr.
12. Wide fish bowl, *gongál*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4671^{II}, He 829) 1/10 n. Gr.
13. Old bowl, *dēbbí (debí)*. Inlay broken out. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 135^{II}, Ham 143) 1/10 n. Gr.
14. Round bowl, *madál a gadéng lolúmēl*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3699^{II}, Kr. 997) 1/10 n. Gr.
15. Long bowl, *gongál*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3799^{II}, He 56) 1/10 n. Gr.
16. Taro pounding board, fine type, *ngot*. Ngatpang. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2896^{II}, Kr. 115) 1/10 n. Gr.
17. Wide fish bowl, Ngarmid. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4939^{II}, He 1088) 1/10 n. Gr.
18. Fish bowl, Goréör. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4684^{II}, He 842) 1/10 n. Gr.
19. Fish bowl from Galēgúi, from the side. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4890^{II}, He 1043) 1/10 n. Gr.
20. Oval bowl. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2813^{II}, Kr. 23) 1/10 n. Gr.
21. Bowl for raw fish, *gongbál*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3723^{II}, Kr. 1023) 1/10 n. Gr.
22. Set of round plates, *madál a gadéng*.
23. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4692^{II} - 4701^{II}, He 853, 1 - 10) 1/10 n. Gr.
24. Taro pounding board, rough type (40:25cm), *ngot*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Kr. 61) 1/10 n. Gr.
25. Set of ten (*blagalákl*) *debí*= plates.
26. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Kr. 12 - 21) 1/10 n. Gr.

one can see that the head on the pole is a curlew, and the extremities are probably the branches and aerial roots of a mangrove tree, on which the bird is sitting, looking for fish. The bowl is 58 ½ cm long and only 19 cm high inside, so it was probably used as a fish bowl, in which case the decoration is fitting. The figure also resembles a



Fig. 103.
Hanging container.

spider; as a matter of fact, there is a spider on a round *toluk* that is also depicted (Fig. 3), on the outer edges of the legs, specifically in Fig. 102b. In Vol. VIII, Plate 26, Fig. 13 (see Fig. 102c), KUB. depicts a spider-like creature in exactly the same place, which he calls Mangidap brutkonl on pg. 207 (see Mangidáp rutkól of Story 12), i.e. the spider god. The fact that offerings to the Galid are laid on these round taro benches gives this illustration a special meaning. BEASLEY also claims there is a human face at both ends of his bowl. KUB. already drew attention to this fact; furthermore, this form is



Fig. 104.
Lid with two monkeys.

spread throughout almost all of Western Micronesia, as the following section will demonstrate.

Underneath the handle on each side²⁹⁴, called *debí*²⁹⁵, the forehead, “its nose” *isngél* usually juts out (Plate 5^{7and 13}) as the lateral completion on the edge *tuk*, poss. *tkul*. The notch that is further down towards the base is probably also called “its mouth” *ngérél*. Very rarely does one find the actual beginning of one of these, which is identified by a *Cypraea* on the cylindrical bowl in Dresden, for example (Fig. 103).

The bowls with flat handles are called *debí* (Plate 5^{4and 6}), while the round ones are called *madál a gadéng* “eye of the shark.” The flat handles are often up to 10cm wide and have 2-4 little pieces of inlay. Usually, the wooden containers have no decoration other than the two flat handles and the inlay. Occasionally, however, human or animal figures are mounted on the lids of syrup containers. In 1907 I found a lid in Ngátpang,

which is artistically inclined. On it were two monkeys²⁹⁶, which were observed by the islanders from time to time on Spanish ships, leaning on a post in the middle (Plate 6). I found a second lid of this type in the same village in 1910, Fig. 104.

Although the bird bowls already presented represent entire animals, the two enormous containers in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, in the shape of a life-sized bull and cow, surpass anything else known (Plate 6). The sculptor of these specimens is Golegeril (see below and in Vol. 2, pg. 228). They are large containers with rectangular lids on their backs. Finally, there is also a cat in Stuttgart, which is probably just a sculpture without any practical use (Plate 6). These kinds of purely artistic creations are discussed in Section VII; they are commonly called *delásěg* (from *melásăg* to carve, to hew). Even though the monkeys, cattle, and cat are animals that are foreign to the area, they nevertheless show the inclination to artistic reproduction that is inherent in the people, to which the bird bowls, the spoons, and most of all the artistic ornamentation of the Bai attest.

The bowls with lids *dăngăb* (poss. *dangěbél*) (see pg. 131) are used primarily for mixing syrup water, so they are actually a kind of punch bowl. For this reason, these kinds of mixing containers are called *goromógěl kar* (from *merémăg* “to stir”).²⁹⁷

The artistic imagination of the Palauans finds expression in the shape of these lidded containers. There are: conical containers: Fig. 105-108, pot-shaped, bulging ones Fig. 109-113, shallow, often elongated ones Fig. 114^{aand b}, barrel-shaped ones Fig. 115. The elongated forms are called *kungěl a ríaměl* “peel of the *ríaměl* fruit” because of their shape. Elongated standing containers are also not unusual (KR. 995, HAM. 47, KR. 994); they are called *golúměl moterótěr* because of their elongated shape resembling the clay bowls (see Plate 5⁸). But there are also similar containers for hanging, with and without lids (MI. 1694 and MI. 1595, HAM. 41, HE. 874, MI. 1701). Conical standing containers without lids are shown in Plate 5^{9and 14}. For information about other larger bowls, see below. The shape of Fig. 112 is unusual; I believe it can be traced to the Indian lotus flower (see the section on culture comparison in Section VIII). There is a similar one in Berlin (VI 26806) that I found in 1906 in Goréör; it is more undulated, like a *Tridacna*. Almost all pieces have a base and inlay.

The collective term for bowls and plates is *górsagěl*²⁹⁸; the syrup water in them is called *kár*, because it is usually made with warm water. A distinction is made between these and the large *a iléngěl*, in which the drink is called *golugău* (pg. 45). In general, large containers are called *gongsıl*, and small ones are called *blagalákl* “swarm,” because they are sold in sets of 10 (see pg. 121). A deep bowl, for example, for preparing *reng*, is called *ngolegěsăgěl* (pgs. 41 and 123). The *a iléngěl* are usually cylinders that are up to 1 ½ m tall,



Plate 6. Wood carvings.

Cow, cat, and monkeys. Stuttgart

//117//



Fig. 106.
Hanging container. Width 21.5cm.



Fig. 107.
Hanging container. Height 17cm.



Fig. 105.
Conical hanging container.
Height 17.5cm.



Fig. 108.
Standing container. Width 22.5cm.



Fig. 109.
Hanging container. Width 23cm.



Fig. 110.
Hanging container. Width 19cm.



Fig. 111.
Standing container.
Width 40cm, height 30cm.



Fig. 112.
Standing container, lotus shape.



Fig. 114a.
Standing container. Width 50cm.

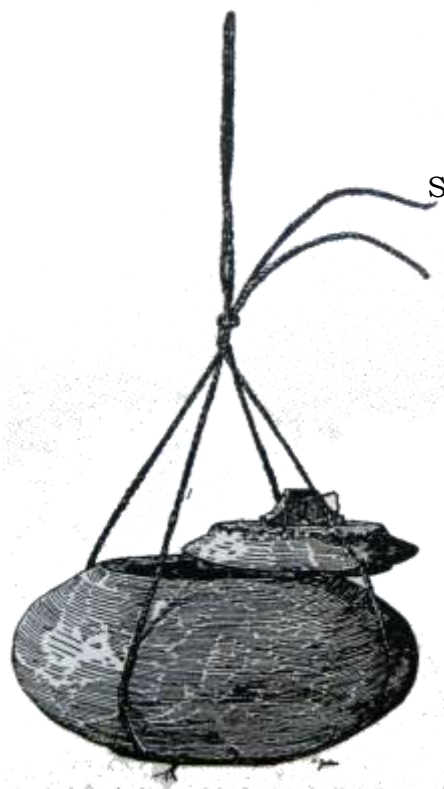


Fig. 113.
Hanging container. Width 21cm.



Fig. 114b. Width 28.5 cm.



Fig. 115. Height 7 cm.

with four free-standing legs (K. 1035^a, HE. 1907, HAM. 43). But there are also very small ones (HA. 13, Kr.), approximately 22 cm tall (Plate 6⁵ and Fig. 116). All of them are carved from single pieces of wood. During my stay, I learned of two decorated bowls, one in 1907 in Goréör, which I acquired but had to return by order of the chief of police, which was really too bad, because the piece is now lost for Germany and will surely not stay in Palau. It can be seen in the photograph of the celebration in Section VI. On the upper rim, there are four faces, and halfway up the body of the vessel there are four hands, one under every face; the inlay work is very nice. In Pkulapelú on Peliliou there was a similar *a iléngěł*, but it was not nearly as nice.

There are two kinds of *tóluk* taro benches: round ones and rectangular ones. The round *tólukgaliduíd* (from *mageideuíd* “round”) have four legs, which are attached at the base to a wooden ring (Fig. 118 and Plate 9¹⁰). Their decoration and use were previously discussed on pg. 114; see also Story 164 and the section below on the *ruk* dance (Section VI).



Fig. 116.
Container for syrup water,
approx. 20cm tall.



Fig. 117.
Container for syrup water,
114cm tall, 40cm wide.



Fig. 118.
Round offering table.

HE. collected an old, small, round *tóluk* that was used as an offering table and was said to have come from Ngáruangěł (see Vol. 2, pg. 45)²⁹⁹.

It was supposedly damaged by the disastrous typhoon (width 40cm, height 15cm) (Fig. Plate 5¹⁰ HE. 931).

In Ngimis I found a specimen decorated with four faces that was dedicated to the god Medegēipélau (Vol. 2, pg. 158). In this instance, however, the four legs were not fully carved out, and the ring at the base was octagonal (Fig. 119). These tables are carved out of a single piece of wood, just as the rectangular taro benches *audertebótōb*³⁰⁰, which can be quite large; they are called *gologotókl*³⁰¹ (Fig. 120). (The smaller ones, according to KUB., are called *góngolungēl* “stretcher”.) Two benches which the expedition brought back to Hamburg, which belonged to the *a* Ibēdul Nr. I from Goréör (4753^{II}) and the Ngiraikelau Nr. II (4752^{II}), have 10 feet, are 244 and



Fig. 119.

Offering table with partial feet,
from Ngatpang. Height approx. 60cm.

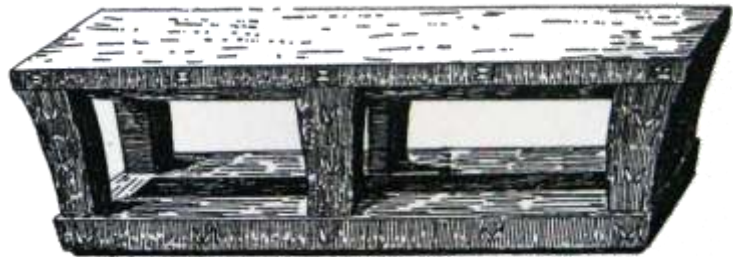


Fig. 120.

Taro bench. Size 128:38:34cm.

247cm long, 75 and 72cm wide, and 51 and 47cm tall. The former has small faces along the upper rim, inlaid sea grass blossoms on the feet, and is hung with Ovula snails. For information about its use, see the section on celebrations.

Of course, the taro benches can also be used as footstools; occasionally, they had special steps *gosogoákl*, especially for children; one is depicted on Bai 48. Fig. 121 shows a three-legged one.

It

should be added here that, with the exception of the taro benches previously mentioned, square containers are very rare (see Plate 5¹⁶). Similarly, a taro pounding board, *ngot*, that is more elaborately carved (see Plate 5²⁴ and pg. 97) can sometimes be mistaken for a Japanese serving tray. But as I mentioned, this is a rare occurrence.

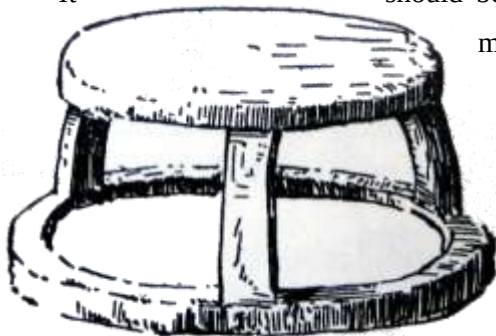


Fig. 121.

Three-legged footstool for children.



Plate 7.

No. 1, 2, 3, 5 wooden containers with mother-of-pearl inlay work. British Museum, London.
No. 4. Same, Linden Museum, Stuttgart.

The same is true of the rhomboid shape of one of these bowls in KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate 26, Fig. 7, and the almost square shape (the inner bottom plate is truly square!) in Plate 25, Fig. 3. The latter is a *debí*, as are the two specimens in Plate 26, Figs. 6 and 8, of which the second is apparently called *deléute dhuy* and has sloped sides at the four corners, so that in reality it is octagonal. The rectangular Galid seats are also called *ngot* (see Section VI).

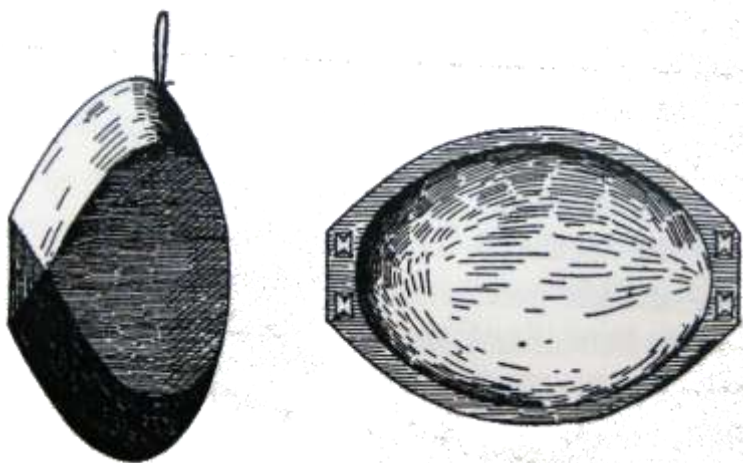
The round, four-legged *toluk* are actually just big, thick plates on tall legs; but there are also small, round plates called *madál a gadéng* “eye of the shark”; this expression, as a matter of fact, applies to all circular containers³⁰². If they have legs and a ring around the feet, they are called *ouág* and are used for offerings or for serving food to Rubak (Fig. 123 and Plate 5¹¹).

The pretty, little circular plates are made and sold (*óngiaki*) in sets *blagalákl* (Plate 5^{22and 23}) of 10 (see pg. 116); for this reason they are also called *madál a gadéng blagalákl*. I saw round plates of extraordinary size in the house of the *a Rāklāi* in Melekeíok; they are called *gongsíl madál a gadéng* or *gongklsíl*, because they are meant especially for mashed taro³⁰³. The one shown in Plate 5² comes from Pelíliou and has a diameter of 73cm and a height of 8cm. Next to that there are very small ones for children that barely measure 10cm in diameter. Just as there are round ones, there are also elongated plates, called *gongál* (see Plate 5, Figs. 12, 15, 17, 18, 19), if they are arm’s length: *gomlútél* or also *debí*, as in the Central Carolines (Truk: *sābbi*). All plates and bowls with flat handles *debí* (see above, pg. 115) actually belong with the elongated vessels. They are usually

wedged as far down as the bottom slab, which is generally separated from the container by a groove³⁰⁴. The slab is either elliptical

lengthwise, in the case of the long plates, or

round, in the case of the round plates with handles (Plate 5²⁶), like the circular containers *madál a gadéng*. There are even plates with handles that are so compressed at their bottom axis that the bottom appears transversely elliptical. The bottom slab can be hollow, as is true of our porcelain plates, so that there is a ring around the base, without legs, or it may be filled in, i.e. level (Fig. 122). This bottom slab, or the ring base³⁰⁵, is of importance. Of course,



a. Fig. 122. b.
Plates with flat handles, without lugs and with a level bottom slab.

there are also bottoms without a groove, and flat handles without lugs, as shown in Fig. 122, but this is the exception rather than the rule. The specimens shown in Plate 5, Figs. 3 and 4 appear to represent a transition from

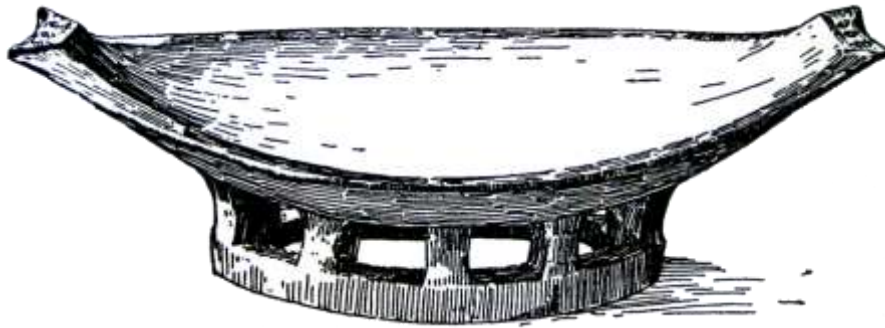


Fig. 123.
Long bowl with 10 legs and ring base.

similarly called *debí blagalákl* (see Plate 5^{25and 26}).

4Like the round *madál a gadéng* and the *tóluk*, the elongated *gongál* plates are also often given legs, always with a ring base; they are then called *ouáglongál*³⁰⁶. They resemble the four-legged *toluk*, such as a sturdy old specimen in Leipzig (Mi. 1691), which is 47cm long, 36 wide, and 14cm high. One that HE. collected (HE. 908) is even 79cm long, 16.5cm high, and 41.5cm wide. In addition there are smaller ones with six legs, like one in Stuttgart (L. M. 11) whose curvature brings to mind a *káěp* sailing canoe (the bowl that is there brings to mind the same thing, as it has a similar curved, raised lateral band L. M. 10).

Indeed, there are even some 10-legged bowls (Fig. 123), a profusion that is reminiscent of the Samoan kawa bowls. The *gongál* plates, however, are used for food, while the drinking containers, as mentioned above, also are beautiful to look at, but in a different manner. Also included in the long containers are the *gombál*, the fish boards, also called *gongál geisilatú* “banana blossoms” because of their elliptical shape (Fig. 124). They are most often carved in the shape of a *debí*, i.e. with flat handles, such as

round plates to elongated ones, i.e. a *madál a gadéng* with *debí*, but closer inspection reveals that it really belongs to the elliptical ones. Fig. 4 has very thick walls and is 62cm in diameter. The small plates with flat handles, which are made in sets of 10 like the little round ones, are

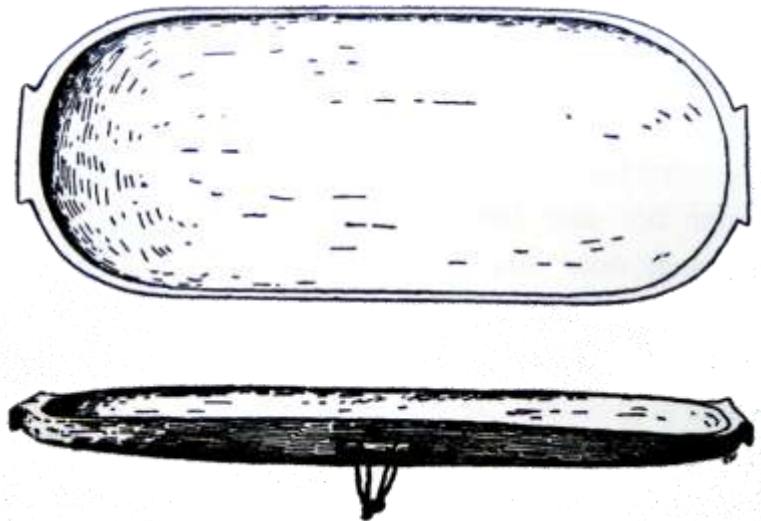


Fig. 124.
Fish board from above and side view.

KR. 112 = 81cm long (width 37, height 5.5cm) (Hamburg 2893^{II}) and HE. 846 = 99cm long (width 41.5cm, height 5cm) (Hamburg 4686^{II}). However, I saw even longer ones used for scaling and serving on Palau. In Stuttgart there is a fish



board that is 173cm long by 52cm wide.

A particularly narrow and long form

without flat handles, which we saw in 1910 in a Imeúngs, is shown in Fig. 125. This sort is used to put large, raw fish on; these are then scaled, etc. on the board.

Fig. 125.

Fish container.

Finally, let me finish by mentioning the remaining variously shaped bowls with flat handles, called *buk* (poss. *bkúl*), which serve numerous purposes. One such container is the *gomlútél* container mentioned above on pg. 6 (Hamburg 2892^{II} Kr. 111) for mixing red clay with expressed coconut milk and for dyeing fibers; it has protruding flat handles, called *ngerél a dabár* “duck bill” according to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 205. Then there is the *goromógěl kár* (Kr. 116 Hbg. 2879^{II}, see above 119), for mixing the hot syrup drink *kár*, which is probably why it has such thick walls and a notch in the handle (a spout?) like the *gologasákl* (*ngolegēságěl?*) which is used to carry grated coconut or turmeric root (see pgs. 41 and 116, HAM. 46, KR. 7 and 108). A deep bowl with a ring base, like an *ouág longál*, is a rare exception; HAM. found one like this in the first family of Goréör that must be very old; the inlay has fallen out³⁰⁸. (HAM. 143, Plate 5¹³, Hamburg 135^{II}.)

Finally, KUB., in Vol. VIII, Plate 25, Fig. 2, depicts one more bowl, supposedly a reproduction of a foreign container that is said to have come from the “Herméth Islands” (Luf). The shape is almost hexagonal, composed of a square central section to which two triangles are attached that come to a peak at the two handles, which in this case are pointed in snoutlike fashion. Four stubby little feet sit on the floor, similar to the bowls known from the Admiralty Islands, which are closely related to Luf. The bird bowls are also reminiscent of these, as is the *klívuk* pattern that appears on them (pg. 113). The bowl in question could perhaps owe its existence to more recent relations with Luf, as discussed in Vol. 1, pg. 151. The shape, however, is Central Carolinian, as is explained in more detail in the culture comparison in Section VIII.

That section also discusses the wooden containers of the Tianganen of the Philippines, who manifest a close relationship to Palau. This is particularly true of a wooden spoon from Palau (Fig. 30) and a Tianganer wooden plate with an undulated rim, both of which have handles and are in Dresden (Nr. 5488 and 7232¹). It is actually a plate with a horseshoe-shaped transverse handle on one side, in place of which the other spoons in Dresden (5486-91, 2522 and 5454) have wide and usually short handles (pg. 45).

As for the rest, ladles were already mentioned above on pg. 47. Let me point out here the mixing spoons in Fig. 86 (HE. 80 and 1098).

The spoons and the elongated, round fish boards *gombál* lead us to the next items: *tóluk lgolúüŕ*³⁰⁹, the turtleshell containers.

There are wooden containers that are exact copies of these, i.e. made out of wood instead of turtleshell. They are recognizable by their shape (Plate 5²⁰) and by the fact that the handles jut out like little decorative grips.

The Turtleshell Industry

This was already described by KUB. in Vol. VIII, pgs. 188-194. He points out that the natives eat turtle³¹⁰ only in case of illness, as an offering to the gods (see above, pg. 64). For this reason, the turtleshell they sell is valued higher than what foreigners might offer (between one *adolóbok* and one *kluk* for one animal, in contrast to 8 marks for one pound of turtleshell). To test whether the turtleshell is good and thick, they use the neck plate *Oñoroml*, which they remove using glowing coals. The first and the fourth plate along the center line are the largest and best; they are called *malakáu* and *odhánap*. The second and third are called *dogolél a ulkél*, the fifth one and the two edge plates at the end are called *singk*, and the plate between 4 and 5 is called *malakau a singk*.

The underside provides light-colored turtleshell, whose use was discussed in the section on earrings (pg. 21) and the *tangét* stopper (pg. 62, Fig. 47).

KUB. has only this to say about its preparation: “The turtleshell plates are softened in hot water, then pressed in wooden forms *Kosorókl* of various shapes and are wedged into them until they have cooled.” This is not an exhaustive description and is not entirely correct, either.

In June of 1910, I witnessed the work myself in Gólei, and I provide a more detailed description of it following Fig. 126. The mold *goderógěl* (a. open, b. closed) is carved out of hard wood (*rebotěl*, *dort*, *gurúr*, *dengěs*, etc.). It is prepared according to the size and thickness of the plate to be molded. Once the mold is ready, the plate to be used in it is immersed in hot water for about 5 minutes, to warm it up (*marár*), then it is immediately laid into the mold, which is then tied up (e) and boiled for about a quarter of an hour. Wedges are then quickly driven into the binding, so that the strings press the two halves of the mold together firmly. The whole thing is then quickly dropped into cold water, and then the pressed form (f) is removed; its edges are still very wide and uneven.

The wedges *títěg* are driven in with a hammer *gongesuai* (c). The



Plate 8. Turtleshell crafts

Bowls 10-20cm long, spoons, Areca graters, ring.
3 spoons with wooden handles, above 46, below 50cm long.

binding *saur*³¹¹ consists of strands³¹³ (Fig. 126d) from the skin of the coconut frond stalk *galings* (see pg. 48) woven into braids *delidái*³¹², which are extremely strong.

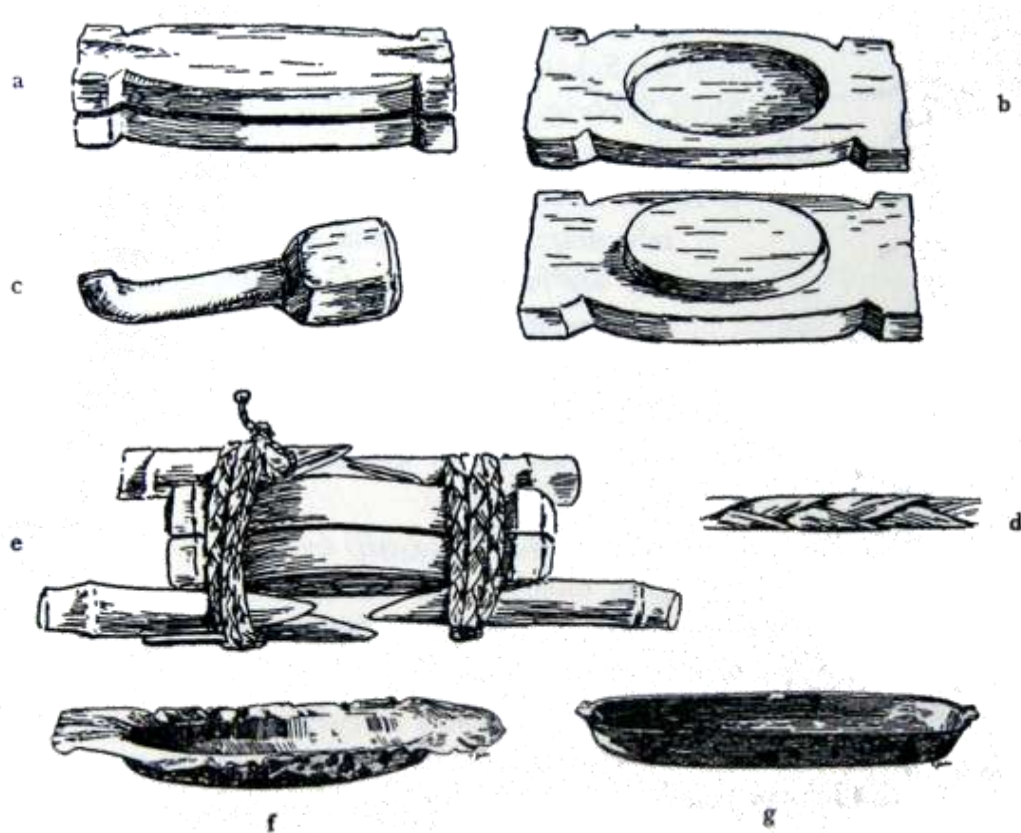


Fig. 126.
Molding turtleshell.

The edge of the rough shape (f) must then be cut down and beautified. For this, it is warmed up with glowing coals or fire-brands *godugoděg* and then sawn off. This sawing *mongóiěs* (see the section on money) is done with the highly silicic “skin of the reed” *budél a líld*. These are stripped off of small sticks from young pieces of reed, after the internodules with the leaf husks have been cut off, and the reeds have been heated and split. The result is narrow bands that resemble our fine fretsaws, and it is amazing to watch the craftsman master the hard turtleshell holding such a band in his hands. Recently they have taken to using knives, as well, but these produce inferior work. Next comes the polishing *omtángět* of the uneven surfaces and sharp edges of the rough shape, which is also done with reeds, or with ray skin. The finished container (g), called *tóluk* like the wooden tables, has a narrow rim that is curved slightly downwards; this is especially true of old specimens, which have only one little square protrusion at each end. The size varies depending on the expansion of the turtleshell plates. There are

small, delicate little bowls, often almost round and without any protrusions. Others are about 25cm long. In 1907, I myself was given an old specimen called Gaseūg by Ngiraróis in Ngabúl; it is 24cm long. The newer specimens are often rather mediocre; they have pressing folds, flat handles of different shapes at both ends (Fig. 127), but also 1-3 protrusions along each side. Occasionally, these pronounced protrusions are also in the shape of curlews. Plate 8 shows some beautiful old forms.

In addition to bowls, there are also spoons, *goligubák* (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 196), which are found among the treasured articles of the older generation in particular. KUB. distinguishes five types:

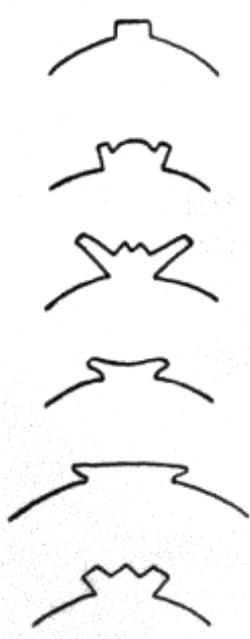


Fig. 127.
Handles on
turtleshell bowls.

1. *Bárák* slender with a wide tip, like a narrow dustpan, long and made from thick turtleshell, perhaps comparable to *bar'rák* “taro, type of money” (Plate 8, right center).
2. *Trír* (*derīr*) *ter'rir* poss. *ter'ruíl*, pointed at the tip, like our eating spoon (above).
3. *Iweáol* oval shape with a handle, actually a bowl with a handle (top center).
4. *Pkul er wel* (*pkul r uél*) oval, flat, with a stubby handle, apparently because the little “end piece” is not long enough for more; a container with a stubby handle.
5. *Bi-ul* (*biúl*, see above, pg. 45) round, hemispherical, with a wide handle.

The spoons are often carried on a string or chain (Plate 8, top right).

Bowls and spoons made of turtleshell are the property of women. Like our silverware, they are considered part of the valuable utensils used only for high-ranking personages, including offerings to the Galid. KEATE, Plate 4, includes an excellent picture of a beautiful bowl and spoon.

Other turtleshell wares already discussed are the earrings (pg. 21), the women's bracelets (pg. 27), turtleshell combs (pg. 29), the lime stick (pg. 62), finger rings, and graters for the betel mortar (see Plate 8a and pg. 60).

The *gosisál* rods of messengers, which are discussed in the section on chiefs, are similar to the triangular, long, sharp graters.

Weapons *galěvěl* (poss. *galěvelél*)

(For information about bows and arrows, as well as the blow gun, see pgs. 67 and 68)

The simplest weapon is the stick *skors* (poss.: *skersél*), called *ker'regár* “tree” in its larger form. The throwing stick that is used in Story 167 for incredibly long distances is called *tiuáläg* (WALL.: *meliuálach* “to throw a clu”).

Similar to the club are the short hand clubs *prótōg*³¹⁴ (KUB.: *prótok*) and the wooden sword, usually known as *galépěd*, of which there is a magnificent specimen in the WILSON collection, see there pg. 347 *Prothotbuck*, MCCLUER: called *Prothotheek*, already mentioned above in the section on inlay work, pg. 113, and depicted³¹⁵ in Plate 7⁵ (size 2 feet and 10 inches).



Fig. 128.
Wooden sword, according to KUB.

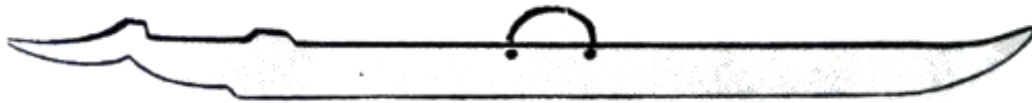


Fig. 129.
Wooden sword, according to DAHLGREN.

There is also one shown in KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate XXII 9, which he calls *Prótok* on pg. 156; it is 94cm long. It has only 6 little pieces of inlay on the blade. There is a similar specimen in the Imperial Natural History Museum in Stockholm, and it is portrayed in DAHLGREN, pg. 324; it has no decoration whatsoever (Figs. 128 and 129).

All three have the same shape and size: the side with the handle is shaped like a bird head, and in fact, one can tell by the length of the beak that it is a curlew *delarók*, a well-known sign of wealth. But it is also possible that it is meant to be the bird monster *Pěágědarsai*, which reminds one of a *logúkl*. The blade seems to imitate the shape of the bird's body, and, on the two depicted above, one can see a handle on the back, an indication that the sword was carried there. It was probably a showpiece of the priests or high chiefs, for the WILSON specimen was most assuredly never used in combat.³¹⁶ It is also difficult to see how one would have held this weapon.

Perhaps the explanation for it is similar to that of the ceremonial spear of the god *Godálmelég*, which is discussed in Vol. 2, pg. 100.

Fig. 130 shows a sword-like club made in recent times, while Fig. 131 shows a simple wooden club. There is an unusual swordlike weapon set with sharks' teeth, which is also in Stockholm (132), and which has two



Fig. 130.
Sword-like club.

figures standing back-to-back on the hand grip. The same figures are found on a dagger with ray stingers in the British Museum (Plate 9⁸). With it are also two similar weapons armed with teeth (Figs. 7 and 9), each of whose handle has a wide hole. Fig.



Fig. 131.
Club.



Fig. 132.
Shark's tooth weapon.
Stockholm.



Fig. 133.
Knuckle-duster. 12 cm wide.



Fig. 134.
Knuckle-duster
with a wooden handle.



Fig. 135.
Bamboo dagger. Madrid.

7 shows a casing with an iron barb on a sawfish horn; the horn, the barb, and the three transverse bands woven on the handle indicate Indonesia as its origin; assembled in Palau? The weapons set with sharks' teeth, which unquestionably existed in Palau (see Story 164), even if not for as long a period of time as, for example, on the Gilbert Islands,

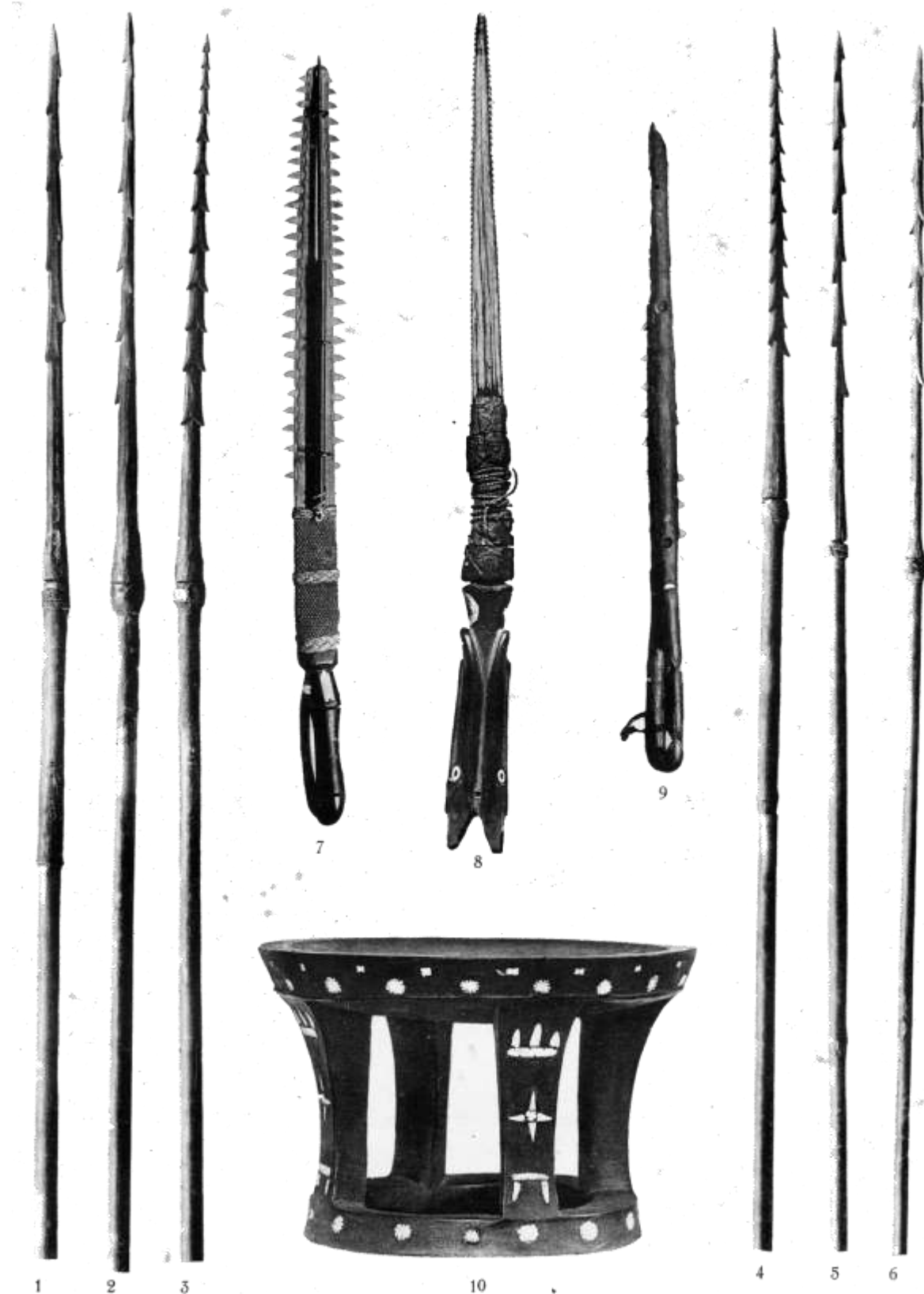


Plate 9. Weapons (1-9) and offering table (10)

1. Collection of the Anthropological Museum Hamburg 3765^{II} (HE. 16). 2. same 4747^{II} (HE. 898). 3. same 4745^{II} (HE. 896). 4. same 4746^{II} (HE. 897). 5. same 3765^{II} (HE. 15). 6. same 3827^{II} (HE. 87). 7-9 London. 10. Dresden 5521.

were called *gǎreál*³¹⁷ or *garáel* (HE. and KUB.: *kareál*) and were used to cut off heads, as Story 59 of Túlei and Bai 139II^a demonstrates, or at least to tear open the throat and sever the arteries.

Two knuckle-dusters are embedded with sharp barbs from the tail of the *Naseus* fish, one in Berlin, already depicted in KUB. Vol. VIII, Plate XXII Fig. 7 (Fig. 133)—there is also a similar one there with sharks' teeth in Fig. 8. — the other, with a wooden handle that has been sharpened at both ends, in Dresden (Fig. 134).

Finally, there is a dagger with a bamboo blade in the Anthropological Museum in Madrid (Fig. 135). The origin is not definitely known.

The principal weapon was the **spear**, commonly called *lild* (poss. *lidél*) or also *piskang l'lild*, because the shafts were usually made out of “reed” (*lild*). *táoěd gerâu*, see Vol. 2, pg. 101.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 155, KUB. mentions that in his time there was a lance with an iron tip that was wide like an “oar,” thus its name *besós*. It was often used on canoe excursions, etc.; it was apparently the main weapon in the removal of the Rubak, etc. There is a specimen in Leipzig; without the *besós* iron tip it is called *nglemóiěl* (see *ngēmóiěl* fish); pg. 9 bottom.

Aside from this iron lance, which was imported, there existed ten other types of indigenous spears, all of which sported barbs (*togěd*) (Plate 9). According to KUB., they are:

1. *Holhódok* (-*gologódög*), the 60-70cm long tip made out of Areca palm wood, covered with dull barbs.
2. *Rus*, with a tip made from a ray stinger *rus*.
3. *Blogóyol*, a long tip made from *ráod* mangrove roots and covered with terrible barbs.
4. *Delidúyus*, somewhat smaller, with three rows of barbs.
5. *Bogórot*, smaller version of 1.
6. *Telónot*,
7. *Ródok thebekel*,
8. *Qubírek* or *Kalden*, carved from a piece of palm wood, with barbs.
9. *Kleñabl*, very simple, consists of nothing but a bamboo pole cut at an angle, “a very long time ago, this was the weapon commonly used in battle, but over the course of time it lost so much respect that killing a man during war with this spear was seen as a particular insult. Women and magicians are killed with it”³¹⁸. This is probably the *nglemóiěl* spear without barbs which I heard of, and for which the class of *kēmědúkl* fish is named *ngēmóiěl*.
10. *Anlóyok*, with the *Kathónl* throwing stick, hurled at the attacking enemy from a great distance, during the time when there were not yet any fire weapons.

This is all that KUB. has to say about this subject. The spear chucker *gatkóngěł*³¹⁹ was a bamboo pole about 50cm long with a hollow³²⁰ on the side in front of an internode, into which the spear *ulóiōg* (poss.: *ulēgel*) was placed³²¹. The term comes from *dmóiōg* to throw (see Story 194, line 14). Ugél re gulsíáng was struck by *ulēgél a* Regëvúi as he rose into the air, according to Story 204b, Verse 34. As Vol. 1, pg. 67 shows, this throwing contraption, which is so strange for Micronesia, was observed by the first explorers already.

These *ulóiōg* were undoubtedly the “arrows” reported by travelers in olden times. They were up to 160cm long and had barbs, but were also used for pigeon hunting (see above, pg. 67, where there is also a report about the blowgun). The blowgun arrows in Berlin (VI 8075 b-g) are approximately 115cm long, the wooden tips about 10cm, like those of the spears (1), but without a knob at the end, and with a bristle brush made of feathers below.

In addition to the spear chucker, it appears the stone sling, like in Yap, existed in Palau, but according to KUB. only in Nggeiangěl, where it was apparently called *Klíwok*; this is the term for the open *Tridacna* shell (pg. 113); so the name was probably just adopted.

The shape of the Palauan spears is particularly similar to those of Yap at the tip, but is markedly different and identifiable in the bamboo shaft and the knob constituting the connection to the tip, made of string and Parinarium cement (see pg. 113). Then there is also the red coloring on the tip and on individual sections of the shaft. On newer spears, green oil paint is often applied to the head. Shields for defense were nonexistent, as HOCKIN’s report, pg. 26, reveals.

Spear throwing was done with great skill; some combatants showed great dexterity in catching spears thrown at them, especially at festivals, as Story 161 relates. Spear throwing *bedóiōl* constituted one of the greater tests of bravery in the archipelago. Youths started practicing very early, as v. M. M. observed; he let one of the natives aim at him from a distance of 45 paces and was struck in the hand.

For information on the use of weapons in battle, see the section on battle.

Pottery making.

The making (*oldák* and *oměób*) of clay pots *gútũm lolākáng* is women’s work and has been performed since ancient times by almost all Blai in Goikúl and Ngátpang (see Vol. 2, pgs. 191 and 157); also in Galáp (pg. 58) and *a Gól* (pg. 71), to which KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 199, adds Neó (Ngěóng, Vol. 2, pg. 50), Ngarengasáng (pg. 129) and Ngarakesóu (pg. 128); the last three are reputed to have produced pots that were particularly sturdy. I already reported

about the presence of clay in Vol. 1, pg. 235; white clay is called *ngēiassek*, according to HE.

We observed the making of the round *golakáng* in Goikúl. I shall allow E. K. to recount this experience:

Pottery making in Goikúl (see Fig. 136^{a-n}).

by E. Krämer.

The woman Gorágēl of Blai Ngaramesegabóng³²² made many pots. She had her own workshop, the Blai *a* Iveáol, in which there were just a few finished bowls sitting up high, but otherwise there was nothing. Incidentally, it is said that most women can pot. They find the clay³²³ on a *ked* flat, a high plateau about 20 minutes from Goikúl, next to the Ngarebagát stream, where many holes have already been dug. The damp clay layer is situated at a depth of a hand's length down in the earth; it is a whitish mass streaked with red, which can be worked. The woman took some out of a hole. This clay is washed and dredged, the stones are picked out of it, etc., and it is set on a board³²⁴ in piles³²⁵ at least the size of cream puffs, to dry in the sun (Fig. a). Instead of using fresh clay, it is also possible to take unfired containers that have been damaged, broken up, and softened in water. The woman estimates how many such piles she needed for a cooking bowl and places 8 of them on a board. Depending on the sun and whether she is in a hurry, these piles are made smaller or larger, so that they take a shorter or a longer amount of time to dry.

When I returned the following day, the piles had been reworked and were about twice as large as before; they were about the size of an ostrich egg. When these large balls were dry, which takes one full day, they were all thoroughly kneaded again. Then the woman sat down in front of a board placed on an upside-down wooden bowl³²⁶ (Fig. b), upon which there was a little mat, and began to shape her bowl from two combined balls. She pulled them out on all sides and kneaded them in such a way that a little heap was left in the middle, which she later made use of from time to time to build up the sides. When the bottom reached the desired size (c) (round or elongated), she took a piece from one of the piles and rolled it into an elongated sausage that was about as thick as a finger (d) on the flat board³²⁷, laid it on the rising outer edge of the bottom (Fig. e), the resulting lateral wall taking shape, and joined it using her right thumb repeatedly to squeeze in a downward motion while she held her left hand against it on the outside. Then the spot was smoothed down on the inside with the upper edge of the fingers, particularly the right index finger,

and a new sausage was made and attached at the end of the first one, as a continuation³²⁸. The woman turns³²⁹ the board in such a way that she is always working on the

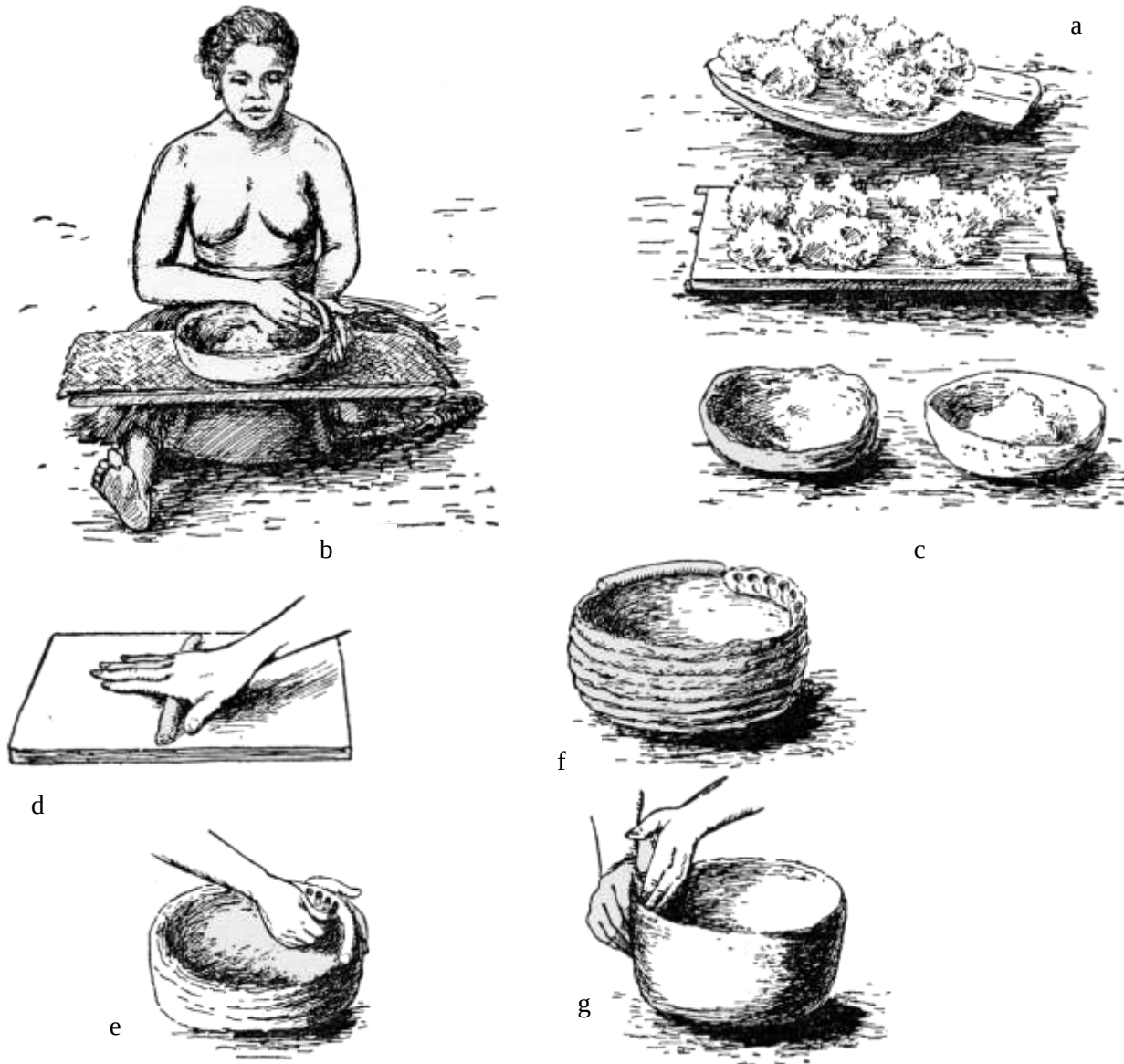


Fig. 136 a-g.

left side, which is apparently more comfortable for her. More and more sausages were added, and the sides got higher and higher; horizontal grooves and bumps from the individual clay sausages were visible on the outside (Fig. f). After the buildup is done, these irregularities are smoothed on the outside (Fig. g) and the inside; for this the bowl is often set on level ground. I was amazed to see how confidently and with apparent ease the woman worked out a good shape for the bowl, its even roundness and hollowness, and the even height of the upper rim; the shape was already established after this preliminary work executed purely by hand. The board with the bowl on top of it is then set in the sun and dried a few more hours, which makes the clay hard and firm.

After this, work begins with the little pounder (Fig. h)³³⁰ and the pressing tool or smoothing utensil (Fig. i)³³¹. The woman holds these inside against the wall and beats against it from the outside, slapping with a type of flat club, gradually covering the whole outer surface. Later she smooths³³² the inner walls with the smoothing utensil by



Fig. 136 h-n.

rubbing it back and forth, exerting counter pressure with her hand on the outside. The bottom of the bowl is smoothed in this way, too, and finally the upper rim is straightened with a wet finger.

Again the bowl is left to dry for 1-2 days; then the underside of the container is smoothed, which until now was stuck to the mat covering the board. The woman carefully lifts the container with the mat, turns it over, and lays it with the upper rim down on her outstretched legs (from a sitting position), which are spread a little. The mat is carefully removed, one hand goes inside with the smoothing utensil, and the other hand beats and smoothes the side that is pointing up.

Now the bowl has attained its finished shape and is ready to be fired³³³. This can be done as early as one day later, or the bowl can be stored unfired in the house for a longer period of time. This woman had 4-5 pots like this sitting on little bamboo poles laid out up high in the house. Firing is men's work; in this case it was the potter's spouse. He made a little pyre of thick tree branches; it was about $\frac{1}{2}$ m long by $\frac{3}{4}$ m wide. On this he laid two large, clay bowls (Fig. k) upside down. He lit the pile, the wood was nice and dry, and threw a lot of little branches and brush on top of the pots, which quickly turned black from the smoke. It took about 20 minutes for the pile to burn down completely (Fig. l). The man then turned the hot bowls, which had lost their sooty appearance and whose previously reddish color had been replaced by a yellowish-gray, with the fork of a branch³³⁴ (Fig. m) and a long rod with a hook³³⁵ and carried them a little ways away, where he placed them on the ground. The woman came with a bit of cement³³⁶. She passed this over the rim of the hot bowl and drew lines on the inside with it, then, after turning the bowl over, on the outside, apparently to mend any cracks. The lines changed color slightly from the heat. After this, the bowls were finished. E.K.

"Glazing is unknown and is substituted by the process of boiling a mixture of grated coconut and water in the new crockery,

during which oil permeates the pores and makes the pot waterproof; otherwise it lets water through” (KUB.).

There are two main types of cooking pots, a round one with high sides, commonly called *golakáng* (KUB.: *golisál*), which can hold up to two baskets’ worth of taro (Fig. 137^{aand b}), and the flatter, elongated *terótěr*³³⁷ (Fig. 138^{aand b}).

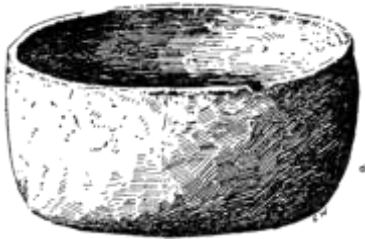


Fig. 137a.
Clay pot. Diameter 3:36cm,
height 17-18cm.



Fig. 137b.
Clay pot. Diameter 36:37cm,
height 16cm.

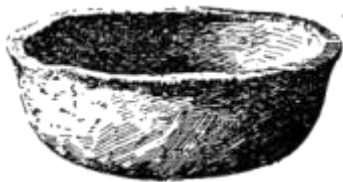


Fig. 138a. Clay pot.
Size 24:16:10.

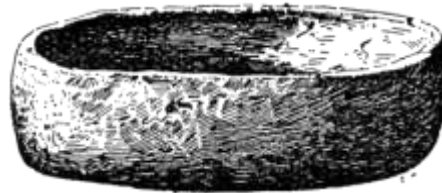


Fig. 138b.
Clay pot. Size 35:24:11.



Size 40:19-20cm.



Fig. 139. Syrup pots.

Size 38:22-38cm.

Fig. 139^{aand b} shows the shape of the molasses container *bakāi*. Imported earthenware has almost completely replaced it. According to KUB., larger pots over 1m tall are called *karamalúuk*³³⁸, smaller ones are called *kasapagáy*.

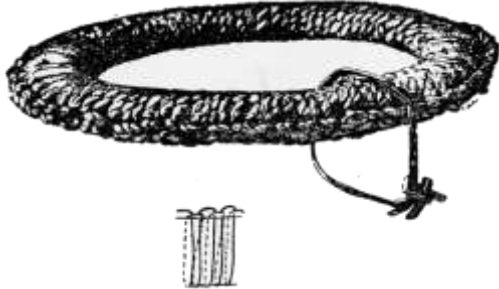


Fig. 140a.
Pot stand.



Fig. 140b.
Pot stand.

Stands *iluódēl* (poss. *ilodelél*) or *golegú*³³⁹ (poss. *golegelél*) or *goleíl* are used for stabilizing pots on the ground and for carrying them on the head; these are either woven from coconut fibers (Fig. 140a) or made out of branches (Fig. 140b). Sometimes, a cross made out of wrapped coconut string *gongdelél golakáng* is used.

There are also pots for hanging that have three ears like the wooden containers (Fig. 110). And finally I must include the clay lamps *gólbidēl*³⁴⁰. Apparently, in the past lamps were nothing more than little clay bowls that were hung, in which *tpitl* resin of the *berór* tree, rolled in Areca leaf blades, was burned. Not until the Spaniards came did Palauans learn about the wick, which they brought from the Philippines. To be able to use a wick, the container was supplied with a pipe, which is probably why WILSON does not mention them. (For details, see Culture Comparison.) The creation of this container is highly unusual. The potter shapes the limb and puts a hole in it using a plant stalk (Fig. 141a), usually that of the wild taro *písēg*, just like a doctor would insert a flexible tube (bougie), or it is left open (Fig. 141b). These days cotton or a rag is used for the wick *a l'lut*, formerly soaked, dried, and crushed *lap* fiber were used (HE.); coconut oil and petroleum are used 2, 3, or 4 wick pipes



Fig. 141 a

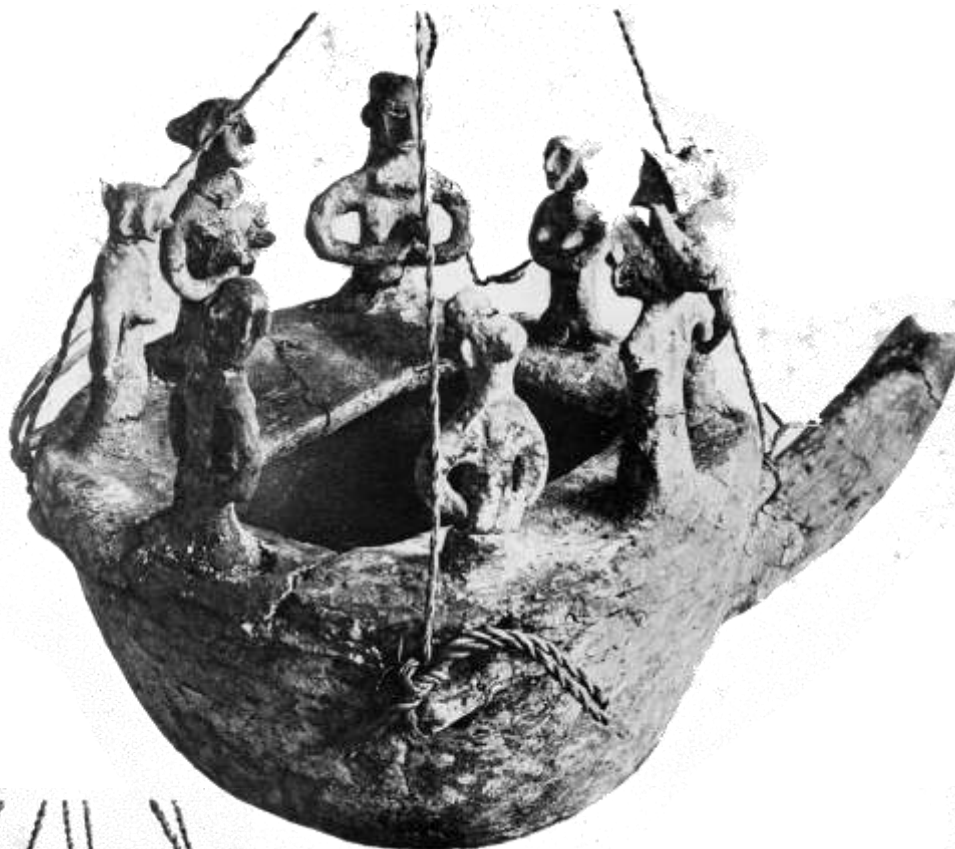
Fig. 141 b

Clay lamp.

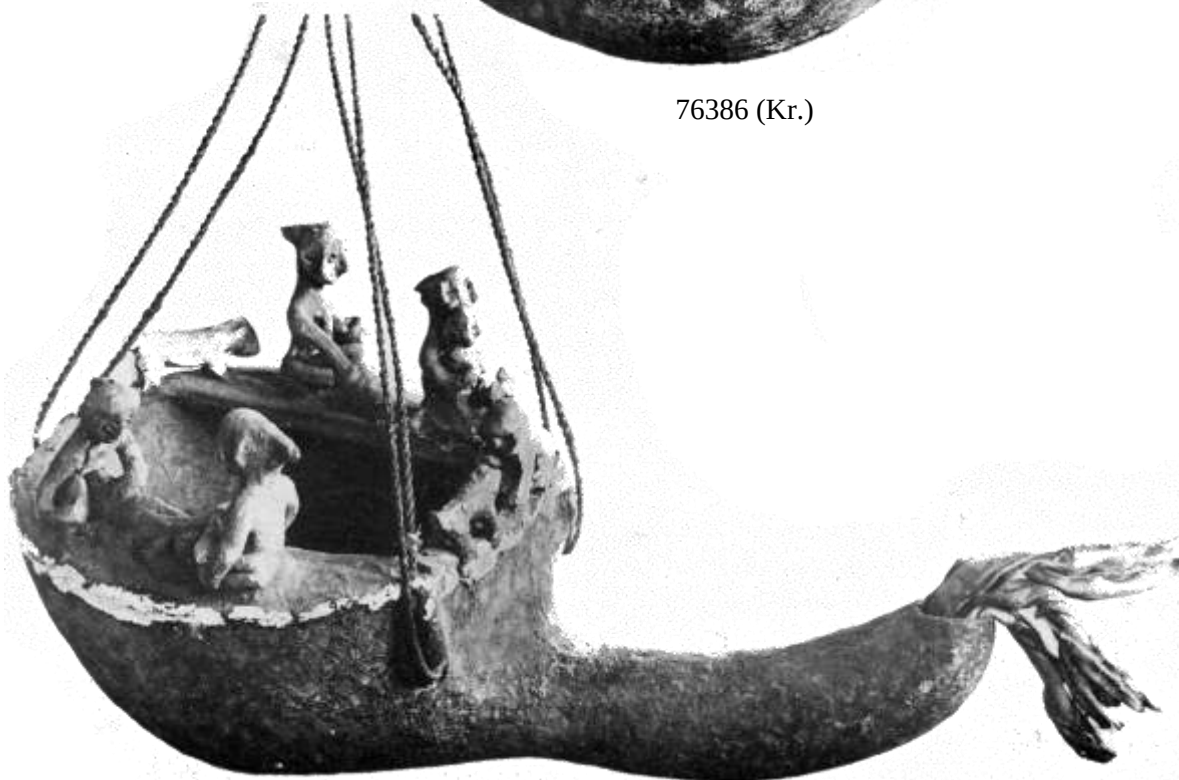


Fig. 141c.
Length 14cm

(*ngëru-*, *ngëdei-*,



76386 (Kr.)



1 C 20672

Plate 10. Figure lamps.
Linden Museum, Stuttgart.

ngëoá-, *madál*). HE. found a lamp with a partition *blingél* and writes the following about it: “In order to have a better flame than an oil lamp and at the same time save petroleum, one burns two wicks, one each from the oil and the petroleum section. At the same time or, according to need, one burns only one of the wicks with its oil or petroleum, while the other one is pulled in and not operational.” HE. also found a lamp with 4 wick pipes, HE. 902. To protect the hanging strings from the flame, they are usually pulled through little tubes (Fig. 141c).

The magnificent lamps made in Ngátpang, which

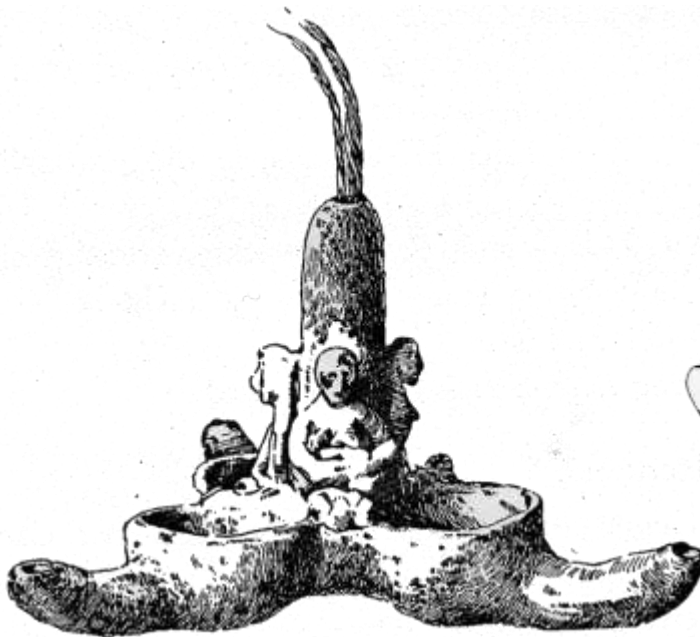


Fig. 143.

Magnificent lamp. 30cm wide.

reach considerable size, are of special significance. Fig. 142 shows a container that is 17cm long, with a wick pipe that is 16cm; it has a seated woman holding an infant on it.

Fig. 143 shows a lamp with three containers on one base, around which there are three women sitting with infants, leaning against the base. This belongs to E. GRÖSSER in Hamburg. The span between the ends of the wick pipes is 30cm. Two other lamps are in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart; one of them is from BENNIGSEN, the other I collected in 1907. The former has four groups of women with infants on its broad edge

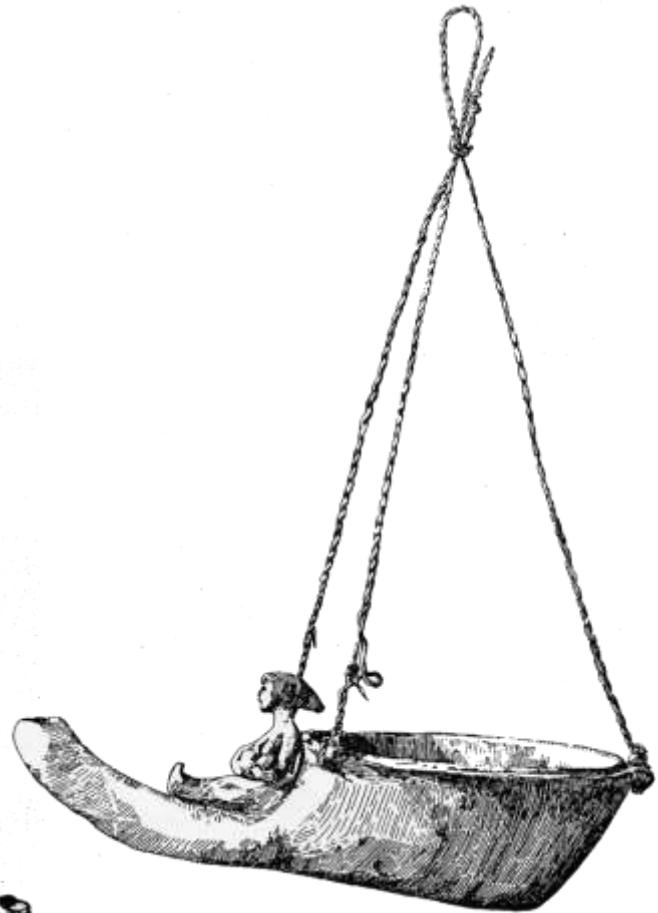


Fig. 142.

Magnificent lamp, 31cm long.

(Plate 10, bottom), which is a favorite subject; the latter shows 8 people seated in a circle (Plate 10, top).

These artistic products are primitive in nature, but their overall effect is nevertheless impressive due to their unusual power of expression, which is reminiscent of Indonesian/east-Asian models.

b) Ropemaking and the art of Weaving

We were not able to observe much regarding the making of string and fishing line *ker'rēl* (see pg. 77) and ropes *gēkil* (see Story 197). For information about the material, see above, pg. 8.

Making of coconut cord: The most important fibers are obtained from the coconut husk (see pg. 48). The husks are soaked in saltwater for a month, usually near the beach under stones, so that they do not float up. Then the fiber mass *suld* is beaten on a wooden block with a mallet *tógōtogra*³⁴¹*súld* or *temáng* (poss.: *temungúl*, see Story 155a) until the binding substance *dēgíl*³⁴²*asuld* has loosened and the fibers *bangkí* appear clean. Then they are washed in freshwater and dried in the sun. The mallet is made of ironwood *ngís*, which is harder than *dort*; and beating the fibers is considered hard work. In contrast, spinning string on one's thigh is considered a pastime by men, comparable to our women carrying around a sock to be darned. The side of the upper thigh is called *gomedóngēl*³⁴³*l suld* "surface for spinning fiber," in recognition of its use for this purpose. Real rope is sometimes braided (*melisái*; WALL.: *melidái*), but usually it is spun from three strands *blad* (from *omíd*).

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 297, says: "It is the product of a private industry, which is usually run by older men."

"The thinner, but very important *Totan* and *Bohúkl* cords are home-made by their owner. Only thicker ropes are bought, by people who do not know how to make it themselves, which is often the case."

For more details, see the section on canoe building, where there is also a report about the *totáu* cord.

Weaving

Weaving is a foreign concept for Palauans, as opposed to all the other Caroline Islands. KUB. claims in his work on Truk³⁴⁴ that it was formerly practiced on Palau, but he never produces corroborating evidence.

We did not find any support for the assumption that weaving was once common in Palau. But as there is special training for braiding, the concepts of warp and weft are not unknown to the islanders, as is evident below in the discussion on the braiding of the *gotúngěł* bag³⁴⁵.

Braiding *mangáus* (*omdíđ* the beginning at the edge) primarily applies to baskets, bags, and mats. Baskets *suálo* are made from coconut fronds.

blókot basket made from half a coconut frond; this includes the *tangarík*³⁴⁶, which is made quickly to hold something.

suálo made from two coconut fronds; often made from old coconut leaves.

*suálogorovíkl*³⁴⁷ basket for bringing food.

suálo ulóik made from young, slit fronds.

gológŭl (poss. *gologelél*, WALL.: *chochuóchel*, EK.: *ngoluókl*) used for taro fertilizer, loosely braided.

goskŭl (WALL.: *choskúul*) taro basket.

goltátěł large taro basket.

tet ulóik usually called *tet* for short, the hand-held basket of the Rubak (see Plate 6 in Vol. 2), which is tapered towards the bottom. In the past it was very small; those that are 1 foot long are called *galititóug*, now they are often as big as a *suálo*. This is the Rubak's constant companion, containing money, betel, spoons (see below in the section on chiefs), etc. It is forbidden to look inside one or to step over one.

If a basket is used to catch fish, it is called *galáis* (see above, pg. 69, Note 3), a basket made of string is called *séu*.

A basket called *gomsángěł* (KUB. *raŭ*) is used in the *ruk* dance.

The method of tying the baskets closed is worth mentioning. To fill a basket is called *mesúk*, the contents are called *klúk*, so a basket with cooked taro in it is called *klúk l kukau*. When it is full, it is tied closed. There are three types of tying that are most important:

melemósŏm 3 strings are tied on separately, one in the middle and one at each side; *klemósŏm* tied up; *msemesemí* tie it!

maráud tied up lengthwise, the way one sews up an opening; *reuiděł* binding; *m rudí* tie it!

gomogúl' l tied up all around, like a package, *ulugul' l* tied up; *mogulí* tie it!

Tools used for weaving: *gasívõg* the pearl shell used for splitting, *ngarek* half a pearl shell (see pgs. 9 and 97).

Bags *gotúngěł* (poss. *gotngelěl*) are made out of Pandanus monocolour strips or with a black hem *ulálěk* (see above, pg. 10 and Section VIb), with or without a handle *kul*³⁴⁸. Those with the black patterns are often quite beautiful and effective (see Plate 11 and Fig. 144). The kind with handles, the *gotúngěł ulálěk*, are real handbags like those our women carry. They are used to hold quids (pg. 60), money, etc. The former kind, the ones without handles that are tapered at the top³⁴⁹ are slid under the front apron, as discussed already on pg. 12 (see Plate 11).

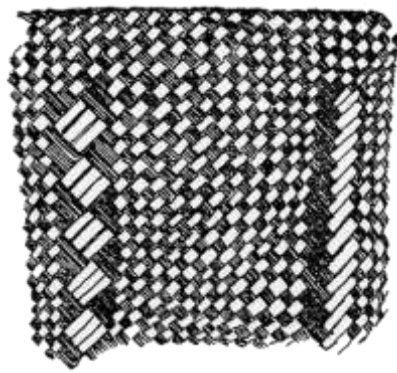


Fig.144.

a. Woman's handbag,
approx. 20cm high.

b. Weaving pattern.

The upper edge is generally straight, but often it is jagged, as depicted in KEATE, Plate 7² (see below for details of its manufacture).

Even smaller bags, called *geidíp* (KUB. *Kaydip*), are made as tobacco pouches for men, who mix tobacco with their quids (see the one made in Yap HE. 840 4682^{II} with the *blásăg* pattern, pg. 39); larger

elongated bags (a double one HE. 38: *sokovidai*) are used to store betelnuts and are called *blil a kebúi* (house of the *kebúi* nuts); larger handbags called *delūs* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 92, Adolúus), made of *monggóngg* leaf blades (see Plates 11 and 2) are used to store provisions for travel (see below *mongol*, Section 6 1 e).

Mats are made in a single color only, out of *sug* leaves (see pg. 8). There are only two kinds: coarsely woven sleeping mats *gădăgól*³⁵⁰, and the more finely woven *bar ngoíkl* that are used as under-mats, and mats for the dead *bar a medeî*. The finer mats, *bar*, used as blankets, are usually folded like a sheet of paper. A distinction is made between *bal a galíd* and *bal a gád*, for “spirit” and “human being.” The latter are used to wrap corpses; the finer *bar* are placed on the inside, and the coarser *gădăgól* on the outside; this is why they are called *a ikrél a bar* “outer *bar*”. Both types of mats are stored under the roof of a home, rolled in bundles *gomodókl* (Plate 14, bottom right). The mats for the dead (Plate 12) are also called *bádek* (KUB., Vol. III, pg. 7 *Bádek*),

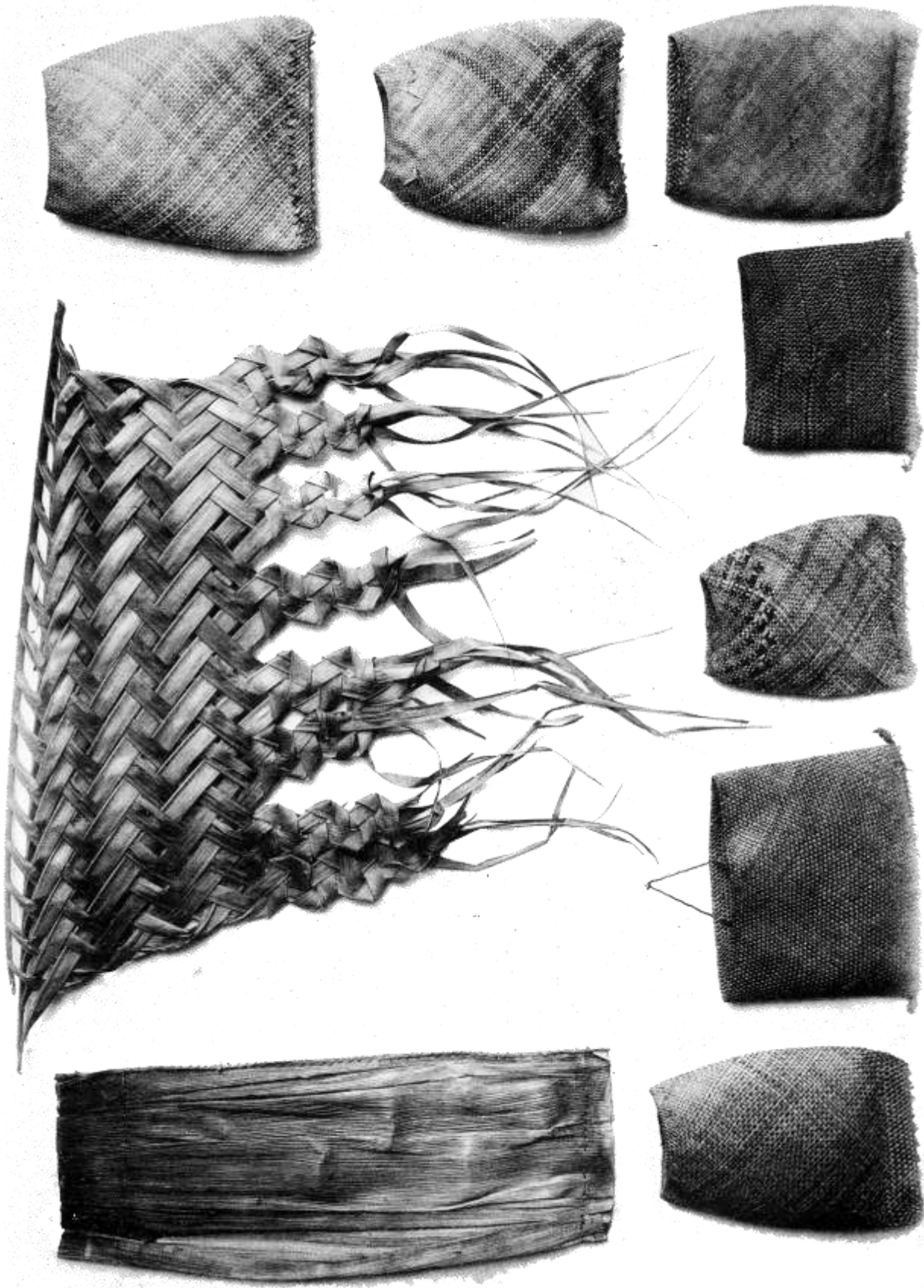


Plate 11. Examples of Weaving work

Left: Bag made from Areca leaf sheath. Center, top: Telutau mat (see Vol. 2, pg. 214).
Right and bottom: Women's handbags.

the coarser burial mats are also called *golúbod*³⁵¹. As a privilege, the outermost mats in high-ranking families have black stripes running through them (KUB., Vol. III, pg. 8). Often the *bar* mats are decorated with horizontal bands, which will be discussed shortly. KR. 1032 shows patterns similar to the small bag in Fig. 144. Often there are also borders *gar'rtógēt*³⁵² (poss. *gar'rtogetél*). The coarser mats are usually braided using wide *sug* leaves, in which case they are called *terivóng* (KUB. Teriwo), or using 2-3 mm wide strips of *telngúděl* (KUB. *Telrindul*); at the top they are usually jagged, like a saw (*kldárm*).

Another type of mat, called *telutáu* (Plate 11), and the related mat *kleiangěl* are sacred mats. Like baskets, they are woven out of coconut fronds (see below, pg. 151). Making them was once a privilege of Semdíu and was passed from him to House Nr. IV in *a Irai*, as is told in Story 197 of *Medegeipélau*³⁵³. Story 161 tells how these *telutáu* mats were used to attract the gods. Story 16 relates that these mats were spread out before high Rubak so they could walk upon them, and Story 162 (see Vol. 2, pg. 214) says that the *telutáu l bar* with its jagged edge was intended to be used as a hat to protect the sacred head of the high chief from desecration by common objects. The *telutáu* dance is done with people holding mats in their hands; in this case, the *rongór* mat probably is just a substitute (Section VI).

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 211, says: "Very small, square *Tolutan* are offering mats, which are dedicated to certain deities and are hung in trees or elsewhere during illness. Pregnant women wear mats like these covered with little mother-of-pearl shells on their stomachs." More about the latter in the section on family, below. I still want to mention that we saw the aforementioned mats in the priest house in Ngátpang, hanging under the roof, arranged in a square. Apparently the mats concealed a room for sacrificial offerings of food. Fig. 145 shows a house on the reef covered with such mats. Details about the making of the mats follow.

When the ends of a mat are sewn together, the result is the sack *tutu* (poss. *tutungél*), which is used, for instance, as a pillow.

Leaf blades of the Areca palm, called *mónggong* or *keai*,

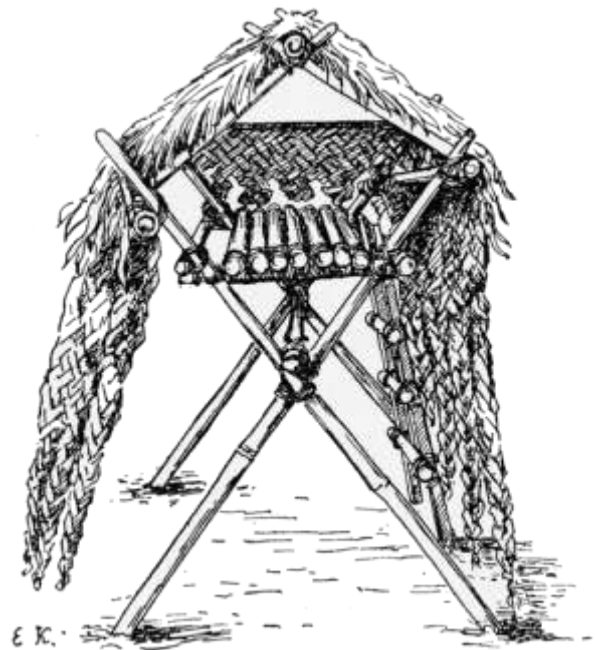


Fig. 145.
Fish observation hut with *telutáu*
mats, except on the viewing side.
Model Stuttgart.

which were previously mentioned on pg. 59, can also be sewn together. These are used to make containers, bags, baskets, mats, etc. To make the simplest container, the edges of a square piece are bent upwards and the corners are pinned together at the short edges (Fig. 40, pg. 59). More common are the bags called *delūs* (poss. *delsél*), of which principally three types are made (see also the cage in Fig. 56 on pg. 69):

uldetīl the surface of the leaf is folded like a piece of paper, sewn together at one end, and the open side at the other end is tied together like the end of a sausage (Fig. 146^b).

klevīdēl both ends are sewn up, “dammed” (from *mengáud* to dam) (Plate 11 and Fig. 146a).

gouērúl “wedged” (like a wedge *gorúl*), three pieces are sewn together with a separate bottom.



Fig. 146a.
Leaf bag, sewn.



Fig. 146b.
Tied.

E.K. records the manufacture of these items as follows: The yellow, withering sheath of an Areca palm leaf is separated from the frond, cut into a square, and the rough outer skin is peeled off. The finished piece is pinched together in the middle in the direction of the fibers, and the two open sides are sewn together. About 1 or 2 fingers down from the edge, this seam is decorated with stitches made of spun, dyed hibiscus string (*ulálek*).

delūs is also the term for umbrella, as it is common to hold a leaf blade, like a banana leaf, which never lasts long, over one's head in the rain. For better protection, about six leaf blades are sewn together in a double layer (i.e. there are actually twelve), called *bai l delūs*; as a single layer, this may also be used as a blanket *bar* or *bal'l delūs*. For information about needles, see above, pg. 10.

The Palauans give different meanings to the decorative patterns (*bedengél* of a mat) applied during weaving. In the minds of the natives, it is the “skin” *buld* (poss. *bedengél*) that has these features. There are only two types. In one type, the whole surface has the pattern, the basic pattern, like a simple line weave in our fabrics, the twill, the taffeta weave, which can be compared in the index that follows with (2) *galusokl*, (1) *télŭ*, (3) *gaus mesóbil*. In other cases, only part of the area exhibits it “standing” *degór* or “lying” *ulekedúrs* (from *omegedúrs* “lay someone down to sleep” WALL.), usually in stripes, as Nrs. 6 – 11 in the index show clearly. But the surface patterns also have a direction,

which is discussed below in the description of the making of the *gorovíkl* basket (pg. 145ff.). If the “rays of the weave” are horizontal, resembling, for example fish bones or corn ears as in Nr. 1, they are called *téliú*. If, on the other hand, they are upright, perpendicular to the edge, they are called *ulegadagér*. In Vol. VIII, pg. 210, KUB. says³⁵⁴: “If the units are standing upright, the pattern is called *ulakadurus*, but if they run horizontally, it is called *ulokodager*. The normal *Téliú* pattern is used mainly for sleeping mats, while the *ulokadager* is used only for the different baskets.”

Evidently, he confused vertical and horizontal, and the error of the latter sentence has been shown above. The stripe pattern is found especially on the fine *bar* mats and on the bags.

E. KRÄMER identified the patterns of the weave which the Palauans call “their skin” *bedengél* (from *buld* skin), according to her records and existing mats. In Vol. VIII, pgs. 210 and 211, KUB. lists 10 names and shows examples of them in Plate XXVIII, Figs. 15-24, but in such an abbreviated and confusing fashion, that repeating a more extensive depiction based on several studies does not seem out of order here.

1, is new; a – e are basic patterns, f – l patterns with decorative bands.

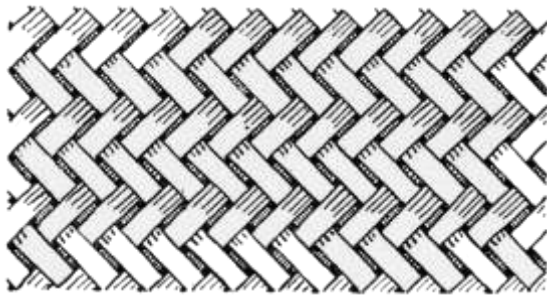
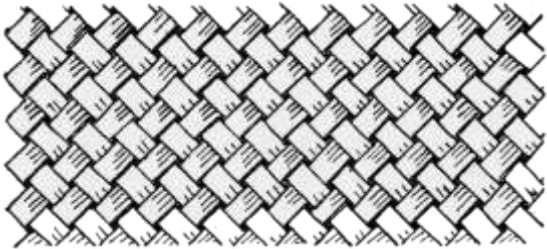
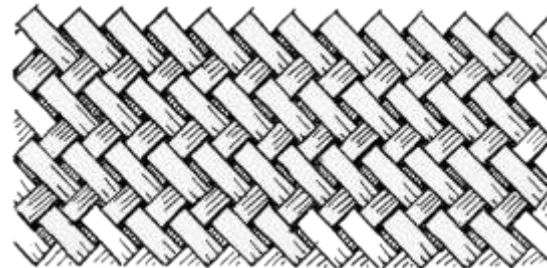


Fig. 147. Weave Patterns.

- a) *téliú* (KUB.: *telíu*; WALL.: *телиú* to carry over one's arm)
2:2 twill weave

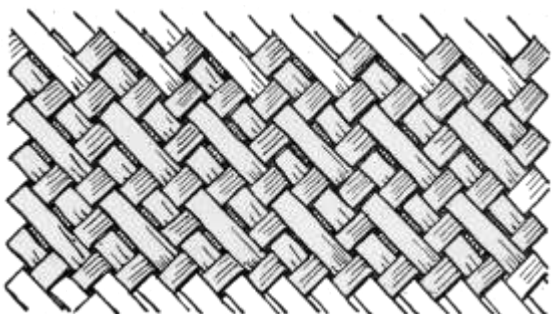


- b) *galusákl* (KUB.: *Kaliusakl*) linen weave, simplest type, used for coarse sleeping mats and mats for dead bodies *a ikrél a bar*.
1:1



- c) *gaus mesóbil* (KUB.: *Gaus mesobíl*) from *mengáus* “to weave,” i.e. “weave art of single people.”
strip slanted to the right 1:2

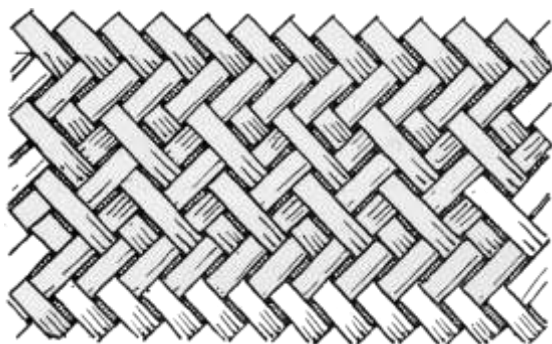
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d) *gogíl a delép* (KUB.: *Kohil adhalep*) “leg of the soul”

1. strip slanted to the right 1:3

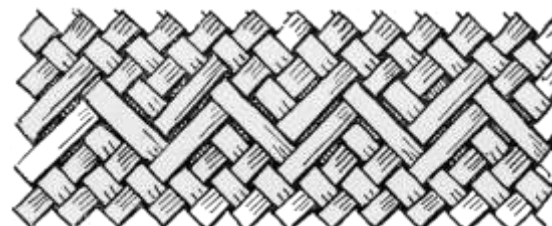
2. strip slanted to the right 1:1



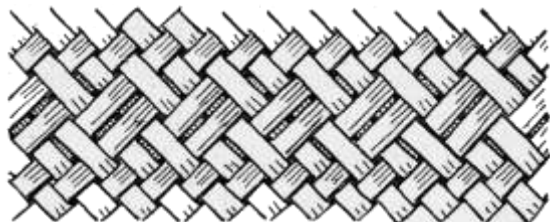
e) *sako ë kúm* (KUB.: *Sako a ginn*) “tracks of the hermit crab”

Band: 1:2:3

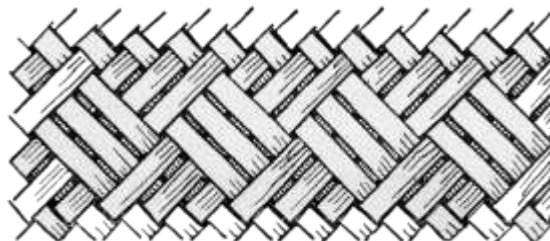
Edge: *télü*



f) *këkóm* (KUB.: *Gekóm*, WALL.: *kegóm*) “crab claw” zigzag, one branch doubled



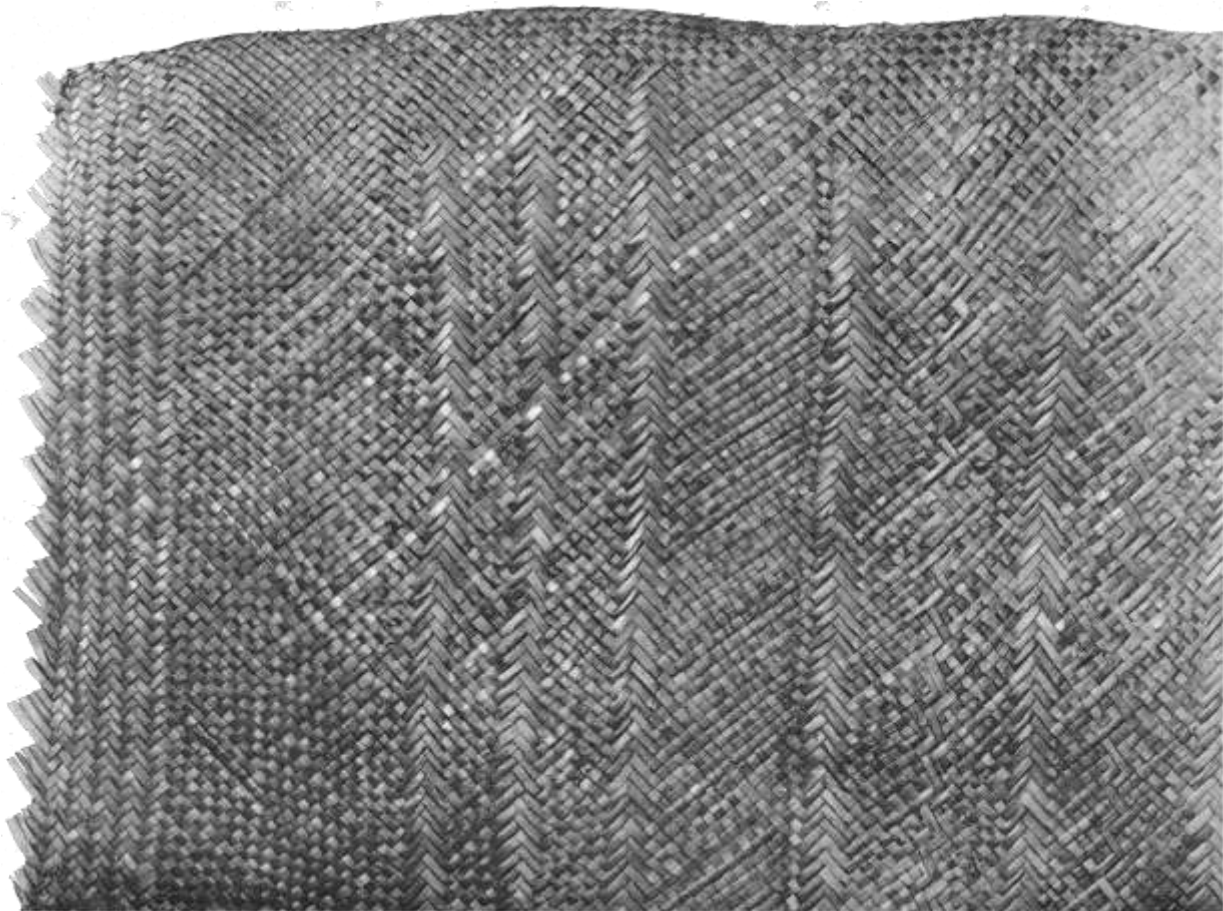
g) *gälpdúi* (KUB.: *Kalothuy*) meaning unknown.



h) *gëludúkl* (KUB.: *Koludúkl*) Perhaps compared to the fish *dukl*, which is rather square.



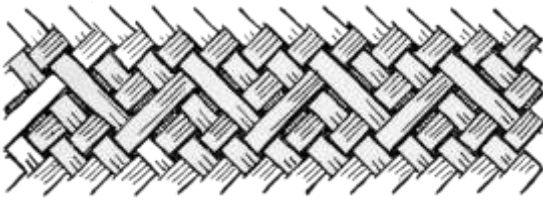
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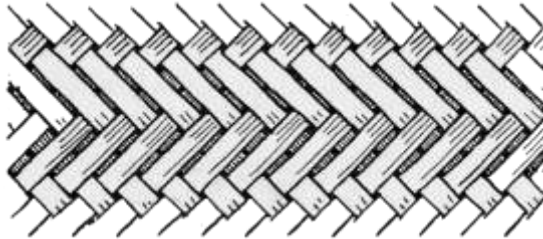
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Plate 12. Death mats.

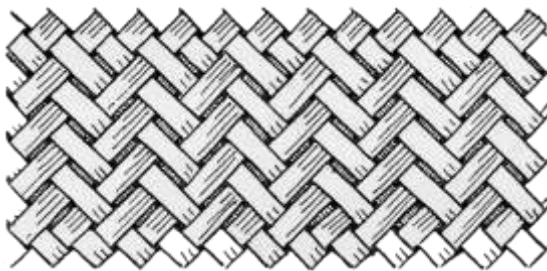
Collection of the Anthropological Museum, Hamburg.



i) *blásăg* (KUB.: *Blásak*) Zigzag; from *omăsăg* “to cross,” see the tattoo patterns on pg. 39.



k) *ger'regerói* (KUB.: *Gargoróy*) The shrub *Mussaenda frondosa*.



l) *ilibugěl* Meaning unknown.

Functional Weaving

Works of weaving also include weaving made from coconut leaf fronds, some of which has already been mentioned in the section on ornamentation (pg. 20). The *blsebúd* sign, for example, is plaited from three fronds for magical purposes. It is depicted in KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate XVII⁵. For information on its use, see below in the discussion of the *ruk* dance. According to KUB., it is used for the gods of the land, while the *tiakl* is dedicated to the gods of the sea (Story 195). Similar objects are the *gúíut* taboo signs (see Story 195). The *klěangěl* shrine (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 107, *Kleángl*) is also made out of fronds.

E. KRÄMER's report on her observations of weaving of certain objects follows here. It goes into so much detail, in fact, that the reader must certainly be capable of weaving a basket oneself if one follows it.

gorovíkl suálo basket (see Plate 21).

The *gorovíkl* basket is used to fetch taro and do similar things and is one of the most common baskets of medium fine weaving. It is made from young fronds of the coconut palm that have been prepared one of three ways: 1. in the *galusákl* style (Fig. 147^b, Plate 21⁴), 2. in the *telíu* style (Fig. 147^a, Plate 21²), in which the pattern, the rays of the weaving, run parallel to the edge, and 3. in the *ulegădăgér* style, in which the pattern runs at a right angle to the edge,

i.e. from the edge to the bottom of the basket (pg. 149). The basket described here is of the last type mentioned (KR. 216 = Hamburg 2998).

After the young, coconut frond³⁵⁵, still yellow, has been rendered durable in the manner described, the two

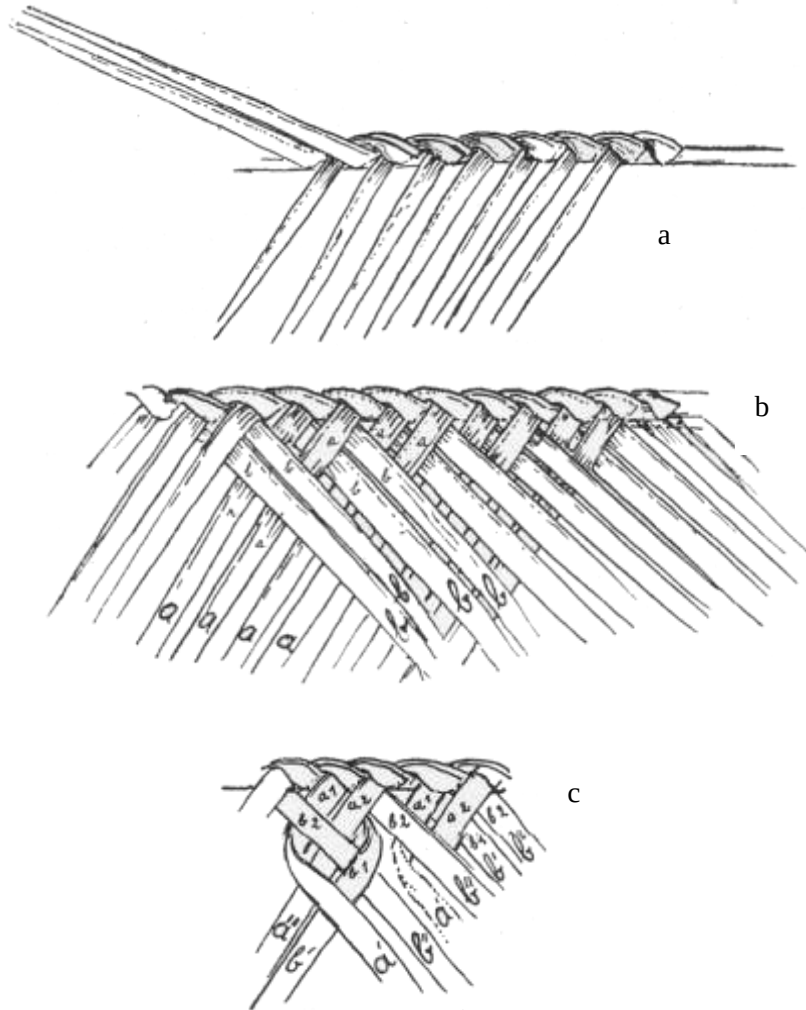


Fig. 148 a-c. Making of the *gorovíkl* basket.

frond halves are torn off of the thick, stiff central rib³⁵⁶. One piece with 35 fronds is separated from each of these halves, to be used for the basket. Naturally, the individual fronds of a young coconut leaf are not spread out flat, but are folded like a sheet of paper. The sides to the right and left of the narrow central rib of the frond are still superimposed, and they are braided in this position. Weaving begins at the edge³⁵⁷ of the basket. This edge is formed

by bending one frond over the other downwards at an angle (Fig. 148a) and, when all of them have been bent over, joining together the beginning and the end so that they create a ring, then tying a little thread around it to fasten it.

The second piece with 35 fronds is not bent over to form the edge, but is placed into the inside of the ring as it is, in such a way that these newly added fronds cross over the others (in both cases, the delicate ribs of the fronds are pointed up). After the

inner ring of 35 fronds has been tied together with and fastened to the outer ring, plaiting begins. The first row is braided across two. Each set of two inner fronds (running from top left to bottom right) (Fig. 148b) always crosses two outer fronds (running from top right to bottom left).

This style of weaving is continued once around the entire edge. Then the pattern is started on top of this (Fig. 148c). The two inner fronds b1 and b2, which cover the two outer fronds a1 and a2, are separated from one another, by bending b1 at a right angle in the direction of the outer fronds, over the inner frond b2, which comes from the left and crosses a1 and a2. Then the left outer frond a1 is bent at a right angle in the direction of the inner frond b2 and with the latter crosses over its neighbor a2 and the inner frond b1, which has just been bent itself. In this way, groups of four fronds each are created, which resemble the beginning of a weave, and between the groups, directly under the edge of the basket, gaps appear, holes in the matting, called *bibak madál* (“many eyes”) (Fig. 148d).



Fig. 148 d.

From this point on, the fronds are braided over two in a regular pattern, like a shirting weave, so that the rows run at a right angle to the edge. The transition from the “eye” row to the shirting pattern is somewhat more difficult, but from there on, work continues with great regularity. 8-12 times, counting from the eyes, weaving over two runs around the basket. Then the bottom of the basket is started. The two sides of the basket are brought together in a binding braid that begins inside the basket on the side, where the thread that connects the ring is located, at the top edge (see above). It is always two and two fronds crossing each other that are woven into a braid, protruding alternately from the right and left side of the basket, in the direction of the opposite side. The braid continually incorporates new fronds in the direction mentioned, until it has reached the other end and there are no new fronds left to incorporate. It is then loosely braided as a tail and is secured with a knot at the end. As already mentioned, only the fronds from a single direction have been used for this braid, leaving the fronds in between in the other direction hanging out below. Now the basket is turned upside down, and the fronds of the other direction are incorporated into a braid in the same manner. This braid, of course, is begun on the side where the inner braid ends. During weaving, all of the fronds are pulled tight, making the basket narrower on the bottom. When all fronds have been incorporated, a free braid appears here, too. This is pulled into the inside of the basket at its beginning, and a piece usually sticks out of the side further up,

where the knot to secure it is usually tied (see Fig. 151b in *tét*, in which the braid has 4-6 parts instead of 3).

The basket just described, *gorovíkl ulegădăgér* is a *suálo* type of basket, which comprises various types of weaving and shapes. These baskets are used for transporting cooked taro; they are made in large sizes for delivering food at celebrations, and they must be made of well-prepared, yellowed, young coconut fronds; using green or older palm leaves is punishable.

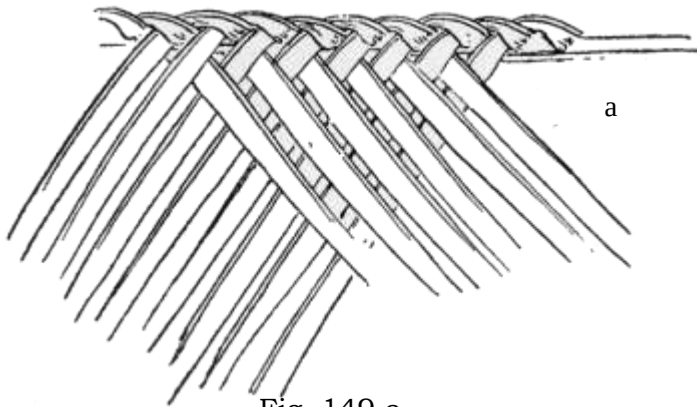


Fig. 149 a.
Weaving art telíu.

149a) while having almost the same execution of edge, bottom, etc. The edge of this kind of basket is made from the same material and two frond parts coming from opposite directions. However, in the case of the *gorovíkl ulegădăgér* 2 fronds are braided over 2 opposite ones right at the beginning, while in the case of the *gorovíkl telíu*, one frond is braided over another, also allowing “holes or eyes,” *bibak madál*, to be created, as shown in Fig. 149b. Under these, the weaving over 2 fronds begins, but this time it runs parallel to the edge. Each new row works with one frond, which always crosses 2 opposite ones. When the matting has reached the desired length, the bottom is made with an inner and an outer braid, just like the *gorovíkl ulegădăgér*.

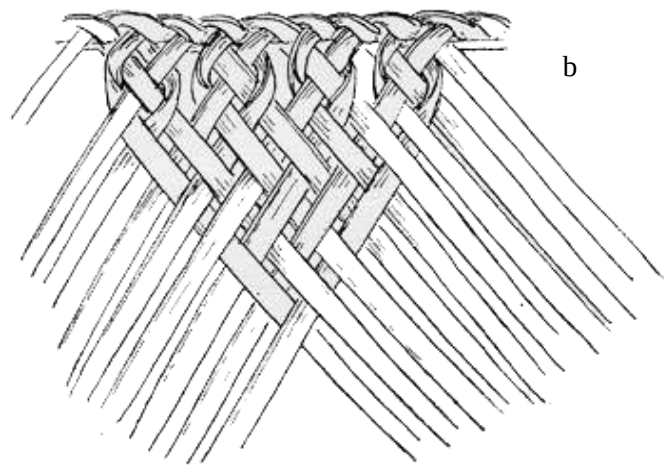


Fig. 149 b.

As mentioned, there is a third kind of basket that belongs with the *suálo* baskets, the *galusákl* (Kr. 218)³⁵⁸, whose type of weaving is much simpler. The same material is used to make it, and again two frond strips in opposite directions are crossed over each other and joined in a ring. On this ring, the fronds crossing each other are braided one over the other, and this line weave continues from the edge to the bottom, without the artistic interruption of “eyes.” The bottom, as before, is formed with the braids previously described.

And this, essentially, exhausts the discussion of the *suálo* baskets for cooked taro, the first type, *gorovíkl ulegădăgér*, being the most common.

tet-hand basket(KR. 215 = Hamburg 2997^{II}), see Plate 21⁶.

Significantly finer and more durable are the carrying baskets. If possible, the fronds used for this are younger and more carefully prepared, they are also narrower, the braid is denser, and the bottom is wider and is created differently (HE. 941, Plate 21⁵). In this case, too, there are different methods of weaving, identical to those described earlier. One sees the *gorovíkl ulegădăgér* type, with its vertical rays of weave, almost everywhere; this kind is particularly used by men. The *telíu* type occurs as a *tet* hand basket (He. 934) on occasion, as well, with its horizontal strips, and is used by some women for storing their personal belongings. In addition to this, there are types with artistic, varied patterns and more refined examples.

The making of the *tet* differs from that of the *gorovíkl* only in the edge and the bottom. In the case of the taro basket *gorovíkl*, the edge is ring-shaped and consists of two superimposed leaf halves in opposite directions, their beginning joined to their end. Only the leaf half visible to the outside exhibits the fronds bent over one another, while the leaf half on the inside remains in its natural state. In contrast, the hand basket *tet* often consists of four leaf halves, 2 upper halves and 2 lower halves, each with about 30 fronds, whose thick central ribs jut out the sides like points (at the handle, see Fig. in Vol. 2, Plate 12¹, front and back) (there are also very fine baskets with 4 upper halves and 4 lower halves); the inner sections have fronds bent over each other just like those on the outside, in contrast to the *suálo*, whose inner sections remain unbraided.



Fig. 150.

The making of the eyes and the shirting-like weave after that is identical to that described for the *gorovíkl*. After 10-20 rows,

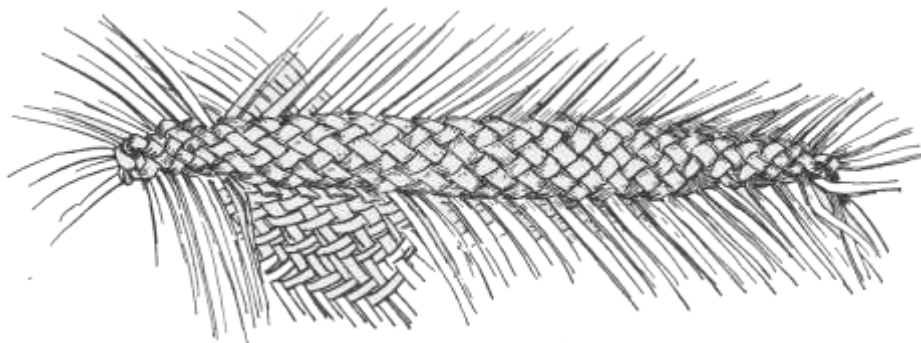


Fig. 151a. Inside bottom.

The braid does not have 3 strands but rather an artistic 6 strands, which do not converge into 3 until the end. The loose braid (left) is unimportant in this case.

however, depending on the degree of fineness, towards the bottom of the basket, the type of weaving is changed. A line weave is started (see Fig. 150), in which two fronds in one direction are always combined and superimposed in a double layer, with the double layer in the opposite direction being woven over the first, in a “line weave,” about 4-5 times around, causing a marked tapering of the basket as it reaches the bottom (HE. 934).

The bottom of this kind is made by weaving the fronds of one side over to and into those of the other side in

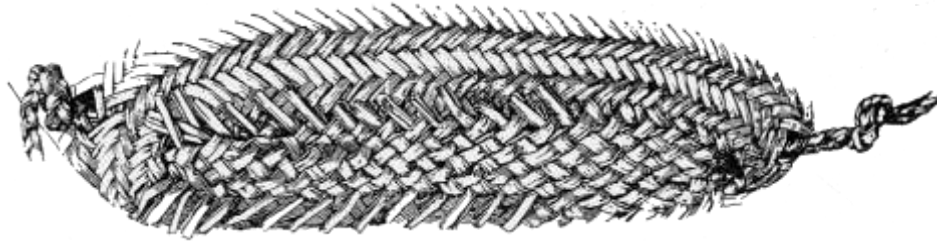
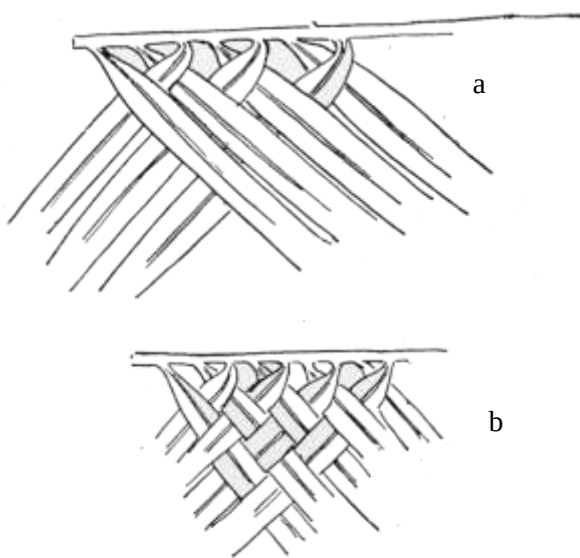


Fig. 151b. Outside bottom.

a line weave for about 4 stitches, causing the ends of fronds to stick out to the right and left of the four bottom-forming stitches, which are cut off at about one inch, both on the inside and on the outside of the basket (see Fig. 151 a b). Finally, this basket bottom, like the others, runs into an inner braid to the right and an outer braid to the left, which are pulled sideways through the finished matting and secured with knots (see Fig. b). A coconut fiber string pulled through the stitches at the edge is used as a handle for the *tet* basket.

***ngoluókl* basket for taro fertilizer** (see pg. 54) (KR. 219 = 3002^{II}) Plate 21³.

One of the simplest baskets that can be produced quickly is the *ngoluókl*, a basic, often rather voluminous basket



for taro fertilizer greens. Older coconut fronds that have already turned green are used for this. A section of about 40 fronds is separated from the central rib. Weaving begins with these fronds so that one frond always remains in the natural direction while the next one is bent over it at a right angle. So, for example, the 2nd frond (Fig. 152a) stays in the natural direction, the 3rd crosses it, the 4th stays, and 5th crosses the 4th, the 6th stays, the 7th crosses the 6th, etc., until all of the fronds have been crossed once, and the beginning and the end have been joined in a ring shape.

Fig. 152.
ngoluókl basket.

For this basket, each individual frond is spread out, so that its small central rib shows.

When the edge has been bent into a ring and joined, the beginning and the end are carefully braided together, then weaving continues “over one” in the style of a line weave (Fig. b), resulting in a tube. When this braided tube is long enough, the bottom is started, using the braids common to most baskets, which incorporate and bind together the fronds sticking out of the matting. (See also pg. 148)

***tăngărik* basket** (KR. 220 = 3003^{II}) Plate 21¹.

Even simpler is the *tăngărik* basket, which is actually made only for temporary, on-the-spot use. A section of an older palm frond, with 10-20 fronds, is used. This is woven “over one,” and after a few rows of weave, the end fronds are joined in an edge-forming braid that extends from the middle to the right and to the left; a knot is used to secure each end.

Mats for covering door openings *ulîtĕg* (poss.: *ultegél*).

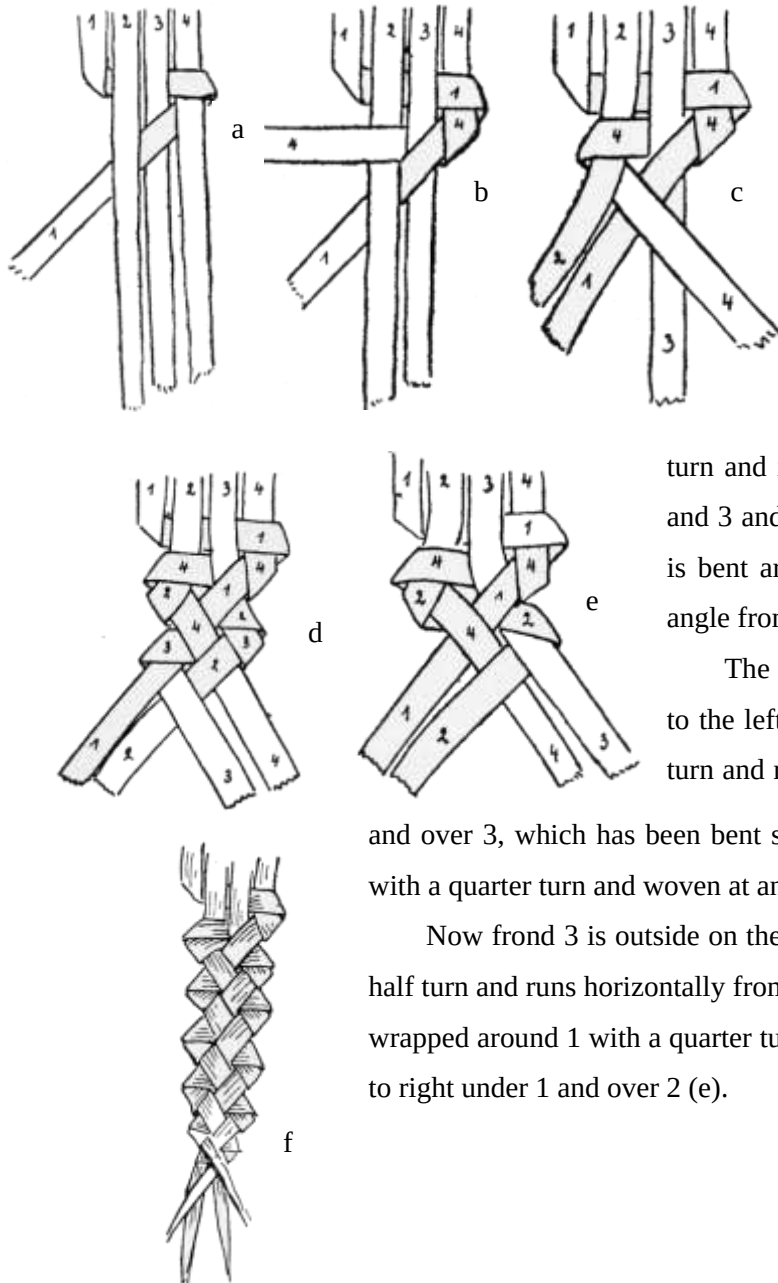
Weaving using coconut leaves also includes the mats for closing doors (see Blai in Vol. 2, Plate 16^{3and 4}). The most common are the *ulîtĕg teliu*, whose rays run parallel to the upper edge (compare the baskets in Fig. 151b). As in the *gorovíkl* baskets, 2 coconut frond sections superimposed in opposite directions are used to make a mat to cover a door opening. These are then woven “over two” in the style of a shirting weave. The lower, straight edge is created by braiding the ends of the fronds that are sticking out into a braid that sits firmly attached to the edge.

Another mat that is similar in many ways to the mat for covering door openings is the sacred ceremonial mat *telutáu* (see Plate 11 and above, pg. 141). It is occasionally found hanging in a spirit hut, or sectioning off rooms where sacred objects are stored. In the depiction of the Galid house of Ngát pang, one can see several such mats hung up in the form of a square; the food for the Galid, etc., was kept behind them. The use of the mat *telutáu l'bar* as protection for the sacred head of the high chief, as described in Vol. 2, pg. 214, also provides sufficient evidence of how these mats are used.

As is the case with baskets, two kinds of weaving are used in the sacred mats *telutáu*: one is *telutáu ulegădăgér* (KR. 212, see Plate 11), in which the rays of the weave go from top to bottom, that is, they run at a right angle to the upper edge, and the other is *telutáu telíu* (KR. 213), in which the rays run parallel to the upper edge. In both types, the bottom edge consists of a row of uniquely woven braids hanging down (*delidái*), which differentiates them from the mat for closing doors. Another distinguishing feature is the material. As with the mats for covering door openings, two coconut frond halves are used,

but not two identical ones. One is older and dark while the other is younger and light-yellow. They are superimposed in opposite directions, with the central rib facing up, and are woven over two, two light and two dark, once from right to left, then turning back and going from left to right.

After several rows are woven, the braids made of four fronds are begun, as in Fig. 153. Let us name these,



from left to right: frond 1, frond 2, frond 3, and frond 4. Frond 1 is bent with a half turn to the back (a) and horizontally from left to right under 2 and 3, over 4, goes around 4, making a quarter turn downwards, and is braided at an angle from top right to bottom left under 4, over 3, and under 2.

The 4th frond, which has just been enveloped by 1, is wrapped around 1 in a half turn and is woven horizontally from right to left under 4 and 3 and over 2 (b), but it does not stay there. Instead, it is bent around 2 with a quarter turn and is woven at an angle from top left to bottom right under 2 and over 1 (c).

The 2nd frond, which was enveloped by 4, sticks out to the left. It is wrapped around the back of 4 with a half turn and runs horizontally from left to right under 4 and 1

and over 3, which has been bent slightly to the right; it is then wrapped around 3 with a quarter turn and woven at an angle from right to left under 3 and over 4 (d).

Now frond 3 is outside on the right. It is wrapped around the back of 2 with a half turn and runs horizontally from right to left under 2 and 4 and over 1. Then it is wrapped around 1 with a quarter turn to the bottom and woven at an angle from left to right under 1 and over 2 (e).

Fig. 153.
Weaving of the *telutaû* mat.

The next frond is 1, which sticks out to the left. It is wrapped around 2 with a half turn and braided horizontally under 2 and 3 and over 4.

Then it runs around 4 and down at an angle and is braided from right to left under 4 and over 3. The plaiting continues this way. The 4th frond, which sticks out to the right, is braided through the left and back again in the manner described. Each time, the outermost right frond is first, then the outermost left one, in the following order: 1, 4, 2, 3, and each time, the frond is braided forward horizontally and back at an angle, until all of the fronds are incorporated.

Women's purse *gotúngěł*. Fig. 154.

The small bag that women carry in their front apron (see above, pg. 140) is made out of the young leaves *sugomásăg* of a wild species of *Pandanus* growing in the jungle, which have not been exposed to a lot of sun and have therefore remained soft. First the thorns are removed from along the edge of these long, green leaves³⁵⁹, then the leaves are dried in the sun for several days³⁶⁰. Then they are split into several strips³⁶¹ with a sharp shell (*gongiūt*). The ends of two of these strips, Nr. 1 and 2, are tied in a knot (*deliákl*) (a). Then two new strips, Nr. 3, are laid down directly over the knot (b), at a right angle to the two first strips. They do not touch them in the center, but rather near their beginning, and both are lying in opposite directions, one points to the right with its longer end, the other to the left. In the center, they overlap a little, about a hand's width. The beginning strip Nr. 2, which is now on the bottom, is bent down over the two new ones, so that the four long ends are arranged in the shape of a cross (b). Two new strips, Nr. 4, which overlap in the center like the previous ones, are laid directly over these in the same direction, on top of Strip 1, which is pointing up (as indicated with the dotted lines in Fig. b). The upward pointing Strip 1 is bent back over the new strips, and the second bent strip, Strip 2, is bent back up into its former position. Now the edge of the purse is to be plaited on the right side: 3 strips, which are sticking out to the right, are bent backwards and to the left, so that they point upwards under the recently incorporated strip Nr. 4 (Fig. c). Then they are turned back over the strip 4 just mentioned (Fig. d). If we compare this plaiting method with weaving, the newly added strip is the weft (*gongár* weft strip or incorporated strip), while the others, which are situated at a right angle to them and are bent forward or backward each time new ones are added, are the chain (*gongũłkl* chain strip or weaving strip), while the weaving path, the location where the new strips are incorporated, would be equal to the section in weaving. Fig. d shows a section consisting of one weaving strip pointing upwards and two pointing downwards.

The new count is laid on the upward-pointing weaving strip. The two weaving strips that have been laid down are turned back into an upward position and cover the strip to be incorporated, 5 (Fig. e). The previous strip incorporated, 4, or as much of it as sticks out to the right, is bent like its predecessor in a half turn downward and to the left and is then laid all the way back over the incorporation strip 5. The same is done with the upright weaving strip 2, and so the new section or weaving path is ready for the next strips to be incorporated. All of this was just the beginning; now the actual braiding of the edge of the purse begins. In this case, the weaving path

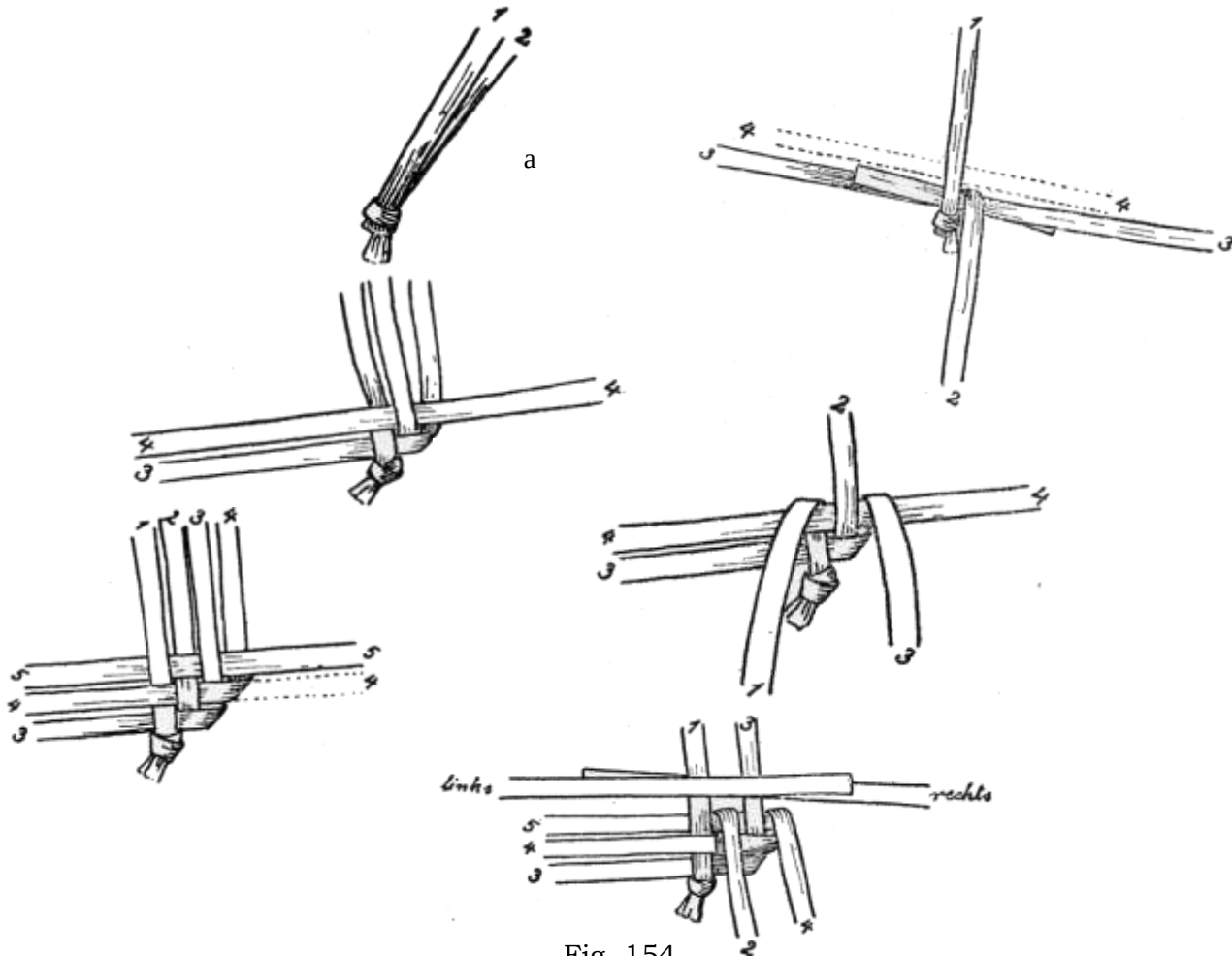


Fig. 154.
gotúngēl purse.

consists of 4 braid strips, the odd ones sticking up straight, the even ones bent downwards.

The two new strips incorporated, which cover each other for a distance of about a hand's width in the center, are now no longer superimposed as before and then laid into the weaving path together. Instead, the new strip that is sticking out to the right is taken first and laid on weaving strip 3 and under strip 1, while the incorporation strip, whose long end should be protruding on the left, is laid on the weaving path properly like all previous ones,

covering weaving strips 1 and 3 (Fig. f). In other words, the two new strips run over weaving strip 3 together and are separated at 1.

From here, weaving continues, always with 4 weave strips as just described; every new strip to be incorporated is laid down the same way, after the new section has been formed by bending over the weaving strips. Since bending over the braid strip that forms the edge adds another braid strip to the right each time, the outermost left braid strip must be dropped, so it is left hanging down the outside unbraided. So only 4 new braid strips are created each time (which one could logically rename 1-4 each time), in which the two new strips are laid in the manner just described. Then, strip 4 is bent down to form the edge, the other braid strips (1,2,3) change position, envelop the next count, and braiding of the edge continues until the desired width is reached. When the edge of the purse is wide enough, the ring is closed, the end is tied to the beginning, the starter strips with the knot are taken out, and the edge is pulled a little taut, so that the finished purse appears tapered.

Weaving continues on this base, a new ring is braided, this time with 6 strips instead of 4, then another new ring, and so on until the desired length is reached. Then the bottom is formed by pinching the purse together and braiding the upper and lower strips together.

c) Numbering, Weights and Measures, Money.

The discussion on numerals in Vol. 2, pg. 351 already described the most important aspects of the types of numbering. The only thing left to describe here is the knotted cord *teliákl* (WALL.: *ullikíll*, from *meliákl* “to tie in a knot”). It is first mentioned in HOKIN, pg. 15, where *a* Ibčdul says that when he was notified about the death of Libu: “in the cord that the captain had given him, he made more than one hundred knots to represent the months; but in the end, when he had given up hope of seeing his son or the captain, he had the cord buried” etc.

In SEM., Vol. II, pg. 138, there is this comment: “It is noteworthy that they use the word *rusl* for our letters; that is the word for the well-known cords whose ends are knotted and intertwined and that are used to send news from one person to another.” On pg. 323, he also says that the knotted cord is used to count nights by untying the knots. I never saw such a knotted cord in use; they are apparently used infrequently and by few people.

VON DEN STEINEN³⁶⁴ also mentions the knot as a representation of a month in the Marquesas Islands; his illustrations of the magnificent “Marquesian knotted cords”

that he provides, however, show that the Palauans are very backward in this aspect, just as the Khipu of the Incas demonstrates a much higher level of development.

In Vol. II, pg. 263, SEMP mentions a letter, a turtleshell spatula, on which two short threads were tied together with tight knots. Arakalulk said: This end of the thread is me, that one is you; the two of us are tied together by this knot, which only brothers use. Give this to Tomue, he knows my spatula, and he will accept you just as he would accept me; from now on you, too, are his friend and brother. And if you cannot return from Peleliu, and you want Cabel Mul to pick you up down there, send me Tomue's spatula with a thread tied to it; Tomue will show you how to knot it."

The object of discussion here is the sign of the messenger *gosisál*³⁶⁵ (poss. *gosilselél*), which has special importance in Palau. The spoon³⁶⁶, or better the turtleshell spatula, which the Rubak uses to scrape out his betelnut mortar every day, is really his identifying mark, and good friends recognize it as the property of the rightful owner. So when the chief sends an important message, he gives the messenger his *gosisál* as identification, just as a nobleman gives along his signet ring. The pledge, of course, may be any object, such as a familiar type of withered *miëg* leaf. Should the messenger or whoever else holds the object lose it, there is a monetary fine (see Vol. 2, pg. 257). As a security *golsírs*, the *gosisál* is also a collateral for money; for instance, a *góngiákl* (pg. 158 ff.) is a *gosisál* for *galebúgëp*, *klúk*, and *dolóbög*.

Measurements were previously listed in Vol. 2, pg. 332-333; KUB. also presents quite a bit of information on this in Vol. VIII, pg. 283, but his information differs or else is difficult to understand because of the way it is written. WALL. contributes the following: *tkulemél* = *tkuelëmél*, *telechid* "finger width" = *tëlageíd*, *telichiim* "hand width" = *telagim*, *telbusúngel* the span between the thumb and bent index finger, *tetbárd* foot length plus the width of the other foot.

Money *a udóud* (poss. *ududél*)

Money *a udóud* plays such an important role in the lives of the Palauans that it must be discussed in detail here. They say in Palau that rich people pass through the front door of the Bai, while those who are poor slip humbly out the back door. Although KUB., in Vol. 1, pg. 49-53 and Vol. VII, pg. 1-29, previously reported extensively on this subject, his explanations are so unclear, and his spelling of Palauan words so different, that I would like to try to paint a clearer picture, if I can. As everywhere else, I will attempt to bolster the different spelling with word definitions.

As far as the origin of money is concerned, Story 9 relates the legend, but it does not reveal the facts; see also Story 113 about the money snake of *a Uluáng*, the money tree *paláu ra gur* (Story 203), Golungis (Story 170), etc. The only important element

seems to be that Nggeiangěl, a Ngeaur, Keklāu, and Ngarekeklaū appear to be the areas where money was introduced to Palau. So far it has not been possible to determine the origin of these beads, which indeed they are in a technical sense. Although they are undoubtedly Asian (Cambay in India) or perhaps even Mediterranean (Egypt, Murano), there is no consensus about which period they come from or what their source is. One thing seems clear to me: Chinese seafarers, who began trading with individual South Seas islands very early on, introduced the beads, and probably also the iron, which, according to the reports by the first explorers in Vol. 1, pg. 51, Palauans already had. In the description of Peliliou in Vol. 2, pg. 271, the discussion of *Ngarabesūl* mentions that according to the natives' tales, three Chinese ships were trading with the Palauans before WILSON's arrival, and a battle ensued. In the Colección de documentos inéditos (see Vol. 1, pg. 176), Vol. 5, pg. 19, the following passage substantiates this claim of early commerce:

Aqui tomamos un indio, llevamos à Maluco, el cual nos dixo, que cada año venian dos juncos de la China, que son unas naos, en que ellos navejan à comprar oro é perlas, que habia en gran cantidad, e tambien venian mas navios a otras islas á lo mismo.	Here we picked up a native, whom we took to the Moluccas; he told us that every year two junks came from China, that there are several ships they sail in to buy gold and pearls, of which there were large quantities, and also that other ships went to other islands for the same purpose.

In Vol. VII, pg. 28, KUB. calls the Audouth a product of Malayan culture, because the Malayan archipelago has had trade connections to the Chinese since ancient times. But the Chinese were just importers here, too, just as there are beads in Northern Borneo, for example, that closely resemble the Palauan ones. Plate 130 in Vol. 1 of *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, by HOSE and MCDUGALL, depicts several specimens from Kajan that closely resemble the *galebúgěp*; they have special names there, too, just as they do on Palau. Also depicted are beads of the same material as the yellow *br'rak*, which, after all, are not uncommon in the Alemannic graves of our native country. Even the estimated monetary value of the Kajan beads is strikingly similar to that of the beads from Palau. It seems impossible that this could be a mere coincidence, especially since there are similar *muti* beads on many other islands in Indonesia, for example on the small Sunda Islands. I want to emphasize this here in order to illustrate the importance of this "foreign money" in the sense of HEINRICH SCHURTZ, whose relationships are discussed further in the section on culture comparison. One must think of the Palauan money as having originated as follows (like in the Sudan, in Indonesia, and elsewhere): valuable stone and glass beads were imported through commercial trade. After the trading stores were exhausted and trade was abandoned, these came to represent particular values based on age, rarity, and durability. They assumed the role of money and attained the power of money. There are many examples of this in the history of peoples, even though non-metallic material rarely obtained

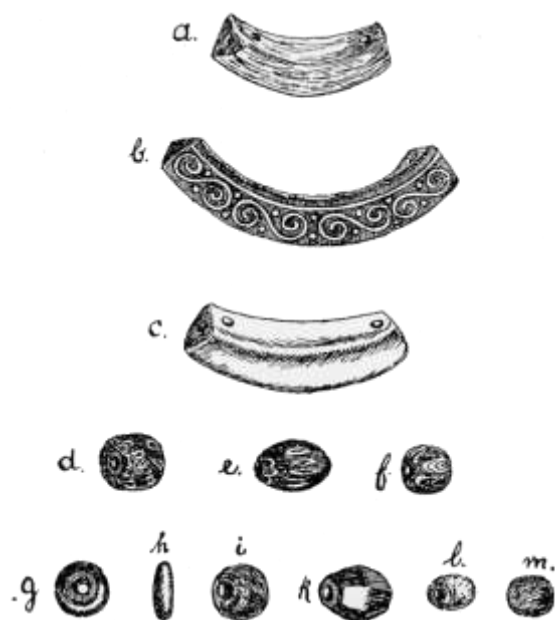


Fig. 155.
Money beads.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Color</u>	<u>Value in German Marks</u>
a. <i>bágěl</i>	<i>br'rak</i> light yellow	140
b. <i>bágěl</i>	<i>meriměr</i> dark blue-green (relieved spirals in pink, red, yellow, green. Dots: yellow; lines: pink)	125
c. <i>bágěl</i>	<i>galdóiög</i> light green	80
d. <i>galebúgep</i>	<i>goutáog</i> blue over brown center (decoration, white with blue center)	40
e. <i>galebúgep</i>	brown (decoration, white with blue center)	40
f. <i>kluk</i>	dark green with green, white, red	20
g. <i>klsuk</i> front	green with brown center	10
h. <i>klsuk</i> side		
i. <i>móngongâu</i>	yellow-red	5
k. <i>góngiakl</i>	blue	5
l. <i>dolóbog</i>	light yellow	10
m. <i>galdóiog</i>	green	1

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such value. The unusual thing is that the *bágěl* pieces made of *br'rak* and *móngongâu*, as well as those made of green and blue glass (more about these below), probably were not imported in their current shapes (in Japan there are similar pieces made of brown stone, called *kohaku*), but should be seen as being sections of rings. Admittedly, no rings made of the materials mentioned have yet been found on Palau, but bracelets very similar in shape, mostly triangular, do exist in the Moluccas and other places in Indonesia, and there are silver ones in India, ivory ones in Africa, etc. So one can conclude with confidence that the Palauans valued the nicely colored pieces of broken bracelets, too, and eventually created the amount of money they needed by purposely cutting up whole ones. The *meriměr* in Fig. 155b is 6cm long, its inner circle has a diameter of 8.5cm,

or the width of a fist, and approximately 4 such pieces would constitute one ring. Their value was estimated on the basis of size and beauty—the pale yellow (a) “ripe glossy” *marěk merés* were considered most valuable. In 1900, a nice, medium-sized (3-4cm) specimen cost anywhere up to about 200 marks. In truth, however, the prestige of these pieces was worth much more; every *Blai* that owned a *br'rak* had a certain amount of credit on account of it, and since there were probably more than 2000 Rubak Blai on Palau in former times, and each of these must have owned at least one *bágěl*, one can conclude that there were at one time several hundred bracelets in Palau. As KUBARY before me has emphasized, however, it is very difficult to gain insight into the money situation, because every owner keeps his money secret and is very reluctant to show it to anyone, even foreigners. I rarely had an opportunity to see *udódud*; the money we were shown is depicted in Fig. 155 (see also the color plate in KUB., Vol. VII).

Avarice was previously discussed in Vol. 2, pg. 307. In Vol. 1, pg. 53, KUB. says: "A man may not touch his wife's money; if the marriage dissolves, neither partner may remarry without exchanging pieces of money. Love between a man and a woman is cemented by money, and the man pays for every embrace. Thus it is the daughters who create a family's wealth." For details, see the discussion of the *móngol* institution in Section VI, 1^e. When a Rubak dies, *melékēt* "tying" of his widow by the successor often takes place. "One demands her husband's money and places a cord around her neck, which is tightened until she gives in to the demands." (KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 44).

In 1905, the district official complained about the islanders' avarice: "The high chief Araklei of Mologejok, an old and rich man who is half deaf and half blind, does not hesitate to undertake a dangerous, six-hour canoe crossing in stormy weather, despite having a painful illness, to attend a small celebration, just because he expects to receive a monetary gift with a value of 10 marks."

The highest-ranking chief Aibasul, a very old man who is housebound and who has one foot in the grave³⁶⁷, has a respected Yap islander brought to him and asks him whether he knows of some magic with which one can obtain a lot of money. They boil old, dirty money, which is known to consist of glass, porcelain, and fired earth and similar materials, and paint the dirty brew on the heads of their children, or let them drink it, so that the children will become rich. Shortly before the death of their father, the children gather around him and utter heart-rending lamentations, but the moment that he has exhaled his last breath, the entire house of the deceased is feverishly searched, and the surroundings are dug up in the search for his valuables. Shortly thereafter, the villagers arrive to drink up any supplies of molasses that may exist.

Even in the throes of grand hospitality, which in the end is based on reciprocity, the host meticulously calculates the value of the fish or taro that his guest consumes.

When a son is born, there is great disappointment, because there is money to be made with a girl given over to prostitution."

See below for information about payment. I want to add that counterfeiting is the order of the day. The islanders especially like to make *br'rak* and *mónggongâu* beads, which they grind out of the indurations and sinter-like formations found in the yellow and red volcanic earth. They also make glass beads³⁶⁸ out of bottle glass, just as the people of Tierra del Fuego know how to use this to imitate their delicate arrow tips.

White men, too, have attempted to create substitutes, but their efforts have been no more successful in Palau than they were in Africa. The natives can usually recognize a fake piece at first glance, and most certainly after a quick consultation. Oddly enough, the fake money is called *úngil udóud*, literally “good money”; real money is called *meringěl'lagád udóud* “splendid money,” or more accurately dandy money: *meringěl* is the “pain” that one feels when one gazes on a handsome “man” *lagád*. In general, white men are shown real money by Palauans only under certain circumstances and in the presence of trusted advisers; almost all the money in our collections is “*úngil udóud*.” However, the German district official possessed real money; he made the islanders give it to him as a fine in cases of punishment. In turn, he would use it to pay for work for the government, because, like the Yapese, the Palauans valued their own money much more highly than our silver and gold.

When I attempted to acquire several smaller real beads, I turned to a Rubak woman from a high-ranking house, who had borrowed a fairly large sum of silver from me and who was indebted to me anyway because of various good deeds I had done. After much hesitation, she brought me several small specimens, with the assurance that they were real. In fact they were counterfeit. It was not until WILLIAMS efforts that I was able to get several *meringěl'lagád*.

Just as the natives deceive one another, so I experienced deception. During a celebration for the Rubak Nr. VII Rubásag of Goréör (see Section VI 5), he received money from his relatives to pay for the celebration. The Rubak Nr. II a Regúgër gave me a large *móngongau* bead (shape 155a) and bade me to call out the piece and hand it over to Rubásäg. I succumbed to this hoax, called out the money in the gathering at front of the house and then passed it to the host of the celebration. On another day, I received word that it was fake. Apparently, the native had wanted to use the reputation of the white man to execute his deception. During the distribution, Rubásäg sat directly in front of the house on the pavement, and 13 Rubak sat in a row on the *golbed* pavement at the edge of the street. Rekesiváng must have stood up about 10 times to hand over the smaller money (*góngiákl*, *madál a kluk*, etc.); Rubásäg had given *Ngirameketí* from a *Gol* a *galebúgëp* for arranging the celebration. P. RAYMUND describes several similar cases (From the Missions 1909, pg. 49-50).

Just as they split and broke up the bracelets to make more money, they began to cut up and saw apart the *kluk*-like beads because there was a shortage of change (more about this below). In former days, there was so little change that they used betelnuts (like they used the kola nut in Africa) and betel leaves for payment. A remnant of this practice can be seen in the expression *klevëgël búog* “picked betelnuts” (see below). Incidentally, the pearl shells used for peeling taro, etc., the *gasīvõg* (WALL.: *chesíuch*) (see pg. 97) are used as change by the women; their turtleshell bowls (see pg. 126) are highly prized as having higher values. The prestige of having large money beads led to its being exhibited occasionally, and in fact, there were special stone tables *ngolëkëdóköl*

ra udoud (from *melekēdēk* to set up, to cover) for this purpose, of which the one from Ngardmau is depicted in Vol. 2, pg. 78³⁶⁹; it is the topic of Story 113.

All special pieces had their own names and stories, for example, the *mongongāu-bagēl*³⁷⁰ *Melil amiēg* “withered foliage of the almond tree” (Story 134), and Story 80, and *Gomiótēl* in Story 85, as well as the glass Psés in the same story. Story 20 describes how the *mongongāu* Bulong was carried to a Irai on a stretcher.

The *br’rak-bágēl* Písēg is the topic of discussion in Vol. 2, pg. 95.

The following categories, which KUB. created in Vol. VII, pg. 6, are meant to provide a better overview (see Fig. 155) of the types of money (I refer also to his color plate³⁷¹):

Group A: opaque, generally triangular specimens (Fig. 155a and Vol. 2, Plate 6¹)

a) *br’rak* (poss.: *br’rēkengēl*) lemon yellow, named after the yellow taro *br’rak* (KUB., Vol. VII, Plate 1¹).

b) *móngongāu* (poss: *mongongúl*)³⁷² yellowish-red, named after the yellow earth *bungungāu* (Plate 1²).

Group B: opaque, rounder beads, also oval, cylindrical, etc.

c) *galebúgep*³⁷³ (poss. *galbēgēbēl*) special type of larger, colorful beads (KUB., Plate 1^{30ff.}).

d) *kluk* (poss. *klkúl* smaller, colorful beads (KUB. Plate 1⁴⁴⁻⁴⁶).

e) *delóbog* (poss. *delebegēl*) from *melóbog*³⁷⁴ to cut, or *l’logólog*³⁷⁵ from *melogólog* to saw, i.e. pieces of money that have been cut or sawed apart, usually called *delóbog l’logólog* (KUB., Plate 1^{47ff.}).

Group C: Glass *galdóiog* or *kldáit*, either transparent (*melómēs*) or translucent (*mang l dóiog*); transparent specimens in various shapes.

f) *merímēr* greenish-blue, with yellow and red glazed figures (KUB., Plate 1¹⁸).

g) *góngiakl* literally “tribute, interest,” used for double pyramids (KUB., Plate 1^{25, 26}).

h) *golbiungēl* ordinary beads worn as “pendants.”

The pieces made of green bottle glass are inferior and are called *klióu* (see the section on Tapioca, pg. 105).

Color and Material of the Beads and Colors in General

br’rak yellow fired earth, named after the yellowish taro, otherwise, yellow is called *bibrúruk* and *gadú* (see Story 203, Verse 5).

móngongāu yellowish-red fired earth, named after the red earth *bungungāu* (*mā mongāu*

glowing, *ngau* fire), otherwise red is called *gorīg* after the red earth, vermillion is called *bororóu* or *róu* (sunrise), *pekerekárd* (WALL.).

réměg yellowish, somewhere between the two previous colors.

iděk dirty red *mongongau*. The word means “dirt.”

klúlul dirty red like a vine fruit.

pkngal a *iváiu* blossom of the *iváiu* mangrove, which is garnet red.

tamerír blue glass named after the fruit of the *dekamerír* tree.

mel'lamáu blue and green, WALL. also calls the latter *melellemáu*; more correct, however, are the comparisons *kóra llel* a *gerrgár* WALL. like the leaf of a tree, and *bsagáil* a *bīb* “feather of the Ptilopus dove.”

bagělěläu white (WALL. *becheleléu*).

gadělekělěk black (WALL. *chadelegélek*).

For other colors, see the section on glass below.

The shape of the beads is captured in the following terms:

1. *bagěl*³⁷⁶ (poss. *bagělél*) money of larger denominations. It is a somewhat curved, usually triangular little stick (Fig. 155), apparently fragments of bracelets, the likes of which still exist in Indonesia, for example, in Ceram. According to KUB., very short pieces are called *debelkalúdok*, yellow (*br'rak*), yellowish-red (*móngongau*), dark blue (*meríměr*), and green (*galdóiog*). For details, see also the section on boring holes. Pieces that are flat on top and rounded at the back are called *ugul gasagís*. KUB. also names two shapes that only exist in *br'rak*: *Nitoway* (*ngitoái*), flat on top with slanting edges, creating a hexagon at the narrower ends (KUB., Plate 1¹⁵), and *Kotáor* (*gotáor* driftwood), cylindrical in shape, but with a flat area on top, KUB. Plate 1¹⁴ (bored hole *telebákl*);
2. *klorángěd* usually octagonal in the shape of a double pyramid, see Group C;
3. elongated cylindrical beads:
called *górakl*³⁷⁷ for Group B (KUB., Plate 1¹³);
derebekěmángěl for Group C;
4. *liěg* (KUB. *Liek*) round beads of *br'rak*, *móngongau*, porcelain and glass, with horizontal grooves;
5. *magei* *běóp* round shapes.

The perforation of the beads (see above, pg. 109) is an important matter. It is a difficult undertaking, due to the hardness of the material, so this work is often attributed to the Galid, as a *logukl* of *aim* VIII in Bai 103 Meléngěl in a *Irāi* showed: one can see that the boring was done with pump drills³⁷⁸. Of course, in most instances we are dealing with *bágěl* fragments and imitations. Favorite items to use as drill bits were long snails, urchin spines, etc.

The *bágěl* pieces are bored either lengthwise or from the corner of the triangle side (*ulebengelél*) upwards at an angle towards the upper side³⁷⁹ (see Fig. 155n). The hole at the end is always called *ulsóls* (KUB.: *Uldóls*), while the one on the upper side is called *telebákl* (KUB.: *Telebákel*). In Vol. VII, pg. 7, KUB. reports that the residents of Neukl (Ngúkl, Vol. 2, pg. 154) used to bore an additional hole in the middle of the front side, into which they would stick a bird feather as decoration. These pieces are supposedly called *Kolomalbúsok*³⁸⁰, and there are apparently only 4-5 pieces left in the Ngaramlungúi district.

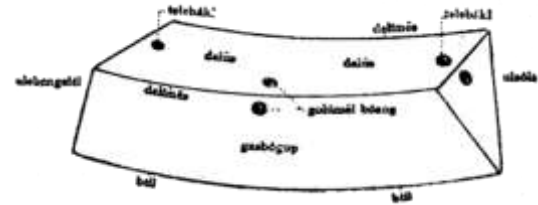


Fig. 155n.

baqěl with holes bored in it.

Equally important were the sawing (*melogólog*) and the cutting up using *ngdūl* shells or with the hard red-and-white *básăg* stones that resemble our flint, which can be found in the channel beds of Ngátpang and Ngaramlungúi. The most laborious process is the cutting of a disc-shaped beads, usually *gongór* (see below, pgs. 164 and 166) in two slices, called *mensáng* (KUB., Plate 1⁴⁷⁻⁵² and here, Fig. 155g and h).

The Different Categories of Money

a. b. pg. 161. The *bágěl* of *br'rak* and *móngonggāu* do not have any distinct subtypes. KUB. names two shapes:

yódos very thin and narrow in proportion to its length (KUB., Vol. VII, Plate 1, 1 and 2).

*moriúr*³⁸¹ thicker in proportion to its length (KUB., Vol. VII, Plate 1, 16 and 17).

These terms, however, are similar to those we use for people. The same goes for the following terms KUB. cites for types of *br'rak*: *Mres*³⁸², *Dokoél*, *Ukol kasakís* and *Nolokadákam*; their low value (the latter one is worth “up to 10 baskets of taro” *mora geimól kúkau*) points to the impossibility that these can still be considered *bágěl*.

The subtypes of the *móngonggāu*, which KUB. calls *Idik*, *Narrémek*, *Pknalaywayu*, *Klúlul*, *Dóel a maráel* *kaléth* and *Dakarugú*, are found listed with the colors, so they are really just shades or color variations. All of the large pieces of money, the *bágěl*, have names.

c) *galebúgěp* the large, round, colorful beads; the best pieces, which are owned by the high chiefs,

are called *delóbog* (see below, pg. 166) when one does not want to utter the almost sacred word *galebúgěp*.

In Vol. VII, pg. 15, KUB. says: “There are more than 25 different types of *Kalebukub*’s, of which only the first three represent real values. They correspond roughly to \$60, \$50, and \$40 of our money and are the most perfect forms of this group. The other, lesser types have lost their value and are only used for formal payments, for example, as offerings to the gods or as payments for war dances when heads have been cut off.”

KUB. then identifies the 31 types without any commentary. Story 30, however, describes how the *galebúgěp* pieces came to Gólei through the magic of Ngirateĩ, and how they were frightened by noise and fled, so that they fell down in different locations, resulting in their names. What follows, in both my records and KUBARY’s, is less about types than about individual names, especially since one comes across many of these beads only occasionally. They are listed according to their value:

1. *goutáog*—fell into the channel (*táog*)—(KUB. *Autáok* Plate 1³⁰, in this Vol. Fig. 155d) cylindrical, approx. 1cm long, blue-green with white rings. Most valuable type, of which only a few dozen are said to exist, equal to about 5 *kluk*.
2. *ger’regerói*, name of the shrub *Mussaenda frondosa*, on which the piece happened to fall. (KUB. *Gargorói* fig 31, dark green marbled on white, value equals 4 *kluk*.)
3. *kuát* named so after falling on the *kuát* tree (KUB. *Kelwat* indigo blue with white rings, Fig. 32).
4. *a úgul a sers* “post of the fence,” where it fell in a cultivated field (KUB., Vol. VII, pg. 17, *Ogul a sers*).
5. *galepdúi* fell on the *gapdúi* tree (KUB, pg. 17, *Kalopthuy*).
6. *gongór* fell on the *gongór* Pandanus (KUB. *Honór*); there is a “ripe” (*marěk*) and an “unripe” (*gamádăg*) type, the former contains some red, and the latter contains some green. Both kinds also exist as *mensáng*, which is created when a *gongór* bead is cut in half (see *delóbög*, pg. 166).
7. *gal’legúos* fell on the grass tree *gal’legúos* (or *gorědákł*).
8. *mardáol ngaráol* “trepan inside the breakers on the reef,” where the piece fell in haste. This *galebúgěp* is smooth and pretty. (KUB. *Mardáol*, Fig. 41, gray with veins.)
9. *mardáol ikrél* “trepan outside,” fell down outside the breakers; it is rough and dirty due to the corals. (KUB. *Mardáol ikrél*, Fig. 43, black, round, with raised yellow arabesques.)

Other names by KUB. are:

Matál a karabrúkl “his eye *madál* of the *garabrúkl* Palinurus crab.” It is similar to the peduncular eye. Fig. 33 (figure on a bead).

*Gekemñel*³⁸³ *a karabrúkl*—*Matañatñat*, Fig. 34, with colorful spots.

Narsel a gekemñel a karabrúkl, Fig. 35, with blue spots.

*Aradahél a Bars a Arnáu*³⁸⁴, Fig. 36, spherical, with white and red spots.

“Multi-colored striped agates”:

Melgelukus, Fig. 38.

Galngus, Fig. 39.

Nisse Sogosok, Fig. 40, oval, with yellow stripes like *ngisél sogósog* in Story 141, the “tern egg,” which is the subject there.

A limestone spar bead, possibly made in Palau:

Unelel a Kadagodúk, Fig. 37, from *uíngeł* tooth.

Similar to malachite:

Kamay dogoduy, Fig. 42.

Other names:

Moñerbiduul, *Matala kalith* (*madál a galid* “eye of the *Galid*,” see WALL.), *Motmalmalam*, *Keldoy*, *Kildioil*, *autaok*, *Obagat er masak* (*Gobagád r másag*, *Atpal a ñugus*, *Mosaksitk*³⁸⁵, *Tilól*, a tree, *Misñroáol*, *Kopokopelel a ñel*, *Ñel* Morinda, *Kalemogoñ*.

d) *kluk*, the small, round beads. Their names (pg. 168) originated the same way as those of the *galebúgěp*. They are often sawed apart: the very large pieces are called *dalál a kluk* “mother of the *kluk*” or *rekómel kluk* “broken *kluk*” (see Story 74), the pieces are called *klsuk*. More rarely, they are called *delóbbög*, see the following section.

For information about the *madál a kluk*, see below.

<i>dalál a kluk</i>	<i>Klsuk</i>
1. <i>blěágěd l kluk</i> , named after the white coconut leaf. (KUB. <i>Bleáketel kluk</i> , also called <i>Meringel arakáth</i> ; Fig. 44, value \$12.50; white with green,	—
2. <i>klerdéu</i> , with red spots, like the red blossoms of the <i>kerdéu</i> shrub (see Story 194).	—
3. <i>sagál klíkěs</i> “man poling” from <i>melíkěs</i> “to pole,” because the money is said to have done so like a man fleeing from Golei in a boat when (see	—
4. <i>redagél a ker’reGAR</i> “fruit of the tree,” namely of a <i>kelāu</i> in Ngáruangěł.	<i>tengét rmedú</i> ³⁸⁶
5. <i>mogúd ursél</i> “old lines” from <i>vurs</i> line (KUB. <i>Gudursél</i> , Fig. 46, green with purple stripes).	<i>sagál lě galeúł</i> ³⁸⁶
6. <i>bébil klíkěs</i> , the wife of 3. (KUB. <i>Bebil klíkēs</i> , Fig. 45, dark blue, concentric stripes on a pale blue, milky, glassy background. Value approx. \$ 7.50).	<i>bébil lě galeúł</i> ³⁸⁶
7. <i>uíd</i> “seven” leaf or fruit fallen to the ground.	—
8. <i>palāu re gúr</i> “The <i>palāu</i> tree of Ngaregúr,” Vol. 2, pg. 40.	<i>Blíkěd</i>

9. *klkut melimēt kluk*, expressed when the canoe is bailed out (KUB. *Kilkút* — *melimet*).
10. *kluk l pelíliou*, ground down by Pelíliou people because of the avarice of *klíemóiom* the inhabitants of Goreor (see Story 162).

KUB. also lists the following *kluk* without commentary:

Modólsomákal

Radárd

Moláp

Aurongóur

Klikóy (see *delóbog*)

Kloruíkl

Asmongsóngob

Ulogotómmel

Mardahél a kaláu rióu

Mardahél a kaláu rbab

There are, however, also *klsuk* whose “mother” is unknown, which are found only as smaller, subdivided pieces. KUB. mentioned the *kelsuk* only as the first of the *Adolóbok*.

According to my records, the following should also be listed as *klsuk*:

1. *galeiúsog*, meaning unknown to me, called *klsuk rē Ngeráod* (Vol. 2, pg. 180).
2. *magadéng*, something that “occupies a whole place,” because, just like a *klsuk re Ngeráod*, it ranks above the following ones.
3. *uleóps*, striped red and yellow like the spokes of a whirl wheel, colors like the leaves of the Croton (*kesúk*).
4. *gēdēberíl*, with three red stripes.
5. *gēritél gobildép*, the *gerévūt* apron of Gobildép, a female *Galid*; two red stripes on each side (KUB. as a *delóbög*, called *Karitél kolidébel*).
6. *blersóiog*, spiral stripes like a *bersóiog* snake.
7. *moilibúgěl*, like the *ibugěl* sea urchin.
8. *togorīg*, like red clay (*gorīg*).

e) *delóbög*, “cut in half,” the dissected beads; the little ones are called *logólög* “sawed”; *delobög l'logólog* “cut and sawed”; just discussed were the *klsuk*. According to KUB., it is sawed into three pieces, the central section is called *Blingél*³⁸⁷, the ends, which are of course more valuable, are called *ulebongelél* (Fig. 155).

galebúd was the first *delóbög* in Palau, but only in that shape, because it was not cut up (KUB.: *Kalabút*, Fig. 21).

1. *blngīs*, from *omngīs* “to dry in the sun” (KUB. *Blingiis a kalebút*).
2. *klikoi*, like a *kikói* shell (KUB. as a *kluk*, it is called *Klikoy*).
3. *galebúd oreóměl* “a *galebúd* from the forest.” Its value is the same as that of the previous one (KUB. *Kalebut doríomel*).
4. *gotemíang* “stuck out” from *ultóm* to stick out, as in stick one’s head out of the door, red stripes that stick out like red flowers on a bush.
5. *delekədókol ra rúel* “covered with leaves” (from *melekédek* to cover, *lúel* leaf, poss. *lél*).
6. *ngaruásāg* black like the fish extract *uásāg* (see pg. 99) (KUB. *Mongerwásak*).
7. *klangál*, like the green fruit of the *sangál* tree.

KUB. also lists: *Mokodongúl a kelsúk*, *Adolóbok el kluk*, *Momñesang*, *Karitél kobidébel* (see above), *Tohoríyek*, *Ordahél a kalau*, *Tangét, er medím*, *Ablieb*, *Telebér a ngeráot*, *Blingiis a kalebút* (see above), *Kalebút doroímel* (see above), *Ktlsoprák*, *Makadéng a galáp*, *Makadéng a pelú lugáp*, *Komodulák*, *Moblíket*, *Bebíl*, *Kotomiy a keth*, *Kilsibibúy*, *Kílsogur*, *Aybibúkul*, *Tilubokol ara ngau*, *Asagál kaliúl*, *Bebil kabgul* (see above *klsuk*).

f) Glass beads *kldáid* or *galdöióg*

Smaller pieces of money are called *kliau*.

As with the *galebúgǽp* and *kluk*, most of the names come from the botanical world. The following story tells how this came about: A Galíd of Ngeráod, the seat of the gods, wanted to hold a celebration, but he had no money. So he went to a man on Mount Ngulítǽl³⁸⁸ and asked him for help. This man answered: Tell me on which day the celebration shall be held, and I will come to Ngeráod.—The Galíd sent him the message, and the Ngulítǽl man came at the appointed time with a sack full of money, which the host of the celebration took from him with the assurance that he would return it all soon. When the time had come for him to return it, the Galíd took the empty sack and filled it with all manner of fruit that he could get hold of. The fruit turned into money, which was given the names of the fruits. And so he was able to return it all.

The most important and most valuable of the glass is the *merímǽr*, a *bágǽl*, consisting of dark blue glass that has ~ shaped figures in red, yellow, etc. in the glass. (KUB., Vol. VII, Plate 1¹⁸, here Fig. 155b). It has an approximate value of 125 marks. KUB. shows a couple of additional specimens with a different color scheme, some blue with red (Figs. 28 and 29). The latter has a sign like an Arabic hamza and is called *Balay*. There are also pieces with yellow and white signs, *mad lgadúi* “eye of the *gadúi* bream,” and one piece *ródog sis* “Cordilyne fruit” even has a sort of garland on it. Finally, there is a type called *Klaweás* that is mixed with a dyed mass on which the bead is spun so that it becomes opaque and takes on a striped look.

Apart from these exceptions, which are few and rare, the glass beads are usually uniformly green or blue. These are the ones that one sees most often. Colorwise, they are divided as follows:

gubǽl white

ulimáol dark blue (*mel'lamāu gadogél* “translucent blue”).

gosm green³⁸⁹ with light spots (bubbles) like the *gosm* *Premna* shrub.

The other glass beads are only somewhat translucent:

gáramal l gamádǽg “unripe Hibiscus” dense blue or beautiful green.

*gáramallmarát*³⁹⁰ “ripe Hibiscus” whitish-green.

ngata gamádăg like fresh (*gamádăg*) palm wine.

mokamím yellow like the arboreal gooseberry *makamím*.

*moterîl*³⁹¹ rods like the pistils of the balsamine *terîl*, translucent.

galtópt “treetop,” like the fruit at the top of a *ger’regerói* tree in Ngáruangěł; the value is one *góngiaki* at most (KUB. *Kaltópt* emerald green).

gogerdúi “end leaf of a coconut palm” striped inside (KUB. *Ogerduy*).

tamerír like the round, blue fruit of the *dekamerír* tree (see Story 157).

sis r dúbog “*Dracaena* of Ngardúbog” long, whitish, opaque.

The following specimens are old, worn down, and do not have much value anymore, = one bowl of syrup, one cluster of betelnuts, etc.:

ródog ngas “*Casuarina* fruit.”

gamádăg suk “unripe *Pandanus*.”

aingós whitish-green.

bas l kesîl “coal from the *kesîl* tree” (see Story 157).

Standards of value.

The smallest pieces of money, which are equal in value to a bowl of syrup or a cluster of betelnuts, were listed above. The smallest denominations are generally (the lowest-value money in Ngaregolóng = 1 Areca nut cluster):

mora telkamd equal to a cut piece *telkámd* or *telkímd*, for example, the arm of an octopus.

Then follows:

geimól e im “one to five” = 5 bowls of *a iláot* syrup (see Story 200).

The main standard for value is:

mora trúiug “on ten,” namely 10 spears or 10 baskets of taro, or 1 *rul* fish, this is the expression on Bablidaob; on Goréör they say:

*mora geimólkúkau*³⁹² or *góngiaki*³⁹³; for more about the latter word, see pgs. 158 and 161.

One basket full of taro is called *kluk*³⁹⁴ *l kukau*; the 10 baskets are of different sizes. The first is knee-high and is called the “main” *ptelúl a kúkau*, the 5th through the 10th are about 20-25cm high. (Taro piled up to stomach-level in baskets is called *ngelkóděł*, up to head-level *galdáiěł*.) One *delóbog l’logólog* (see pg. 166) is now worth approximately 20 baskets of taro, half a *kluk* at the most (likewise *klsuk* and *mensang*); so in general, one *kluk* equals 40 baskets. The value of a basket of taro sold individually is 1 mark³⁹⁵ on average.

In 1910, one *mensang* sold for 18 two-mark pieces, while one *tengét r medú* went for 8 two-mark pieces.

Galebúgëp and *kldait* can represent the highest and the lowest values, depending on the condition of the material and the history, while *kluk* and *delóbög* are always in the middle somewhere.

I already reported on the higher values above.

KUB. lists:

Adolóbok (*a delóbog*) is equal to the sum of about 30 baskets of taro.

Matál a kluk (*madál* see below) = 40 baskets.

Kluk = *Matal a kluk* + *Adolóbok*.

Éket a kelkúl (*klul*) = 1-2 *kluk*.

Kalebúkub (*galebúgëp*) worth up to 5 *kluk*.

Éket a kalbakabíl (*galbëgëbél*) worth more than 1 *galebúgëp*.

Generally prevailing prices are:

for one *Blai* = 3 *kluk* and 20 *madál a kluk*, in Goréör for ironwood 4 *kluk*,

for one *Bai* = 4 *galebúgëp*,

for part of a roof *ulomogóël* see below, in the section on Bai construction.

Changing money(*merúkum*³⁹⁶ or *oltebóid*) and lending money (*oméđ*) are well-developed business practices.

The word *oméđ* for lending should not be confused with the word *omád*³⁹⁷ “to pay back,” from which the expressions *madál a kluk*, *madál a delóbog*, *madál a galebúd*, etc., originate. These are common words for pieces of money, always glass beads, and are meant to express the value of the borrowed *kluk*, *delóbög*, etc. They are also the money used to pay back debts if identical pieces are lacking. The *madál* pieces are not pieces of money in their own right, as KUB. and others seem to think, instead, *madál* should be translated as “lending charge.” One also pays *góngiaki* “interest” for borrowing money, pg. 168.

Say, for example, one wants to borrow a *delóbög*, then one gives about half its value as *góngiaki* and one *galdóiög* bead, *br’rak* bead, or *móngongâu* bead. The borrower then looks around more or less at his convenience for another *delóbög* that he can acquire through working, selling things, etc., and then gives it to the lender, who then keeps the interest.

If someone wants to borrow a *bágël*, he must give a more valuable piece as collateral *ulsirs*³⁹⁸ (verb *olsirs*). This is the security *gosisál* (poss. *gosiselél*), which was previously discussed above on pg. 136 (see also Section VI 2^b). One can exchange it again later and just make a couple of gifts of taro, betelnut, etc. No special interest payment is customary in this case, because the knowledge that one is in possession of a more valuable *bagël*, albeit temporary, is already enough of a reward.³⁹⁹ In the past, when Palau was still heavily populated and unspoiled, one only needed to give a shell or a leaf as collateral (see pg. 156 and Vol. 2, pg. 257), which had the spiritual value of the security.

According to KUB., Vol. VII, pgs. 9-11, the following lending system is in place:

The pawn for one *delóbog* is one *madál a delóbog*, the interest is one *góngiaki*.

The pawn for one *kluk* is one *madál a kluk*, the interest is one *delóbog*.

The pawn for one *galebúgěp* is one *Éket a kelkul*, the interest is one *kluk*.

“If one is looking for *Matál a adolóbok* and *Matal a kluk*, one can secure these only with *óltobóis*, i.e. by exchanging them for another type of money of equal value, because there is no set rate of exchange for these.” Because they are glass beads, as described above, they may only be exchanged, because after all, *oltebóid* means “to exchange, to switch.”

To be able to exchange a *Kluk* Nr. 1 that has a value of 50 marks, one must provide 1 *madála a kluk* = 40 marks, 1 *delóbog klsuk* = 30 marks, 1 *góngiaki* = 20 marks, 1 *mora geimóng* = 10 marks, for a total of 100 marks.

For one *galebúgěp* Nr. 1 with a value of 250 marks, one must provide 1 *kluk* = 50 marks, 1 *Eket a kelkul* = 100 marks, 1 *kluk* = 50 marks, 1 *madál a kluk* = 40 marks, 1 *delóbög* = 30 marks, 1 *madál a delóbög* = 20 marks, 1 *mora geimóng* = 10 marks, and finally one more *kluk* = 50 marks, all together 350 marks.

In the case of a *bágěl*, the rate of exchange is even higher, because the prestige of this large denomination, both ends, the external appearance, the division, the exchange money, etc. must be paid with a separate rate.

During my stay, Golegerĩl (Vol. 2, pg. 219) exchanged one *kluk* Nr. 3 (*klikěs*) for Golikóng (it., pg. 218) and gave 1 *ksuk* and 2 *góngiaki* for it.

WILSON already observed the *okérd* system, “taking a larger piece of money and giving back a smaller piece” (Vol. 1, pg. 125).

I cite the following event, which took place during my stay there, to describe how a large piece of money is exchanged, for example when a club receives one and distributes it among the leading members Nr. I-X: The club Ngaratěkángěl (see Vol. 2, pg. 218) cut down 150 *dort* trunks in the Gogeál forests for the government and received 1 *móngongāu-bágěl* for this work. On May 1, 1910, this money was distributed according to the *okérd* system, in which a larger piece of money is taken and a smaller piece is given:

Nr.	Took	Gave
I	the <i>bágěl</i>	1 <i>galebúgěp</i>
II	the <i>galebúgěp</i>	2 <i>kluk</i> and 2 <i>ksuk</i>
III	1 <i>kluk</i>	1 <i>ménsang</i>
IV	1 <i>kluk</i> and 1 <i>ksuk</i> ⁴⁰⁰	1 <i>ménsang</i> ⁴⁰¹
V	1 <i>ksuk</i>	1 blue <i>galdóio</i> (<i>mesél</i> ⁴⁰² <i>ongiákl</i>)
VI ⁴⁰³	1 <i>ksuk</i>	1 <i>góngiaki</i> (<i>móngongāu</i> bead)
VII	1 <i>ménsang</i>	1 <i>góngiaki</i> (<i>móngongāu</i> bead = 15 baskets taro)
VIII	1 <i>góngiaki</i>	1 green <i>galdóio</i> (= <i>mora geimól kúkau</i>)
IX	1 <i>tengét r medú</i>	1 green <i>galdóio</i> (= <i>mora geimól kúkau</i>)
X	1 <i>tengét r medú</i>	1 green <i>galdóio</i> of lesser value (<i>galtópt</i>)

The remaining low-value pieces of money (about 10) were distributed among the young people of the club. The payment system is shown particularly well in the section on Bai construction, below.

Story 80 tells of an important exchange in which the weight of the money was determined.

There are numerous expressions for payment of purchases, celebrations, *pókět* (poss. *peketél*, from *omókět* “to deliver”), some of which have been discussed previously. I refer to the section on title conferral in Vol. 2, pgs. 100 and 214, and also to the purchase of the dugong above, on pg. 23. The offering of money by the family to the family head (*gokdemáol*) when purchasing a *mesekú* is called *omeldúgěł*⁴⁰⁴. In Vol. II, pg. 97, KUB. mentions the word *omeldúkul* for the purchase of a house. In the same place, he mentions the purchase of land, in which the buyer gives one piece of money as *olekel'lel a pelú* (KUB.: *Ngologollet a pelú*) and another for the *oretél a keběás* (KUB.: *Ortel a kabeás*); *olekól* means “to cut off a piece”; so the former means “cutting off of the land,” while the latter means “cutting” *merórt* of the *keběás* vines, which grow on the abandoned land. Usually, purchase of land means the renting of land by people exiled during wartime. In a real land purchase, no special words are used for payment.

blekátěl contribution of money by the Rubak (Story 113)

bus wedding gift from the husband to the wife's mother (Stories 43, 136)

bíngěr (see Story 20) money for the people who have buried a relative in a foreign village

golkngákl (poss.: *golkngeklél*) gift from the father (a syrup pot or oil, etc.) to the godfather of his child, who has given it his name and who pays the *golkngákl* for this. The child is then a *gosngákl* (*ongkeklák* he has my name, *ongkeklāu* he has your name)

gongráol = ½ *gorāu*

gorāu family contribution for a celebration in the amount of one *kluk*, also paid in the case of a divorce, see *gongráol* and *klevěgěl búôg*

klevěgěl búôg a *kldait* contribution to a feast (see *gorāu*), Story 136 (from *mesáug* to pick a cluster of betelnuts (*búôg*). Since money used to be rare in the old days, betelnuts and betel leaves were often accepted as payment)

madél ě gad from “death of a person,” that is, blood money, mentioned in Story 80 and cited by KUB. in Vol. II, pg. 44, as *madellakad* for the atonement of the murder of a chief.

It should briefly be mentioned that the *Rubakuse* little containers, often with beautiful inlay (Plate 7³ and 4) (WALL.: *bus*, poss.: *bsengél*) for storing their money, and that when they take along their money, they put it into their little woven bags (*golépěd l belír*, see sun worshippers).

However, money is usually buried in a secret location for fear it will be stolen. Consequently, there are probably still numerous pieces hidden in the ground, and indeed,

unearthed pieces of money are not rare, as the *nġlálam rarard* in Story 60 shows. I have already mentioned above, on pg. 20, that money is often worn as ornamentation, as *gólbiungěl* (pg. 161).

4. Navigation and Canoe Building

Of all of the primitive peoples of the world, the Palauans are famous for having the most beautiful canoes. This opinion was already expressed by WILSON on pg. 315, where it says: “Our people, who had often seen canoes of this type in many other countries, thought those of the Palauans surpassed all those they had ever seen elsewhere in elegance and beauty.” Others have uttered similar praise, for example, P. RAYMUNDUS⁴⁰⁵.

I myself can only confirm this opinion, after everything I have seen on all continents and in the museums.

And so it is even more astonishing that Palauans did not venture beyond coastal navigation, despite the fact that they had superb models in the Central Carolinians, their neighbors to the East.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 268, KUB. says: “The Palauans, like the Pohnapeians and the natives of Kusaye, have long ago given up ocean voyages of great distances. They do not even remember ever having been ocean-goers, and the skill of navigating by the stars is lost without a trace, although there can be no doubt that once, in earlier times, the names of the constellations prevailing in the Carolines were introduced to Palau.

The Hamburg expedition experienced the same thing. The canoes of the Palauans left the lagoon waters only to visit⁴⁰⁶ foreign ships off the East coast, outside the barrier reef, to conduct fishing trips, for example for sharks, flying fish (see Story 70), etc., or to sail by canoe from one village to another more quickly, especially when trying to reach Nggeiangěl in the North or *a Ngeaur* in the South; both islands are outside the barrier reef. For this latter voyage, from Pelílou to *a Ngeaur*, there are special canoes (see below) for crossing the strait of Makáep.

On all of these trips, the coast remains visible. Occasionally, the straits (*gongekěúl*) are crossed by swimming, as Story 195 implies, although this was not the rule, nor was it as common as in Polynesia.

Despite the lack of high seas navigation, however, our archipelago was by no means unknown to outsiders. Even before the arrival of Europeans, the Palau Islands were subjected to numerous visits. The discovery story in Vol. 1, pg. 14, explains that the Jesuit missionaries of the Philippines reported several instances of castaways who had drifted from the Carolines to the Philippines. In most cases,

the castaways turned East with their boats to return home, and often they encountered Palau in the process, which the Hamburg expedition was able to verify (ib., see pg. 169).

Story 8 of Ugélkeklāu, Story 10 of Melíp and Gabēlebál, Story 14 of *a* Tmēlógöd etc., however, show that in early times already, our archipelago received immigrants from the Eastern Carolines, by way of Yap.

Just as the Polynesians in former times, knew each other's archipelagoes and visited each other, this was true of Micronesians, although on a much larger scale. Of course, Palau is the exception in the Carolines, because its natives, as mentioned, are not high-seas navigators. But this is why the archipelago was known everywhere, at least as far as Truk in the East, as the list of names for it in Vol. 1, pg. 184 indicates. The Feis islanders (see pgs. 14 and 32) who washed up on Guam in 1696 knew "Panloc," and the Palao Indian of Sonsorol (pg. 41) related that he had already been to all of the neighboring islands, as his map in Fig. 4 shows.

The fact that the people of Feis visited the land they feared for trading purposes is shown by the case of the native who hurried on ahead of the "Modesto" in 1808 (pg. 132). KADU (pg. 133) also claimed to have been there, although the Palauans were known and feared everywhere because of their savageness. Finally, I must refer to Yap. As will be substantiated in the description of the Central Caroline Islands, Yap maintained continuous relations with Palauans for commerce and had a tribute relationship with them. Yap also had a relationship with Palau for the building of canoes, because Palau had nicer building wood than Yap, and also for the making of stone money⁴⁰⁷. The Carolinians paid for these things with turmeric yellow, woven mats, and shell ornaments, such as the *kau* mentioned above on pg. 4, which were new to Palau.

The fact that the Chinese visited the Palau archipelago before the arrival of white men was previously presented above on pg. 157 in the section about money. This import is the main evidence of early traffic between Palau and the outside world, because it was by no means accidental; the visitors must have come several times. The goods they probably received in exchange were trepang and shark fins, turtleshell, pearl oysters, etc.

In former times, when a sail was sighted off the shore in Palau, the islanders would shout: *bakál*. A sailing vessel is called *gomakál*, sailing canoes are called *gomakál mlai* to distinguish them, and the steamships are called *gomakál a gát* (*gat* "smoke").

Large ships are generally called *dial'l*, as opposed to the outrigger canoes of the natives, the *mlai*.

a mlai actually means the "canoe body," more correctly and literally *galgadál mlai*, in contrast to the outrigger *galdúl'l* or *klekidēl*, to which the rigging is added. The lashing of the outrigger is particularly important and is called *sakt*⁴⁰⁸;

Letters for Figs. 156-172.

a) *rukl* center-deck, b) *goreál'l* lee stringer, c) *bágád* (Fig. 157) *ulmatél*, c') *golmátél* (innermost opening into hold), d) *bágád gometiél'ldéi*, d') *gometiél'ldéi* (central opening into hold), e) *bágád kutíling*, e') *klegáság* (outer opening into hold), f) *úbid* foredeck, f') *dangáb* hatch cover (Fig. 158), g) on Fig. 156 *ulekíkt* lee deck board, g') *gogíl a ulekíkt*, g) on Figs. 161 and 162 *ulai* float supports, h) *dangáb a blu*, l) *soáiës* outrigger booms, k) *tekaũ* stringers, l) *klsókës* grating part of outrigger platform, m) *golakasákl* board seat over booms, n) *desómél* float, o) *torár* crossed or latticed bars between connectives, p) *kematál* yoke r) *goruáol* longitudinal framework, r') (Fig. 159) *tangét longgéoél* drainage molding, s) *kamagaráság* transverse framework, t) (172) *bir'ram* diagonal straight brace (u) (172) *a rtkókl* S-shaped side brace v) (161) *gor'rebakl* hanging yoke, w) (172) *kámtai* longitudinal poles on the outrigger side.

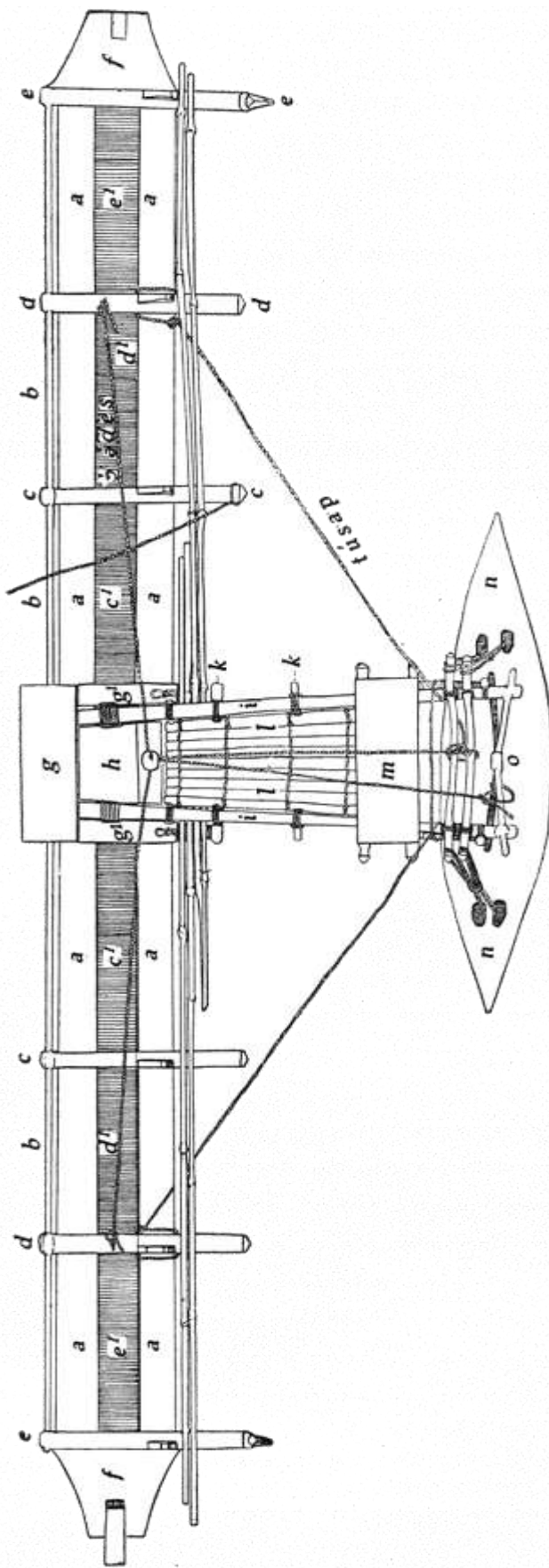


Fig. 156.

Rowing canoe seen from above.

a) *rukl* center-deck, b) *goreál'l* lee stringer c) *bágád ulmatél*, c') *golmátél* (innermost opening into hold), d) *bágád gometiél'ldéi*, d') *gometiél'ldéi* (central opening into hold), e) *kutíling*, e') *klegáság* (outer opening into hold), f) *úbid* foredeck, g) *ulekíkt*, g') *gogíl a ulekíkt*, h) *dangáb a blu*, i) *soáiës* outrigger booms, k) *tekaũ*, l) *klsókës*, m) *golakasákl* grating part of outrigger platform, n) *desómél* float, o) *torár* crossed or latticed bars between connectives, p) *kematál* yoke.

the stability of the boat depends on this, so canoes are often counted according to the outriggers:

for example,

<i>sēsákt</i>	1 canoe
<i>arēsákt</i>	2 canoes
<i>a dēisákt</i>	3 canoes.

The side of the outrigger (in sailing terms: the luff) is called *kedesóměľ*, and when two canoes are sitting side by side, alongside each other: *kakedesóměľ*; the lee side is called *kederáol* (from *goruáol* “booms” of the midsection *blu* on the lee; WALL. calls the side of the sail on which there is no bamboo *sar*), and two canoes alongside each other on their lee: *kakederáol*; this is the case when two canoes pass each other. The space under the outrigger (between the hull and the float) is called *klsókěš*.

A canoe is constructed as follows:

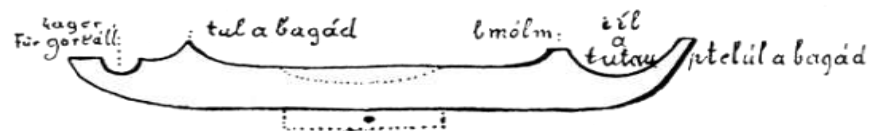


Fig. 157. Cross-deck beam rail.

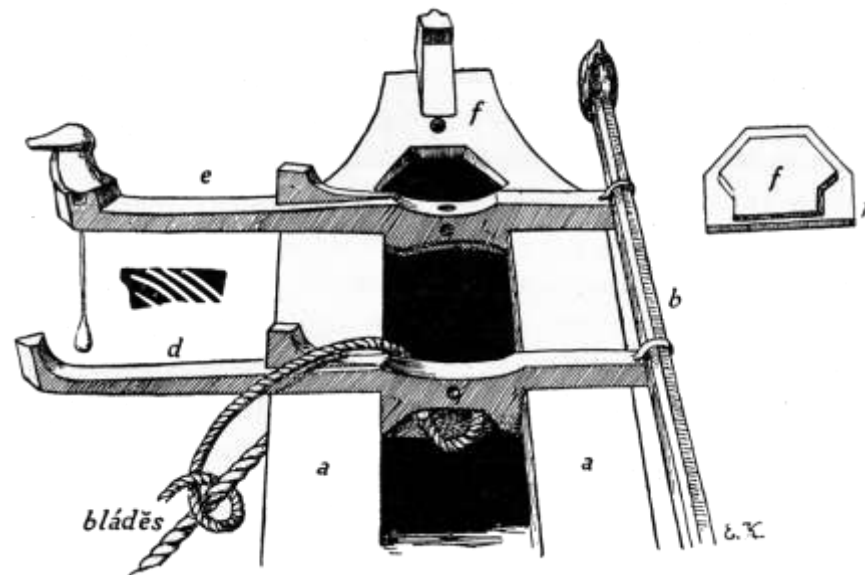


Fig. 158. Bow seen from above.

The hull of the canoe, *galagadál a mlai*, or *mlai* for short, is made from a single piece. The keel *gorúl* is wider at the lowest point, which is called *gorúl but*. WALL. calls the keel *ptil* (from *but* “end”). Towards the top, it becomes sharp as a knife, which is why that part is called *golsingél* (from *góles* “knife”). The spot where the width decreases is the most dangerous place for hitting a rock, the “leak-maker rock” *golingěl*⁴⁰⁹ *bad*, as this is an easy place for a leak to occur.

Seen from above, the hull is narrow, both sides running parallel, and the stern is just a bit wider (5cm, KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 271); in the middle there is a narrow slit, which can be closed with planks *dángăb*⁴¹⁰, under which there is a hold *ilobög*⁴¹¹ that expands. The deck itself, which is part of the dug-out canoe, is called *rukl*. The hull is divided into several compartments by the two fore decks, the transverse deck planks and the midsection⁴¹². These three major parts of the deck shall be discussed first:

The two fore decks *úbid*⁴¹³ are trapezoidal in shape and have covered hatches, as can be seen in Figs. 156f. and 158f. The bow of the canoe *kutíling*⁴¹⁴ has a hole *rég* for grasping. Under the foredeck is a hold called *klagásăg*.

The paddling deck (transverse deck rail) *bágăd* (poss.: *běgědél*) (KUB. *Bakát*) (Fig. 156 c, d, e) is tied down across the deck on both sides of the midsection g, h; it is the seat for the paddlers (Story 204, Verse 15). Fig. 157 shows the rail from the side: on the left on the lee is a groove for the gunwale *goréal'l* (KUB.: *Koréal*), which runs across the three rails and ends on the outrigger boom (Fig. 160i). This gunwale is a lot of help on the lee side, it is a safeguard against falling overboard or slipping, and helps someone in the water climb back into the canoe. It is also a guide rail for the paddles, so that these do not catch on the protruding pegs. Towards the bow, the round, but usually octagonal pole with well-pronounced edges has a head as decoration (Fig. 158, see below). The *bágăd* rail usually has a little point towards the interior, called *tul a bágăd*, similar to the bow, pg. 67. Together with a similar, blunt one called a *bekelel* or *l mólm* on the luff side, it forms a little indentation, for sticks, paddles, etc., especially if there is no groove in the center.

The main storage place for spears and paddles, however, is the indentation *iíl a tútau* “hollow (nest) of the morning bird *tútau*” at the luff end, which is bordered on the outside by the tip *l mólm pteílul a bágăd* (“head of the *bágăd*”).

The location of the *tútau* nest, i.e. on which side it is located, is important for the sailor. If the canoe rides in such a way that the sailor has the nest on his right, and thus the outrigger to starboard⁴¹⁵, then the spears are stored to the right, and the paddles are used on the left. This is the setup when the canoe is heading into battle *makamád*, and therefore one speaks of *gesíl makamád*; but if the outrigger is on the left, it is called *gesíl geî*; and only fishing spears may lie in the nest on the left,

because then one is going “fishing” *mo ra gēi*. It is obvious how important the transverse booms are. In the canoes used for passenger service, the *dékěl* poles lie in the *tútau* nests!

The three *bágăd* have different names: the one in front, at the bow *kutíling* is called *bágăd kutíling* (Fig. 158^e); it has a hole in it, through which the *káps* line is passed, which is used to fasten the tack of the sail. The hold between the first and second *bágăd* (Fig. 156^{d, e, and e'}) is called *klegásăg* (KUB.: *Klagásak*), like the one under the *úbid* (f), with which it is joined. The second (d) is called *bágăd rgometiél'l⁴¹⁶dei* “transverse beam for belaying the stay,” because the fore or aft mast stay is belayed to it, namely at the hole at the top (Fig. 158d).

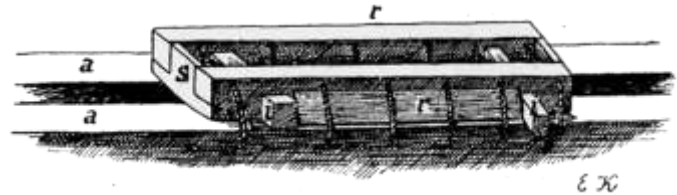


Fig. 159.
Center frame. the lower $r = r'$.

There are two more holes here for belaying the *túsap⁴¹⁷* line, which is stayed on the side using the one from the outrigger.

The hold d' , between c and d , is called *gometiél'l dei*.

The third transverse beam (c) is called *bágăd ulmátěl*, and the hold towards the center (c') is called *golmátel⁴¹⁸* (KUB.: *Olmátel*), because it usually contains bilge water *mátěl* (from *melímet* = “to bail”), which is bailed out here; which is where the name comes from.

The midsection *blu* (KUB.: *bluu*) is a square frame, 80-120cm long, that is set on the deck (Figs. 159, 160, 161); it consists of the transverse beams *kamagarásăg⁴¹⁹* (s) (KUB.: *Komakarásak*) and the longitudinal beams *goruáol⁴²⁰* (r) (KUB.: *Kornáol*), to which the triangular *tangét longgěáoěl* are joined (r') as protection against the seas, so that the water runs off on the sloping surface. Under the two transverse beams sit the two bulkheads *gongéld* (KUB.: *Honélt*), which mark off the midsection *golisál'l⁴²¹* (KUB.: *Holisá*) (Figs. 160 and 161 bottom), in which the bilge water collects, making it unusable for storing provisions, but good for fish that are caught, which have their place here. The lower floor is called *ulíl*. The frame is held in place by six strong lashings on both sides, which run through holes in the side and in the longitudinal beam *goruáol*. These lashings, called *goru⁴²²* (see pg. 175 *sakt* and Fig. 159), are extremely important;

if they are cut, the canoe becomes unusable sooner or later, depending on the damage, and this trick was used all too often in former times, as Story 165 shows. Because the two outrigger booms *soáiěš* (WALL.: *seóés*), which support the outrigger (i), lie on top of the frame; they are each tied to the transverse beam with two lashings *bogúkl* (Fig. 161). But the outrigger booms sometimes poke through the longitudinal beams, and this holds them down naturally; then the *goréal'l* sit on their ends and the *kamágarásăg* do not project out towards the lee (Fig. 160).

On the frame there is a seating plank that consists of various boards and is called *blú* as a whole. The main

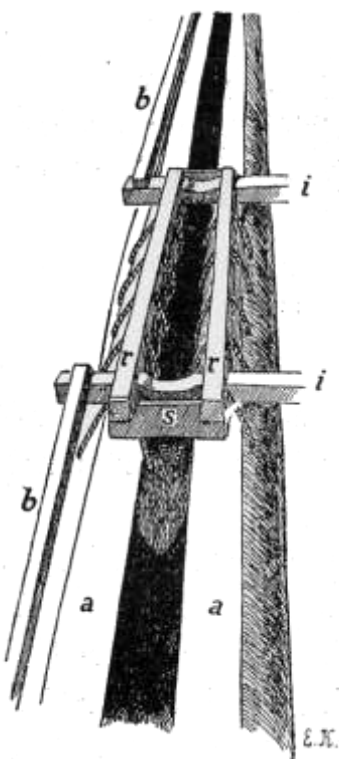


Fig. 160a.
Frame over i.

central plank *dángăb*, is bordered at the edge towards the lee side by a type of gunwale, an angular plank known as *a ulekíkt* (easily visible on Plate 13 below); because the *goréal'l* pole (b) is missing there; towards each end of the canoe there is a narrow board on the edge, which spread out like the “legs of *ulekíkt*,” which is why they are called *gogíl a ulekíkt* (g')⁴²³. Towards the outrigger, there is another narrow plank *gomakarál* (KUB.: *omgrál*, WALL.: *gom egerál*), on which the mast stands in a groove *Galíd* (KUB.: *Galís*, WALL.: *chelís*). It constitutes the link to the outrigger. The outrigger *galdul't*⁴²⁴ or *kledíděl*⁴²⁵ consists of the two

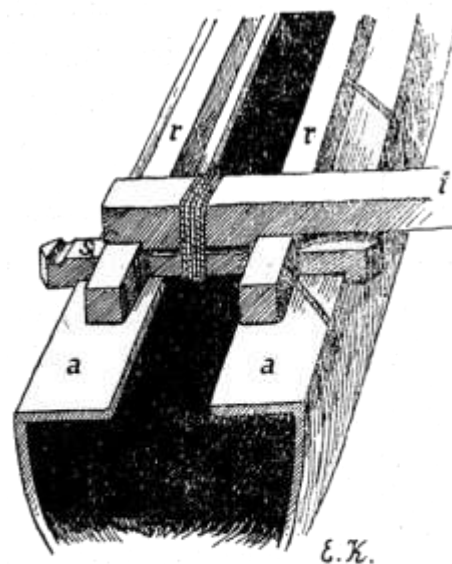


Fig. 160b.
Frame under i.

outrigger booms *soáiěš* (KUB.: *soáes*, WALL. *soáes*) just mentioned, the float support, the stanchions or pegs *ulái* (KUB.: *ulay*), and the float *desóměl* (KUB.: *Dosómel*, WALL. *desómel*). The float is removable, rectangular with rounded tips, and is 2 ½ - 4 ½ m long, 25-35cm wide, and 20-30cm tall (KUB.). The outrigger booms are stuck in the frame on top, mid-ship, as just mentioned, from where they protrude outwards.

On their underside there is a pair of transverse stringers (Fig. 156k) lashed on, called *tekau*⁴²⁶*klsókēs* (KUB.: *Tekau kelsokos*, WALL. *klsókes*), because *klsókēs* is the name of the grating-like lattice work above, on which the captain usually sits, and from whence it gets its name *moklsókēs* (Story 204, Verse 16), which is also the name for

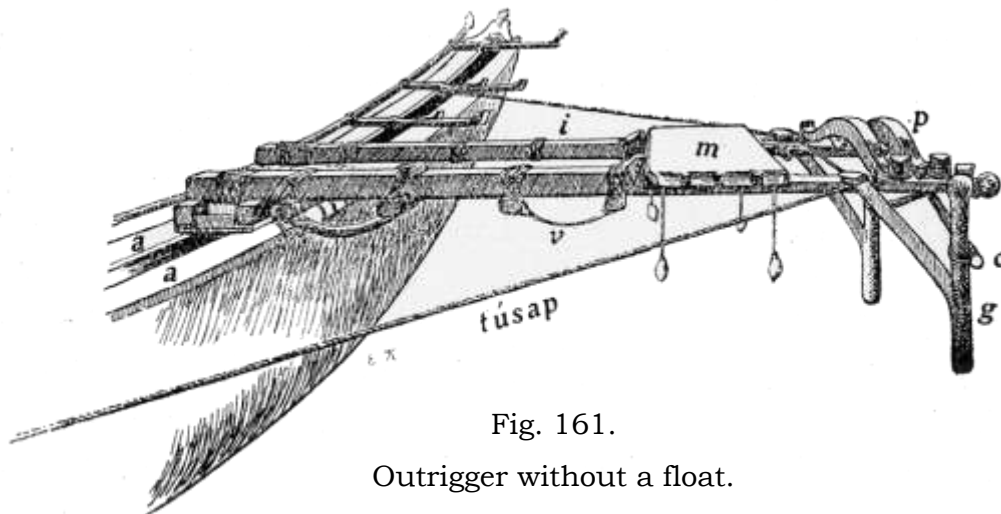


Fig. 161.

Outrigger without a float.

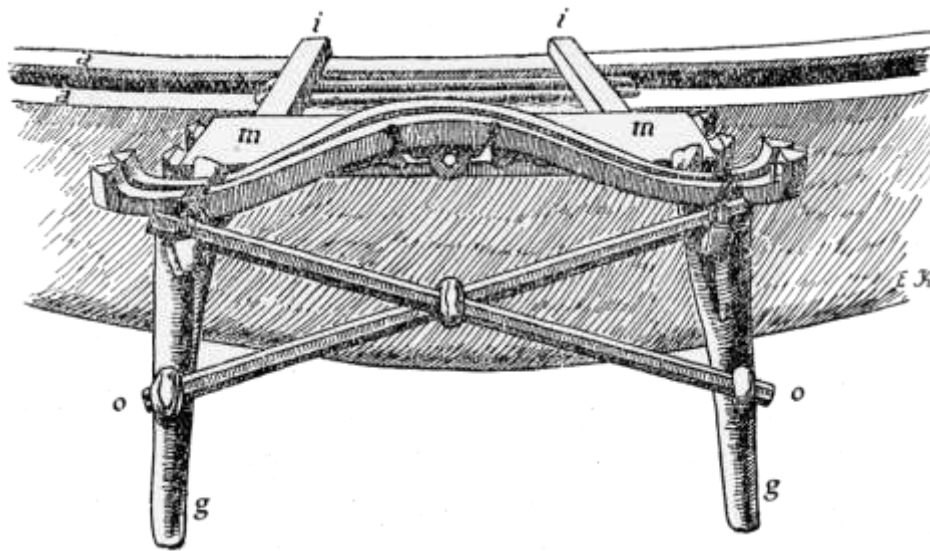


Fig. 162. Outrigger from the luff side:

double yoke (Fig. 161p), supports (g), and cross reinforcements (o).

the space between the hull of

the canoe and the float. Hanging down from the outrigger booms is a yoke (Fig. 161v) *gor'rebákl*⁴²⁷ (KUB.: *Korobákel*, WALL.: *chorrebágel*) for holding objects, especially the ends of the poles stored on the *bágăd*. Towards the outside there may be additional *tekau klsókēs*; usually there are little pieces of bamboo

here that form a grating-like platform which is also called *klsókěs* (b). Then, more towards the outside, there is an indentation on the top side, where the sitting board (m) *golakasákl* or *gordál' l'*⁴²⁸ (KUB.: *Ologodákel*) is fastened. When the canoe is sailing, this is where the man sits who holds the line in his hands⁴²⁹, whose path will be mentioned shortly. The plank has projections jutting down, so that it fits tightly between the *soáiěs*, in which a little indentation also makes movement to the side impossible. On its short sides there are two projections (Fig. 156 and 162m) (KUB.: *Mathal a hordál*). Towards the outside there follows the supporting yoke *kematál* (KUB.: *Kametál*, WALL.: *gemetál*), there are almost always two, an inner *ěmél* and an outer *iíkl kematál*. Both of them have a hole in a projection on their hollow underside, the outer one for the luff stay *dei desóměl*; and the line *klemát* runs in the cut-outs along the side and is held by the man sitting on the board; therefore *kematál*. The yard support *keól' l* (see pg. 181) runs through the hole of the inner yoke. The double yoke must therefore be lashed tightly to the outrigger booms, which in turn are kept securely separated from one another by the yoke. The two yokes also support the float (Fig. 156).

The forked supports *ulái* (KUB.: *ulay*) sit under the yokes, attached to the ends of the *soáiěs*, pointing down vertically; they are two round wooden stakes that are supported on the inside and are kept in place on the outside by two vertically crossed bars *torár* (KUB.: *torár*).

The *ulái* stanchions penetrate the float *desóměl* through special holes *ultoátěl* (KUB.: *ultuátel*). Additional holes, called *golotoángěl* (KUB.: *Holotoanl*), are used to pass the line *tótau* (Kub.: *totau*, WALL.: *totáu*) through to lash (*melótau*) the float to the yoke *kematál*, so that it cannot fall out of the *ulái*.

There is another rope in front, namely there is one tied to each of the outrigger booms, the lateral stays *túsap* (WALL.: *tudáb*), which secure the outrigger in position (Fig. 156). The other rope end is tied to the 1st *básăg* (above, pg. 177).

According to legend, the rigging is the invention of the Galid Medegeipélau⁴³⁰ (see Story 197); it constitutes the third major part of the sailing canoe. The solid parts (mast, yard, boom) are made of stout bamboo poles; wooden shanks with pegs are driven into their hollow ends, which are usually lashed for fastening.

The mast *gorákl* (poss. *goreklél*) (KUB.: *Horákl*, WALL.: *chorákl*) bears the pole *ugárm* (KUB.: *Aukaram*, WALL.: *uchárm*) that is mortised into it, and in it is the hole⁴³¹ for the halyard *ngerd* (KUB.: *ngeret*, WALL.: *ngerd*) and usually most of the hole is filled up by a sheave *gátrebís* (KUB.: *Katerebís*).

The fore and aft stays *bláděs* (see above, Fig. 156, pg. 174) are also fastened to the pole, as is the luff stay, *dei desóměl* (see pg. 180). The mast stands on the board *gomakarál* with the help of a wooden peg⁴³² (see pg. 178). The sail *ěárs* (poss. *rěsél*) (KUB.: *Yars*, WALL.: *äärs*), hangs on the halyard. It is fastened to the yard *dengīl* (KUB.: *Deniil*, WALL.: *dengīil*), also called *gelag*, at a yarn loop (KUB. *ñlohótol*), which runs up when the sail is hoisted and is hauled home when the sail is paid out with a line *keól'l* (KUB.: *geól*, WALL.: *geoll*) (see pg. 180) that is fastened to the same loop. The tip of the yard, the neck, is called *sagáلكlerikl*⁴³³ and when the canoe is sailing it is fitted into the hole *rég* at the bow (see above, pg. 176, and below, pg. 196), where it can also be fastened. When the sail is paid out, the yard is hauled home by the *keol'l* rope, which runs through the hole in the inner yoke. The boom *galág* (KUB.: *Galák*), which hangs from the sail by a gaff *rdilklerikl*⁴³³, touches the neck horizontally. The sheet *klemát* (poss. *kematál*) was just discussed (pg. 180). In old times it was called *klugěs*. It is attached to the boom on a long rope noose (KUB.: *kohil a klemát*). The sail itself is made of long strips of Pandanus matting sewn together vertically, the “clothes” *golúděl* (KUB.: *Blubókuk*).

KUB. says of this (see pg. 281): “These strips, called *Blubókuk*, may reach a width of 20-30cm and are considered better the narrower they are. These days, they are sewn together with a curved copper or iron needle, formerly a needle of *Ráot* wood was used; in this manner, the vertical seams *Wet* are created. Then the sail is sewn to the yard and boom; but first the latter has a string wound around it, *Kalablédes*, to facilitate the basting of the sail. Then the mat is sewn across, creating the *Telilap* seams, which are supposed to render the sail more durable and stiffer. Finally, the after leech is hemmed with a *Mantañ*, nowadays, strong blue binding is used for this purpose, but in the past, the leaf sheath of coconut leaves, called *Tahiir*, was used.”

There is usually a hook at the yard into which the boom may be placed when the sail is folded up; there are also several pairs of ties (K.: *Ogúl*⁴³⁴) at the yard for tying.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 297, KUB. says the following about manufacture of the sail: “In every village there is a more or less open place that is level enough to allow spreading out a sail. Here, a triangle corresponding to the size of the sail to be made is staked out with pegs and string, and this area is then filled with sections of matting. All the men consult each other during this, and two at a time always work on one seam. They sew from the center towards the ends, so that, depending on the size of the sail, two to three couples can sew comfortably at the same time, frequently changing places.

In this way, the sail, which requires a great deal of work, may be finished in a single day, accompanied by conversation and eating.”

Fig. 163 shows a triangular area of the type described. Nggeiangēl is renowned for making good sails (Vol. 2, pg. 41). KUB. also names Ngaregolóng and Pelíliou.

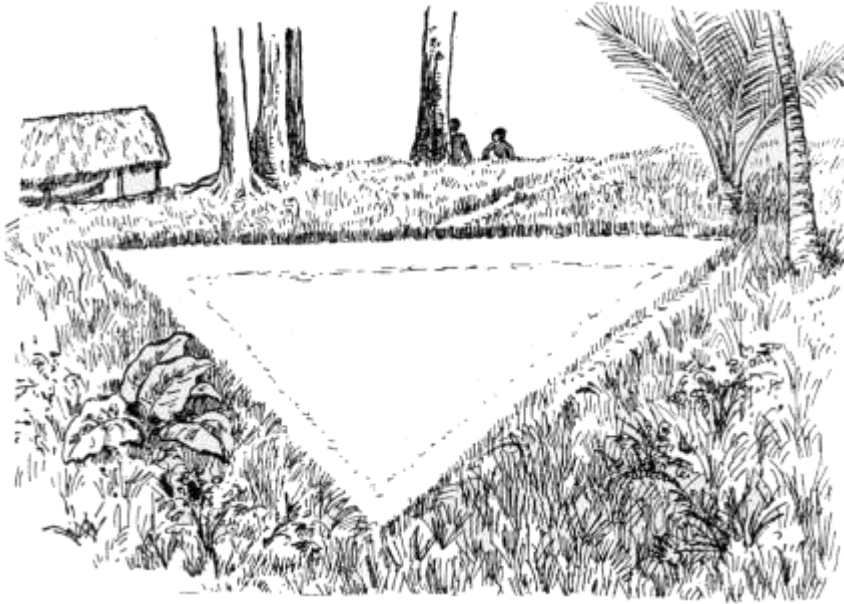


Fig. 163.
Area for sewing sails on Pelíliou.



Fig. 164.
Paddles.

Some canoe accessories worth mentioning include: the paddles *besós* (poss. *bedesíl*) (KUB.: *Bosó*, poss. *badasíl*), whose shape can be seen in Fig. 164. The handle is cylindrical without a hand grip, the blade is lancet-shaped, and gradually tapered towards the end. The most unusual thing is that at the outermost tip of the axially ridged side, there is a knob like an olive, which makes a singing sound when pulled through the water and

shall therefore be called the singing knob (Fig. 164, second from the left).

The paddles are swung high in strict rhythm, particularly in the war canoe, as WILSON reported (see Vol. 1, p. 110); there are nice illustrations in Bai 28 II^a and Bai 21 III^b. There are also double paddles with blades on both sides, *besós līētekíl*, which are used to move rafts in deep water. They are especially famous as paddles for dance (see Fig. 211). Most paddles are uniformly red; imported oil paint is probably the reason for the recent emergence of white patterns, which usually represent ocean waves.

Poles *dékēl* (to pole *melíkēs*) are also used for human propulsion. On Palau, they are especially important because of the tides, as can be seen in Vol. 1, pg. 212. Ordinarily, canoes travel without a sail, they are punted over the reefs. As soon as

deep water is encountered the bamboo poles are laid aside (see above, Fig. 156) and replaced with paddles,

only to be brought out again as soon as shallow water is reached, as I often experienced myself. Usually, one man stands in front and one stands behind on the aft deck; often there are 1-3 more men in between them.

I did not observe any special paddles for the rudder *gongëu* and *siuër* (WALL.: *chongéu*, *a siur*). Fig. 14 on Plate LIII, in KUB., Vol. VIII, depicts a rudder. Its blade is spatula-shaped, and the grip at the top end has a hole in it, like a spade. But this does not seem to be the rule.

The anchor *vak* (poss. *gokúl*) (WALL.: *uak*, poss. *chokúl*) is really nothing more than a mooring line, as can be seen in Story 210; a real anchor in our sense of the word does not exist. To hold the canoe in place in deep water, a stone that one brings along is tied to the line; in certain instances, a special stone with lacing is used, as a specimen in Leipzig (Mi. 1617, Fig. 165) shows. In shallow water, the poles are driven into the bottom and the line is tied to them (Story 204, Verse 17). These anchor poles *del'liu* (*mel'liu* "to fasten") are also simply used for canoes, as can be seen in Story 194; if one sees a lot of poles sticking out, one can assume that many boats will be found in that spot (see *log*).

The bailer *pringd* (WALL.: *brind*), shown in Fig. 166, is sort of wave-shaped. Bailing (*melímět*) is done in the *golmátě* hold (see above, pg. 177).

The ornamentation on the canoe is simple, but effective (see also Bai 28 *br*). In particular, the *kabékl* war canoes and the *káep* sailing canoes

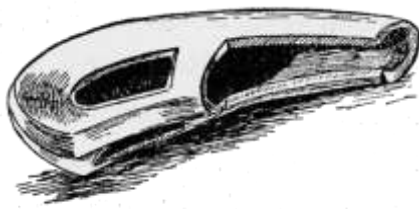


Fig. 166. Bailer.



Fig. 165.
Anchor.

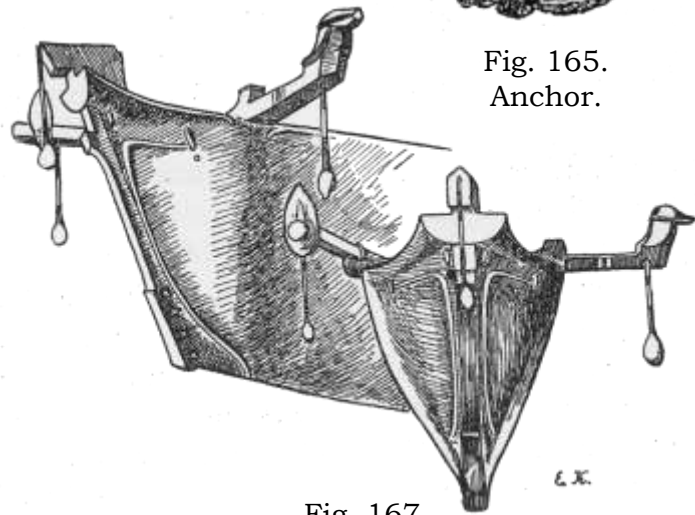


Fig. 167.

Bow seen from the side and front.

have numerous embellishments on the woodwork. The bow of the latter bears a kingfisher *tangadík* on the 1st *bágăd*,

and a head, usually the white egg cowry, at the *goreál'l* stern⁴³⁵, and a figure head at the prow called *mesép sils* “sun sitter” (see Fig. 158z. on pg. 175). From the front, one can see the peg sitting on a crescent-shaped mirror, called *galsívog*⁴³⁶ (Plate 13 and Fig. 167). At the tip of the prow there is often a pendant called *besagěl* (WILSON: *beesakell*, KUB.: *Basákal*), a snowy egg cowry on a string. On the prow itself, a hook-like protrusion juts upwards, known as the *tógěd* “thorn,” and in the place where the ramming spur is located on the war canoes, there is a point called *gobagád l tógěd*, which can be translated as “spirit spur.”

A molding runs along the two sides of the bow; its acute upper angle is called *komúr bəap* “rat tail”, while the lower, obtuse one is called *úlog kim* “Tridacna muscle” in contrast.

Transport canoes have two square “spikes” at the keel, near the spur (Figs. 168 and 173a).

The *kabekl* war canoes are much more elaborately decorated. The one from Goréör gets its name Gouklídm

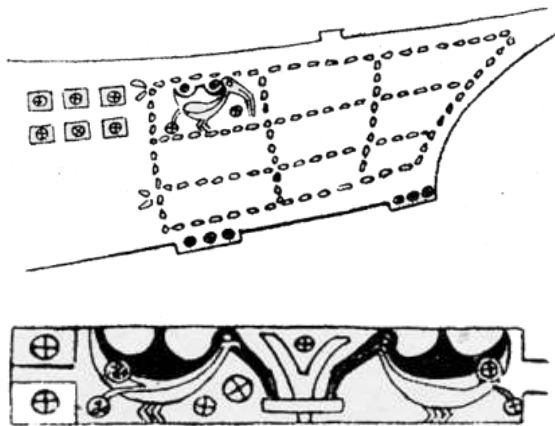


Fig. 168.
Decoration on the
war canoe of Melekéiok.

from the term for human faces *klídm*, which the canoe had not only on the head board *gongáiu*, but all along the entire hull, as Plate 13 shows. Also hanging from the head board are a heap or a row of snail⁴³⁷ shells strung on cords, hanging down like braids of hair, which give the whole thing a rather wild look; *gěsegúsem* (KUB.: *Kasogúsum*) is the name for this type of ornamentation. The inlay work, however, tends to be especially beautiful; it was previously discussed above, on pg. 113. On the war canoe of Melekéiok, there are not only money disks, but entire curlews as decoration, all consisting of shell pieces, which in more recent times have been combined with chips of Chinese plates (Fig. 168). Instead of human faces, in this case, there is a double row of *galebúgěp* pieces of money along the hull. Three of these can be found on the two lower keel projections. Most sailing canoes and transport boats generally have three *blútang* crosses below and on the projections in front. There is also inlay work on the midsection and the outriggers, as well as on the *ulekíkt* and the *gogíl a ulekíkt* board (g and g'), etc. These are in the shapes of triangles, zigzags⁴³⁸, etc., as already mentioned above. The snowy egg cowries on the *goreál'l* have already been discussed, as have the *besagěl* pendants, which are found on the same boom, on the prow, on the ends of the rowing bench, the outrigger,

from the term for human faces *klídm*, which the canoe had not only on the head board *gongáiu*, but all along the entire hull, as Plate 13 shows. Also hanging from the head board are a heap or a row of snail⁴³⁷ shells strung on cords, hanging down like braids of hair, which give the whole thing a rather wild look; *gěsegúsem* (KUB.: *Kasogúsum*) is the name for this type of ornamentation. The inlay work, however, tends to be especially beautiful; it was previously discussed above, on pg. 113. On the war canoe of Melekéiok, there are not only money disks, but entire curlews as decoration, all consisting of shell pieces, which in more recent times have been combined with chips of

and especially on the two projections of the *golakasákl* board seat (m), in the middle of the *túsap* line⁴³⁹; they sway in the wind and when the canoe is sailing, they animate the entire image and even have a magical effect.

The background of all of the ornamentation, as previously described in the discussion on woodwork on pg. 112, is red paint, which is applied to all parts of the canoes, the paddles, the bailer, etc., in short to all wooden parts; only the bamboo remains unpainted. In addition to red, the inside of the canoe hull is often painted yellow, as is done with wooden containers.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 278, KUB. says: “The outside is given a double coating of red ocher, which is always covered with the *Laok* varnish. Painting the *Delebonel* edge, the two seams of the *Ubít*, the *Tanatik*⁴⁴⁰, the ends of the *Bákat*, the *Tekan kelsókos*, etc., with white paint is very popular; in former times they used ordinary lime mixed with coconut oil for this purpose, but nowadays, if possible, they use oil paint obtained from the ships of the white men.” The white and green shown in Fig. 164 are evidence of this.

Canoes are kept in the canoe house *díangěl* (see pg. 208). They are pushed and pulled there across the short, sloped terrain on round logs (see Vol. 2, Plate 11²). Rollers (WALL.: *titái*, verb: *melitái*) seem to have been used since early times. Occasionally, a cart *ngoliděúl* (see also the section on the eating hut, Section VI5) is also used; it is merely an axle with two small, thick, wooden disks that turn, which I saw once in Goikúl. WALL. calls this cart *kingál l titái*, “seat on rollers,” and it was probably built on the basis of stories. The concept of the cart, however, was apparently not entirely foreign to the Palauans. The float is taken off as soon as possible, and the outrigger is placed on *t kabl* supports in the canoe house (Vol. 2, pg. 190). The canoe itself rests on the *koi*⁴⁴¹ beams; details about the *delépěs* sleepers follow.

According to the natives’ legends, canoes are constructed as follows: the *ukal’l* tree (*Serianthes grandiflora*) is considered the child of Dileděgu of Ngariáp (see Stories 17 and 13, Note 1), which is why a *gotáot* chant must be said before it is felled.⁴⁴² A basket is set at the foot of the tree, with taro that has been cut into seven pieces in it, as well as roasted *ulogóg* coconut for the 7 Galid building chant (see below in the section on Bai construction). Money of the old type, cut from the root of the *kesól* turmeric, must also be included. The chant for the *ukal’l* tree goes like this:

a gadíl a Dileděgú

Mother Dileděgú

ak mlě mesúběd re kau

I inform you,

I make a feast that you eat,

ak merúr ra múr mẽ komangáng

ma aika udóud la gerál tial kër'regar

mẽ ko meriẽm l mo sel kër'regar

mẽ kom kíẽ rengí

ẽ tia mo rengí gotilẽg ra tútau

ma kum kokl

ma melóbõg rengí ra tútau

and this money is the price of this tree,

and you move over to that tree,

and live in it,

because here will go on it the adze tomorrow

morning,

and you earlier (should leave),

because we fell it tomorrow morning.

After the chant, the basket and the money are picked up and carried to the next tree, so that the Galid move to that one. They are given one night to move, then the next day the tree is felled. The direction of the tree's fall is interpreted as either a good or a bad omen: if it falls to the West, this is very bad, the wood will rot; Southeast is also not propitious. If the tree falls to the East, one will not receive much money upon completion of the canoe, and there will be a tendency to rot. Only North is considered a good omen: in that direction the tree falls towards the island Ngorót, which means that much money will come into the house.⁴⁴³

The first activity of the master builder, the *dágǎlbai*, is to mark (*meláõg*) the felled trunk. He makes wedges with the axe (*kisẽm*), to indicate the size of the wooden parts to be used for construction. In addition, he sets up two poles as ladder shafts⁴⁴⁴, and he thinks that the spirit *Degésẽg*⁴⁴⁵ sits between these at the base of the tree trunk and waits to be paid the respect he is due. So the master builder picks up his adze and approaches the ladder from the root side of the trunk (see the section on Bai construction), holding the handle vertical with the blade downwards. He squats there and says:

ak mogung másǎg⁴⁴⁶ l mo meláõg

r tial kër'regár

ẽ kolekérđ⁴⁴⁷ a mekngit r tial kër'regar

mā kolerkérđ ra sęgẽr ma galsáng⁴⁴⁸ ma kodál

ẽ ked orégẽđ⁴⁴⁹ r tial mlai l mo merék

I go up to mark

this tree;

protect against evil this tree,

and protect us against illness, overwork, and death,

so that we quickly finish this canoe.

After this he climbs the ladder, always placing the right foot first, squats towards the top of the trunk, with his back against the ladder, turns all the way around once in squatting position, then continues speaking:

a Ugéliángěd, ak ultúruk re kau,
ě meláög r tial kër'regar
ma leból degór⁴⁵⁰ gěbákl;
ě kelém⁴⁵¹ kibetiékl kung
ng díak kumekóuad⁴⁵² ra gad
ě ak meláög ra m lai;
a kau a ngarbáb peúsög;
a madám ě komés
ra mangisngul 'l⁴⁵³
ma meredóröm a madál
mě golteměmăg ra ngerél,
ma metetěkói⁴⁵⁴ re kid
a díak lě gadád⁴⁵⁵,
meng mo re ngi a kedóröm

First in heaven, I ask you,
 I mark this tree,
 and let the axe stand upright;
 do not be frightened,
 I do not kill any people,
 rather I mark a canoe,
 you up there can see very far,
 when your eye sees
 someone avert their gaze,
 and there is a twinkle in his eye
 and he twists his mouth
 and he talks about us:
 is it not our relative?
 Then on him with sharpness.

This chant is addressed to God in heaven. The axe, or rather the master builder's adze, may only be used for the ceremonial marking of this tree and is first consecrated with magic (*gólei*), which cannot be undone. If someone raises this axe against a human being, he will become sick and die, all are convinced of this. A man in Melekéiok was once shot because he misused a ceremonial axe.

After the chant, during which the adze is held vertically, an assistant brings the marking line (*ungámk*), lays it out, and the master builder applies the marks that determine the length and width of the canoe.

As soon as the ceremony is over, the club members come with their adzes and carve out the rough shape of the canoe, so that the trunk becomes lighter in weight. The carved tree trunk is then hauled out of the forest to the beach. Everyone lends a hand, and the workers are given a large meal of fish, pork, taro in various bowls, lemonade, etc. as a reward for their efforts hauling the tree *omungúrs*.

Special preparations are required. A hole is hewn through the trunk at the root end, so that the towing line, the *malageiángěd*, can be passed through and tied. The line is made of vines⁴⁵⁶ and is tied to the hole with *galings* fibers, which are pulled off of the outer part of coconut frond stalks. Hauling is accompanied by singing.⁴⁵⁷

At the new work area at the beach, another ceremony is held, the laying down of the sleepers, the *delépës*, of which there is one male and one female.

Both are so long that they extend from one elbow to the tips of the fingers on the opposite hand. The wood for this is taken from the *ngólom* tree or the *róro*. Only unknowledgeable persons would use other kinds of wood.

When laying out the sleepers, the master builder says:

*gadám, Góbak le gëvúl*⁴⁵⁸

*moríka lëkó dmëseï*⁴⁵⁹

āk rekúr tial delépës

*tiakíd lungiapesúl*⁴⁶⁰

me kë dikíeï

ë mangkár re ngí

and further:

ë gedé kadíl Góbil le gëvúl

më kom dmëseï

(continued as above)

Father, Góbak le gëvúl,

move a little to the side;

I lay down this sleeper

here in a good position.

You just stay

and watch over it!

Mother, wife, Góbil le gëvúl.

move to the side;

After the chants, the canoe is set on the sleepers, with the root end of the trunk, from which the canoe will be carved, the *ugul* side, resting on the male sleeper (*sagál delépës*).

The chant addressed to the centipede god now has the following purpose: If during the night someone with bad intentions cast a hostile spell (*temál*) on the master builder, then in the morning when he arrives—and he always approaches from the root end of the trunk, so that he may have his right arm free to strike—a centipede will crawl towards him on the trunk, sent from Gobaklegëvúl as a warning sign.

Once the master is aware of the magic, he casts a counter-spell, called *delépdep* after grated coconut. He takes young coconuts, grates them, and mixes the shavings with the coconut juice in a coconut bowl. He then approaches the root end of the trunk from the right with the bowl in his hand, always placing the right foot first, then the left. He walks around the entire trunk and pours a little liquid from the bowl at the following places shown in the sketch (Fig. 169):

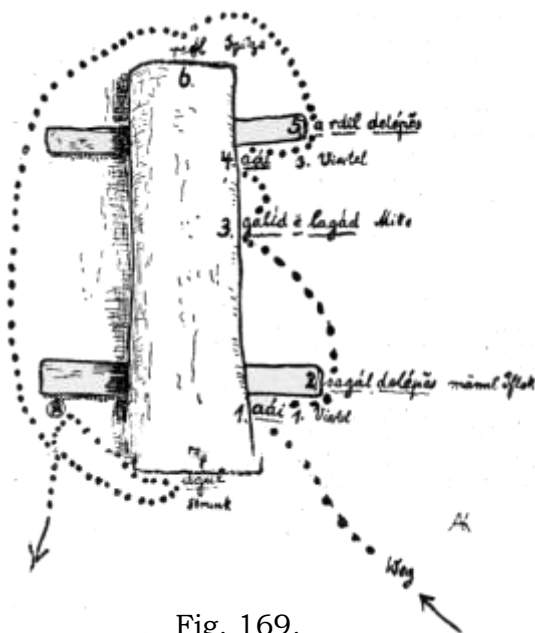


Fig. 169.
Tree chant.

1. *aái* first quarter
2. *sagál delépēs* male sleeper
3. *galíd ē lagád* middle of the tree trunk
4. *aái* third quarter
5. *ardil delépēs* female sleeper
6. *rsél* its tip
7. *úgul* the trunk

At the eighth spot, on the other side at the male sleeper, the master builder lays the empty bowl in a small hole and covers it up, so that nobody can see any part of it. He says:

<i>tia a imelém, a gadáng ra Góbaklegěvúl</i>	This is your drink, Father G.,
<i>kau ma dalák ma ngalekiú ra Gobildép</i>	you and my mother and your child G.,
<i>mě ko melím ē omés ra mlě melamal'l re kid</i>	you drink and see who wants to do us harm,
<i>mo komsa meringěl; ē go bagěrei</i>	give him pain; if you let it go,
<i>ng tomělák⁴⁶¹, ē tomělimíu</i>	he will ruin me, he will ruin you;
<i>me komsa mẽ komsa⁴⁶² meringěl</i>	take care and give him pain.



Fig. 170.
Canoe making.

Now the lines for the hull are drawn by dunking a piece of coconut blossom sheath⁴⁶³ in a soot concoction and drawing a line. These lines must be drawn before the hull and the deck *rukl* can be carved. A string blackened with soot *ungámk* is also used by simply snapping it.

In addition, the little pot filled with soot *gomogosóngēl* (WALL.) (KUB.: *Kamakosoñol*, see pg. 190 and above, pg. 109) is used to draw the lines, with the brush made of the coconut blossom sheath being dipped in it (Story 13) (see KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 292). The hull is hollowed out roughly. The last few chips⁴⁶⁴ are left in it for the time being. Next the upper section is carved out and polished⁴⁶⁵, then the bottom section is shaped, to give the canoe the right curvature⁴⁶⁶.

Next the chips are cleared out of the inner sections using a stone blade (these days iron) on a handle (KUB.: *Holobísek*), as can be seen in Fig. 170. One begins to carve the ends of the canoe, which have different shapes depending on the type of canoe. Then the whole canoe is turned upside down, so that the keel is on top, to finish the outside and to polish it smooth. After the delicate chipping is done, sanding⁴⁶⁷ with a ray skin begins, which requires many people. A feast is held for the many helpers (I participated in one myself on 17. September, 1910).

Once the hull of the canoe has been polished, painting with red earth, the *gorkedél a gútüm*, begins the next day, and the second coat *būk* is applied soon thereafter. Both times, it is polished with reeds⁴⁶⁸, especially before the varnish *lóg*⁴⁶⁹ is applied.

When the hull of the canoe, the *mlai*, is finished, they proceed in a more leisurely fashion, according to time and desire, with construction of the outrigger, the *galdúl'l*. The outrigger consists mainly of the two outrigger booms, the stanchions, and the float, along with the many accessories of a Palauan canoe. No special help is needed again until all of the pieces are ready to be lashed together⁴⁷⁰, after which, again, there is a feast for the helpers.

If a buyer can be found for the canoe, the master builder cuts several little coconut frond stalks⁴⁷¹ to the appropriate size, as a substitute for the sleepers, which are removed. The coconut stalks are laid down together at the landing pier, while the master builder says the following:

<i>Góbak le gëvúl, kau ma Góbil le gëvúl</i>	Góbak le gëvúl, you and Góbil le gëvúl
<i>kom di ólab aikáng l dingár</i>	take only that one,
<i>tiang ě mangĩl re ngák</i>	this one remains for me.

The first time the canoe is brought to the water, he says the following chant:

<i>Kemángēl lo gúlád⁴⁷² kau</i>	Long sand worm, you
<i>ma kedép lo gúlád,</i>	and short sand worm,
<i>ma nglai,</i>	and butterfly pupa,

ked otobedí⁴⁷³ tial mlai
 ma ki melikēs
 ě kemíu gokíu⁴⁷⁴ ugeî l mo ra Goréör
 mo kom, tugelí⁴⁷⁵ a galbĕgĕbĕl⁴⁷⁶ a Ibĕdul
 l ngú l mĕ ra madál golbesábĕl⁴⁷⁷
 meng mo gerál a káep

we bring it out this canoe,
 and we punt
 and you go first to Goréör
 and carry it on your head the *galebúgĕp* of a
 Ibĕdul
 bring it here to the opening of his money box,
 so that it be the payment for this sailing canoe.

The new outrigger canoe then sets out on a voyage, so that its sailing qualities can be demonstrated and a buyer⁴⁷⁸ can be found, assuming that it was not built for a specific order, which also occurs, but is not usually the case.

When the canoe returns from its maiden voyage, the two sleepers are laid out, next to the mouth of a river, if possible. Then the bottom-most piece of a taro is set down, some roasted coconut on top, the favorite dish of the forest spirits, and the following chant rings out:



Fig. 171.
Pupa as Galid seat.

Kemángĕl lo gúlad kau ma
 kedép lo gúlad ma nglai
 aika mlimíu⁴⁷⁹, māika gokūmíu
 mĕ bom di derékl, ě molikēs,
 mo komór a madál Nggasagáng
 meng te merekerúkūm rĕmĕl⁴⁸⁰
 ng kál, ě udóud ě ilúmĕl,
 mĕ komtougákl me ko mangá, l mo mĕdingĕs,
 a kuk doiderékl, mo melikēs,
 meng díak a merekerúkūm
 ě kom di imíu
 l mo rĕ golimtemútl
 ra btil Ngeaur⁴⁸¹

Long sand worm, you and
 short sand worm and butterfly pupa,
 this is your canoe, and these are your
 provisions,
 embark, then punt;
 you come in front of Nggasagáng,
 and they make noise inside,
 there is food, money, and drink;
 turn off the path of your trip and eat until you
 are sated.
 Then get back on board, then punt,
 and when no noise can be heard,
 then just pass
 over to the whirlpool
 at the end of Ngeaur.

This, approximately, is how a large canoe is built, particularly a sailing canoe, in which an attempt is made to appease the anger of the gods.

These *káep* and *kabékl* are so highly prized that each individual canoe is given its own name . The same was true of the flotillas of the different villages ; but I was only able to discover the flotilla names of the villages on Ngeaur. Most likely, the important villages in the North also adhered to the same practices, but I was unable to ascertain this.

There are 10 types of Palauan vessels:

1. *kabékl* war canoe
2. *káep* racing canoe
3. *kotráol* transportation canoe, for sailing, but mainly for punting (*melikēs*)
4. *borótong* cargo canoe
5. *dōgú* short and wide, ocean-going canoe (only on a Ngeaur)
6. *kaberuōg* old, Yap-like canoe, no longer used
7. bamboo raft, large *gologútūl*
8. bamboo raft, small *prér*
9. toy canoe *blútēk*
10. votive canoe *kěóngēl*

The last two types are never used to transport people, and in fact, the votive canoe is really nothing more than a model and is never set afloat in the water; but, just as the shrines in the houses must be listed with the houses because they have the shape of a house, so these two types of boats must be included in the discussion on canoes.

1. The sailing canoe *káep* poss. *kebél* (KUB.: *káep*, WALL.: *gáeab*) is the shining star of Palauan canoemaking skills. In Vol. VIII, pgs. 270-286, KUB. has reported so exhaustively on it, that I shall be brief, especially since his description of the hull of the canoe, the outriggers, and the rigging applied primarily to the *káep*.

It is characterized by the great curvature (*pódōg*), the extremely curved keel line, which is so pronounced that on a canoe that is about 10m long, the projecting bow is 60-80cm higher than the midsection of the keel; on Plate 13 this is very visible. According to legend, the model for the strong, wonderful curve of the canoe was the claw of the flying fox *golik rá idēberuógōl*, which was killed in Gólēi. When the canoe is afloat, the whole front section and even a large part of the keel project upwards, making it look as though the vessel were sagging at the back. Actually, the 4 men who constitute the crew of the canoe during a voyage and who are its only passengers, keep to the aft section, so that the bow sticks out even more, which makes the similarly curved after end of the gunwale appear almost horizontal. It is this curvature, as well as the slenderness of the canoe hull and the large surface of the sail, that allow the canoe to reach a high traveling speed. KUB. claims that the Ralik-Ratak canoes are superior; but this could only be decided in a race. At a race held in the Tomil Harbor in Yap, which the photo in Plate 13 shows, the Palauan canoe had an advantage over the

Central Carolinian forked-tail canoe. The fact that the Palauans call the Yapese canoe *debí* “bowl” says more than any other words can (see above, pg. 115).

The ocean-going canoes are built heavier than the *káep*, which are pretty much racing canoes. Story 16, which describes the race for the *ngas* branch, which was to decide who would become the first Rubak, reveals how racing is in the Palauans’ blood⁴⁸². The connection with the Galid Medegeîpélau, the inventor of the sail (Story 197), is unmistakable. Furthermore, KUB. says that the Palauans handle their canoes with more skill than the Central Carolinians, apparently because they have more opportunity for sailing in their large archipelago. And his statement that the *káep* sails particularly well on the wind is correct, so I refer to his descriptions for details. But I want to add several remarks here about the sailing races.

They say that the *káep* races used to be held annually. The starting point was *a Iraî*, the sacred village of Medegeîpélau, the inventor of the sail. The course led first westward, then up the coast to Nggeîangǽl; from there down the East coast back to *a Iraî*. Along the way, the competitors would stay 3 days each in Ngarekeai, *a Imeúngs*, Ngarsmau, Ngabúkǽd, Mangal’láng, Keklau, Ngival, and Melekéiok.

From *a Iraî*, they then sailed back down to nearby Ngaragébúkl (Vol. 2, pg. 136), to pick up the stone idol of Temdókl (Vol. 2, Plate 104), which they then conveyed to Peliliou by way of Goréör.

The last race took place shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards (around 1875). At that time, Gobak Ngirabad sailed on the *káep* Tukeklí, Gamau of Ngát pang on *a Galauád*, and Ngirturóng of Ngarmid (priest) on Gobakul.

This was apparently the last sailing race. The Palauans think of it as a farewell to the old days. KUB. has no information to report about this. He simply says, on pg. 297: “Some of the vessels, which are especially distinguished because of their achievements or shape, are known throughout the entire island group at least by name, and the opportunity to see them or to try to compete with them, is eagerly sought.”

One more feature of the *káep* should be discussed: the presence of the kingfisher as ornamentation on the end of the 1st *bagǽd*, which was mentioned above. In Vol. VIII, pg. 272, KUB. says: “Legend has it that when Koreómel approached the Palau Islands in his vessel, a kingfisher perched on the tip of the mast announced that land was close. The *Tanatik* of *Bákat*, therefore, is supposed to represent this bird and to ensure good luck for the vessel during its voyage.” I heard a similar story of a canoe that drifted off course in the West and that received the gift of a kingfisher for the journey home, to indicate the right course, which enabled it to reach home.

The *tangadík*, however, is also the favorite bird of Medegeîpélau, which explains its general popularity. For details about this, see the sections on war and Galid cult in Section VI.

2. The war canoe *kabékl* (KUB. *kabékel*, WALL: *gabékl*) is a giant paddling canoe, whose hull may be up to 15m long; the one from Goréör is actually 17.7m long by 1.2m deep (A. d. M. 1908, pg. 35).

It is clear at first glance that the bow is different from that of the *káep*, because of the mostly white head board *gongáiu* (KUB. *Hongáyu*), whose shell ornamentation with delicate inlay on the sides of the bow was previously discussed on pg. 184. Several (usually 4) bamboo poles penetrate the head board (Fig. 172). As

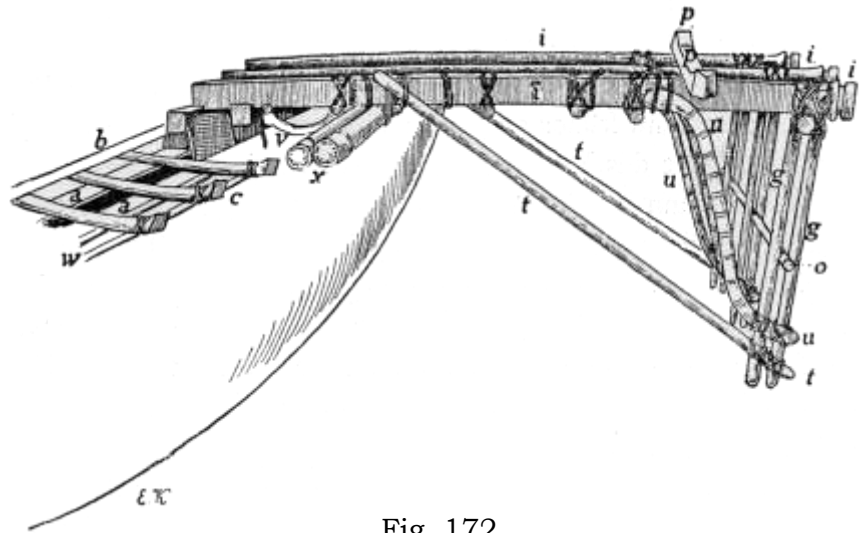
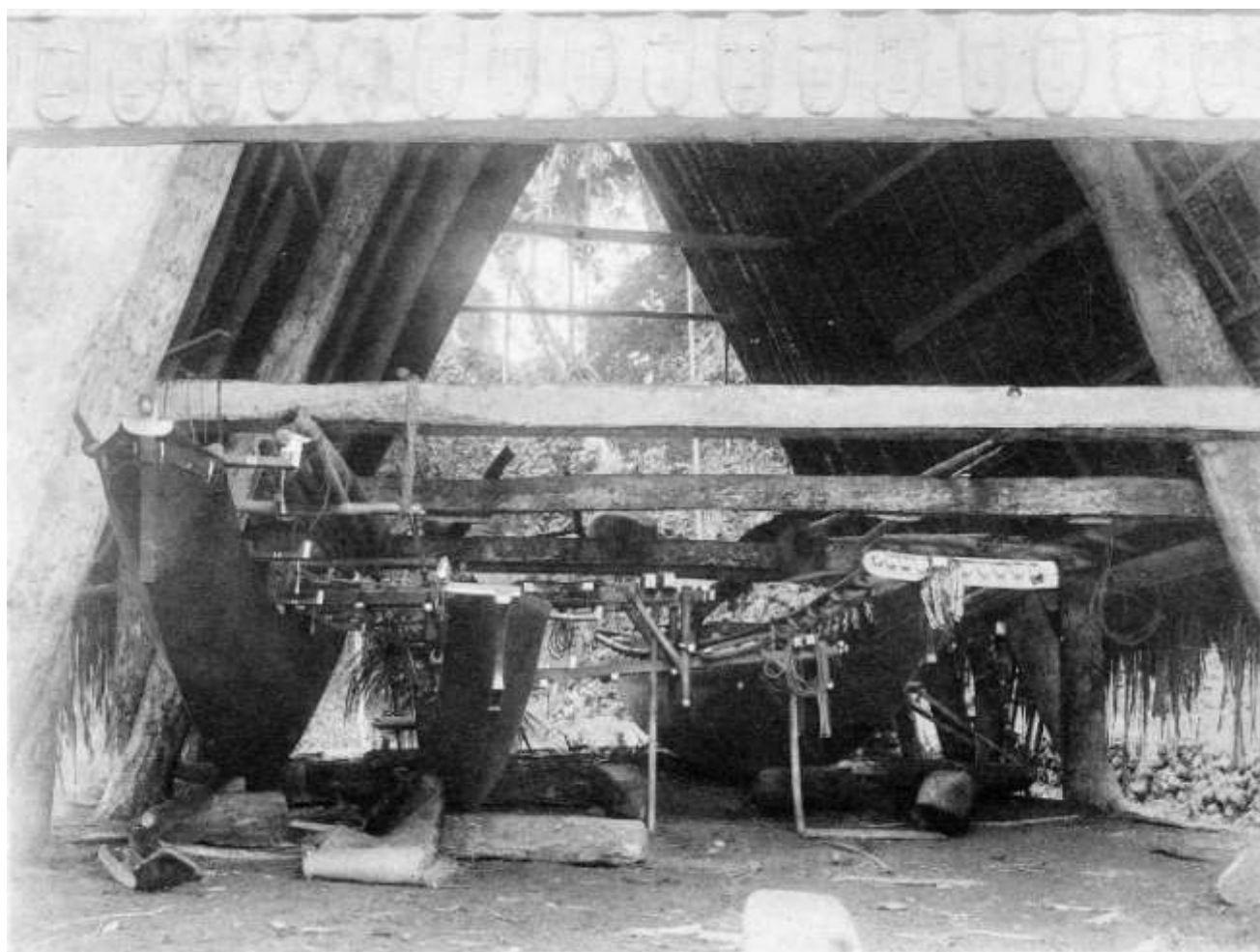


Fig. 172.

Outrigger and bow of the war canoe; below *gongáiu* head board.

longitudinal rails *kámtai* (KUB.: *Ōnomtül*), they form a platform under the luff ends of the “rowing benches” *bágăd* (which may number as many as 20), under the spear rack *iîl a tútau* (Fig. 172w). This provides more storage space on deck and larger areas for movement, which is important during battle. Most importantly, however, this setup allows additional rowers to sit on the luff side, bringing the number of rowers, according to KUB., to 32. The size of the canoe requires a more solid outrigger construction. The number of outrigger beams in this case is three, not two. The support poles *úlai* are not simple forked connectives, but are each divided into a pair of vertical stanchions (Fig. 172g). The forked end at the top on the inside, a double curved side brace (u), has its own name, *a rtkokl* (KUB.: *ñortkokl*). There are two single, transverse braces *torár*, not crossed, extending between the *úlai* pairs (o). And finally, at the lower end of the *úlai*, a *bir'ram* brace (t) is attached, its other end lies above, on the inside of the outrigger, yet another reinforcement.



“Canoe house a Delúi at Goréör”



Kubary, photo
Canoes
“Kotráol canoe on beach of Malágal



Yap Palau
“canoe racing on Yap and Palauan
canoe in Tomil harbor, Yap”

Although everything else occurs in increased numbers, the *kábekl* still needs only one yoke *kematál*, because it never sails. In this case, the yoke serves another function. In Vol. VIII, pg. 289, KUB. says the following about this: “At the extreme end of the bridge there is a special transverse piece called *Kametál*, on which captured enemy heads are hung up. Behind this, in a notch on the *Soáes* ends, the *Bedikl*, the insignia of the war canoe, is attached when the canoe is set afloat. This sign is carved like a canoe, about 5m long, approx. 5cm wide and 7-8cm high. At the upper end, vertical egg cowries (*Ovula*) are attached, making it easy to recognize the purpose of the canoe from afar.”

This *Bedikl*, which KUB. depicts on Plate L 7 and LI 6-8 and 10, has the shape of a long, thin, canoe hull and is set lengthwise on the outrigger beams, parallel to and above the float, by means of grooves on the necks of the heads. At the time of our sojourn there, no more such pieces existed. Apparently it was used to arouse fear, for *pedikl* means “trap”. On Samoa, the snowy egg cowry (*Ovula*) was considered the seat of the war god Vave, which is why war canoes were decorated with them. The Palauans who were asked, however, knew nothing of this meaning; but the absence of the *bedikl* on all of the war canoes I saw indicates that with the abandonment of the canoes’ purpose, the meaning was also lost.

H. WILSON reported much about activity during battle, much of which has been reproduced in Vol. 1, pgs. 110-116. Story 49 also gives an excellent account of how battle is done with the war canoes. But specifics about the distribution of the warriors on the canoe itself can be found only in KUBARY. Two stout bamboo poles are tied under the outrigger beam, near the midsection (see Fig. 172x). In Vol. VIII, pg. 289, KUB. says of these: “Two thick bamboo poles, called *Oloñoál*, are lashed underneath the center of the cane-floored platform of the outrigger. These form two of the most important seats in the vessel and are occupied by the bravest warriors, one on each side. It is their responsibility not only to throw spears, but especially to ensure in open battle that the heads of fallen enemies are cut off.”

Finally, on the outrigger beams, immediately adjoining the cane platform, is the seat board *golokasákl*; it is narrow and with long ends projecting over the *soáiēs*. According to KUB., 45cm closer to the float there is a similar piece called *debardák*. Between them lies the *tusap* reinforcement line (see Fig. 156), which is fastened to the two outer *soáiēs*. KUB. shows these parts in their correct positions in his Plate L, Fig. 5, and he shows them individually in Plate LI with the faces *klidm*. For information about ornamentation with kingfishers, see the section on war, in Section VI, and above on pgs. 185 and 193. For reasons of clarity, these are not shown in Fig. 172.

3. The rowing canoe *kotráol* (KUB. *kotráol*, WALL.: *kodráoel*) has a head board *gongáiu* like the *kabekl*; its hull and outrigger are like the *káep*, except that everything is broader and more massive, because this is the canoe for transportation around the islands. As Fig. 173^b shows, the lee side protrudes more than the side to luff. The

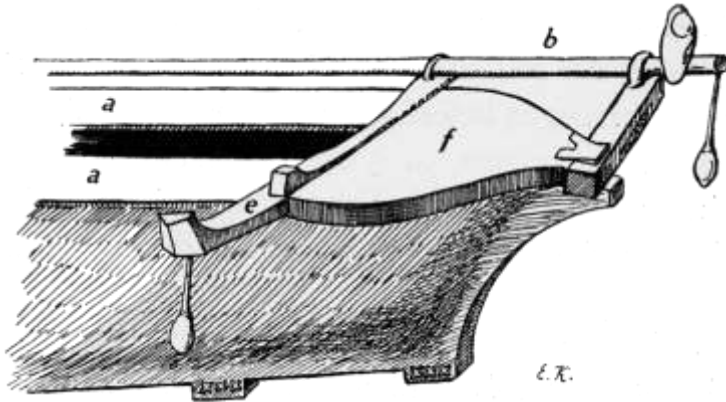


Fig. 173a.
kotráol canoe with *gongáiu*, seen from above.

fore deck *ubid* is wide and occupies the entire front section of the canoe. At the bow there is a small notched prominence (see pg. 181), which may serve as a step for the heel of the mast if sails are to be hoisted, as well (see Plate 13); usually, however, the vessel is propelled by rowing or punting.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 287, KUB. says: "On very small vessels, the end remains open, but on larger ones, which are also used for sailing, the *Klagásak* space has a cover *Dañap gutilín*, which corresponds to the *Ubit*. It is not always fastened

to the sides of the canoe, but is instead only fitted on the underside and tied to the first *Bákat* at the back. In this cover is the *Ogúla katín*, the hole into which the sail is inserted, and in front of this there is a protrusion of any shape, which is intended to prevent the sail from slipping forward."

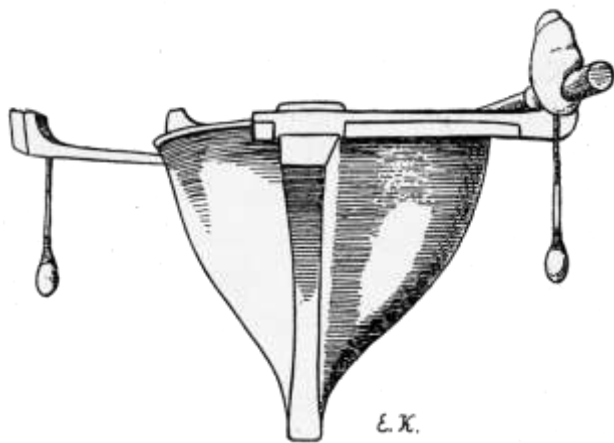


Fig. 173b.

kotráol canoe, seen from the front. even heavier build than the *kotráol*, the hull is particularly wide and deep. In any case, these boats are rare. For information about the projection on the keel, see pg. 184.

5. The ocean-going canoe *dõgú* was shown in Vol. 2, pg. 284; it handles the traffic between Pkulapelú on Pelíliou and *a* Ngeaür; it is also used on the latter island for fishing on the open ocean. For this reason,

For the first few months of our stay in the archipelago, we rented a *kotráol*, on which we could travel around comfortably with our luggage.

4. The cargo canoe *borótong* (WALL: *brótong*) is of an

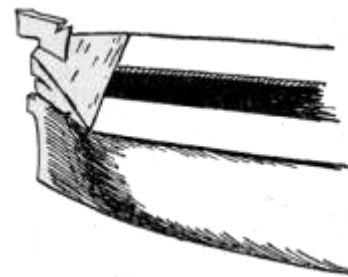


Fig. 174.
High seas canoe.

it is sturdy and heavy, especially the fore deck with its *mesepls* resembling the *káep* (Fig. 174 and Vol. 2, pg. 284).

6. The sailing canoe of old times, *kaberúög*, no longer exists⁴⁸³, its shape is only known from the *logúkl* (Bai 9, VII^a). According to these, it resembled the forked-tail canoes of the Central Carolinians. The forked end apparently was called *sas* (Story 194, Line 121). The name probably has something to do with the village Ngaraberúög (Vol. 2, pg. 178). The natives named Nggēiangēl as the main center of the late *kaberúög* (see Story 22).

7. and 8. The large raft *gologútūl* (KUB.: *Holhútol* and *Prer*, WALL.: *cholechútel* and *brér*) and the small raft *prér* are made out of bamboo poles and are used for transporting cargo (see Story 76) and for fishing in shallow bodies of water. They are most important for setting out the fish baskets and the *rul* lines (Fig. 79, see also Stories 19 and 20).

The smaller raft usually has a structure on it, called *klsókēs* like the bamboo grating on the outrigger canoes.



Fig. 175.
Toy canoe.

9. The toy canoe *blútēk* (WALL.: *blútok*) has a certain amount of importance, although it is just a child's toy, because racing is in the Palauans' blood, as previously mentioned in the discussion on the *káep*. The vessel shown in Fig. 175 is very simple in its construction.

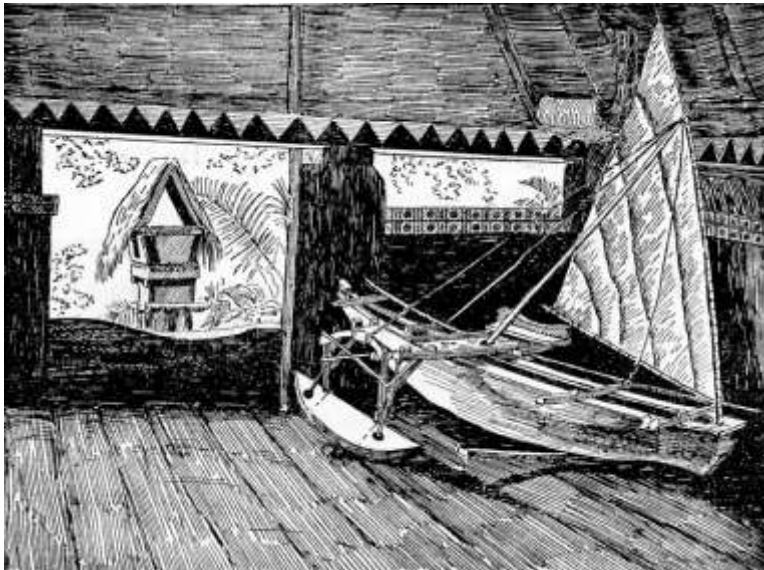


Fig. 176.

Votive canoe in the Ngrīl Bai Gosubulngaū.

Both the hull of the canoe and the float consist of a single hollowed-out piece of light wood that is tapered at the front and at the back. The sail consists of a taro leaf (for details, see the section on play in Section VI).

10. The votive canoe *kěóngěł* is really nothing more than a model of a *káep* or a *kotráol*, about 2m long. They were dedicated to the two gods Gomúičk (male) and Mlageĩ (female) of Ngaregól (Vol. 2, pg. 280).

Fig. 176 shows a nicely rigged specimen from Ngril. More about its purpose in the section on medicine.

For information about the canoes of the dead, see the section on death cult.

5. Housing and House Construction

How dwellings were built in old times is not known. As the limestone cliffs are full of caves, it is conceivable that these served as the first accommodations. Several records, for example Stories 142 and 158, also indicate that the caves truly were inhabited, but only by certain mystical beings. On the other hand, like anywhere else, caves served as places of refuge, for example the Iskíměł cave in Goikúl (Vol. 2, pg. 190) and Īlmáłk (Vol. 1, pg. 201), which was often sought out by fishermen.

Apparently, the new arrivals to the archipelago soon advanced to constructing wooden buildings and for dwellings and cult purposes, reminiscent of Indonesian models. Because the Blai (see pg. 219) and in some isolated instances also the Bai, and one of the shrines, the *tet*, are clearly pile structures on land. In fact, *blai* 12 Butilei in Goréör stood entirely in the water in 1910 (see map in Vol. 2, pg. 204). Erecting a fence *sers* (poss. *sersél*), WALL.: *geoátěł* (poss. *geotelél*) or a wall *galdúkl* (poss. *galdeklél*) around the houses goes against the sense of community and is therefore not done. It is only acceptable to erect such structures around planted areas and gardens, as protection against pigs, etc.

The following list does not mention quickly built, temporary shelters like the pigeon hunting hut (see above, pg. 66).

Made of uncarved wood:

Huts: wedding hut, burial hut, sleeping hut on the water, pig sty, etc.

the canoe house *díangěł* (poss. *dingelél*)

the dance house

the cookhouse *vum* (poss. *umangél*)

Made of carved wood:

the dwelling *Blai* (poss. *blil*), if it has two stories *sop*

the Galid houses *blil a galíd*

the men's house *Bai* (poss. *bil*), *góutang* if it has two stories

House construction is discussed below for both the Blai and the Bai.

In the case of the Blai, posts are set into pre-dug holes, and in the case of the Bai, the foundation stones and the foundation beams are erected using poles to keep them in their position in the beginning. Alignment is done with the guiding line *ungámk*, which is made of coconut string or a *kebéás* vine, while marking is done with a brush made out of *gosěgósu* (blossom sheath of the coconut palm). The paint pot *gomogosóngěl* contains the black paint used for this, which is made out of soot and the juice of young coconut husks and is very durable (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 225 and pg. 190). The ruler *gerabái lilut*, made of wood or bamboo, is used to draw lines, etc. For more about other tools, etc., see pg. 108.

The main section of the house that should be mentioned is the roof *godángěb*⁴⁸⁴ (poss. *godangebél*) (KUB.: *odánap*, WALL.: *chádou*), which is low in the center and raised at the gables, like Indonesian models. It consists of the roof truss and the two roof sides. For more about the erection of this truss, see the native description of Bai construction, where details about its composition can also be found.

The parts of the roof sides are the following, according to Figs. 177 and 178:⁴⁸⁵

y) square inner rafters *rekáu* (poss. *rekúl*), part of the roof truss (see pg. 235),

b') actual inner⁴⁸⁶ rafters *sěgěs* (poss. *sěgesél*) below with *bliúl* "its acorn," because we have here a head with the eave purlin resting on its neck,

g') diagonal rafters *sěgěs a kměláod*⁴⁸⁷,

f') outer double cane rafters *gosekíděl* (poss. *gosekselél*) for tying on the roof leaves, resting on *dūs*,

5. large lower ridge beam *buáděl* (poss. *budelél*), resting on the *rekáu*, under the fork of the *sěgěs*,

6. small upper roof ridge beam *ráel* (poss. *rolél*) on the fork of the *sěgěs*.

purlins:

a') the lower-most inner *gorongóděl* (poss. *gorongodelél*), resting on a *rekói* (x),

e') the next-most inner one above *búík urongóděl*, resting on a *imúl* (2.),

8. the two next towards the top *omérěk sěgěs*, resting on *gomkūk* (4.) and *rabarabál*,

c') lower-most outer (eaves) *gonglaígúkl* (poss. *gonglaikukěklél*) (WALL.: *gonglaigúrs*), *semášu*

d') the three outer upper ones *dūs* (poss. *dusel*), which poke through the *gongiaū* gable frame (i) like *telāu* ("earrings");

on these lie the *gosekíděl* (f') mentioned above.

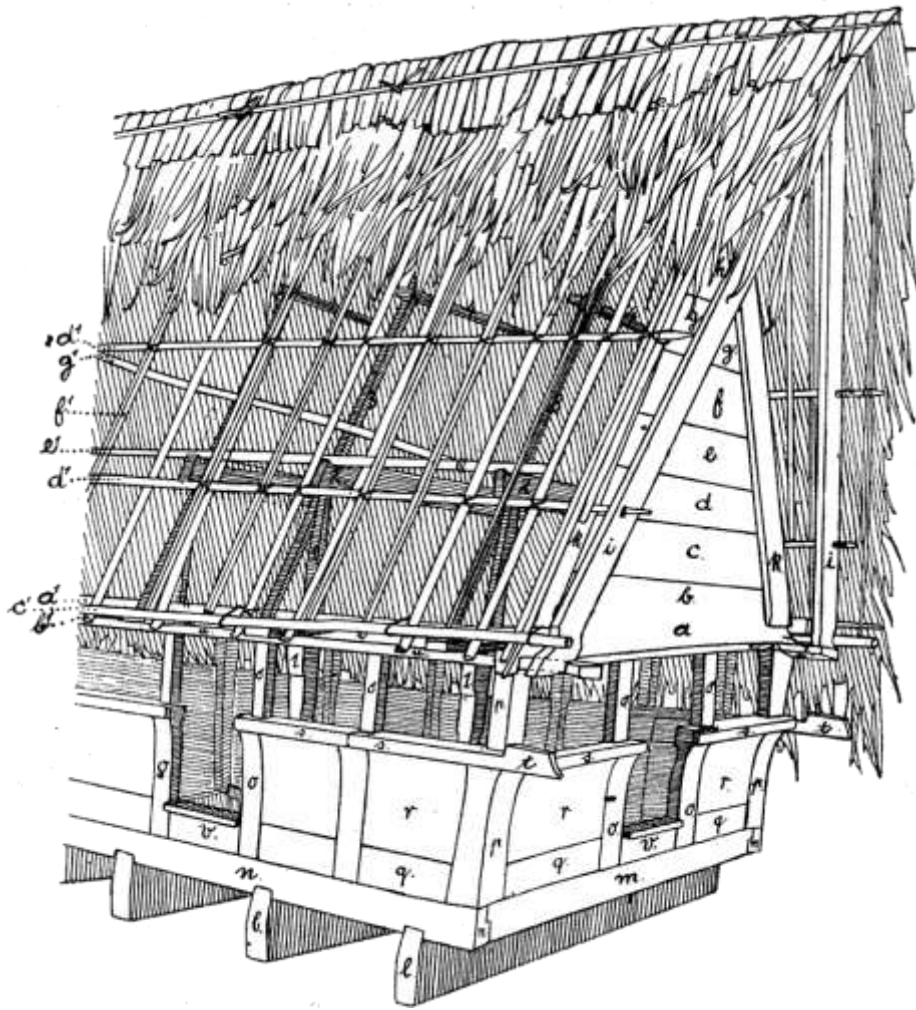


Fig. 177.

Roof truss of a Bai.

- a) gadéng
- b) bagei
- c) ter'roipelú
- d) mesekūk
- e) melék
- f) kadām
- g) goiós
- h) gal'lebesói
- i) gongiaū
- k) gongolúieb
- l) bad
- m) kuóku
- n) ugútūm
- o) gad
- p) sáus
- q) ngláos
- r) gasbógöb
- s) gorsogókl
- t) madál a sikēs
- u) góngrangěr
- v) a is
- w) (1) galabád
- x) rekói
- y) rekāu
- z) (2) a imūl
- a') gorongódel
- b') sēgēs
- c') gonglaigúkl
- d') dūs
- e') búik gorongódel
- f') gosekidēl
- g') sēgēs a kmēlāōd
- h') nggóngg center board

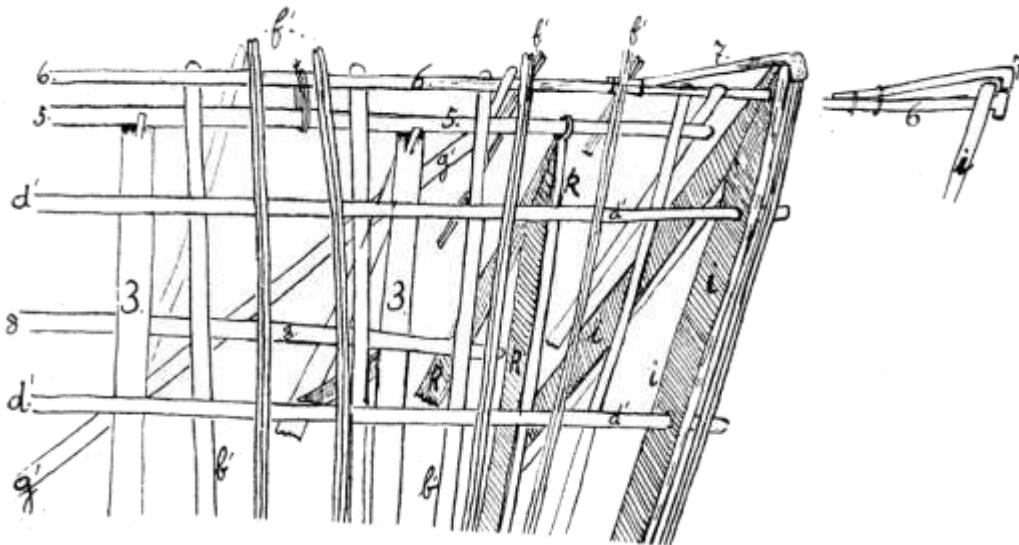


Fig. 178.

Part of the truss.

- 1. (v) galabád
- 2. (Z) a imūl
- 3. (Y) rekāu
- 4. gomkūk
- 5. buádel
- 6. ráel
- 7. ultutóur
- 8. omérek sēgēs

The fact that the *rekáu* rafters are not part of the actual roof framework can be seen in the fact that the latter can be lifted off with ease, like a sheet of paper, while the *rekáu* remain in place. In the past, arrogant villagers often lifted the roofs of the houses of their helpless subjects, as Stories 38 and 86 demonstrate. In Vol. VIII, pg. 258, KUB. says quite correctly that the roof sits on the Blai so loosely that in case of a storm it must be lashed down with ropes to the girders underneath or outside to trees. For the roof wood (thin tree trunks) there is a hard-and-fast rule that a thick end *úgul* may not meet a thick stump, and a tip (*rsél*) may not meet another tip, but rather that *úgul* must touch *rsél*. In the case of a Bai, the tip of the *ráel* (6.) points forward, while that of the *buáděł* (5.) points back. The tips of all of the purlins on the right side (seen from behind *but l bai*) point forward, while those on the left side all point towards the back. The tips of all *sěgěs* rafters point upwards, so that the thick ends protrude like branches from the *gorongóděł*, to which they are lashed (that is why the binding is called *réngěd*, see pg. 203); therefore, the tips of the rafters must cross at the fork on the roof ridge. For information on the importance of the *úgul* side for seating and direction in the Bai and Blai see below, pg. 211. Where the gable side is not closed up with boards, for example, in the *Blai* and the *bai kldok* or the *bai l dort*, a grating of three rafters and three purlins is set up.

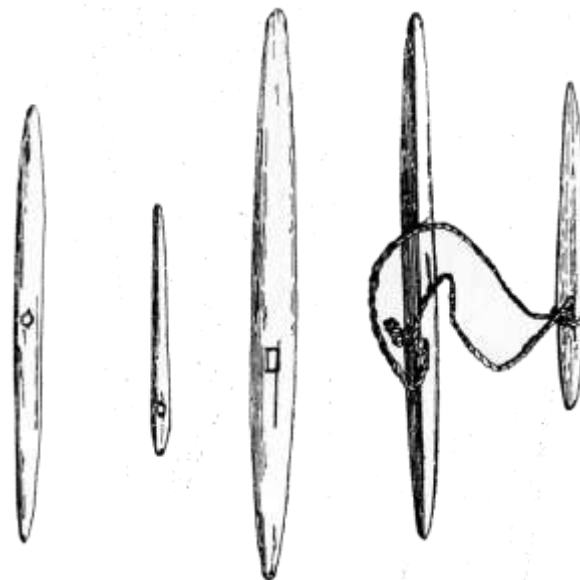


Fig. 179.
Needles for sewing roof leaves.

The houses are covered using leaves of the narrow Pandanus (*sug*) or the fronds of the Nipa palm tree *tověgěl* (see Fig. 52, Vol. 2, pg. 253, to the right at the stone dam). The wide leaves of the *būk* Pandanus or of the *gongór* are used primarily for canoe houses and are sewn with special needles *rasm ra būk* (see Fig. 179). These needles are long and elliptical, flat, rounded at both ends, and somewhat sharpened, with a round or square hole approximately in the center of the 15-25cm long piece. They are usually made from the *dort* tree or from *ráod* mangrove roots, but may also be made of bone. For shorter needles, sometimes the 10-15cm long ray stingers *rus* are used, in which case the barbs are ground off; on these the eye is at the thicker end (Fig. 179, second from left). The tip of the beak of a garfish can also be used. The smaller-sized needles are used for sewing *sug* leaves, in which case the needles are called *rasm ra sug*. The broad bottom ends of the long, narrow leaf formations are bent over a pole, called *golúkl*, and pinned down (Fig. 180). A pole like this with leaves hanging on it is called a “roof leaf”⁴⁸⁸ *gădo*, poss. *gadoél*, (WALL.: *chadou*).

Both ends of the pole are tied to the double cane rafters *gosekíděł*. Like roofing tiles, though not alternating, each row of leaves covers another; each pole lies under another, very close together, in fact, so that the covering is watertight⁴⁸⁹; this creates many descending tracks from the roof truss, called *nglósög* (poss. *ngelsegél*), and

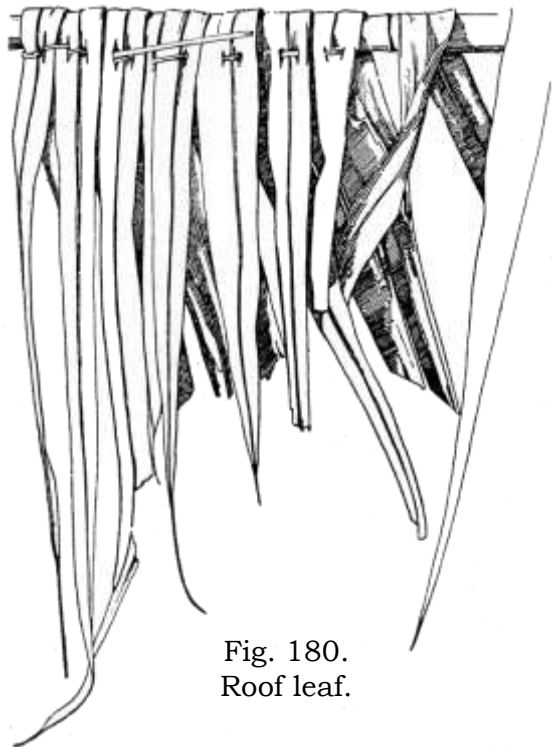


Fig. 180.
Roof leaf.

dividing the house into an equal number of sections, and the Rubak pay for each of them (see also Vol. 2, pg. 96, and Plates 3, 10, and 16). Only the last two tracks, over the gables, are wide on top and pointed at the bottom and are called *umád*⁴⁹⁰. Likewise, the wide leaf poles at the top are called *udengıl*, and the narrower ones at the bottom are called *ukráis*. At the place where the leaf tracks meet, between the bulges, appear lines visible to the eye, which are called *ulomogóěl* or *golkedíkl*; their number is indicative of the length of a house, and they serve as boundaries for the roof sections to be paid for individually; one usually pays $\frac{1}{2}$ *kluk* for each side of one *ulomogóěl*.

On the roof truss sits the roof cap *ugup* (WALL.: *uchúb*).

It consists of wide Pandanus leaves, which are laid like hollow tiles, one next to the other, overlapping. They are called *gosárăg*⁴⁹¹ (poss. *gosaragél*) because they are “weighed down”

with longitudinal pieces of wood, to keep the ends hanging down in the desired position. Transverse sticks *galıl* or *golıl* are driven through the roof truss to keep them from falling off; the *gosárăg* rest on their ends and are lashed in place. The lashings often run across the roof truss in figure eights.

From time to time, split coconut fronds are used to hold it down. The ends of the fronds are knotted together in such a way that the stalks end up lying on their sides, like the *gosárăg* (see Vol. 2, Plate 5⁴). A ladder (*did l bói*) is needed to reach the roof truss; frequently this ladder is nothing more than a tree trunk with branch stumps (Fig. 181). For information about the cutting of the roof, see below, pg. 225.

The covering lasts about 7-8 years, and the age of a house is measured by the number of coverings it has had;

*ngongo tēlál*⁴⁹² *a gado* *ě r tíang l bai?*

How many coverings has this Bai?

When the leaf poles *golukl* are changed, the old ones are saved, for they are prized as firewood, as Story 164 shows.

The lashing *rengěd* (poss. *rengeděl*)⁴⁹³ is done using coconut string (see pg. 138). On Palau, however, one does not find artistic string images like those in Yap. The lashing is important only on the *gorongóděl* beam, whose name is derived from it. Sometimes the

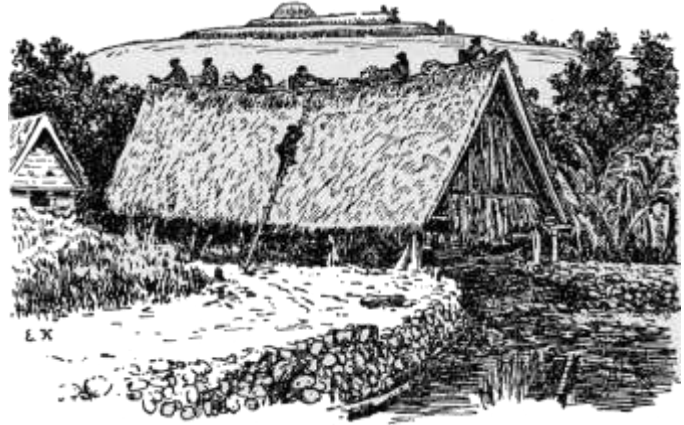


Fig. 181.

Roofers attaching the roof cap; canoe house Gěbúd in Gámliangěl (Vol. 2, pg. 174). natives even speak of *geimóng*, *teblóng*, *kldei rongóděl* for 1, 2, 3 houses, etc. Especially important is the lashing on the outrigger, called *sákt*, which is used in a similar manner for numbering canoes, as can be seen above on pg. 175. The lashing on the hull of the canoe is called *gěəd*. The running lashing running along the wall of the *Blai* can be seen in Fig. 190.

The wall *póup* (poss. *pékpel*) (WALL.: *kbóub*) is made of boards on the *Bai* and out of lattice work on the *Blai* (for details see below, pg. 223).

The mortising of the carved beams, introduced by Gorágěl (Story 13), is extensive and elaborate. One must keep in mind that the entire lower wooden section of the *Blai* and the *Bai*, called *galdúl'l*, is held together by nothing but dovetails and can be taken apart at any time; the “shaping of the tenons” *ometäēt a ngálěk* (see Story 13) is very

important so that they fit together well (*omég*, *omagém*; KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 225: *onuisok*, *omsohel*).

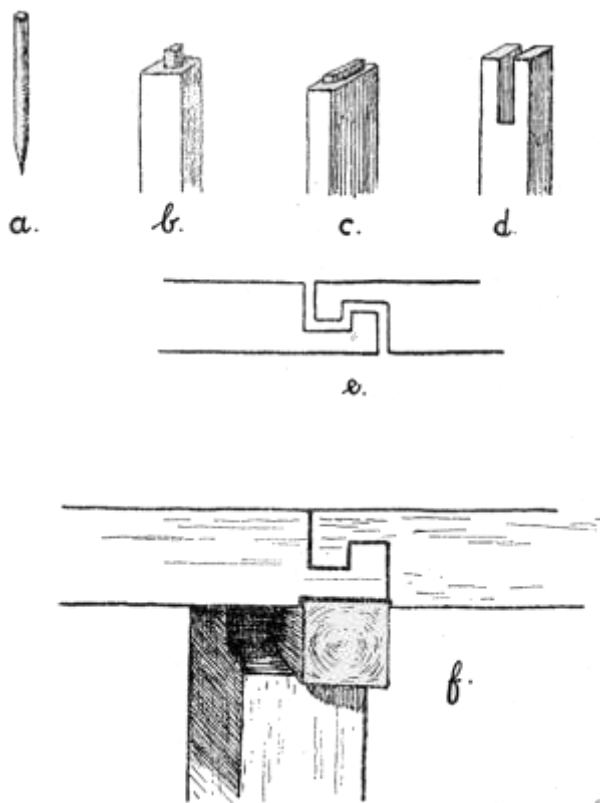


Fig. 182.

Mortising (f on Blai post).

Some of the joints overlap (clasp with a straight seam), which is called *ulemegóiĕl* (KUB.: *Ulumogóel*) or *katágarakl* “mutual clasping” (Fig. 182f.). For a simple overlap without clasps (straight leaf and straight seam), one can also use a nail (a) *dĕl* or a square, loose pin (*Kedulékl* KUB.). The window frames *gorsogókl* (see below) have forks *teloádĕl* (plural *telotáod*). In the case of a vertical seam, one usually mortises and tenons (b., c., d.) *ongálĕk* and *urépĕt* (KUB.: *orebetél*) (from *ruépĕt* “to fall”; WALL.: *orébet* “to let fall down”) are used.

For the types of wood used, see pg. 111.

Generally, all carved pieces of wood are painted, as already described in the discussion on wooden containers (pg. 112) and the discussion on canoes. WILSON’s words show that painting has been common since ancient times; he said (KEATE, pg. 300): “They have ochre, both red and yellow, with which they paint their houses and canoes.” The Bai are the climax of achievement (see pg. 236). For information about the ceremony for Galid houses, see below, pg. 226.

The hearth, simply called *gab* (poss. *gĕbúl*) = “ashes,” is within the walls of the *Blai* and the *Bai*. Because the floor (*a uláol*, poss. *ululél*) is raised above the ground (*a gútŭm*), a square structure of stones *galim* is constructed, on top of which, at the height of the floor, a wooden frame *rtógĕl*⁴⁹⁴ is set. This structure is occasionally also covered with planks.

In a large *Blai*, there are usually two hearths in the two rear corners (Fig. 187r), or in the 1st, 3rd, and 4th section (see below), while in a smaller *Blai* there is only one. In KEATE, pg. 309, it also says that there was only a single hearth in the middle of the building⁴⁹⁵. There are two fireplaces in a *Bai*, between the four doors at the ends

of the long sides; in the olden days there was only one, located where nowadays the center door, which in those days did not exist, is located on the long side.

The hearth has 3 stones on which the cooking pot is set (see pg. 45). For information about the furnishings of the *Bai*, see pg. 236. Often, a *górangĕl* grill is suspended from the tie beam above the *Bai* fireplace; this was already mentioned above, on pg. 99, in the discussion on smoking fish.



Fig. 183.
Blai ra Lulk in Meróng (Vol. 2, pg. 135).

In the cookhouse, the hearth *klum*⁴⁹⁶ is often directly on the ground, in which case only part of the house has a floor.

Houses are cleaned with a broom *gorīk* (poss. *gorikél*), which usually consists of an old piece of skirt *vúlōg* (poss. *ulēgél*).

In former times, illumination in the house came from the fire in the hearths; occasionally, the sap *tpitl* of the *berór* tree was put in little clay dishes and lit; for information about the *golbídēl* lamps, see above, pg. 136.

The space underneath the floor, called *gamrúngēl* (MC CLUER: *cumrungle*, KUB.: *Kamruñl*), remains unused. Sometimes, a section is screened off with bamboo sticks, as I observed in Blai ra Lulk in Meróng (Fig. 183), but this is an exception. Such screened-off sections were probably more common in former times, to keep away assassins.

The space under the *Bai*, between the *bad* beam and the stones, always remains untouched.

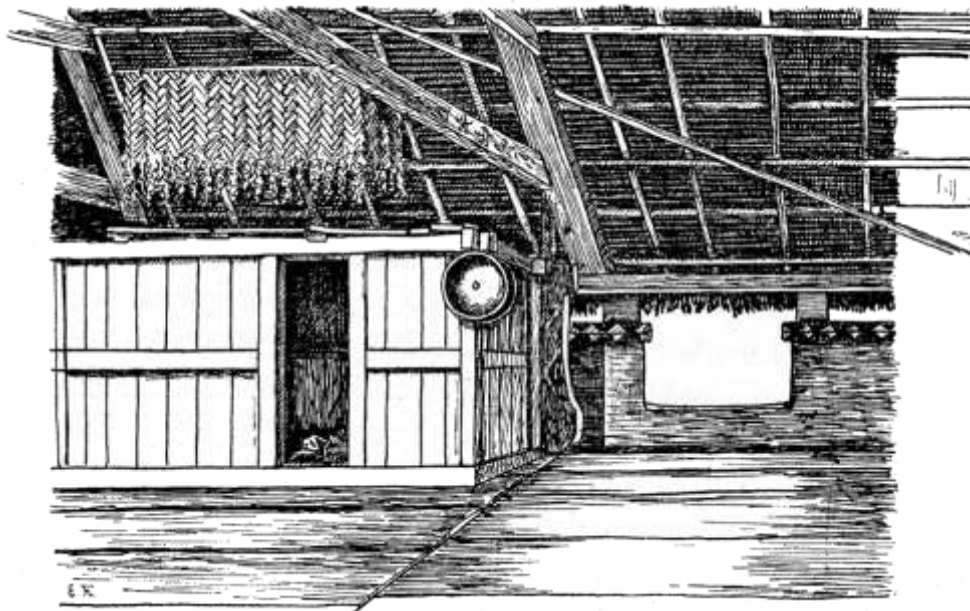


Fig. 184.
Partitioned area in the Galid Bai in Ngatpang.

The interior of Palauan residences today is a single, undivided room, now that lockable boxes, imported by white men, can hold all of one's belongings. In Vol. VIII, pg. 259, KUB. reports that there was formerly a room at the main end of the house for this, called *Kaldēñ*, separated by a wooden wall. The only other rooms that are made are the little temporary rooms *gomēágēl*, also called *delamēráp* (WALL.: *delemeráb*, KUB.: *Telñerap*, *Telmárap* in the Bai, see pg. 222) for pregnant women and women who have just born a child (see Story 12); these are created using dividers *gabíl*. A house wall itself is called *kpóup* (poss. *kpekpél*) (WALL.: *kbóub*, poss. *kbebél*), see pg. 224 (*galsíměr*, pgs. 266 and 312)

True permanent rooms with wooden walls, more correctly called "sections," are found in the priest houses, however, as Fig. 55 in Vol. 2, pg. 266, shows.

We found one such compartment in the Galíd Bai *a* Urékĕd in Ngimís (Vol. 2, pg. 159). It was a small chamber, to which the priest retires for his conferences and which is also used to store food. Fig. 184 shows clearly how it is made out of boards and beams, also the doors.

Beds, called *dusál* (poss. *dukelél*), in our sense of the word do not exist, or at least no bed frames exist. A mat is laid on the floor for sleeping; a pillow *gotěromóděĭ*⁴⁹⁷ serves as a head rest. To make a bed frame, one lays several bamboo sticks next to each other, as can be seen in the wedding hut and the burial hut in Figs. 186 and 227.

There are many doors *túangěĭ* (poss. *tungelél*) and windows *kekerél túangěĭ* (= “small door”) or *goloěgěĭ* in both *BlaiandBai*, of course these are nothing more than openings. Fig. 54 in Vol. 2, pg. 265, shows both of these together in unusually large size. The so-called windows in a *Bai* are actually only horizontal slits. Actual doors *gasiměr* (poss. *gasmerél*) can be found in some cases, primarily in some *Bai* that were vulnerable to enemy attack. One tenon projecting upward and one pointing down create the hinge; in Goikúl (fig. 185) and in Bai 134 in Ngardolólók, I saw a protrusion *malaitúl*⁴⁹⁸ on both wings of the door, in the area near the lock, with a hole for

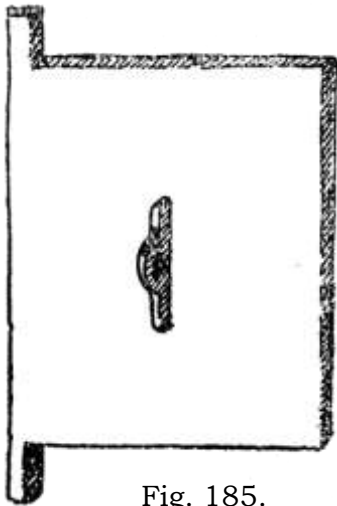


Fig. 185.
door wing from
inside

inserting a shaft as a bolt *gongosěgěs*. When the shaft is inserted, the door can no longer be opened from the outside.

As it is, the doors are not very easy to enter anyway, because they are usually so high off the ground and so small, and they are made even smaller by the removable threshold *a ĭs*. The stones or posts for stepping up, called *derúgěĭ*, or stepped blocks *did l bói* for climbing in⁴⁹⁹, can also be removed. For information about the side windows and the back door (*gongár*), see the section on *Blai*.

It is not unusual to see supports on old houses, especially on the *Bai*, on which one often sees the gables braced up (Vol. 2, pg. 207), but there are also often numerous supports on the side (*drongúgěĭ*). Houses are secured during storms, as well, as the story of Tu and Tkakl shows; see Bai 27, VIa.

Bridges *did* (poss. *didél*) do exist, as planks are laid over water courses, for example, over the Bar´rak in Ngarekeāi (see Vol. 2, pg. 164). Stone slabs are laid over narrower crevices in the stone paths when necessary. (See, for example, Plate 5¹ in Vol. 2.) Large planks are also necessary for the openings, called *berípěr*, which punctuate the dams in the ocean.

These dams belong to the stone structures *klemădáol* (see Vol. 1, pg. 202), which play an important role in Palau. The maps in Vol. 2 show⁵⁰⁰ the extent of the village paths *a gaděs* and the pavements,

as well as the landing piers, of which the one called Ngarekamáis on the North coast of Goréör, extends about 750 m from the canoe house *a Delúi*. The stone dam Megórei, between *a Iraĩ* and the island of Ngarekedlúkl, extends a full 1 km. This causeway is interrupted in several places, to accommodate the tides. In contrast, the long landing piers only have one opening (*berípěr*), and that always at the base, mainly as a shortcut for the canoes. The stone structures, which rise out of the water at low tide, are up to 3m high and wide, and in some cases even exceed these measurements. Passengers on canoes docking at low tide must climb the mast to reach the landing (Story 196, Verse 3). These impressive structures of volcanic rock or coral slabs are built entirely without mortar and allow water to pass through everywhere. Frequently, there is a hut on a stone dam, or even a fishermen's *Bai*, of which the two cases mentioned are good examples. Important men's houses usually sit on a rectangular stone foundation, called *galdúkl*⁵⁰¹, whose width and height differs depending on its location. All of these pavements are linked to each other by way of the stone paths *gáděs*, so that it is possible move from place to place without getting dirty feet. The *ilíud* chiefs' pavements with their *ptangg* reclining seats are located on, next to, or near the paths (see Vol. 2, Plate 7¹, Figs. 23, 25, 26, etc.). At the end of the *gáděs* are the "path termini" *ptelúl a gang*, also called *tebedál* "exit." In *a Iraĩ*, the pavement for the three *Bai* is about 50m wide and 75m long, but only half a meter high, because the land is completely level. In other places, where the land slopes, the height of the slope may reach several meters, like in *a Jebúkũl*, Ngarabáu (Map 1^d in Vol. 2, pg. 26), in Ngardmau (Map 7, pg. 81), etc.

The manner in which the stones are piled up is best seen in the photographs in Vol. 2, Plate 5^{1 and 3}, Figs. 16, 25, and 26, pg. 48, 76 and 77, Figs. 43 and 44, pg. 207 and 208, and many more. It is often done quite carelessly, so that one must be cautious when walking on the stone paths. Miklucho-MACLAY complains bitterly about this. A visible trail forms in the center due to wear; it is easily recognized, for example, in Photo 1 on Plate 5 in Vol. 2. It is customary for all friends to come from near and far to help with path construction, although the only remuneration they receive is food.⁵⁰²

While the *Bai* always sit on the pavements called *galdúkl*, the posts of the *Blai* always stand directly on the ground, while the *gólbed*⁵⁰³ pavement belonging to it always stretches out in front of its doors.⁵⁰⁴ It is the burial place for the family and thus often has large stone slabs on it, as can be seen in Fig. 46, Vol. 2, pg. 222 and in Fig. 48, pg. 233. This pavement is seldom higher than 1-2 feet; only in exceptional cases is it higher, as for example in *Blai 25 Magalbáng* in Goréör (Vol. 2, pg. 238), where it is as tall as a man on the ocean side, because the land drops steeply here.

The huts (WALL.: *delúi*, poss. *delingél*). On Nggeiangél, I observed a wedding hut (Fig. 186), as I would like to call it. This consists of four low, forked posts stuck into the ground, on which pieces of wood are laid crosswise, as in the pigeon hunting hut (see Fig. 51, pg. 66). The sides are hung with Pandanus leaves or similar foliage, and a few mats are laid on top. A strange feature is the bed of bamboo poles, on which a pillow is laid.

In the sacred *ruk* dance, leaf huts with walls are erected, called *gongróél* or *uldékl* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 107: *Hongróol*, *Auldékel*), details about this in Section VI3a (see also Vol. 2, pg. 99, Note 4).

The same is true of the burial hut *blil a debúl* (KUB.: Tahabau) (see Section VI5). Fig. 186 shows how it is made. Two posts are driven into the ground, and on them rests a ridge piece, thus even this hut has a saddle roof.



Fig. 186.
Wedding hut.

When someone dies, a simple shack, which KUB. mentioned in Vol. III on pg. 7 as *ngolidiúl*, which is also the name of the cart for the canoe (pg. 185), is erected for cooking, etc. (see the cookhouse on Plate 12³ in Vol. 2), and then there is the construction hut *delidúi*, erected during the building of a *Bai*.

Pile structures in the real sense of the term are the pig stalls *blil a babi*, which were mentioned above on pg. 63 (Fig. 48), and the sleeping huts on the water, which

are used on other Micronesian islands as well, as protection against the annoying mosquitoes. I myself did not observe them in Palau, but a model of one was built for me (Fig. 145, pg. 141). A ladder leads up to it.

The parts of the structures on piles are: the pile *a táng*, *útang* (see fish baskets), *debégél*; the floor *uláol*, *goláol*; the floor foundation *golóbog*, *gomokuluól* (WALL.).

The canoe house *a díangél* (poss. *dingelél*) is just a large saddle roof resting on posts and foundation rafters. The name must be based on this, because the roofed dance house (see pg. 209) has the same name. It is not related to *díal* “ship,” as KUB. seems to think in Vol. VIII, pg. 265.

The vertical posts corresponding to the *rekaú* of a *Bai* are driven into the ground, as Plate 11^{2 and 3} in Vol. 2 clearly shows. They support the lower roof truss beam, so that no center posts are needed. The main weight of the large roof, however, rests on the lateral posts, which number between 6 and 8, which support the side frame beams, which are connected to each other by means of tie beams. The corner posts are sometimes made in human shape, as can be seen on the same Plate 2 and in Fig. 43, pg. 207, and the transverse beams of the framework that rest on them are sometimes decorated this way as well. In rich villages, gable frames may be attached for the sake of ornamentation, as is done on the *Bai* (see Plate 8² in Vol. 2).

These three pieces of carved wood are not the rule, however; they are the exception. The sides of the gable are generally open. Only in those places where they are exposed to the trade winds, as on the East coast of Babldáob, or where there are no protective mangrove forests, as in Melekéiok, are they covered with palm leaves, as Fig. 32, pg. 91, in Vol. 2 shows. Here Fig. 181 from Gamliangěł.

From the ocean side of the shack, whose gable always points towards the water, a sloping path runs down to the beach, often with tree trunks laid across it, so that the canoes can be pulled up without too much effort (Vol. 2, Plate 11²).

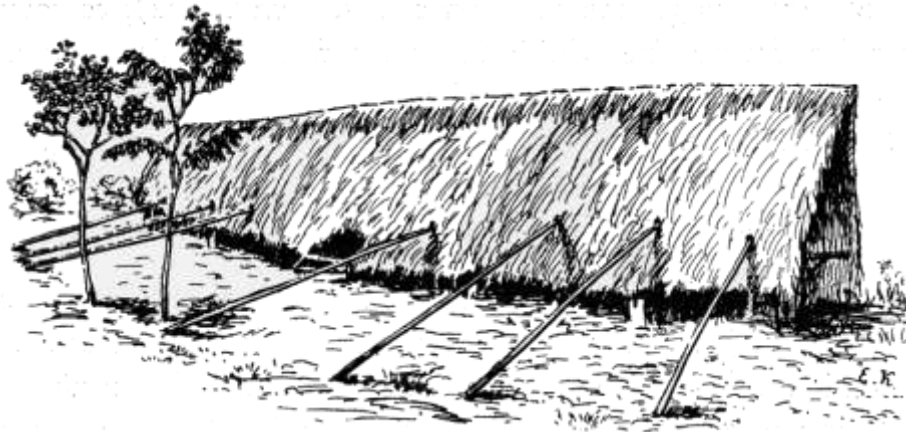


Fig. 187. Dance house.

The canoe house is never used as a dwelling, as is sometimes the case on Truk.

The dance house *díangěł* (Fig. 187) is a highly unusual structure, because it is simply a dance floor. Without a roof, it is generally called *goiláol* or *uláol* like the floor. It sits on short posts like the *Blai* and has about the length and width of a bowling lane. The long saddle roof is tied down only at the back and can be turned up at the front, so that the two sides of the roof form a sloped area like a desk. There are more details in the section on dance, below. In this position, the roof is supported on bamboo poles that are kept on hand for this purpose (Plate 16).

The floor is made of Areca tree trunks or other wood, except in the center, where the dancers are lined up in a long row, where there is a plank, a push-off board like that at the beginning of a bowling lane; In Vol. VIII, pg. 262, KUB. calls it *omrúkul*⁵⁰⁵, and its purpose is to echo under the steps of the dancers, but that was not the case with the dancers we happened to watch.

The cookhouse *a vum*⁵⁰⁶ (poss. *umangěl*) was in former times a privilege of the high chief; these days, all of the *Blai* that can afford it have one built. As seen from the door of the *Blai*, it is usually located on the left, facing the stone pavement, i.e. perpendicular to the *Blai* (Fig. 48 in Vol. 2, pg. 233, and Plate 5⁴),

but it can also stand in the longitudinal axis (see Fig. 29 in Vol. 2, pg. 89). The shape of the house is the same as that of the *Blai*, except that everything is built out of rough wood. There is often only one door at the front (Fig. 29), but occasionally there are two (Fig. 48), and sometimes there is one on the back or on the side, as shown in Photo 4 on Plate 5 in Vol. 2. There, in the front, at the same height as the floor, one can also see a bench projecting 1 to 2 feet, consisting of bamboo poles like the floor inside. The walls are constructed of unrolled bamboo just like the *kldók blai*, or of *būk* leaves, which are pressed together and pushed down, the *olsárăg kpepél*⁵⁰⁷ (KUB.: *ulsáarak el kpokpél*).

As concerns the hearth, the same things apply as for the *Blai* (see above, pg. 204); occasionally, only half of the house has a floor, and the hearth is located in the other half on the ground, as are the palm wine brewers.

The floor may be lacking entirely, as may the walls.

Houses of carved and mortised wood.

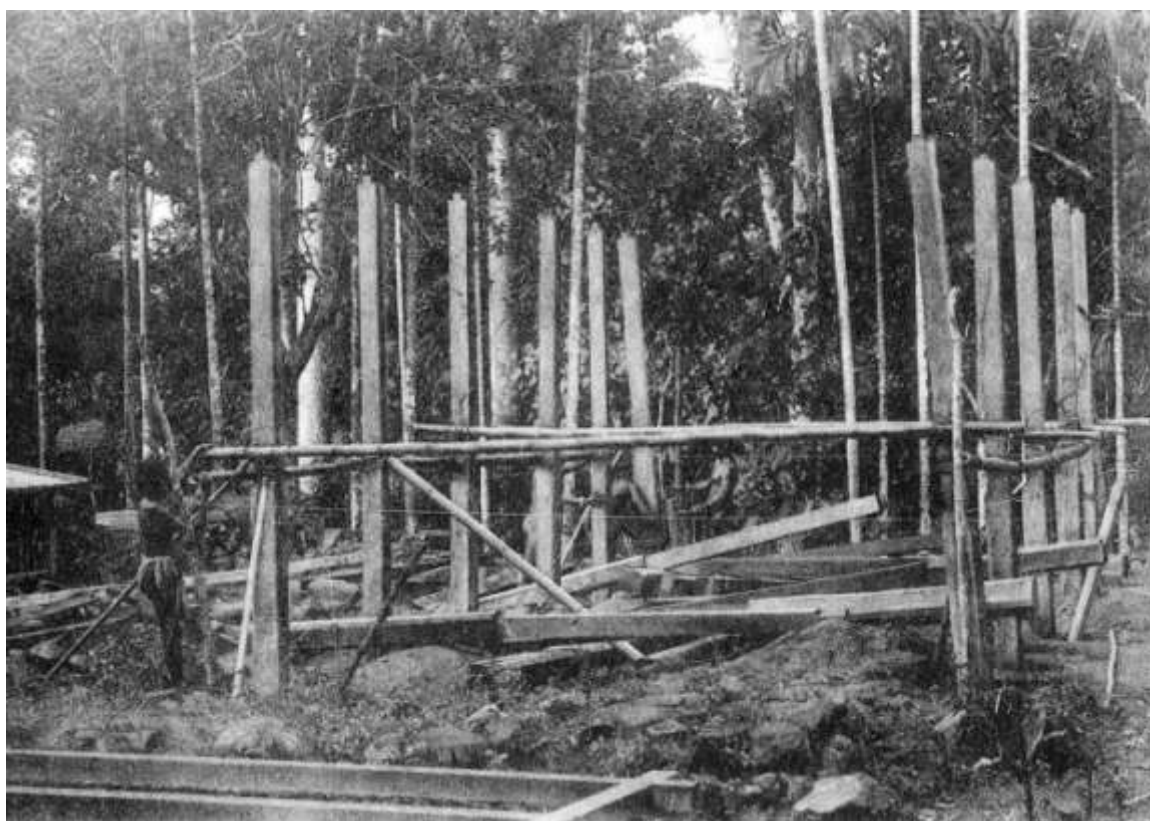
The dwelling *a blaí* (poss. *blil*). As Vol. 2 explains, the *Blai* are the basis for the social order, and just as they are arranged in order from Nr. I to X, etc., their wealth generally decreases with their rank.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 257, KUB. says: “The houses are distinguished according to the number of doors; there may be between two and six. Their use, however, is prescribed by custom. Six-windowed houses may be built only by high chiefs, but they are rare and today there is not a single one left in the whole island group. The only six-windowed residence, newly erected at a high cost by *Arakláy* in *Molegoyók*, was burned down by the British in 1882. The richest high-ranking families of the communities have residences with four or five windows; normal residences dependent on the houses of the chiefs, however, have only three windows; if a native who is not known as *Meteet*, rich, by his house were to build a house with four windows, he would have to pay the chiefs a piece of money for the extra window or else reduce the structure by one window.

The length of the house depends on the number of windows; the following dimensions are typical:

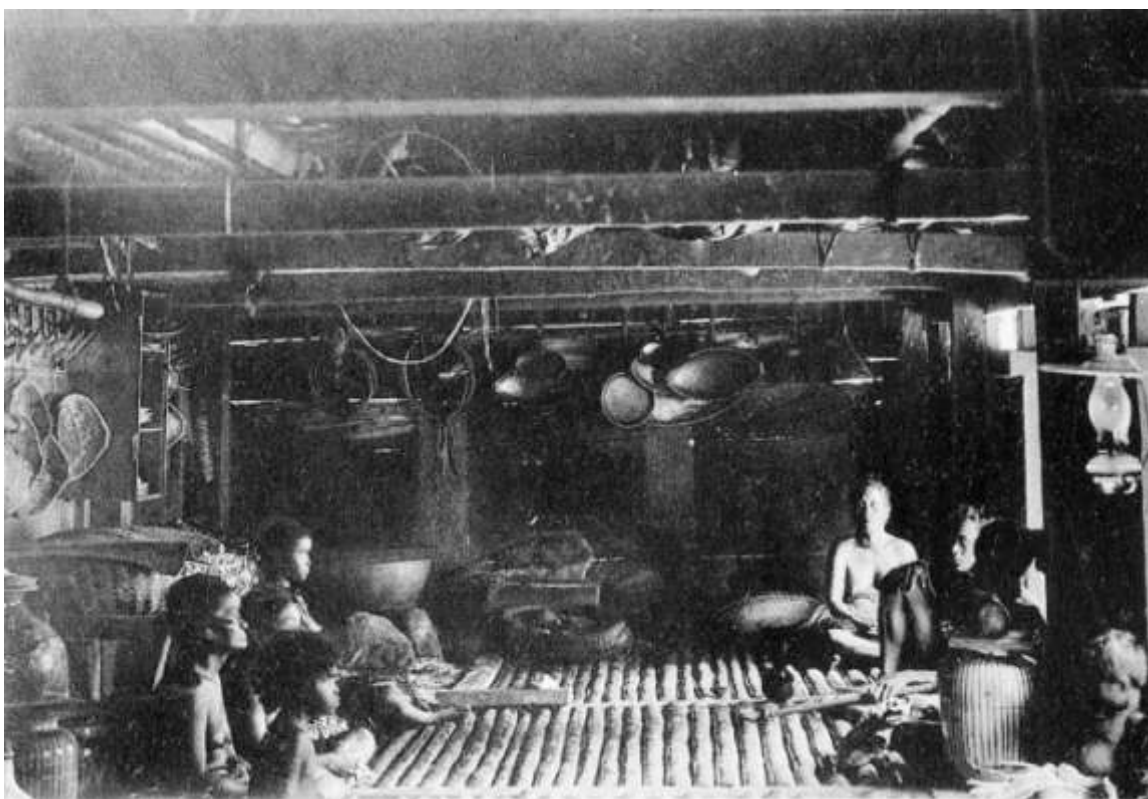
Number of windows	Length	Width	Wall height
5	11.50 m	3.50 m	1.18 m
4	9.00 m	3.00 m	1.20 m
3	6.00 m	2.50 m	1.25 m
2	4.00 m	2.5 m	1.10 m

So much for KUBARY.



Above: Blai Nr. III in Gámliangēl with a taro patch and Areca palm trees, from the Bai Tulau; in front *mangagúi* “hair-eating stone”

Below: Construction of the Blai a Tkél in Goréör



Above: Sun shrine *gaiós* in Ngatkíp at Blai Nr. I. (Left: Aralie)

Below: Interior of Blai Nr. I of Melekéiok (Vol. 2, pg. 89)

Fig. 29 in Vol. 2 on pg. 89 shows that the six-doored Blai of a Răklai was reconstructed, because the picture is drawn according to a watercolor by E. K. The Blai Nr. I a Idid in Goréör had only five doors (Vol. 2, Plate 12²), and the same is true of the houses of the other high chiefs, if indeed they were not smaller. I saw the dwelling of Rubak Nr. I of Ngabiúl, which was a *Kldokblai* with two doors, constructed out of rough wood, as Photo 4 on Plate 2 in Vol. 2 shows. This, of course, was not in accordance with the proper and prescribed arrangement and had to be temporary, assuming the family was still viable at all.

The five-doored Blai *kleím madál* (two-doored *tëbló madál*, three-doored *kedēi madál*, etc.) was the real chief Blai; and in fact the house of a Răklai is a type of Bai called *telegēiēr*, which in most cases had no more than five doors and was used as a house for priests.

The middle door of the *kleím madál* is called *blūl*⁵⁰⁸ *dang* (Fig. 188c). At this door is the seat of the eldest member of the family (see Story 6); here the dead are laid out before they are taken out of the house (Fig. 221).

The next most important door is also the seat of the Rubak; as seen from the outside front, it is in the left-hand corner (a), where the thick stumps, the ends of the *gorongóděl* purlin are located, after which it is named *túangěl ra úgul gorongóděl*, as already indicated above on pg. 201. In the opposite corner (e) the *túangěl rsél gorongóděl*⁵⁰⁹ is found, the entrance for the rest of the family.

The doors in between (b and d) are called *gongödégáděl* (see Story 200, end). Fig. 188 shows more:

The front of the house, where the doors are, is called *ngelóng* (poss. *lengeklél*, KUB.: *Analón*), the back side is called *rebai* (KUB.: *Arbay*). The front gable side *madál a blai*⁵¹⁰ is located on the right, next to the *rsél gorongóděl* door; usually the side door (f) *gongár* is located in this side, as Fig. 26 in Vol. 2, pg. 77, shows, as well as Photo 2 in Plate 12 (not easy to see). The gable triangle on this side is called *nglikl iábéd*⁵¹¹ “outside cloud,” while the square wall is called *kliu* (KUB.: *klin*)⁵¹².

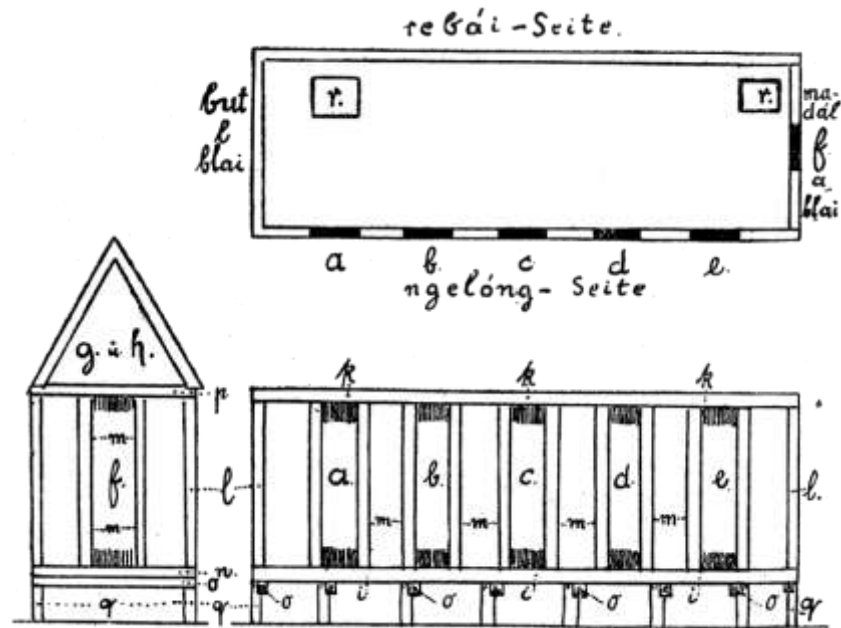


Fig. 188. Division of the Blai.

The triangle on the other gable side *but l blai*, in contrast, is called *golisál*⁵¹³*klap* “cooking place for raw taro,” because *meliókl* is done on this side if it must be done inside the house. There may, however, be a side door in that location, and there may also be a back door. For a side door to exist, the gable wall must be divided into three parts by two wall beams (*gombekúpl*). This feature is generally confined to larger *Blai*, no smaller than four doors, but usually only in houses with five doors.

These doors on the gable side are reminiscent of those of the *Bai*. The doors of the *ngelóng* side are supposed to face North, which has been considered the place of riches since ancient times, as Vol. 2, pg. 6, already mentions.

It ought to be added that foreigners like to have Palauans build residences for them that are in line with the style of the country, as SEM. relates in Vol. 2, pg. 5: KUB. lived on *Malágal* in two houses that he captured in a picture for us. On the other hand, Palauan Rubak built houses approximating the European style, which was previously mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 88 (Melekéiok), Plate 10³ (*a Iraî*) and pg. 222 (*a Idíd*). Fortunately, in 1910, such cases were still rare exceptions.

Let me now present something about magic during *Bai* construction, starting with the *godogūl* chant of the sun worshippers, as told by Gadlbai in Ngurusár:

*Gëdél kebesengīl a Geiág*⁵¹⁴ *búiēl*

e ngak amerórōm gotīlēg

e lek mo tuóbēd ra bó le kukúk

māk duórōm e m lagá ra

golmátēl luaségēs

e a kebesengēi; e ngak a mo ra ked

mak bo e ak mo me ra telkíp

*l mededáēs*⁵¹⁶ *e mo kiei re ngí*

*e gousi*⁵¹⁷ *a gamágēl l mo megērei*

le gamalél a búiēl e dmul kmu:

*bo búiēl molámēg e degagegédegēdúg*⁵¹⁸;

*ngak a ngalekél Gobagádrengeḷ*⁵¹⁹ *logelél a Iegádrengeḷ*

māk mē mesúbēd re káu

In the third night of the Geiag moon

I sharpen my adze,

because I go out the next morning

and I sharpen it and lay it towards

the *golmátēl luaségēs*⁵¹⁵ side

in the evening. I then go on the heath

and I go and I come to an area

and when it is cleared, I sit on it,

prepare a quid, leave it lying

as the quid of the moon, and speak thusly:

Go, moon, chew and let us talk;

I am the child of Gobagádrengeḷ, the sister of Iegádrengeḷ

and come to notify you

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*e ak mo tuóběd ra blil rngar'rág a lagád
e kau gobeketákl⁵²⁰ ra keúkl
l ngarengí a Ibědul
ma Ngirturóng ma Rŭngŭlbai
me ke ngmai a tengetingél⁵²¹
golébědebelír⁵²²
e oráel a udóud l mo ra ngíkel'lagád
l kulásăg⁵²³ ra blil meng rolél⁵²⁴
a udóud l mora ngak
e ngak a mo ra ked
ma kmes a telkíp l medědăēs
e mo rebórob re ngi e gousí a gamágěl
l mo megěrei e dmul kmu:
gaió, gaiós, ak mla mesúběd re kău
l ak tuóběd ra geilagál melăsăg
ra blil ngar'ragá lagád
e kau gobeketákl ra despadál'l
l ngarengí a Răklăi ma Gěbi răklăi
ma remetětél⁵²⁵ a despadál'l
ma ke ngmăi á tengetingél
golébědebelir, e mek ráel
a ududír l mo re ngí lagád
meng me re ngak lě gerál a blil
e soláe mo ra pelú
l mo ra blai l ngu gotílěg
e tuóběd ra tuángěl
ra golmátěl luasěgēs
e moráel mo ra goreóměl
e mesa ngi di le ker'regár
l dulókl bědúl a ngabárd
e mo rebórob l gouskák
e soláe mekīs l ngu gotílěg
l mo dobegi⁵²⁶ meng moriáu*

that I go out and will go to the house of anyone
and you look clearly to the West side,
there is a Ibědul
and Ngirturóng and Rŭngŭlbai,
would you take the lids
from their money jars;
the money goes to this man,
because I am building his house, and the
money comes to me.
(The next morning) I go to the heath
and see a cleared area,
and sit on it and make a quid,
lay it down and speak the following:
Sun, sun, I notify you,
that I go out today to build
the house of someone;
you look clearly to the East side
there are a Răklăi and Gěbirăklăi
and the rich ones of the East side
and you take the lids
from their money jars, and it goes
their money to that man
and then to me as the price of his house.
Then go (I) to the village
and to the house and take the adze
and go out the door
on the golmátěl luasěgēs side,
and then I go into the forest
looking for a tree
bowing its head to the West,
I sit down, make a quid,
then stand up, take the adze,
chop it and fell it,

e soláe dmul kmu:
Iegád l kéd kau ma Gobagád l kéd
tiaiekíd a desagelíu⁵²⁷
me ko melásăg re ngi
ma l kngtíl⁵²⁸ tia lomelásăg
e kom ngmai ma kom oláb
e melásăg r tial desagelíu.
e merekúi mora pelú
e mo melásăg l dikěa⁵²⁹ tokói
e di melásăg l rokir a blai
l godouí⁵³⁰ e kibekbí⁵³¹
e tungerár⁵³² l mo merék
e soláe e ak gogoti⁵³³ a líus
e mgugi⁵³⁴ ra ngáu
a re meríl a udód le tegél a kesól
le lólom l bágěl ma gongěuid
a delóbög
e mo sibegi⁵³⁵ a sis
l meî, e loga ralm ra gorságěl
esi leki⁵³⁶ tiál sis re ngí
e soláe motmu⁵³⁷ l ngu a ulogóug
l tuóběd ra úgul gorongóděl l túangěl
e bldóel⁵³⁸ ra (n)gíl mo ra sáus
ra úgul gorgongóděl ra ngelóng
e mo degór e dmul kmu:
Ugél'lēgaleiak mla melái

and then I say the following:
 Iegád l kéd you and Gobogád l kéd,
 this here is your chopping,
 because you chop it,
 and if there was a misdeed in this chopping,
 you take it, and you carry away
 the chopped ones from your choppings.
 It is done (so I go) to the village
 and chop now, and there will be no more praying,
 only chopping, until the house is complete,
 cover it; we consider it
 the paying. Then done.
 Then I husk a coconut,
 roast it on the fire,
 and make money out of the (root) flesh of the turmeric
 until the sixth *bágěl* and the seventh
 one *delóbög* piece of money.
 Then I break off a Dracaena branch,
 bring it, put water into a wooden bowl,
 and wash this Dracaena in it
 then I go inside, take the roasted nut,
 go outside by the *úgul gorongóděl* door,
 hold it in my hand and go to the corner
 at the *úgul gorongóděl* in front,
 stand still and speak the following:
 Ugél'lēgaleî, I came to invite

*rekemíul ked mo ra godesóngěł
l ked merūl ra mur ra geilagáng
e soláe l mūt l meī ra blūl dāng
e mo mededegór e melekói l dmul kmu:
moltóběd⁵³⁹ l meī ra gólbed ng mur ra geilagáng!*

*e mo ra sáus rarsěl gorongóděł⁵⁴⁰
e mo degór ra ngelóng e dmul kmu:
Iegádrengēl moltóběd l mo ra
godesóngěł ng mur ra geilagáng!
e idevékl⁵⁴¹ mo ra sáus ra rebái:
Gobagádrengēl be bo ra gólbed
ng mur ra geilagáng!
e mo ra sáus ra rebái ra úgul
gorongóděł e melekói
Gobildēl be bo ra gólbed
ng mur ra geilagáng!
e soláe ngu i tial lulogóug
l mo ra blingél gólbed
e ruregi⁵⁴² e remóus⁵⁴³ l mo kleűd
l terúkl e dmul kmu:
morūl ra blngur
e ked melái a gerál tial blai ra geilagáng
e soláe mo kideri⁵⁴⁴ sel buk
l ngarengí a sís ma ralm
l mo rebitar ra e kat uegóug
limelír⁵⁴⁵ l kar e te mánga e melim
e soláe ak ngmai aikél udóud l kesól*

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*you, we go on the stone path
and we make a feast today!
Then I return to the center door,
remain standing a little, and then say and speak:
Everyone go out on the stone path, there is a feast
today.
then go (I) to the corner posts of the gorongóděł tip,
stand at the front and speak thusly:
Iegádrengél, all should go outside on
the stone pavement, because today is a feast!
Then I go around to the corner post on the back side,
Gobagádrengél, go onto the stone pavement,
there is a feast today!
Then I go to the corner post in the back at the base
of the gorongóděł and say:
Gobildép, go onto the stone pavement,
there is a feast today!
And then I take this roasted nut
and go to the middle of the pavement,
crack it and divide (it) into seven
pieces and speak thusly:
Make your meal,
while we receive payment for this house today.
Then I lift up high that container,
in which the Ti plant and the water is,
and lift the roasted nut,
their drink and food, so that they eat and drink.
Then I take the money of turmeric*

māk ngmai gërúng l mo k méd
ra tere kelél a Ugél'lëgalid e dmul kmu:
Ugél'lëgalid a ike ududém kau ma Gobildép!

e mo ngu a tang l mo magërei e dmul kmu:
Iegádlegebáng se ududém kau ma
Gobagádlegelebagáp!

e soláe me tmu ra blai e rebórob
l mo meketékēt⁵⁴⁶
e soláe tuóběd l mo rebórob
e melmesúmög l kmu:
komorokól⁵⁴⁷ lo mengúr⁵⁴⁸ maika ududú

le gerál a blai mekomngoóng e ngak a di
lmuk⁵⁴⁹

e soláe lmūt l me tmu ra blai
māk rebórob l mo meketékēt
e soláe dingak l dmul kmu:
olokói, tial le geimól delóbög⁵⁵⁰
ng kotokotí⁵⁵¹ gomeráel?
me kom ngoóu dudú e di kiei?

e soláe e ngu i sel delóbog
l tuóběd l móng ma kmo rebórob
e dmul kmu:
ngei, e Gobagadrengei, tia delóbog
l kelél a dilop.⁵⁵²

and I take two and lay them
with the food of Ugél'lëgalid and speak thusly:
Ugél'lëgalid, this money is for you and for
Gobildép!

I take one, lay it down and say:
I., this is your money for you and G.!

Then I go into the house and sit down
for a short while
and then I go outside and sit down
take leave and say:
When you have finished the meal, here is your
money,

the price of the house, you get it, I am nothing!

Then I turn around and go into the house
and sit down a long time.

Then I speak thusly:
Oh: this one delóbög⁵⁵⁰
keeps you from leaving?
You have received your money and yet you
stay?

Then I take that delóbog,
go outside and sit down
and speak thusly:
here, Gobagadrengei, this delóbog
is his food that came too late.

Other magic acts during the construction of a Blai.

a doromí⁵⁵³ gotílěg
e me lóia⁵⁵⁴ ra úgul⁵⁵⁵

I sharpen it, the adze
and set it on the base side

ma bo le kúkuk
ak mo tuóběd loba⁵⁵⁶ gotilěg
ra kidekmék⁵⁵⁷ e olingátěg⁵⁵⁸
l mo tuóběd ra tuángěl
ra úgul gorongóděl⁵⁵⁹
l mo kiei ra úbeng
e degór ra delkád⁵⁶⁰
eo mógěl⁵⁶¹ soregi⁵⁶² a kidekmék l ngomír⁵⁶³
e kuk soregi a kiterúk l ngomír
e soláe maráel mak soregi a túngd
l lilia⁵⁶⁴ ra blngél gógik⁵⁶⁵
ě ak luetál⁵⁶⁶ dikeá kulásěg⁵⁶⁷
lak medeî meng díak e ak dimaráel
meng ruépět a líus ra kidekmék
e ak medengeî kmung
medě gadák
mak biltik⁵⁶⁸ ra bambu⁵⁶⁹
l gelóit⁵⁷⁰ ra ráel ra kidekmék
ng direkl óueling ra gadák,
ma merá maikel lěrúl uláuég⁵⁷¹
a mla ra kiterúk
ng óueling ra gadák ra kleblī⁵⁷²
a ngak a di mo otěbědī⁵⁷³ gomelásăg

and go in the morning.
 I go outside with the adze
 in my right hand, crouching I move forward,
 I go out the door
 of the *gorongóděl* post
 and sit on the threshold,
 and then stand on the pavement,
 and first I step with my right, dragging,
 and then I step with my left, dragging,
 and then I go and step, as if a fish bone
 were stuck in the middle of my leg;
 I do not return anymore to chop,
 so that I do not die; if I do not go,
 and a coconut falls to my right,
 then I know, what I say:
 a relative of mine is dying.
 And if I have found bamboo,
 thrown away on the path to my right,
 then it is also a bad sign for my relatives
 and if these two signs
 were on my left,
 then it is a bad sign for my clan relatives,
 but I go anyway and begin the chopping,

mak mo ra ked ra geimól bukl
 mak riki⁵⁷⁴ a gútũm l dogědagěm a kl'lungél⁵⁷⁵
 e soláe melebúsög l klěuíd
 ma teluál⁵⁷⁶ kúkau a kulebáng⁵⁷⁷
 mak megedl⁵⁷⁸ l uíd blěgíděł
 e gěmáis⁵⁷⁹ a lěl a kěr'regar
 l mēi mak ě kmed⁵⁸⁰ re ngi
 e mo kmed r tial rĩk l gútum
 l kleuíd l terúkl⁵⁸¹
 e soláe robórob l mangmásăg
 a lugél a bedengék⁵⁸²
 ě mendengél l kmu r galíd a maramáng
 ě soláe dmul kmu sěgalkéd
 ak mesúběd rekau
 l ěk mlě loltóběd⁵⁸³ re gomelásăg
 meng súběd⁵⁸⁴ r tial loreóměł r rokir⁵⁸⁵
 mē ke dmu ra dăgăłbai ma Júsěgmád⁵⁸⁶ ma Mesés

 me te mē gědúk, ma ki melăsăg!
 a soláe maráel mo tumu re goreóměł
 l mesá teluól ker'regar
 l dul'lókl bedúl a dilúgěs
 mak doběgi⁵⁸⁷ lulogógug
 e merekóe mo ra pelú
 meng díak a megesáng
 ě ak tuóběd ra klukúk, meng a re ngi a megesáng

and go to the heath on a hill
 and clear the ground half a fathom in size
 and then I blow the triton horn seven times,
 and a piece of taro I took along
 and break it into seven slices.
 Then I pick the leaves of a tree,
 come and lay them on it,
 lay them on this cleaned ground
 the seven pieces;
 and then I sit , until I get
 goosebumps on my skin.
 Then I know and say: The Galid has arrived!
 Then the leader speaks to the heath:
 I tell you,
 that I came, to hold off the chopping,
 and then the forest is free for all.
 You tell the master builder and the “sharp eye” and the
 “hard-working”;
 they should come as my Galid, so that we chop!
 Then we go and enter the forest
 to look for a tree,
 that bows its head to the North,
 and cut it as ulogógug;
 then it is finished and it goes to the village.
 Then there is no more obstacle.
 I go out the following morning, and if there is an
 obstacle for this,

<i>ng ta e rul búieł ě ak mogú tuóběd</i>	so it is one or two moons until I go out again;
<i>ma k melásăg mo l mo rokír</i>	and I chop now until all are finished
<i>a blai l kleoá madál</i>	for a house with four doors,
<i>meng mo ogeráuěł⁵⁸⁸ ma k smúk⁵⁸⁹ a teblól kluk</i>	and the payment comes and I take two <i>Kluk</i> ,
<i>ma desegél⁵⁹⁰ tal madál a kluk</i>	and for the chopping a half a <i>Kluk</i>
<i>ma gongiúet⁵⁹¹ l tal góngiakl</i>	and for the sitting one <i>góngiakl</i> .
<i>a solăe ak mo remŭl⁵⁹² geuíd udóud l kesól</i>	Then I make seven pieces of money out of turmeric,
<i>ě mak ng mai mo tugerák⁵⁹³ ra kér'regar ra dmúieł e</i>	take them and hang them on a tree at the exit of the
<i>dmul kmu:</i>	compound and say:
<i>ked e merekól melásăg maika gerál a blai</i>	We are finished with chopping, this is the price of the
<i>me ko ngmai meng ududíu</i>	house.
	and you should take your money
<i>e remīd e ked e merekóng</i>	and go home, because we are finished!

So, for example, in Ngatelngál one pays 2 *kluk*, 1 *madál a kluk desegél*, and 1 *góngiaklgongívut* for a *Blai* with four doors. In Goréör, one pays 1 *kluk* for each door, so in the same case one would pay 4 *kluk*, 1 *ěikéd a kklúl* = *kldail* (1 *kluk* + 1 *delóbog*) and 1 *klsuk gongívut*. When the construction is finished, the master builder gives his last feast *galéas* (see below) for the new proprietor of the house, who is now expected to pay.

The various parts are prepared and set up as follows: The foundation of the house are the posts (Fig. 188q) *tang* or *utang* (poss. *tangál*) (KUB. *Ataň, Taňal*), which are usually round, and whose bottom-most independent part is called *úgul* “stump” for short. These are the “piles” of the pile structures (pg. 198). The prepared posts are set into holes and held in place with lashed bamboo poles (Plate 14, bottom left) until the horizontal one has been fastened with a cord. Then the earth around the *úgul* is filled up. There is always one more *úgul* on the front side than there are doors; so, for a *Blai* with two doors, there are three *úgul*, for a *Blai* with 5 doors, there are 6, and for a *Blai* with 6 doors, 7. Naturally, the same number are found on the back side. The height of the stumps is 1-3 feet, but on sloping ground they can reach the height of a person (see Vol. 2, Plate 7⁴). Each of the *golóbog* (KUB. *Olóbok*) girders (Fig. 188o), the transverse beams that correspond to the *bad* of the *Bai*, rests on two opposite stumps. On these girders sits the frame of the square frame of the house, with the same names as used for the *Bai*: the longitudinal beam (Fig. 188I) *a ugútŭm* (KUB. *Ougúttum*)⁵⁹⁴ and the transverse beam (n) *a kuóku* (KUB.: *Kwokn*). To see their joining and position, see Fig. 182f.

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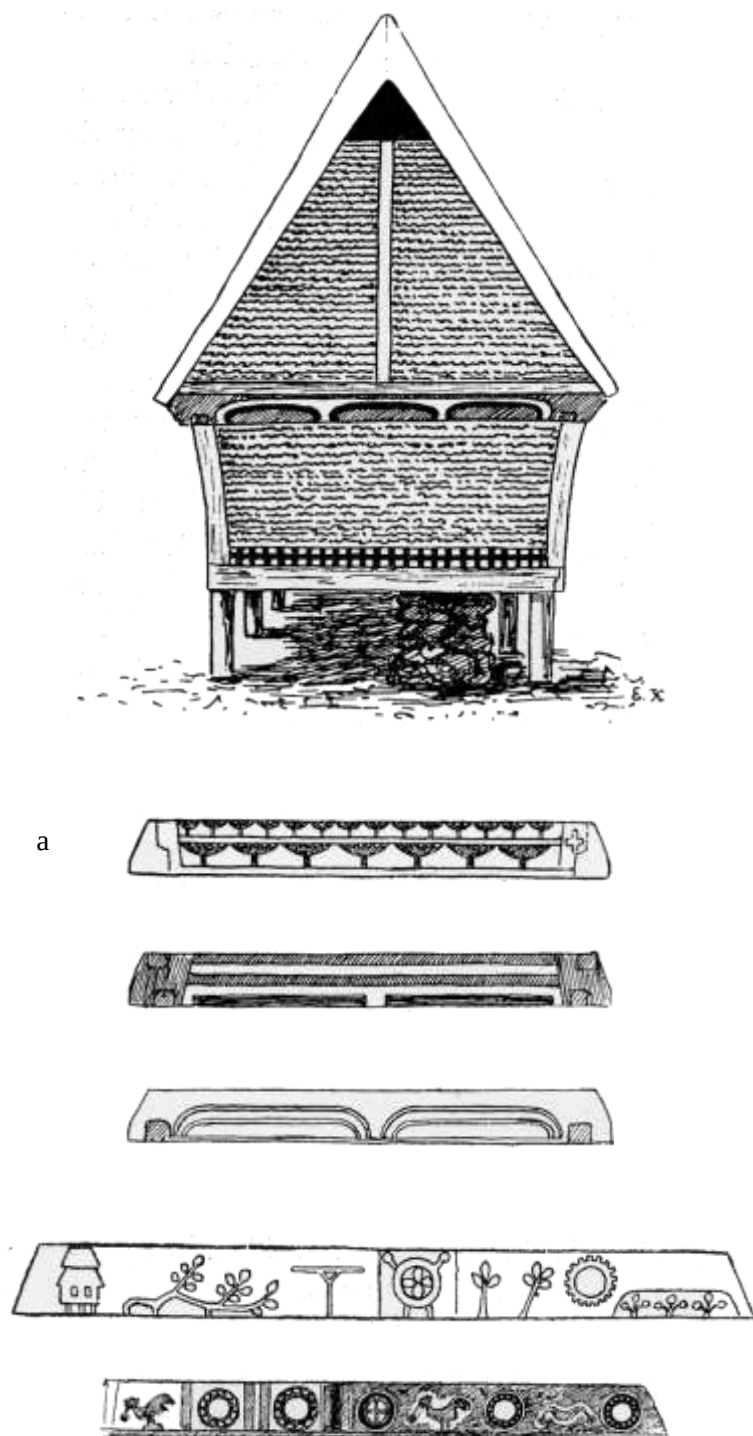


Fig. 189.

Gable side of a *Blai*, with the *dekéděk* decorative beam and 5 decorations a-e.

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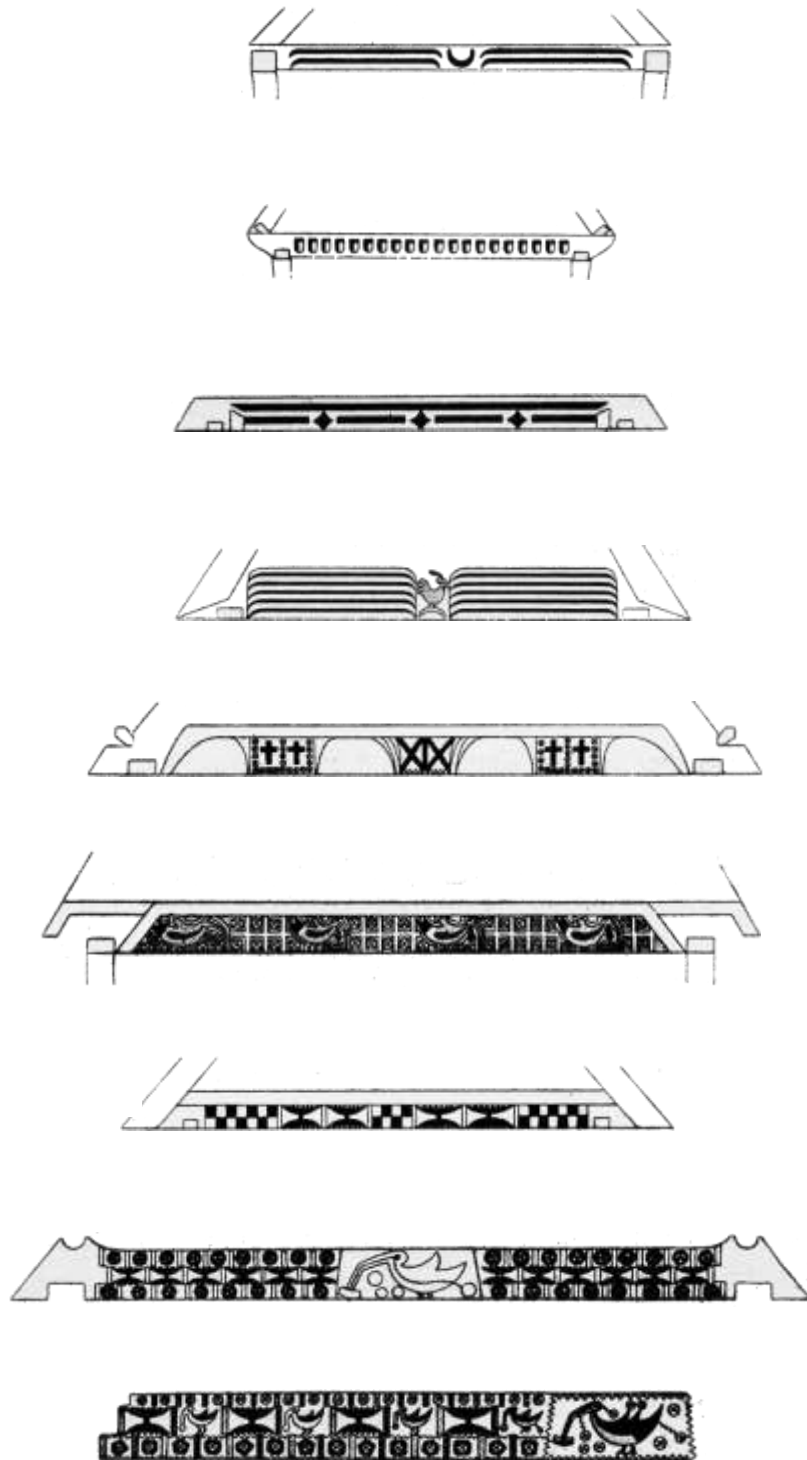


Fig. 189a.
9 decorations f-o.

On the beams of the framework stand the *gombekúpl* (KUB.: *Ombogúbul*), or *gelsákl*, the door posts or wall posts (Fig. 188m), and the *sáus* corner posts (l). The number of wall posts on one of the long sides is based on the number of doors. On the gable walls, there tend to be only two wall posts in a house with 5 *ngelóng* doors, as just mentioned.

The wall posts and corner posts support the upper frame, the longitudinal beam (k) *ráel béap* (poss. *rolél a béap*) “path of the rats”⁵⁹⁵ and the transverse beam (p) *dekéděk*⁵⁹⁶ (KUB.: *Tahétek* and *Tegétek*, WALL: *degédek*), which is always joined to the outermost tie beam. Seen from the outside, the former has the ornamentation (see Fig. 189) called *logúkl*, which is not that unusual for the large five-door *Blai*, but which instead of picture stories⁵⁹⁷, usually consists of patterns of lines, rows of ornaments, etc. On top of the *dekéděk* rest the gable frames *góngiâu* (see Bai), which enclose a gable area consisting of foliage. However, the framework that is visible externally is not the only construction. Just as in a *Bai* there are interior posts *galabád* inside and the tie beams *a imūl* rest on them and are mortised to them, so in this case, there are interior posts *tang* with toe-beams of the same name, *a imūl* (also called *rebárabal*). In the *Blai*, their ends project over the upper longitudinal beams, fulfilling their purpose entirely.

KUB., pg. 256: “Houses of this type of construction are called *Kalsggít*, whereas those in which the *Atañ* are not sunk into the ground but are inserted into the wooden *Pat* beams instead are called *Telitáy* (as, for example, in the *Bay el dort*).”

The interior posts *tang* stand on the girders *golóbog*, which separate the floor of the house into different sections; some of these areas are covered with bamboo (Plate 14, bottom right) *uláol ra bámbu*, which make up the main portion, or with boards *uláol ra gasbógōb*. The latter are usually found at the hearths or next to the wall, so that containers can stand there easily.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 259, KUB. says that at the main end of the house there was a section between the 1st and the 2nd *golóbog* that was covered with planks that was called *Telngódok* (*delngódog* “other room,” see above, pg. 205, *delaměráp*). He adds that in the *Blai* with five doors, there was a room in this area called *Kalden* (*galdéng*) (see the section on spears, pg. 129), which was separated by a wooden wall. On Plate 4, Fig. 7, however, he shows the room mentioned on the *but l blai* side, which does not appear correct to me, because the large *Blai* usually have the side door on the *madál a blai* side (Fig. 188f. and Vol. 2, Plate 9²). For more about the *galdéng* chambers, see Section VI⁴.

Above the tie beams (*a imūl*) is the roof area, in which storage space is created by laying down pole racks. The resulting shelf is called

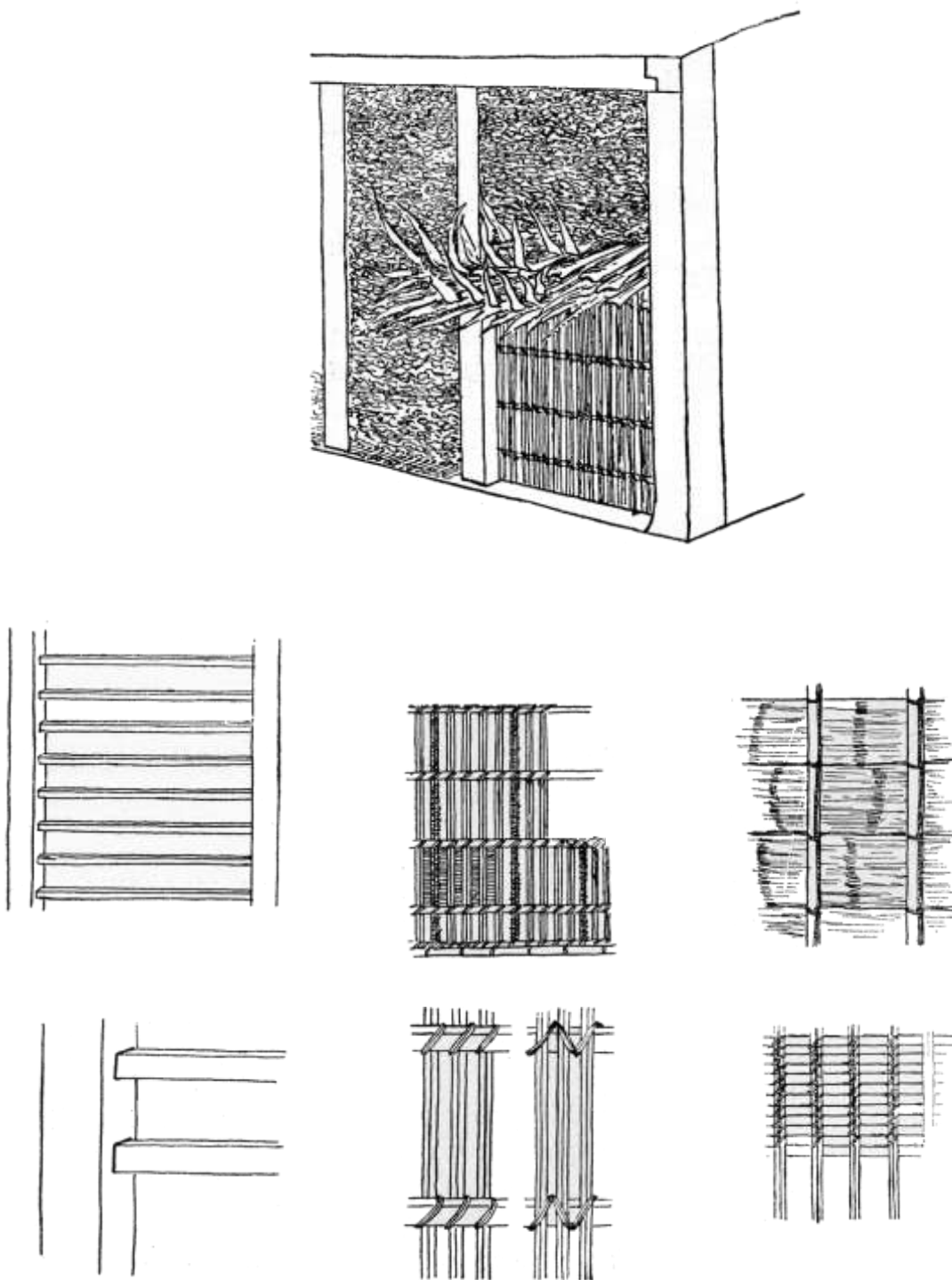


Fig. 190a-g.
Making of a Blai wall.

reákl (Plate 14 and Story 167), or, if it is located over the fireplace, *rěáng* (Story 166); a second loft above the first is called *torákl*. Often there are beams tied to the roof truss beam, especially the “bundle” *omodókl* for the mats of the dead, *bar*.

Other important items are the walls and the door closure. The type of *Blai* determines the type of wall, as KUB. explains on pg. 257. The following distinctions are made:

klpóup (KUB.: *Kelbóup* and *kpokp*) “Wall” made out of wooden boards. These *Blai* are closely related to the *Bai* and were inhabited by priests. One such example is depicted in Vol. 2, Plate 16, Fig. 3.

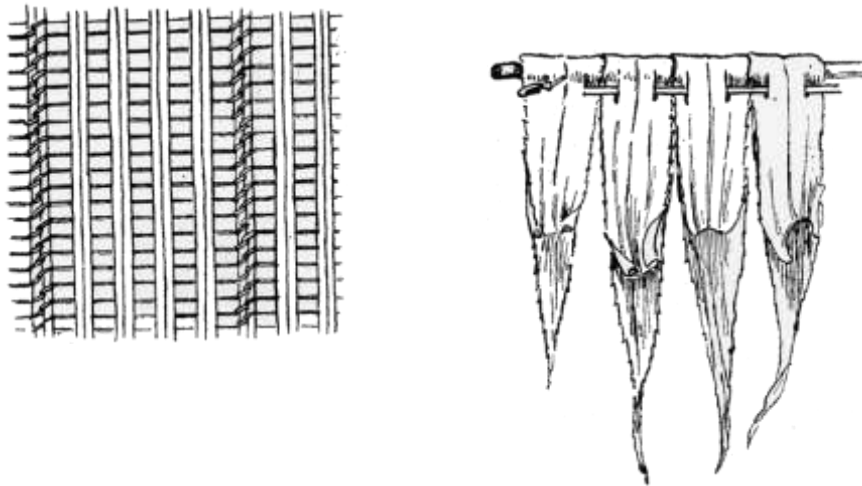


Fig. 190h-i.
Making of a Blai wall.

kldók (KUB.: *Keldók*) (see pg. 230) Wall made of split, hammered bamboo *rót*⁵⁹⁸ *l bambu*, vertical or crossed, so that step-shaped patterns are created. These *Blai* are for everyday use and work of poorer people often have an addition *klidút* (see Fig. 183).

kldōl (KUB.: *Kaldóol*) In Vol. VIII, pg. 257, KUB. says: The wall “is called *Kaldóol*, if it also is given an outer cover of *sak* leaves that have been cut short; both methods are used in the *Keldók-Bay*, in which the *Nitliabat* (Plate XXIX, Fig. 6a YY and XXX Fig. 5) are *Ulogolóol* work, while the walls, in contrast, are common *Keldók*.”

The making of a *kldōl* wall (see Fig. 190) proceeds as follows:

Between each pair of *gombekúpl* wall posts, 6 (or 7 or 8) transverse slats *gongasagákl* (KUB.: *Hoñosogakl*, WALL.: *chongesechákl*) are set, according to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 235, usually Areca wood. The slats are set into openings in the posts (b, c). These slats play a role in burial ceremonies (see Section VI⁵). They apparently are also called *kědók*, and the outer *golúkl* slats (see below) are also called *kldók*, which is where the word mentioned above probably originates. Then, on the outer side of the inner transverse slats, numerous (usually 50-60)

reeds are tied on in pairs, upright, like the *gosekidēl* rafters in the roof (see pg. 200) and thus called *delegór* (KUB.: *Dolhór a kpokp*), a finger's width apart from one another, with half turns of lashing (not crosswise) (d, e), using sun-dried (not soaked in water) hibiscus fiber (*golungs*). This cross arrangement of slats constitutes the frame; just as on the roof there are the purlins and the double outer rafters, to which the roof leaves are tied, there is a corresponding outer covering here. This is made either of narrow bamboo slats laid tightly over each other crosswise (g, h) (KUB.: *Kalsel a kpokp*) and held in position with lashings running vertically (see, for example, Vol. 2, Plate 18¹), or poles (f) tied lengthwise on the outside (KUB.: *Hoñobikl emél* "inside" and *irk* "outside"), or with "roof leaves" (i). In this case, too, *sug* leaves are sewn onto *golukl*⁵⁹⁹ poles that are the length of the total opening, and then laid closely over one another and fastened (a). In this case, however, in contrast to the roof, the leaves projecting beyond the wall posts are cut off after they are tied down, resulting in a wavy surface, the sign of a good Palau *Blai*. These walls can be seen on numerous photos, especially nice ones in Vol. 3, Plate 12³, and a large one on Plate 18³. Of course, a nice five-door *Blai* such as that of Rubak Nr. I from *a Iméungs*, called *a Klang* (Vol. 2, pg. 144, Plate 9²), has the wall filling first mentioned, made of bamboo slats; and it also has *logukl* on the *dekédēk* beams, and line decorations on the *ngelóng* side, *bad*-like *golóbog* storage and even removable thresholds *a īs* like a *Bai*, a sign of how closely related the *Blai* are to the *Bai*.

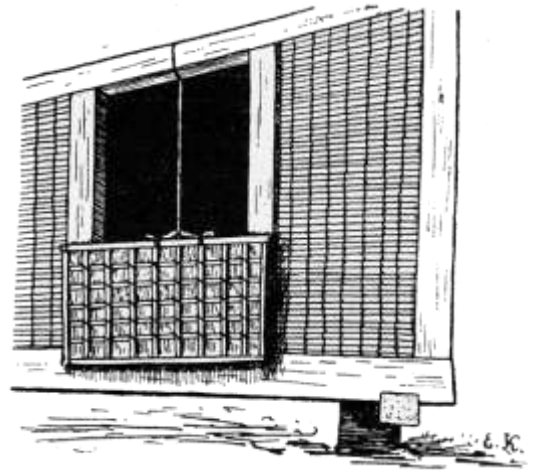


Fig. 191.
Door closure.

In light of the fact that at the numerous places where the great Galíd Medegeī pelau is worshipped, the high chiefs are simultaneously the priests, it is understandable that they have the richest and most beautiful houses. These include the two-story dwellings called *sop*, of which I saw a very beautiful example in Keklāu (see Fig. 22 in Vol. 2, pg. 66). The two-story *Bai* are similarly impressive structures. The large cult house *ngousáus*⁶⁰⁰, which was previously mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 184, is also a *sop*. KUB. saw one still standing in *a Iraī*, and he described it in Vol. VIII, pgs. 254-255 and depicted it on Plate XXXVIII. It is cross-shaped, about 13m in diameter, and has a huge turret over the crossing, two crossed *Bai*-like structures that provided four rooms. One reaches the upstairs from the large room below by way of a ladder. The lower four sides have verandas with large posts in the shape of human figures.

SEMP., in Vol. 2, pg. 83, also tells of an octagonal house of Ngasiás, and I already provided an illustration of the strange house Gomūgtokói in Ngardolólók in Vol. 2, pgs. 265 and 266.

In the illustrations of the *Blai* (Figs., pg. 46) one can also see the item used to close the door *ulitěg* (poss. *ultegél*, see pg. 151), of which there are two forms: either double mats hung on a high rod *ngardekil'l*, or a bamboo lattice whose makeup is best reflected in Fig. 191.

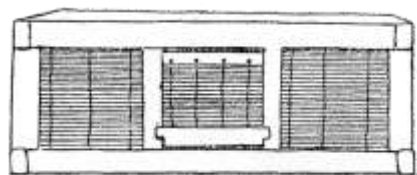


Fig. 192.
Food cabinet.

The numerous pictures (Fig. 198 and Vol. 2, pg. 233) also show that these lattices often cover the whole door opening. In this case they usually run in bamboo covers, like sleeves, on a rod under the roof, so that they can be slid to the side. For information about sliding into place, etc., see Section VI.

Much has already been said about furnishings of the house above, on pg. 204, in the section on the hearth, and on pg. 205, in the section on rooms. Plate 14, bottom right, is better than words. The rows of *tagěrákl* hooks, called *gor'rebákl*, stand out; wooden plates and bowls are hung on these. As mentioned, the sleeping mats are kept up high on the shelf *reákl*, because the dwellings lack the mat hangers *rěkói* of the *Bai*; and spears are stored on the *golongól* (see Story 197). Occasionally, one can also find cabinets for food, called *bub* like the fish baskets, usually made of bamboo latticework, but occasionally made out of a wooden frame with bamboo walls, as shown in Fig. 192.

The Galid houses *blil a galíd*.

The discussion on dwellings *Blai* has already shown that they are a preliminary version of the *Bai*, and that some of the magnificent structures of high-ranking Rubak assume ornamental characteristics that belong to the *Bai*. There are even *Bai* that serve as dwellings for priests, the so-called *telegēiěr bai*, which are discussed in more detail below (pg. 264). The Galid houses, which are the topic of this chapter, are also transitional structures between *Blai* and *Bai*.

The following types are discussed:

the little sacred shrine without a post	<i>gatekil'l</i>
the little sacred shrine with one post	<i>kumerěú</i>
the sun shrine on a single post	<i>gaiós</i>
the shrine on four posts	<i>tet</i> and <i>súmōg</i>
the little ornamental hut	<i>ulangáng</i> and <i>galsbóng</i>

Generally, for both the *Bai* and the *Blai*, painting takes place without any special rituals, but for a Galid house, a *blebáol* is necessary, as KUB. says in Vol. 2, pg. 125. The head of an enemy is needed before painting⁶⁰¹ *gěsbereberél* (from *gěsberéběr* “paint”; KUB.: *ongosprebrél*) can start. Another head is required for the “clipping” of the roof *ongemdél*⁶⁰² (from *mangímd* “to clip”).

The little sacred shrine, usually without a post, is called *gatekil'l* (KUB.: *Kathigil* or *Taharagil*). The word comes from *mangatákl* “to carry by the handle,” because one can easily carry the little hut, which is made from a single piece of wood (without a post, as mentioned), like a basket (see above, pg. 150 *tet* and Vol. 2, pg. 100). Some of the collected specimens, such as one from Ngareklim (KR. 1004) actually have a carrying string, a *gongetekil'l*, like the *tet* baskets; I discovered the specimen cited on 29. April 1910, hanging at the limestone cliffs of Ngátmědug (see Vol. 1, pg. 190 and Vol. 2, pg. 202) in a grotto called Ngarsúmōg. It had three doors on the long side and two on the gable side; the gable frames were painted red. It is now in Hamburg. The little shrine is considered magic against illness, and details are discussed further in the section on that topic. In many cases, the little huts have only one door opening on the wide side, as the ones that follow do. Most of these structures, which are rarely taller than 1 foot in height, represent a *Blai*, roughly made and standing on a low base. In a few cases, the base is raised somewhat, and there may even be a short post or a pair of posts (Fig. 193).

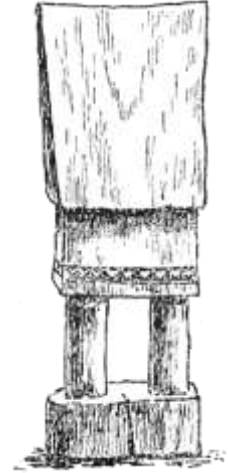


Fig. 193.
Sacred little shrine.

If the post is so large that it must be sunk into the ground to allow the hut to stand, then we are dealing with the sacred shrine with a post *kumerēu* (KUB.: *Gumreu*), which was mentioned above on pg. 73 (Fig. 57). Its purpose of healing the sick is also discussed in more detail below in the discussion on medicine. The post on which a *gatekil'l* stands is square and usually red.

The sun shrine is called *gáios* (Kub.: *Geos*) “sun”. Under the door, on the wide pedestal, is a depiction of a sun, usually two-headed, for the shrine is dedicated to the goddess

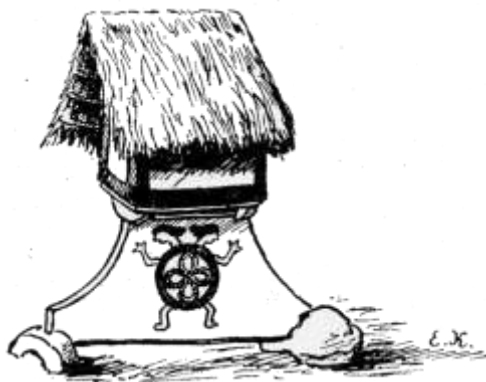


Fig. 194.
Sun shrine. Goréör.



Fig. 195.
Sun shrine on a post. Ngasiás.

Turang⁶⁰³. It is frequently located near the residences; all in all, it is about 1m high. It is a little hut put together like a *Bai*, with a real roof, and a door through which offerings of betelnuts, taro, etc., are placed inside.

Usually, the hut stands on a structure that is like an ironing board: on the ground are two crossed pieces of wood, on top of which there is a trapezoidal, thick, upright plank. On this plank, in turn, rest two support beams. The entire thing is usually painted radiant yellow (Hamburg model). A stone shrine is depicted in Fig. 58 on pg. 73.

Instead of the crossed pieces of wood at the bottom, there may in rare cases be a square post (see Fig. 195), or, more commonly, a four-legged base. This is really the typical sign of the four-legged shrine *tet* (KUB.: *tet*, also *Ouwák*)—as long as it is standing in the Bai⁶⁰⁴ it is called *súmög* (MC CLUER: *sumuck*, KUB.: *súmuk*)—which is named after the *tet* basket, because it represents the basket for the god, in which the betel nuts, etc., are stored.

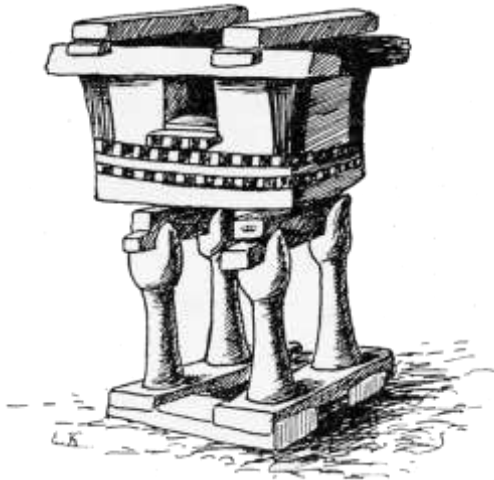


Fig. 196a.

Tet from a Meungs on Ngarekobasáng.



Fig. 196b.

Tet from Ngurusár.

These shrines are larger and made with more care, and they are usually located next to the community Bai, where they serve as alters for offerings to the village god. Naturally, they are painted like a Bai. In Vol. 2, in Plates 2^{2 and 3}, Plate 4, Plate 5¹, and Plate 9³, one can see them in their original position. The *tet* of the god Medegei pélaui in a Irai, which is the subject of Story 197 and of which there is an unpublished photograph by KUBARY (Plate 15²), was particularly beautiful. It has two pairs of support beams at the top, between which a shelf-like board can be pulled out, as can be seen in a more simple fashion in KUBARY's *sumuk* in Plate XXXIII^{2.605} According to KUB, Vol. VIII, pg. 252, *súmuk* was a special variety whose four legs were not attached to a frame at the bottom, but rather stuck directly into the ground. MC CLUER depicts such a shrine next to a Bai, and although the upper portion is not entirely right, one can see that the legs do indeed stick into the ground. He says the following about it: that the natives keep a wooden

//Krämer, Palau, Vol. 3 Plate 15.//



Kubary Photo

1. Two-story *góutang* Bai in *a Irai*.



Kubary Photo

2. *tet* shrine to Medegei'pélau in *a Irai*.



3. Dishes of food on wooden plates for guests in the Bai.



4. Roasting a turtle in its shell. Windbreak. Goréör.

replica of Idolassack there, to which they offer some food every day. In this case we are the *delásěg* figures, which will be discussed in the section on the Galid cult. These *súmōg* were dedicated to the lower deities of the community. The construction style of the *tet* and their forked post legs are clearly visible in Figures 196a and b.

Then there are the little ornamental houses *ulangaáng* and *galsbóng*, which every rich Blai has, just as every rich Blai has a cookhouse. The former has two *bad* at the bottom (Fig. 177¹), and its sides are open (see Vol. 2, pg. 233), while the latter is closed at the bottom (Fig. 197 and Vol. 2, Plate 17). As the showpiece of the Blai with its Bai-like ornamentation (see Vol. 2, Plate 12), it serves as quarters for newlyweds and for the favorite daughter when she has her first child (Story 12), as well as the private and undisturbed quarters of the high chief (KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 76), although this does not apply to Ibědul and a Raklāi (Vol. 2, pgs. 99 and 213). A small house is called *dep*.

The Men's House *Bai* (poss. *bil*)

Like the sailboat among boats, the two-story *góutang* (see Bai 31, VIII) is one of the most beautiful and artistic houses to be found among the primitive peoples on earth. Actually, there are only a few impressive structures that could successfully compete: those of the Menangkabāumalaien, and some Indian and Chinese structures; but these are more developed peoples with a strong foreign influence. Yes none of these can demonstrate such rich ornamentation of picture stories, called *logúkl* in this case, which is discussed in Vol. 4.

It is odd how little attention was paid to these Bai during the first periods of contact. WILSON devotes only a few words to them, as does MC CLUER, although he at least depicts the Meketi Bai in Goréör in such a way that one gets an idea of the ornamentation, which is so remarkable. The negligence of the visitors in their observations of these items in particular is evident in the fact that the roof, seen in side view, is portrayed as trapezoidal with the short side at the top.

SEMPER and v. MUKLUCHO-MACLAY provide a little more detail about the Bai, but KUBARY is the first to describe them in words and pictures in extensive detail. It might seem superfluous to say anything more about them here, were it not that his text is long and unclear, the terms are terribly misrecorded, and the illustrations are schematic. Vol. 4, however, will show that he left out the meaning of the *logukl* completely. Since I learned many new things in spite of KUBARY's work, I will provide a short overview of this unique structure here.



Fig. 197.
galsbong, little ornamental hut.

The roof was discussed above. The only thing under the roof is the wooden section called *galdul'ł*⁶⁰⁶ (poss.: *galdl'łél*), which consists entirely of hewn wood. Every piece is set loosely on or against the other by means of tenons without lashing, so that the entire structure can be disassembled without ado and set up in another location.

This is of course true only of the good Bai. The simpler ones have bamboo walls and frequently stand on piles. So one must distinguish between the various types of Bai. There are two kinds, for the most part:

*bai tětíp*⁶⁰⁷, good Bai, can be assembled, usually set on 8 *bad* beams, and the

bai kldók or *teleót*, with bamboo walls, etc., usually set on 6 *bad* beams;

instead of the *gadéng* (pg. 234), this often has only a *dekéděk*, like a Blai does (see above, pgs. 224 and 222). It is



Fig. 198.

Bai l dort with sliding door.

called *bai l dort* when the undecorated house is made of *dort* wood, usually unhewn⁶⁰⁸. Hybrids do exist, as shown in Vol. 2, pg. 243, Fig. 49, where a wooden Bai stands on piles, in this case because it was near the water, or the poorly constructed wooden Bai of 1783 (see Vol. 2, Plate 15³), which has a bamboo gable wall. The fishermen's Bai of a Urung is similar (Vol. 2, pg. 48, and this volume, Fig. 198).

For the most part, this section shall discuss only the well-built *bai tětíp*, in which only the roof consists of natural wood pieces.

The wood piece *galdul'ł* consists of three main parts: the lower part with the floor, the gable, and the roof truss.

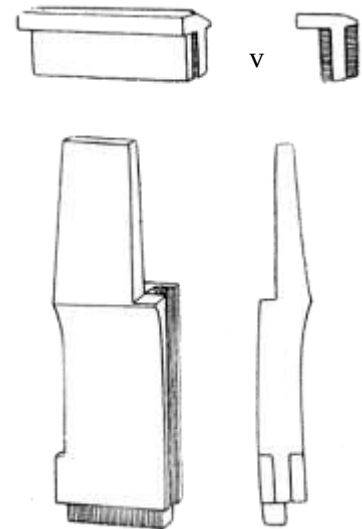
As the maps and plates in Vol. 2 indicate, every good Bai is located on a well-constructed stone pavement *galdúkl* (poss. *galdeklél*). This pavement is often very high, as already emphasized above on pg. 207, especially the two *bai l pelú*, which also include the *sumög* shrine and the bowl for heads *gomróěěl* or *klsáděl* (see Vol. 2, Plate 4 and Fig. 37). The support beam or main beams *bad*⁶⁰⁹ (poss. *bedúl*), which means “stone” (see Fig. 177l), do not sit directly on the pavement, but rather on special stone blocks called *bad l uétăg* (see pg. 241), which can be quite high or rather low. In Vol. VIII, pg. 267, KUB. opines, probably correctly, that originally there were only stones,

which is certainly the case with the legendary stone Bai (see Vol. 2, pg. 21).

The number of foundation beams indicates the size of the Bai; a distinction is made between the following kinds:

<i>klao a bedúl</i>	4 beams
<i>klolom a bedúl</i>	6 beams
<i>kleāi a bedúl</i>	8 beams
<i>tākĕr a bedúl</i>	10 beams

There are never fewer than 4 or more than 10. The lower part of the structure is usually open; only in the case of the second community Bai Bilekélĕk⁶¹⁰ of Goréör was this area closed off with boards, as in the little decorative huts *galsbóng* (see Vol. 2, pg. 17). In Plate 1 in Vol. 1, this Bai is just barely visible on the right; it's more clearly visible in Vol. 2, pg. 208. During KUBARY's time, this covering was not there (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 267). The main framework of the lower section rests on the boards; the frame consists of the two longitudinal beams (n) *a ugútũm* (poss. *ugõtemél*)⁶¹¹, which usually consists of 3 pieces, the center section *lebúgõl* and the two end section *gomúsõg*, and the two transverse beams (m) *guókũ* (poss. *guokĩél*), apparently sometimes called *a ngot*, like the taro pounding board.



Mortised into the beams of the framework are the wall posts (o) (Fig. 177 and 199 (o)) *gád* (poss. *gadál*). They are straight, square, tapered⁶¹² at the top (by the window), with two grooves

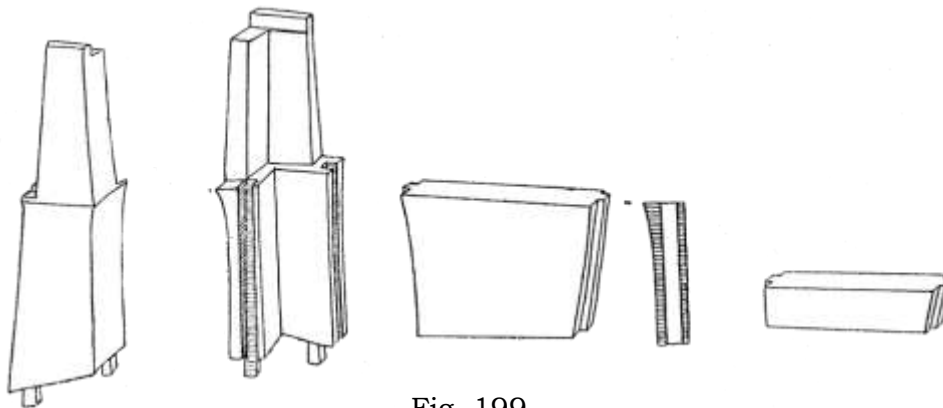


Fig. 199.

Unnumbered illustration of pieces.

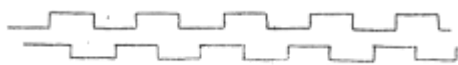
if they are located in the wall surface and a single groove if they are door posts, somewhat curved and angled if they are corner posts (p) *sáus* (poss. *susél*), with two tenons at the bottom which hold together the corners of the frame *terúkl*

a sáus (KUB. *Urúkul a saus*). Between every two wall posts and between the wall posts and end posts, the walls themselves consist of boards set into grooves, below we have the smaller (q) *a ngláos* (poss. *nglosél*) and above the larger (r) *gasbógöb* (poss. *gasbëgëbél*)⁶¹³. Wherever there is a door opening, there are no boards, but instead there is a low “nose,” the threshold insert (v) *a is*⁶¹⁴ (poss. *isgnél*), which sits on the threshold *úbeng*. It can be removed, and we too always removed it from the entry door of our Bai, so that we would not bump our heads.

Resting on the heavier lower sections of the posts *gad* and *sáus* rests a central frame—if you want to call it that—and between each pair of these there is a double gabled beam (s) *gorsögókí* (poss. *gorsogeklél*), which is best called a window sill, since it forms the lower boundary of the windows *goloégěl*. These are often closed with



a board *tangét*⁶¹⁵ *longgëáol* or *ilekolú* (KUB.: *ayi logolu* for the window opening), particularly on the windward side. Naturally, there are no window sills on doors (see pg. 206) that have a threshold. The 4 window sills at the ends of the long sides have a particular shape, because they have a Bai sign (t) *madál síkës* protruding out the gable side, like a restaurant hangs out its sign, or the signpost has a protruding arm. This sign is usually in the shape of a curlew, or at least bears a picture of one, for it is the bringer of money in the legend (Story 9). In some Rubak Bai, there are wooden figures *bombádel* (= “chain” WALL.) hanging on these , for example at Gosobulungâu of Goré őr, or at the *brúgěl* ends (Plate 1, Vol. 1). I shall discuss these Nok beams in the culture comparison section. On top of the *gad* and *sáus* posts sits the upper main



Center plank.

h'

frame, mortised, consisting of the longitudinal beams (u) *góngrangër* (poss. *gongrengrel*) and the transverse beams (visible in Fig. 117 under a) *gólik* (poss. *golkíl*). On the underside of this frame, a “flying fox” *gólik*⁶¹⁶ is often depicted, for example in the Bai in Pelíliou, *a Imeúngs*, etc.

The lower part of the house also includes the floor *uláol*, which consists of thick, heavy planks *gasbógöb*⁶¹⁷. MC CLUER raved about how evenly and tightly joined they are, that not even a needle can fall between them. In the cracks there are holes for spitting *golbáol* (poss. *golbolél*)⁶¹⁸, which have a diameter of 2 – 2 ½ cm.

Older men like to use them for urinating. The planks lay on top of the foundation beams, the *bad*⁶¹⁹. The central plank (h') *nggóngg* (KUB.: *Gonk*) has a special shape; it is narrow and has alternating square protrusions (Fig. 199^{h'}), resulting in cracks that allow the sweepings to drop through.

I already reported above, on pg. 204, on the fireplace *gab* (of which there used to be only one) which sits in the floor. The floor (and also the gable) are not made by the master builder and his assistants, but are usually provided by the Rubak who ordered the construction himself, as can be seen on pg. 263. For this reason, just as the roof is divided into *nglosög* sections (pg. 202), the floor is divided into *ngódög* sections; ergo: *telngódög* first floor section, *a rē ngódög* second floor section, *a deī ngódög* third floor section. According to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 236, each section between two *bad*, i.e. the length of the plank, is called *delmárap*; but this generally means “room,” as can be seen above on pg. 205.

The two gables *melég* (poss. *melegúl*)⁶²⁰ rest on the two short sides. The gable area is bordered by two frames on both sides:

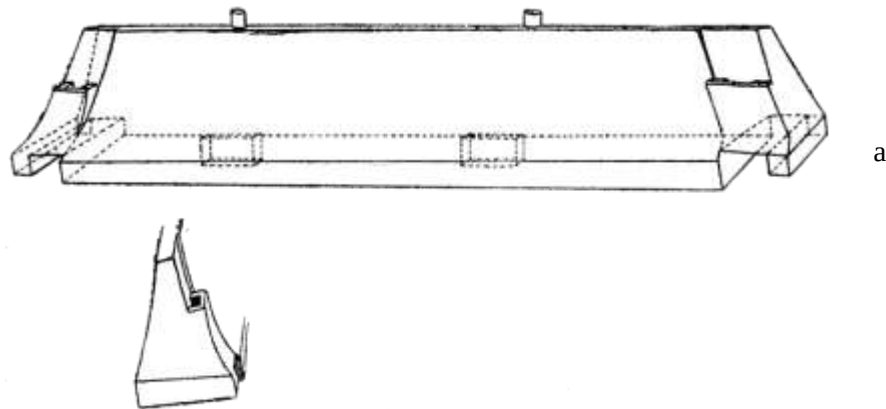


Fig. 199.

1. The upper, outer gable frame (i) *góngiāu* (poss. *gonguīl*), is quite far from the actual gable area, especially at the top; it consists of two pieces, which are joined and mortised at the top and are connected by transverse beams here and there, on which there tend to be human figures depicted (see Plate 7 and Fig. 44 in Vol. 2, pg. 208, Bai 48 and 49). At the joint, the sides are pierced by the upper roof truss beam (see Fig. 178⁶) and are held in place by the overhang (7) *ultutóur*, at the sides by the *dūs* (see pg. 200), while below they rest on the upper longitudinal beams *góngrangēr* of the framework into which they are notched;
2. The upper, inner gable frame (k) *gongolúiēb* (poss. *gongēlibél*), is in the area of the gable and is partly covered by the outer frame. It is pierced at the top by the lower roof truss beam, which it encircles just as a thumb and index finger would (Fig. 178), and it is mortised into the lower frame;
3. the lower gable frame (a) *gadéng* (poss. *gadōngúl*). The gable wall, which is framed by the three planks, consists of 7 planks that sit one above the other;

the lowermost (*bagei*) is mortised into the *gadéng* (called “shark” because occasionally sharks are depicted on it⁶²¹) which has notches in it for the tenons of the *gongoluiēb* as well. It has a unique shape, because it is narrow at the top and very wide at the bottom. In the Bai on Pelíliou, it is often so spread out that it extends

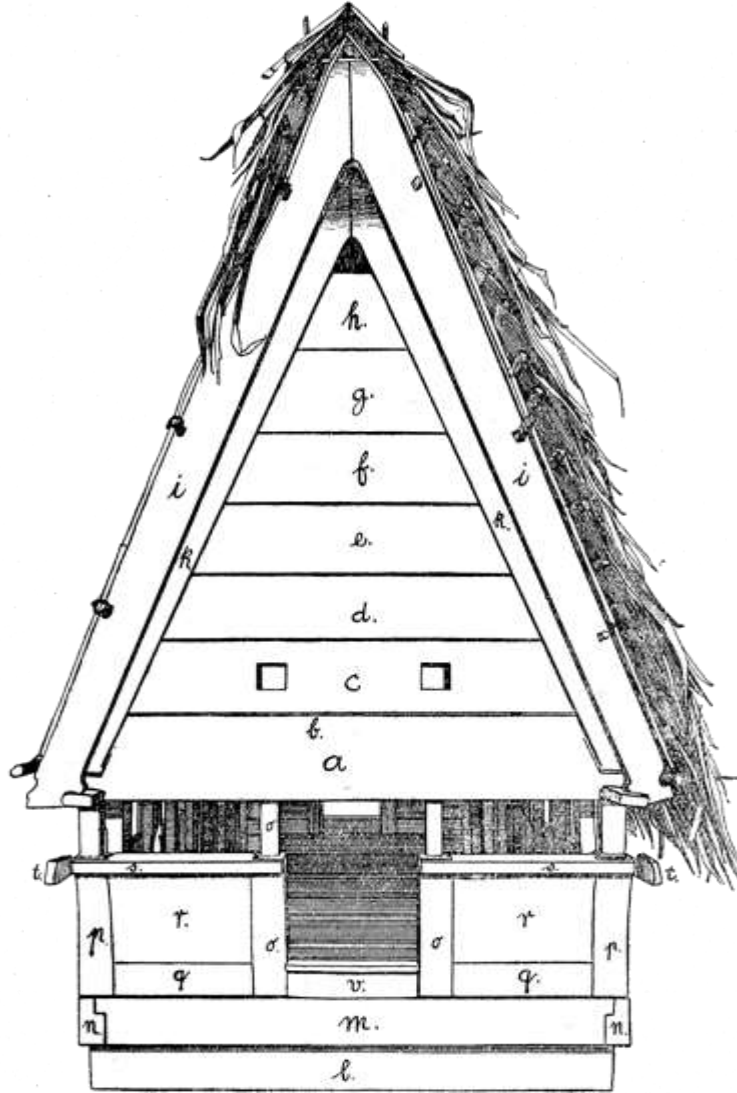


Fig. 200. Gable side.

er the doors like a roof or “lid” *dekéděk* (see Blai, pg. 222 and Fig. 189), as is clearly visible on Plate 16¹ in Vol. 2 on the r. Bai; there this protrusion is called *goldebúōl*. With the wide area, it rests on the aforementioned upper transverse beams *gólik* and covers the longitudinal frame *góngrangěr* with a cut-out at each end. It is missing on some old Rubak Bai, for example Bai 68 Ngarsúl south gable, Bai 69 *a* Imeúngs; in this case the lowermost gable board *bagei* sits on the *gólik*.

Over the *gadéng* are the following 7 planks:

- b. *bageĩ*, according to KUB., the meaning of the word is an eel that can be found in the taro patches, but more correctly it is name of the brother of Dilugái, who is depicted here; the *brugěl* beams on which she is shown sprawling generally pierce through the top edge of the plank, if not even through c (Vol. 2, Plate 4r).
- c. *ter'rói pelú*, a term used for skirts, meaning “split wide” (see above, pg. 9); KUB., pg. 245 says it means the “skirt” of the Bai, to distinguish it from the *dekéděk* beam of the Blai (see Fig. 189); in this case it is usually *déngěs* wood (Story 168),
- d. *mesekūk*, usually with representations of fish of the same name (Vol. 1, Plate 1),
- e. *melék*, perhaps from *meléket* to bind, or *melekétek* to set up.
- f. *kadám* “frigate bird.” In this area, sea birds were often depicted; see, for example, Ngabúkěd (Vol. 2, Plate 4l),
- g. *goiós*, from *gaiós* “sun,” which was often depicted on it in the past, for example Bai 15 *but*, now it is more frequently seen on the next board,
- h. *gal'lebesói*⁶²², named after the coral fish that was most often depicted on it in the past and which has a mystical meaning, see Bai 133, east gable.

Above this, a small, triangular hole remains open (see also Fig. 189), which will be discussed below on pg. 245. It stays open so that the *Galíd*, the spirits, can escape.

Because the gable wall leans forward somewhat, the planks stay in place, because they rest on the *gongolúieb* frame, which is held in place by the large lower roof truss beam. This alone, however, is insufficient. That is why there are 3 rafters affixed to the back side of the gable wall, two *ségěs* on the sides, called b' like the rafters and parallel to the two *gongolúieb*, and a vertical one in the center, called *dělál* “his mother.” All three come together at the tip of the gable (WALL.: *choláchěł*) and are secured with 3 transverse poles *delbárd* (poss. *delberděl*)⁶²³.

Furthermore, the two⁶²⁴ gable figure beams *brúgěl* (poss. *brogelél*) provide a certain amount of support, because they rest on the tie beams in the interior of the house and penetrate the gable wall, usually through the b or c gable board. I call them gable figure beams because the *dilukái* figure sits on their ends, which poke out the front (see Vol. 1, Plate 1). For more information about this, see the section on ornamentation.

The roof truss sits on the floor, and along the length of both walls,

depending on the number of foundation beams, there are 6 or 8 or 10 square inner posts (w or Fig. 117¹) *galábad*⁶²⁵ (poss. *galebedél*) very similar to those described for the Blai (pg. 222) standing on it. On top of the posts the tie beams sit mortised with tenons (z or Fig. 177²) *a imūl*⁶²⁶ (poss. *a imulél*) or *delolákl* (poss.

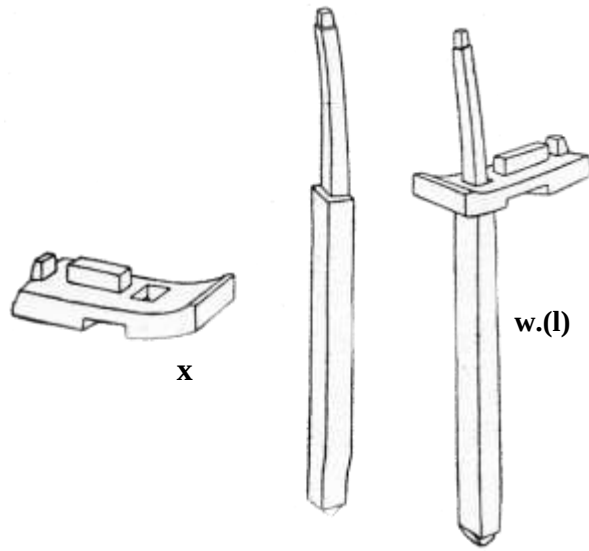


Fig. 200.

deloleklél), which are taken care of by the two opposite *nglósög* (see pg. 263). Like the wall posts, the upper part of the *galábad* posts is thinner⁶²⁷; on the overhang sit the mat carriers (x) *rěkói* (poss. *rekingél*), which are inserted from above through a hole; the wide part of the overhang protrudes into the interior of the house and holds the rolled-up sleeping mats, while the other part rests on the *góngrangěr* beam (u). The *gorongóděl* purlin (a') rests on this piece, and the *rekaŭ* rafter (y), which was mentioned above on pg. 200, stands on it. It stretches upward, toward the roof ridge, supports itself part of the way on the tie beam (z) *a imūl* with an indentation, and has two similar transverse joints (4) *gomkūk* (poss. *gomkukél*) and

*rebárabai*⁶²⁸ (poss. *rebérebelél*) further up. These, like the *a imūl*, are often decorated with ornaments, occasionally stories, and sometimes also, in the case of large constructions (see Bai 137 Ngasiás, Bai 69 *a Imeúngs*, Bai 114 Gorėđr), support *brúgěl* beams, which then run from gable to gable, although they are otherwise just short.

The size of the Bai is often quite impressive. The *Bai ra leĩ* in Keklau measured 20.5 by 3,5 m inside.

Details about the painting, the picture stories, etc. can be found in Vol. 4. Here I shall only mention that a Bai with inlay is called *uródog* (see pg. 113), or *urodėkěl* according to KUB.

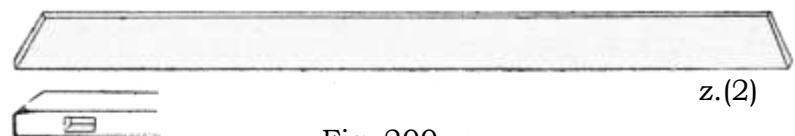


Fig. 200.

In contrast to Blai, there are no furnishings in a Bai. When I would peer into a Bai, I would usually find it completely empty. Occasionally, however, one sees rolled-up sleeping mats on the mat holders *rěkói* or bamboo stakes or grills *górangěl* over the fireplaces (see pg. 99). For details about the fireplace of the Bai, see pg. 204.

However, quite often there are spindle-shaped black stones, probably consisting of basalt and with a smooth surface, laying on or next to the fireplaces. They are generally 30-40cm long and approximately 15cm thick. One of the pointed ends is usually a little wider, as though it were a hatchet, which, because of its weight, could be

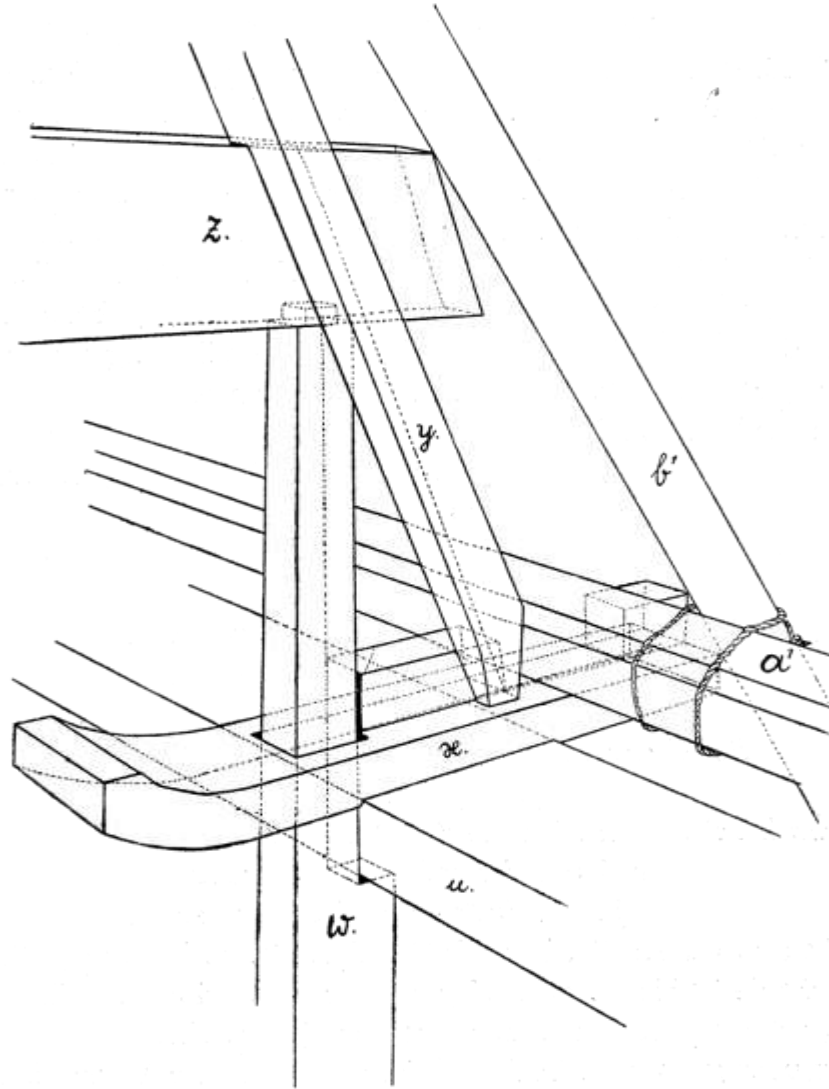


Fig. 200.

used effectively in hollow objects such as bowls and canoes when held with two hands. The Palauans know nothing of this use. They call the stone “mouse droppings” *dāgīl a bēbelók*, which supposedly comes from the *bēap ruósēd*, which ate so much out of the cliffs that the caves were created. The stones are banged on the wooden floor of the Bai to call the Rubak together, as is done with the conch sounding.

There is an explanation below, on pg. 328, of why occasionally a *sumög* shrine or a *kěóngěł* votive canoe is found in the Bai.

There is a nice example concerning the number of the individual parts belonging to the structure.

In the year 1907, I gave the men's club Ngaratěkángěł in Gorěör, whose members are listed in Vol. 2, pg. 218, the order to construct, for 500 marks, a real Bai that was then to be transported by ship to Berlin. It was determined that Golegerıl, the brother of the No. II and himself No. II of the Ngaraderúděm club, would be the master builder. This is the same Golegerıl who was mentioned above on pg. 116 as the wood carver of the two large cattle. His shadowy picture is still visible in Plate 133 in Vol. 2. So this Bai, which was given the name Kekerěl Losobulngáu "small Gosobul ngáu"⁶²⁹, is described in more detail in the "Special Guide" by von Luschan (Vol. 2, pg. 366), because after its arrival in Berlin it was exhibited and is now in the possession of the Anthropological Museum there.

It included:	lower section:	8 <i>bad</i>
		5 <i>a ugútũm</i> (2 on the <i>ngěłóng</i> side and 3 on the <i>rebaĩ</i> side (see pg.
	and	2 <i>guókũ</i>
		32 <i>gad</i> ⁶³⁰ , and 4 <i>sáus</i>
		28 each of <i>ngláos</i> , <i>gasbógöb</i> , and <i>gorsögókl</i>
		8 <i>a ĩs</i> (threshold inserts)
		4 <i>góngrangěr</i> , and 2 <i>gólik</i> ,
	the gables:	4 <i>gongiaũ</i> halves and 4 <i>gongolúĩěb</i> halves
		2 <i>gadéng</i> and 14 gable boards
	the roof truss:	16 <i>galábad</i> (8 on a side)
	And	16 <i>rěkoĩ</i> and 16 <i>rekaũ</i> rafters;
		8 each of <i>a imũl</i> , <i>gomkũk</i> , and <i>rebárabal</i> .

So the *galdũl'ł* structure, including gable and roof truss, consists of 245 pieces. This figure does not even include the parts of the roof. The Bai *a Dngoróngěr* in Gorěör, for example, had 33 *sěgěs* rafters and 4 *dũs* purlins on each side.

The following construction magic *godogũl* is performed when a Bai is built: When the Palauans want to build a house or a canoe, they turn to the master builder, called *dágălbai*, who not only does the work, but who also understands a particular kind of ceremonial magic. This is necessary because everything is under the spell of the *Galíd*, the spirits, as was already explained in the discussion on Blai building, above. This cult of magic is particularly important for Bai.

A spell is generally known as *godogũl*, and there are only four types. Those who know them are called *telbákl* (see Story 11). Each *godogũl* handles 7 spirits, called "people" *argád* for short, the seven together are called *těuíd l'lagád*. They must be invoked and

pacified with offerings and chants, to prevent bad luck. Before anything else, however, the “first in heaven” *aUgéliángēd* is prayed to, as well as *Diratagādeī* the sun, and *Meketékēt* the moon, whose messengers (*goderúgēl*)⁶³¹ are *Gauíou*, *Gaubáb*, *Sés* and *Júsēg mad* (pg. 218). The four spells of construction magic are as follows:

1. *Gorágēl*, named after the inventor of Bai architecture . This is considered the most important spell and is these days in the possession of the *Ngarakelaū* family (see Vol. 2, pg. 228) on *Goréör*. It was *Remókēt* who took it there. The spell was brought by *Ngira meléngēl* into the *Blai Regotóng* in *a Ulimáng*. Story 13 of *Gorágēl* names *Ngiragasákl*, who handed his knowledge down to *Ngira milang* in *a Ulong*, who gave it to *Remókēt*.
2. *Ngaragárm*, supposedly in the possession of a *Kmederáng* in *Ngardmaū*, Nr. III of *Ngatpúiēg* (see Vol. 2, pg. 83). The worshipper eats every food that is distributed, in honor of his god.
3. *Ngei deūíd*, probably originating from *Ngardmaū*. The stone Bai builders from Story 5.
4. *Garagár ma Gēlǎgáng* (see Story 113) “future and present,” sun worshippers on the deserted land before 10 o’clock in the morning (see above in the section on *Blai* construction, pg. 212).

The Palauans keep the *godogūl* secret, and it is very difficult to learn any details about them. I learned the following about the *Gorágēl* magic, which is used for houses and canoes, from a youth on whom I performed medical treatment and who belonged to the *Blai regotóng*:

The 7⁶³² *gad* (forest spirits) of the *godogūl* *Gorágēl* are called:

1. *Góbak l gēvúl* “chief centipede” (see *Canoe Building*, pg. 188)
2. *Góbil l gēvúl* “female chief centipede”
3. *Góbildép*⁶³³, daughter of the two mentioned *gad*, forest spirit for fishing, etc., see pg. 189
4. *Diledēgú*, see Story 17 and 215
5. *Gorágēl*, see Story 13
6. *Bersóiōg*, mother of *Gorágēl*, see Story 13
7. *a Nglai* butterfly pupa (see the section on canoe building, Fig. 171)

Let the following serve as an illustration of how the construction magic is practiced: When *Melekéiok* wants to build a Bai, 14 chiefs are employed to oversee the construction, 7 *Rúbak* and 7 *uriúl Rúbak*, i.e. 7 high chiefs and 7 lower-ranking chiefs. These are apparently inspired by the spirit *Gēvúlkói* (also called *Góbak l gēvúl*), and they act accordingly.

Now, if *Melekéiok* builds in *Ngarsúl*, for example, these chiefs send a messenger with a construction order to the *Ngaratúmetum* club in *Ngarsúl*. *Meléngēl* is the master builder, the *dágǎlbai*, the specifications are according to him. According to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 227,

the master builder receives the first payment at the same time, one *mo ra geimóng* (pg. 168) as *oltebedél a melásǎg* (see pg. 191¹ and 248²). He has the 10 club members sharpen their adzes and bring them into the Bai. He himself goes into the bush in the evening and searches by himself for a tree that is good for the first blow, whose

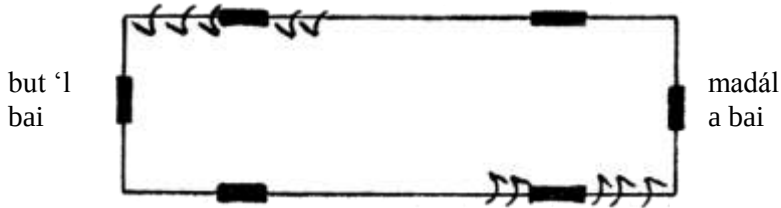


Fig. 201.
Adzes in the Bai.

felling is seen as an omen (*mangalíl*). When he has found a suitable tree, he goes home.

Now the *dágǎlbai* (master builder) addresses the adzes, which are set up in two orderly rows, in the two corners of the Bai to the left of the gable doorway. They stand there with their handles pointing up (Fig. 201).

He speaks the following to Gëvúlkói, as he is the highest-ranking of the 7:

Gëvúlkói, aika gotilǎg

l ngar tiáng, me ke medengei

ma kmě melái ra tútau

l mor goreóměł

ě lě ked ě melásǎg

Gëvúlkói, these adzes

are here, you know

I take them tomorrow

to the forest,

so that we chop.

He also chant the following to the 7th spirit, the butterfly pupa:

a Nglai, molulūg⁶³⁴ ě ra Góbak

ma Rǎgětúkěr ma Ksau

ma a Rekerěáng ma

a Rmdágěl ma Segemlóng

ma Rekeűís,

l dmul kmo: ko mo krolí⁶³⁶

a kluk l mo ra Ngirakebóu⁶³⁷

meng mo gerál⁶³⁸

a ngelsegél⁶³⁹ ě tia bai

l merekóng,

meng mo merúr a gad

re Ngeremǎgís⁶⁴⁰

a le bo lák a gerál

a ngelsegél

a Nglai, please ask Góbak⁶³⁵

and Rǎgětúkěr and Ksau

and to Rekerěáng and

and to Rmdágěl and Segemlóng

and Rēkeűís,

the following: you direct

a kluk for Ngirakebóu,

as the price

for the roof section of this Bai

when it is finished,

ashamed is the man of

Ngere mǎgís,

if he does not receive the price

for his roof section.

The next morning, he takes his adze, goes to the tree, chops three times, and sits down⁶⁴¹. The club members then fell the tree, if everything is in order. He pays attention to which direction the tree falls. If the tree falls to the north, he says:

*gálděbegěl, a bai a mesemāi re kid;
meng di sauál l mo mogút⁶⁴²;
meng di bol mesisīg
a rengúd, ě ked ě rokír⁶⁴³*

Club, the Bai is (too) strong for us;
(the wood) has a tendency to rot;
only if strong are
our hearts, will we complete it.

After the felling, the adzes are placed back into the Bai, as before, and this continues until the new house is finished.

The next morning, the club is divided into two groups, each of which must carve a gable foundation beam (*tangét*), and also, on the same day, the beam next to that on the interior. On the following day, two more *bad* (foundation beams) are chopped, usually for a total of 8.

When the *bad*, the foundation beams, have been set on the foundation stones, the *bad l uétăg* (KUB.: *bad derittek* = *derĕtĕg* “long side”), there are more chants. First, 16 round logs are cut from coconut tree trunks, 16 *delépěs* (pg. 188), whose length extends approximately from elbow to elbow.

The first *delépěs* is laid under the *rse l a gorongóděl* (see pg. 211), at the front gable, to the left; the master builder prays:

*Gěvúlkói, tia depselél,
a ngelsegél Gobak remegú
ma k m lngia re ngí
me ke goróid a meknít
ra blai Remegú
mě tireká lě gálděbegěl,
e osísěp a udóud
l mo petók lě gerál a bai.*

Gěvúlkói, this his sleeper
of the house section of Gobakremegú,
and I lay it down,
and you keep away evil
from the house of Remegú
and from this club,
bring a piece of money
quite a lot as the price of the Bai.

and before laying out the other 15 sleepers, he then says something like this:

*Gěvúlkói, komor ra Melekéiok,
ma ke tngmu ra rengúl a Răklai⁶⁴⁴
meng melekói ra Rěgěbóng,
l melekói ra Rulúkěd,
l melekói ra Ngirĕkungĭl ma Sagaruleóng
ma a Tkeděsau ma a Regětáog,*

Gěvúlkói, you go to Melekéiok,
and penetrate the heart of a Răklai,
and say to Rěgěbóng,
say to Rulúkěd,
say to Ngirĕkungĭl and Sagaruleóng
and to a Tkeděsau and a Regětáog,

me tesmīk a klúk l mo gerál
a ngelsegír, m bol ngásăg a bai,
ě di lě rūl⁶⁴⁵, mē lě mērégěd
gogeráol

that they search for a *kluk* as the price
 for their house section, and, if the Bai rises,
 they should be ready, that quick
 be the payment.

The last chant simply reiterates the great concern of the master builder, that he receive the money from the 7 high chiefs of Melekéiok, for whom the Bai is being built, and who must pay, correctly and quickly when it is finished. He does not hesitate to express this wish, which is really the focus of all Palauans' thoughts (and for which the chant is a fitting example), to the leading forest spirit of this magic construction guild.

The last chant was simply not necessary; it was a personal issue. It could also be left out. Only the first one said when the first *delépēs* was laid was compulsory, and after it, the 15 remaining *delépēs* are laid out.

When all of the foundation beams (*bad*) are standing and, if necessary, have been shored up, the master builder steps into the space between the fourth and fifth foundation beam, i.e. into the center of the construction area. Many coconut clusters (*rism*) have been thrown there during the process of setting up the beams. He sits down and says:

<i>a Nglai aiká melém,</i>	Anglai, here is your drink,
<i>me ke di kiei r tiáng,</i>	you only sit here
<i>e omés ra maráel l mei</i>	to see, if anything comes
<i>melámál'⁶⁴⁶ rěkid,</i>	to harm us,
<i>me ke melulūg rengí</i>	and you beg of him,
<i>ng tomelíd</i>	who wants to harm us.

Now the house is built as a sample. While the construction takes place, another chant is performed, at the moment when the corner posts *sáus* are set on the beams of the framework *a ugútũm*.

The *dágālbai* sits in the center again and says:

<i>a Nglai, ke subedí Góbak,</i>	a Nglai, you inform Góbak,
<i>me ng medengēi,</i>	so that he knows,
<i>l kmu, sáus a mogú degór!</i>	he says, the corner posts should stand up!

The master builder answers himself: *ng!*

Then he says:

<i>ke rongědáng?</i>	Did you hear?
<i>ma kmogursēi</i>	And I go there
<i>meng modegór a sáus!</i>	and stand the corner posts upright!

He then orders them to set up the whole *galdúl'l* wooden Bai, and when everything (except the roof) is standing, he prays:

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Gëvúlkói, *ng di kau a medengei ngeklir,*
tireké longi ngákl⁶⁴⁷ lóbak ra Melekéiok
ma ke melekói r tír,
mě torégěd gongeremátl
mě goliruóngě⁶⁴⁸ ra bad,
měng merégěd a bai
l mong másăg!

Gëvúlkói, only you know their names,
these names of the Rubak of Melekéiok
and you speak to them,
that they hasten the down payment
and the taking away of the foundation beams,
so that the Bai
may rise quickly!

Again the master builder is eager for the test setup and taking down to go quickly, so that the final setup can take place, for the sake of payment.

Before construction continues, the beams must be shaped and then carved, but not painted yet⁶⁴⁹, because, after all, the Bai must be set up in Melekéiok. Everything is brought there from Ngarsúl by boat or floating in the water (if the light wood of the *ukál'l* was used).

Prior to this, however, the master builder goes back to the first *delépěs* and says:

Gëvúlkói, *bekīs, l mě*
debó ra Nglai

Gëvúlkói, arise, so we
go to Nglai.

Then he moves to the center and says:

a Nglai, bekīs, kau ma Gëvúlkói,
mě debó ra nglukl,
e ked ě mo ra Melekéiok
ě loba bai

a Nglai, arise, you and Gëvúlkói,
we go with the burdens,
we go to Melekéiok
and bring along the Bai.

a Nglai and Gëvúlkói are asked to come along and lighten the hearts of the 7 high chiefs and the 7 lower-ranking chiefs, so that they pay well and properly.

In Melekéiok, the shaped wooden pieces of the lower structure, the *galdúl'l*, are painted, then the Bai is erected in its final form, and the roof truss is set on top of it and thatched.

During construction, the master builder again goes, as before, to the foundation beam, to the corner, and to the center, calling out:

morgedí gogeráol!

Hasten the payment!

Then the Rubak of Melekéiok order the feast, called *galěás*, to be brought out, which the workmen, i.e. the men of the Ngaratúmetum club of Ngarsúl, must provide. So these hasten back to their village and retrieve the food.

The leader of the club brings a pig, while each of the other 9 brings approximately 10 *galuómě*

(fish wrapped in leaves, pg. 98), one basket of taro, and a plate (*buk*) of *bls̄ik* (pg. 102), as well as one *umád*⁶⁵⁰ cluster of Areca nuts for each, and the necessary betel leaves. All of this is distributed and taken home; afterwards, the Rubak return to the Bai for the purpose of payment. The people of Melekéiok pay one *klsuk* for every *nglósog*⁶⁵¹ and one *kluk* for every *umád*.

Now, if, for example, one *nglósog* is not paid for—because a Palauan tries not to pay, if he can possibly avoid it—the eldest club member asks the master builder what they should do, because a section of the house has not been paid for.

The master builder then goes into the center of the Bai, where a Nglāi and Gëvúlkói are now united, and says:

Gëvúlkói <i>ka mā</i> Nglāi	Gëvúlkói, you and a Nglai,
<i>kom di kiei l mangeril</i>	stay, to request
<i>ra gerál sel nglósog,</i>	for the price of that house section
<i>l me temeláng, me gom kukúr</i> ⁶⁵²	that is bad, and sink your claws
<i>a mesengúl aulúl</i>	into his breast
Ngiratemrín	of Ngira temrín
<i>l mo sēsē telil ē orékēd,</i>	until his breath stops a little,
<i>me ng diák rīd</i>	but does not expire,
<i>ma mlai góba kluk l mē</i>	and the canoe brings forth a <i>kluk</i>
<i>re ngak ra Ngarsúl</i>	to me in Ngarsúl
<i>ē lē gerál a umád;</i>	as the price for the gable roof section;
<i>ma k ngu ē dōi dērēkl</i>	and I take it and go aboard
<i>ra mlai l mei</i>	the boat there
<i>mē ked ē logá telil</i>	and we give him his breath;
<i>ē a kngéi kemíu kung</i>	but I take you
<i>mē ked ē morēmēi.</i>	and then we go home.

After the chant, the club returns to Ngarsúl and waits. If someone in Melekéiok now takes ill, it is of course the gods who have been beseeched who have caused the illness, and a canoe is quickly sent forth with the *kluk*, along with an appeal to recall the two forest spirits.

Then the master builder goes to Melekéiok with a roasted coconut (*ulogóug*), whose aroma is pleasing to the forest spirits, a replica of a large *bágēl* piece of money formed out of turmeric root, and a *didmagei* Dracaena.

He cracks the *ulogóug* nut in the B, hangs up the *bágēl* there and says:

<i>ak maramáng l mē melúbēt</i>	I have come to bring order
<i>ra ngikel smékēr</i>	to those who are sick

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<i>mě tia a udód</i>	and this money
<i>lě gerál a telil.</i>	as the price for his breath.
<i>merékóng, ě m geití,</i>	It is done, let him go,
<i>ě ng mla mě udód</i>	I received the money,
<i>meng di ka sorákt re ngi.</i>	and no more sick shall he be.
<i>meng merékóng,</i>	Therefore finished;
<i>ě mě m bodereî!</i>	we go home!

KUB., in Vol. II, pg. 125, mentions that a *blebáol*, a captured head, was necessary for the erection of the gable, but my sources did not tell me anything about this. The gable section with the carvings must stay on the ground as *toróp* (WALL.: *meróp* “to lean, to bend”), until the *olengásěg a melég* “the raising of the gable” has been guaranteed by a *blebáol*.

KUB.: Vol. VIII, pg. 244, says about the *dilukai* figure, about which there are more details in Section VI, pg. 277, that it could only be carved by an expert under the protection of the deities named there; otherwise a Rubak would die. When the carving of the figure was completed, it was covered with a coconut frond and left lying until a head was available. Only then, after a night filled with song in the company of the figure, was the gable raised with loud shouting and commotion, to drive out the *Galid* who helped with the construction of the Bai. Finally, the *gal’lebesói* board was inserted, and the head was placed on the figure, as it was usually carved separately. During all the commotion, the *dágǎlbai* climbs up the gable, a burning *gosěgósu* blossom sheath in his hand (see Section VI), with which he beats the gable.

The actual construction work proceeds as follows:

gomelásăg⁶⁵³ ra bai l pelú

tomūs⁶⁵⁴ e ra bai l pelú

me ked e mo⁶⁵⁵ mėlásăg,

me ked ónging rě gělagáng

l meklđípl⁶⁵⁶ ě mangákt ra kīsěm⁶⁵⁷

mo bo dabád⁶⁵⁸ ě kerdí malamált,

l díak a tára ragád l mo

Construction of a village house

They order a village house

and we want to build it,

and we call today

for a gathering, to sleep with the adze,

and then we shall lie down, but only straight,

not one man shall

galiděuid, ẽ lẽ ked ẽ mo
melái ra ulogóug⁶⁵⁹ ra tútau.
ma l tútau kung⁶⁶⁰ ẽ tedi⁶⁶¹
teuíd lagád a maráel l mora
goreóměł, l mo melí r ulogóug;
ma debóng⁶⁶², ẽ ked osĩk
ra úngil pesúl⁶⁶³ l kër'rěgar,
ma debětkě⁶⁶⁴ rengí
ẽ ked ẽ dóběgi⁶⁶⁵
ma dōlóbog re ngí,
ẽ a dágǎlbai ẽ rěbórob,
ẽ omés re ngí,
ra mo tetágěr⁶⁶⁶ pesúl
ma mo úngil pesúl
ẽ ougáis re kid, a gáldebegěł,
mě mekéd ẽ megěrei gomelásǎg.
ẽ l dmul kmo⁶⁶⁷: m meknǵít!
mě me ked ẽ megěrei gomelásǎg.
a logúp⁶⁶⁸ ng dmul kmo: ng úngil!
me ked ẽ mo melásǎg.
ma ked ẽ metarákl
l mo kairirei l mōrórōm
gotělēgéd, ẽ oláb
l mā bad ra bai.
ra kebesengěi ma tútau
ẽ ked e mo melóbog ra
klóu l ukál't⁶⁶⁹ l mo tangét⁶⁷⁰

be bent over, because we want
 to bring roasted nuts in the morning.
 When it is then morning, they only
 seven men go to
 the bush, to bring the roasted nuts there;
 and we go, we search for
 a suitable tree
 and (when) we have found it,
 then we will fell it,
 and we fell it,
 while the master builder sits there,
 and looks at it,
 at its poor position
 or its good position;
 and he tells us, the club,
 if we should give up the felling.
 He speaks so: Bad!,
 and then we stop working;
 but if he speaks: Good!,
 then we get ready to fell.
 We disperse,
 to go home and to sharpen
 our adzes, and we hold them
 tightly while sleeping in the club house.
 In the evening and in the morning
 we begin to fell a
 large ukal'l tree for the foundation beam

/ra madálabai,
 mẽ ked ě doběgei l mēriou⁶⁷¹,
 ě mēgērei; ě kuk mo
 melóbōg sel teluó⁶⁷²
 ra tangét ra bútlbai;
 me ked ě dōbēgei l meriou;
 ě soláe⁶⁷³ ě doběgei a gáldēbegěl
 mang bítalblai ma bítalblai⁶⁷⁴;
 ma bitalblai a melākldei⁶⁷⁵
 ra bád, me kid l bítalblai
 a melākldei ra bád,
 me ked ě ngmail meriou
 a kakérěkér ra kmu⁶⁷⁷
 ko merekóng ng diak?
 ki: merekóng.
 mẽ ked oderegi⁶⁷⁸ a gad
 l mo ra dágǎlbai,
 l subědi⁶⁷⁹ ra ker'regár
 l máramar⁶⁸⁰ iou rěkúi l bad,
 dágǎlbai a dmung:
 kabó⁶⁸¹ ra gáldēbegěl
 mom katěkói l kmu:
 ked omágěl⁶⁸² rě goingaráng?
 ma le mei me lolokói⁶⁸³ sēlo derúgěl,
 a ked ě reméngēs ě kmung:

at the front gable,
 and we fell it,
 and leave it, then
 we carve that one piece
 for the foundation beam at the back gable;
 we fell it;
 and then the club cuts
 from both village sides;
 and one village side brings three
 foundation beams, and our village side
 brings three foundation beams
 and we all bring them down⁶⁷⁶,
 ask each other and say:
 Are you finished or not? --
 We: Finished! --
 And we send one man
 to the master builder,
 to give him the news of the tree.
 Once all of the foundation beams have arrived below,
 the master builder speaks:
 Go to the club,
 speak to one another and say:
 When shall we fell?
 And the messenger comes and speaks,
 we hear and say:

săgălēi, ng tagá gomókět rē goláũg⁶⁸⁴?
mě gongěłólom lagád
a dmul kmo: ngak,
l ěkekirél⁶⁸⁶ goláũg!
me ng omóket l meketi⁶⁸⁴
a madál a kluk⁶⁸⁷
meng sukúr a dágǎlbai.
dágǎlbai ě soláe ě dmul kmo:
ked a melásăg ra tútau
me kedomkókl l mě rē golságěl,
ma domágěl
me ked omágěl, l mo merék, ě magei,
ě mo melē ugútum
mě kéd ngoión⁶⁸⁸, ě magei,
ě mo melá guóku,
mě ked ngmail, mě magei;
ě mo melái gólik,
ě mo melái góngrangěr,
ě soláe ngmai l mo gamúděl
ra telkíp, ě olengngásăg,
a melásăg, mě ked ě dmásăg,
l mo merék, ě magei;
ě soláe ě okér ra dágǎlbai
e kmung: ked :e mekeráng?
ng merekóng goiláol⁶⁸⁹,
me lē metarákl a kīsēm!
măng soláe ě tă ngmái gēbeklír⁶⁹⁰
ar béklagád⁶⁹¹, ě mětarákl
l mo kěróus⁶⁹² l melóbög

Friend, who is paying the measurement payment⁶⁸⁵?
 and Chief Number VI
 says: I,
 it is my turn with the measurement payment.
 And he pays, pays it,
 half of a *kluk*,
 and the master builder takes it.
 The master builder thereupon speaks so⁶⁸⁸:
 We shall carve in the morning,
 and we shall arrive early at this place
 and we shall carve
 and carve, until it is finished, then we will leave it;
 then we will do the longitudinal beams
 and when we have brought it, we will leave it;
 and then we will do the transverse beams,
 and we shall bring them, and leave them;
 and then we will do the *gólik* beam,
 then comes the *góngrangěr* beam,
 and then they bring everything into a pile
 on a piece of land, stand them up
 and carve, and we shall carve them,
 until it is done, and then we shall leave them;
 and then (we) ask the master builder
 and say: What shall we do?
 finished is the lower section,
 may the adzes disperse!
 Then they take their adzes,
 all of the people, to disperse
 for various types of carving

a kloklír⁶⁹³ ě melásăg;
ělĕğĕmúr ku nglósog⁶⁹⁴
a kakerekér l kmung:
merekó kloklél a béklağád?
merekóng!
madá, ked oltekerékl⁶⁹⁵ ra bai

ra klukúk! Mě totekereklí
l mẽ magĕrĕi.
ě a gáldĕbegĕl gokér
ra dágălbai, l kmú:
ked ě mekeráng?
dágălbai: kam katekói l kmung,
ng tagá gomókĕt ra golít⁶⁹⁶?
gongĕuíd a dmung: ngak, akirél.
mang ng omókĕt, l meketí
a madál a kluk, ma kora lopóket,
a dágălbai al mŭtl kmung:
ng tagá gomegedegór ra gosegósu⁶⁹⁷?
gongĕăi a kmung: ngak!
meng meketí góngiaki l meríngĕl lagád⁶⁹⁸
meng merekóng.
ě ked ě mo melásăg l melílt
ku ra kĕr'regar, l mo mălamált
ě ta blugelél⁶⁹⁹,
ě a blĕgídĕl a mŏrólang⁷⁰⁰ a l tútau
ma a dĕlŭl'l a godogosóng
ma delepdép ě a kebesengĕi,
ng kuk mẽ blĕgídĕl
me ked omesóil⁷⁰¹ e mobád.
ě lĕ kerdí kldípl⁷⁰² kung

and to carve their things;
 everyone has a section,
 they ask each other and say:
 has everyone finished their piece?
 (Answer:) Finished!
 (Master Builder) If so, we shall raise the Bai
 tomorrow! And they do it

 and leave it.
 Then the club asks
 the master builder, he says:
 What shall we do?
 Master Builder: talk to each other and say,
 who shall pay for the detail work?
 Chief Number VII says: I, it is my turn.
 then he pays, pays for it,
 half a *kluk*, and as soon as he has paid,
 the master builder says again:
 Who shall set up the flower sheath?
 Number VIII says: I!
 then he pays a nice *góngiaki*,
 then finished.
 Then we do the detail carving of
 the tree, lengthwise
 and its width,
 and slices of taro come in the morning,
 and roasted taro at noon,
 and coconut shavings in the evening
 and also taro slices,
 we eat in the evening, and lie down.
 Because we have now gathered,

ẽ melásăg, l mo merék;
 ma le merekóng, ẽ ked ẽ kuk
 okér ra dăgălbai l kmu:
 ked ẽ mekeráng?
 dăgălbai l kmu: loráel⁷⁰³ a úēs
 re kemíu l klebėkól
 ẽ ng omongól l bai rē ngiáos
 ma le ngiáos ẽ kung
 ng meténgěl a pelú l móngol.
 me tomóngol arpelú, ẽ a
 dăgălbai a dmung:
 mēsā⁷⁰⁴ mǎngít⁷⁰⁵ a delépēs
 mē lorogďđí, a ng mo galdegaiós.
 gongětíu gomóket l meketí
 madál a kluk a longtíl⁷⁰⁵
 a delépēs, ma ng sūkuk a dăgalbai;
 ẽ soláe a mekīs⁷⁰⁶ l omérėk
 ra kebėas⁷⁰⁷, l mo merék
 ẽ soláe ẽ dmul kmo:
 ka mē klebėkól, medongíděr⁷⁰⁸
 a bad, l mo mesmogókl⁷⁰⁹

 metemekīs l mo smogókl⁷⁰⁹
 a bad l uėtag, ẽ mangíděr
 a bad, l mo melongákl⁷¹⁰ re pėbúl
 a bad l uėtăg.
 ked omúgěl⁷¹¹ l tmongklí⁷¹⁰ a tǎngét
 ra madálabai ma dăgălbai
 a mesáng ẽ kmong: merekóng!
 ẽ mei mē debó dotekír a tǎngét
 ra bít l bai mang merekóng
 ẽ mei mēďěngu a rús⁷¹², merekóng

to carve until everything is finished;
 and when finished, we then
 ask the master builder, saying:
 What shall we do?
 (the) master builder says: The order is made
 to you the club,
 that it carry the Bai the day after tomorrow
 and the day after tomorrow, then, comes
 down the village to carry it
 and the village people carry it, and
 the master builder speaks:
 Find me someone who will lay down the supports
 but quickly, it should be before noon.
 Number IX shall pay the price
 half a *kluk* for laying down
 the supports, and the master pockets this;
 then he stands up, draws taut
 the *kebėas* line, and when he is done,
 he says:
 the club should come, we are raising
 the foundation beams, in order to lay them down
 properly.
 They stand up in order to arrange
 the stone foundations, and raise
 the foundation beams, set (them) on
 the stone foundations.
 We first raise up the foundation beam
 of the front gable, and the master builder
 sees this and speaks: finished!
 He comes and we go, we set up the foundation beam
 at the back gable, (and) finished;
 he comes and we take the line, finished;

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*kabekīs⁷¹³ a klebəkól, l mo gēmúr a mangikai⁷¹⁴
l bad mang merekóng, ě lě mugadu mang merekóng*

ě ked e mē rebórob.

dágǎlbai: ng tagá gomóket rě gometkól⁷¹⁵?

gongotrúiöğ a dmung: ngak a

mělǎgá ra gometkól.

meng meketí góngiaki mang

súkur a dágǎlbai. ě soláe ě

te mekīs l mǎngíder augútũm⁷¹⁶

l mo melongákl,

me ked ě tmongákl a lebúgöl,

ě ng m gás a dágǎlbai,

ě ked orépet meng merekóng.

ě ked ótak gomúsög, ě m gás

ě orepět, meng merekóng.

ě a dágǎlbai a kmung

bem rěbórob, a klebəkól,

ě m guskemíu⁷¹⁷

me ked ě merebórob ě góuskid;

ng dmú dágǎlbai: ng tagá

melép ra guóku ra madálabai?

ma a ptělúl a gálděbegěl

a melekói ra argadál⁷¹⁸ l kmung:

ng tagá re kemíu a dobengí

a guóku?

ma mesisīg a rengúl

r tir a dmúl kmo: ngak

meng meketí a mo ra geimólkúkau⁷¹⁹

meng súkur a dágǎlbai ě dmúl kmo:

kadebekīs l kmiděr⁷²⁰ a guókũ

the club gets up, and each one swims, each central
foundation beam, then finished, and they support, then
finished

we sit down.

Master builder: Who shall pay for carving notches?

Number X speaks: I

lay it down for the carving of notches;

and he pays him, (one) *gongiaki* and

the master builder pockets it; and then

they stand up, lift the longitudinal beam,

in order to set it up,

and we set up the middle section,

and the master builder marks it,

and we let it down, and it is finished;

and we lift up the outer sections, he marks,

let down, and it is finished.

But the master builder speaks:

sit down, club,

and take a little betelnut,

and we sit (for) our betelnut;

and (the) master builder speaks: Who

shall cut the transverse beams for the front gable?

and the head of the club

speaks to his people and says:

Which one of you shall cut it,

the transverse beam?

and one who is strong of heart

from among them says: I,

and one pays him, one *geimólkúkau*;

and the master builder pockets this and says:

We shall stand up together, to lift the *guóku*

l mo kmongákl; ẽ tmuk⁷²¹, ẽ orépět.
meng kuk merekóng
me te merebórob ma gálděbegěl
gokér ra dágǎlbai, l kmu:
ked ẽ mekeráng?
ma dágǎlbai a dmul kmo:
ng di sáus kung a sauál l mo degór;
ẽ ngak a mǎdák re kemíu
mě kom di meréděr!
ma ar gálděbegěl a kmo: momókět
kemíu l těoá lagád!
mě tě móket a dertál⁷²², l mo ra
dersě geimólkúkau
lō metíl a sáus;
meng smuk⁷²³ a dágǎlbai;
meng mekīs a dágǎlbai
l mo meng murs a ngálěk,
ẽ soláe ked ẽ dmásǎg,
ẽ mangíděr, loltak, meng merekóng!
ẽ ngi l dágǎlbai a mo ráel
ra telebákl; l mo merék,
ẽ temogěmúr a ngelsěgír⁷²⁴
ar béklagád, e lōměgědegór
a gadrokúi l doibkúr a bai,
e ng tobangáng⁷²⁵ ra dágǎlbai,
meng merebórob,
me temě rebórob ar gálděbegěl,
ẽ móket gěrúl mo ra
dersě geimólkúkau,
lomdebúděl⁷²⁶ ra bítang ma bítang;
meng smuk a dágǎlbai,
ẽ mekīs l mo merekí
a ungámk⁷²⁷, ẽ murs

in order to set it up, mark it, let it down.
 and then finished;
 and they sit down and (the) club
 asks the master builder and says:
 What shall we do?
 and the master builder speaks:
 Only the corner post wants standing up still;
 but I am afraid of you,
 to command you to do it!
 And the club members say: Pay
 four of you people!
 And each of them pays,
 each one *geimólkúkau*
 (for) the “setting of the corner post,”
 and the master builder rakes it in,
 and the master builder stands up
 to mark the tenons,
 and then we carve,
 lift it, set it; and then finished!
 And he, the master builder, now goes
 to mark; then finished;
 and each of them has their house section
 all of the people, and they erect
 all of the posts circling the house,
 and the master builder bids them to stop
 to sit down,
 and they seat themselves the club members,
 and two pay
 each one *geimólkúkau*,
 (for) capping off on both sides;
 and the master builder rakes it in,
 he stands up to stretch
 the measuring line, and marks

a geteptél⁷²⁸ a gad ra bítang
ma bítang, ě merekóng.
ě te mekīs a béklagád
l mo gemúr a gad r tir,
ě omdábd⁷²⁹ a geteptél⁷³⁰.
l mūt l mo megedegór,
ng kuk tobangá ra dágǎlbai,
me te mě rebórob, ng dmu dágǎlbai,
l kmu: góngrangěr gogábagěbál⁷³⁰
me tomóket a těrú ra ragád,
l díak lulterěkókl,
ng di tirekél l mo sorír⁷³¹,
me tēlogáng gěrúl mo ra
dersě geimólkúkau,
lo mo gabagěbél góngrangěr⁷³².
meng merekó, ě te mekīs
l kmíděr, l mo ótak,
ě orépět; ng tuáp ra dágǎlbai
mě tē kúk mókět gěrúl mo ra
dersě geimólkúkau,
lo mo gabagěbél gólik⁷³²
ra teliá ma teliáng
mě tekúk ngmai l mo répet;
ě a dágǎlbai a dmul kmo: merekóng!
ě bom oltáut a ng ngláos, ě m
kěróus⁷³³ l mǎngasbógob
a ngalsegēiu ar béklagád.
me te mo gemúr l mangasbógob
a ngělsēgir;
e sel kebelúng, a di ngi,
l ngu a udóud, l m sa dágǎlbai
a dmu re ngí l kmo: m skúr
tial udóud a mo repetí
a gasbēgebék ě a medúg
a díak louspég⁷³⁴ ra dágǎlbai

the tips of the posts on both
 sides; and finished;
 and they stand up, every man
 and each of them has a post,
 to cut off its tip,
 then he puts it back.
 and then the master builder bids them to stop,
 and they sit down; the master builder speaks,
 he says: turn around *góngrangěr*!
 and two of the people pay,
 not certain ones,
 only those who want to,
 and they give, these two,
 each one *geimólkúkau*,
 for the turning around of the *góngrangěr*,
 and finished, and they stand up,
 lift it, set it up,
 let it fall; and the master builder stops;
 and again two pay
 each one *geimólkúkau*
 for the turning around of the *gólik*
 on both sides,
 and then they bring it and lay it down;
 but the master builder speaks: Finished!
 fit in the lower wall boards, and
 each shall set in the upper wall boards
 in your house section, all people.
 And all of them set in the boards
 in their section;
 but the dumb one who cannot do it
 takes some money, gives it to the master builder
 and speaks to him and says: Pocket
 this money and set in
 my board! but the smart one
 he does not depend on the master builder;

ẽ a ridm a morólang,
 l mē rē gomelásǎg,
 a mesél lebē⁷³⁵ l mē kidep
 a kal, ẽ tē mo subedí;
 a dǎgǎlbai l kmu:
 a kal a merekóng,
 l díak a kuápēs,
 ma dǎgǎlbai a dmung l kmu:
 m góit a kisēm
 ẽ mē mēsómes ra blugúr re kid!
 mē te mē rebórob a moróus a kal,
 me tǒmungúr, l mo merék,
 ẽ melúgǒl a kelél a dǎgǎlbai
 l mora blil.
 ẽ ngi a merekó gomangasbógob,
 me tó megedegór a galabád
 l mo merék, ẽo megebēgǎp
 a imūl, l mo merék;
 ẽ o medíkl a rekau, l mo merék;
 ng túap dǎgǎlbai a dmung l kmu
 l mē golepengél⁷³⁶ a boádě!
 mongomóket gongěděl lagád
 l meketi a klsúk lolebengél a boáděl;
 meng sukúr a dǎgǎlbai,
 ẽ dmu ra gálděbegěl l kmu:
 tútau, e komomkókl mei,
 ng mongmásǎg a boáděl ra tútau;
 mongosagáng, meng merekóng
 ng melekói ra gálděbegěl
 l kmu: moldárs⁷³⁷ a sěgēs
 meng mo merék a sěgēs
 ẽ ngi a dmung l kmu:
 bol ǎ ma ngai góngiǎu l mei!
 me d olsíu mo ked osíu
 l mo merék. ng túap a dǎgǎlbai

a bundle of coconuts comes
 for the carving,
 and if then everything comes together
 the food, then they tell the news;
 the master builder says:
 the food is ready,
 nothing is left!
 and the master builder speaks:
 Put your axes away,
 we want to see the food for us!
 And they sit down and distribute the food,
 and they finish eating
 and carry the food of the master builder
 into his house;
 and he has the setting in of boards finished,
 and they set up the inner posts
 finished, then they turn around
 the transverse beam, finished;
 and they set up the inner rafters, finished;
 then the master builder stops and says:
 Next is the cutting of the roof truss beams!
 The Number III man pays;
 he pays one *klsuk* for the cutting of the roof truss beam
 and the master builder rakes it in,
 he speaks to the club, he says:
 Tomorrow morning, come early,
 it shall be raised, the roof truss beam, in the morning;
 when it is up, then finished.
 He speaks to the club,
 he says: Hold out the rafters.
 Once the rafters are finished,
 he says the following:
 Bring the outer gable frames here,
 we shall join them,
 finished. Then the master builder stops,

a dmul kmu:

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lobókět golívěg⁷³⁸

me tēmókět a teblól klsúk

lolívěg ra teliá ma teliáng

a ptělúl mě gđngěru lagád;

meng mongmásăg góngiâu,

meng merekóng.

me ked ě rebórob, ě a gálděbegěl

a mesúběd ra dágălbai

l kmu: ked olengkóngk ra bai!

ma dágălbai a kmung: vaiséi!

mě ked okengkí a bai

l meriáu, ě melúgěs l mo merék

ě gupeli⁷³⁹ a gáus, ě megěrei,

meng mo medírt,

ě soláe meliágěs l mo merék,

a mangesperépěr

ra galededál a bai

ě merekól ter'rop⁷⁴⁰

ě kid a měrú a sug,

l me magei, ě melái

re golúkl ě merásm,

meng merekóng, ě ked ě megěrei,

ě soláe e mo melekétek

ra bai, ra tal úngil iángěd,

me ked ě melekétek, l mo merék,

ě mangadóu, ng merekóng.

arubak a melekói l kmu:

ng gogěráol⁷⁴¹ ra, me tuáp⁷⁴²

me kid armelásăg a klekár

re ngi, meng dí mě kměd

a tepangél a búiei, ě ked

ě mě kldipl ě katekói,

and speaks the following:

The making of the hole must be paid.

And they pay two klsúk

as golívěg for both ends

the chief and the Number II man;

then one brings up the góngiâu,

then finished;

and we sit down, but the club

notifies the master builder

the following: We are tearing down the Bai!

And the master builder says: Good!

And we tear down the Bai

down to the bottom, to finish drawing.

They dump out the limestone, leave it
until it is dry,

and then they finish drawing

then they paint

the body of the Bai.

It remains lying there,

while we gather Pandanus leaves,

leave them, get

roof leaf poles and sew

everything finished, and we leave it lying

and then we assemble

the Bai, in good weather

and we assemble it completely,

then it is covered, completely.

The chiefs say the following:

The purchase shall be made at the next new moon

and we workers watch over

it, because when near

is the new moon, then we

shall gather, to discuss,

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ě soláe matārēkl l ngaragei⁷⁴³
losīk a galumēlēd, l dertál
lē galuómě⁷⁴⁴,
ě soláe ě kakerěkér ra búiěl
ra kmung ngērúng, ngēdeī,
ě a tára ragád l mlē medengelí,
a dmul kmo: a búiěl e gērúng!
ma gádēbegēl a dmúl kmo:
ng o meliókl rē geilagáng,
ě ogeráol ra klukúk,
ma le bol kukúk, ě ked ě
melái ra kal, kid armelásag,
l mē ra tial dedágēl l bai
me ked ngmai a kal
l mē kúiděp⁷⁴⁵
ě di merekól rebórob,
ě tirekē lomagár, a mla mo
kldipl ra geimó ra bai,
ě omesīg⁷⁴⁶ rtir ra usēkerír
ě mǎngilt a réng ě osīk
a gamalír⁷⁴⁷, ma iēta⁷⁴⁸ rē gospádēl
ě te tuóbed, l mo medēsī⁷⁴⁹
ě maráēl l mei l mē rī tial
dēságēl l bai mē te mē rebórob
ě sel ptērír⁷⁵⁰ a Rúbak a
mekedongí goldíu⁷⁵¹ a udóud
meng mo ra madál⁷⁵²
ng mo ngu a kluk l msang.
ě dmu rengí l kmu: modiúr
tíal kluk lē gerál a umád⁷⁵³
re ngak!

and then we disperse and head for the fishing grounds
to search for our fish bundles, each one
fish bundle,
and then we ask each other about the moon,
one says, two, three days,
but one man, who knew,
speaks thusly: The moon is two days old!
And the club speaks thusly:
The cooking shall take place today,
but the purchase tomorrow.
And when the morning comes, then we
bring the food, we carpenters,
here to these construction parts for the Bai,
and we bring the dishes
together,
and when finished, we sit down;
those who are gathered, will pay
in one of the Bai,
and they put on their loincloth
and rub in turmeric yellow, and search
for their little quid, and after noon
they go out, to sit in rows
when going, coming to this
work on the Bai, and they sit down,
and that head of the chiefs
calls out the one who calls out the money,
approaches him,
and gives him one *kluk*,
and says to him: Call out
this *kluk* as the price of the *umád*
for me!⁷⁵⁴

mǎng mo degór, ẽ odiúr
*l kmu: tiá meríngěł lagád*⁷⁵⁵
*l kluk mesě golimiúměł*⁷⁵⁶
l kedóls ẽ meríngěł lagád
l klsúk lě gěráł a umád
*ra Ibědúl*⁷⁵⁷! ẽ kuk mo ra
gongěrúng mo ngodiúr
a gerál a umád re ngi
*sel kluk; ẽ kuk mo ra*⁷⁵⁸
gongědeĩ mong odiúr a gěráł
a umád re ngi dirékl kluk;
ẽ mo ra gongaoáng
mong odiúr a gěráł a
ngelsegél l dirékl kluk,
mem merekó gěoál umád;
ng kuk mo re gomagár
ra buádel, mong odiúr
a gěráł a buádel l direkl kluk,
ẽ soláng ng mo ra gomagár
*ra ngot*⁷⁵⁹ *ra ngěłóng,*
mong odiúr direkl kluk,
ẽ soláng ng mora gomagár
ra ngot ra rebai
ng odiúr a gěráł dirékl kluk,
mong merekó kluk, ẽ di klěuíd.
ẽ merekóng. ẽ ngi loldíu
a udóud a mo ra gongěím,
mong odiúr a gěráł
a ngelsegél l klsúk
mo góngiakl lolimeúměł
a di obengkél.
ẽ kuk mo re gongěłólom
mong odiúr a gěráł a ngelsegél
l dirékl klsuk,

And he stands up, and calls out
 so: This fine
kluk and as companion
 a large, fine
klsuk as the price of the *umád*
 for Ibědúl! And then for
 Number II, he calls out
 the price of the *umád* for him,
 one *kluk*; and then
 Number III, and he calls out the price
 of the *umád* for him, also one *kluk*;
 then Number IV,
 and he calls out the price
 of his house section, also one *kluk*;
 then are finished the four *umád*;
 and then to the buyer
 of the roof truss beam, and he calls out
 the price of the roof truss beam, also one *kluk*,
 and then he goes to the buyer
 of the lower left-hand longitudinal beams,
 and he calls out also one *kluk*,
 and then he goes to the buyer
 of the lower right-hand longitudinal beams,
 and he calls out the price, also one *kluk*;
 then are finished the *kluk*, there are only 7,
 it is finished. He, the caller
 of the money goes to Number V,
 and he calls out the price
 of his house section, one *klsuk*
 and one *góngiakl* as companion
 only with him.
 Then he goes to Number VI,
 and he calls out the price for his section,
 also one *klsuk*,

the lower gable frame (a) *gadéng* (poss. *gadöngül*).
The gable wall, which is framed by the three planks,
consists of 7 planks that sit one above the other; *ë kuk*

mo rä gongëuid dirékl l klsuk,

ë kuk mo ra gongëái, meng

dirékl klsuk gopóket,

ë kuk mo ra gongëtíu dirékl klsuk,

ë kuk mo ra gongëtrúüüg dirékl

kluk ma góngiákl lolimeúměł.

me tomagár l mol mo rardigád⁷⁶⁰

ra gáldëbegěł l mogúkě⁷⁶¹

a klsúk l mo tagěrmakldeĩ,

bítang ma bítang a tagě⁷⁶² makldeĩ

ë soláe ë temekīs armelásăg;

l mo gemúr ra rumagár,

ë keróus l melái a gerál

a gasbógöb ma ıs ma gad

ma sáus ma góngrangěr

ma gólik ma górsögokl

ma imül ma ségěs

ma galábad ma rěkói

meng merekóng;

ë te mẽ rebórob armelásăg

lě gáldëbegěł, ë a ptelúl

a gáldëbegěł a meketí

gotopóid⁷⁶³ ra klúk

l msá dágălbai ë dmu re ngi

l kmu tía gordemém⁷⁶⁴,

ë ked ë merekóng l mẽm

ngititěrír, a ra gědám;

ë bodereĩ!

merekó gogeráol ma těkingír⁷⁶⁵

a rúbak a mo ra Regeiúngěł⁷⁶⁶,

ë l ng meréděr, re ngós,

ma mo ra Gaspángěł⁷⁶⁷

and then to Number VII, also one *kluk*,

and then to Number VIII, also

one *kluk* payment,

then to Number IX, also one *kluk*,

and then to Number X, also one

kluk and one *góngiákl* as a companion.

and they pay then the little people

of the club and round up the number

of *kluk* to thirteen,

for both sides thirteen

and then they get up, the carvers,

and each of them goes to the payers,

and each takes the price

for wall board and threshold and post

and corner post and *góngrangěr*

and *gólik* and *górsögokl*

and transverse beam and rafters

and post with mat hangers

then finished;

they sit down, the carpenters

of the club, and the head

of the club pays

the value of one *kluk*

to the master builder and says to him

thusly: These are your wages,

we are finished and you

take them, your people;

let's go!

the payments made and the words

of the chiefs go to Regeiúngěł,

because he is in command in the East,

and to Gaspángěł,

ë l ng meréděr re ngabárd;
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ë l mesúběd r tır l kmu:
ked omláol⁷⁶⁸ ra Meketí⁷⁶⁹,
měng tuóběd gomelásăg.
mě te melásăg ě kaspesúběd
ma a l merekó a uláol
ë a loderegi⁷⁷⁰ a Gaspángěl
ma Regeiúngěl l mě
mesúbed ra Ibědul l kmu:
uláol a merekóng!
a Ibědul a kmu:
bong, ng me soísěp⁷⁷¹
a uláol ra klukúk.
měng mě soísěp mě tomláol,
ë a Ngarmeketí
gomăkartír⁷⁷² me tomláol
lě del sils, ě merekóng
ma l merekóng, ng dēsīl⁷⁷³
me te remīd, ě arúbak
a kuk melekói l mo ra
bítal táog ma bítal táog
l kmo ked ě melásăg
a melég; ma bítal táog ě ra Delúi
góba madálabai ma
Săgămús góba bít l bai.
ked ě melásăg a lomúgöl
ra gadéng, ě solăe ngu těr'rói pelú
ë solăe ě di melásăg kung
l mo merék a melég
ë dmu ra gad l dăgălbai
l dmul kmo: ke melăug
ra dilukăi! mēng melăug
re ngi, ě te melásăg rě ngi, a beklagăd.
ë ked ngmăi gongolúiěb
l mo merék; ě kaspesúběd

because he is in command in the West,

 they notify him so:
 We make the floor for Meketí,
 so that out comes the carving.
 And they carve and notify,
 and when the floor is finished,
 they send a man, Gaspángěl
 and Regeiúngěl, so that he
 brings news to a Ibědul about the following:
 The floor is finished!
 a Ibědul says:
 Good, let it be brought inside
 the floor tomorrow.
 And they bring it in, make it,
 but Ngarmeketí
 feeds them, and they put in
 three days, and finished.
 And when finished, they leave
 and go home, but the chiefs
 then say
 the two channel sides
 so: we carve
 the gable; and the channel side from a Delúi⁷⁷⁴
 handles the front side, and
 Săgămús⁷⁷⁴ handles the back side;
 we carve, starting
 with gadéng, then we take ter'rói pelú,
 and then we also carve,
 until the gable is finished.
 Then speaks one man, to the master builder,
 he speaks so: You mark
 the gable figure! and he marks
 it, so that carve they can, everyone.
 We take gongolúiěb
 and finished, we discuss

ma l merekóng; ě ked ě
 mǒngól l mera bai
 mě ked osēddemí⁷⁷⁵ l mo merěk,
 ě kmung: ngomelúgēs!
 měng maráěl a vuēs
 ma bol kukúk ě ked ě mei
 ma ked ě melúgēs
 l ě re bítal táog;
 ě a ridm⁷⁷⁶ amaráěl mei,
 me ked ě mangáng, bua
 dosáōed⁷⁷⁷ ra mur,
 a melúgēs, ě di mǎngasóls
 ra teliáng, ma teliáng,
 ě ougūēil⁷⁷⁸ pelú;
 ma le merekó gomelúgēs,
 ě ked ě měngúpěl⁷⁷⁹ ra gáus,
 l mo merěk; ě meliágēs
 l mo merěk; ě katekói
 ě re gongasǎgél a melég;
 me ked ě mo kauéděngeī⁷⁸⁰,
 ě diul mongmásǎg
 argád ra telía ma telíang,
 l mēlǎgá sēges⁷⁸¹
 l mo merěk,
 ě ked ě ngu gēkil l ngeleklí
 ra boáděl, ě óbal merérd
 a klálo l mo ra báb,
 ě mangádo l mo merěk;
 ě ngmai gongǒlúíēb
 l mo tugerákl, ng merekóng;
 l di teluól ě gal'lebesói,
 ra but l bai, a medégěl
 ra uláol, ě soláe ng,
 maráěl a vuēs re gosēpěk
 kě melég.

and then finished; we carry
 them to the Bai
 and fit them together, until everything is finished,
 and say: He should draw!
 And out goes the order,
 and tomorrow we go there
 and we draw
 both channel sides;
 the food comes by,
 and we eat, as though
 we were working for a feast,
 we draw, and sing
 on both sides,
 it sings about the place;
 and finished the drawing,
 we pour out the limestone,
 until it is finished; then we paint,
 until it is finished; we discuss
 attaching the gable
 and we inform ourselves,
 and all dispersed go up,
 the people on both sides
 bring the rafters,
 until it is finished.
 We take a rope over
 the roof truss beam, hold it, to call
 for things to be brought up
 bring them on top of one another, until it is finished;
 we take gongǒlúíēb,
 to hang it up; it is finished;
 only on one side of the topmost board
 at the back gable, remains
 on the floor, and then
 goes out the order for the raising
 of the gable;

ked mo ra gei ě l ě re bítaltáog
 l mekĕk golĕkál, ě omés
 ra búieĭl ma arĭd
 rĕ gĕlagál l kesús.
 ě ked ě melióng lulemkókl ra tútau,
 ma kerdí mesisióu a kal,
 ě ra gomesák⁷⁸² l kúkau
 gomĕrúsög l blsĭg,
 ma sabāu l malk ma babi;
 ě a ngolt a sils, ě kid a
 mekldípl argád r rokúi,
 ě mǎngasóls, mĕ sĕl ólab⁷⁸³
 a melég a gomúgöl l mǎngasóls
 ě rĕ gómĕlmesúmög l logasóls
 l melsúmög ra re gadál
 ta dĕságĕl, ě tĕ di mangasóls
 ku re bĕklagád l kaudertartír,
 l mo melekói a tútau;
 l ngel mūt ngikél l mlĕ kót
 ě mǎngasóls, u l mūt
 l mo melmesúmög ra
 re gád ra melég.
 meng di mo merék,
 ě soláe ě ngu a ngerél a galitūk⁷⁸⁵,
 me ked ě mǎngitúöök l pelí,
 ma debúsög ma bóieš gobubú⁷⁸⁶
 ma rekĕrúkūm
 ma díu ě bĕklagád lomagaderéngĕš
 ra iúmesekú,
 ě ked a bĕklagád l kmu: iū⁷⁸⁷.
 ě merekóng; ě mĕ rebórob,
 l smodi⁷⁸⁸ a mur,
 me ked omǎngúr, ě melikeús⁷⁸⁹

we go to the fishing grounds, both channel sides,
 to fill up the kettles, see
 about the moon and go
 tonight;
 we cook early in the morning,
 and we only prepare the food,
 the placing into baskets of taro,
 the pounding for *blsĭg*,
 and soup from chicken, and pig;
 at sundown, we
 gather together, all of the people,
 to sing, and he who holds
 the gable begins to sing
 the parting song,
 Farewell to say to his people
 the carvers; they only sing,
 then all of them, one after the other,
 until the morning bird sings;
 then sings again he, who first
 sang, to again
 say farewell
 to the spirits of the gable⁷⁸⁴.
 And when he is finished,
 then his voice takes up the *galitūk* dance,
 and we dance for the village,
 and trumpet and shoot cannons
 and beat drums,
 and everyone pays attention only
 to the *iumesekú*,
 and we all shout then: *iū*!
 Then finished; we sit down,
 distribute the feast,
 and we eat, share;

<i>ě soláe ě mo kairireĩ⁷⁹⁰</i>	then we go home
<i>logětá mo gageveĩu;</i>	everyone, to sleep;
<i>ě a pelú a diak a merekerúkũm re ngi</i>	the village is quiet therefore
<i>lě uíd l klebesěi;</i>	for seven nights;
<i>ě sěl ongěái, ng sũběd</i>	when it is the eighth day, one says
<i>kung re gomerũl l klalo,</i>	then, one can do work.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 239, KUB. reports more details about payment. It is done similarly to how it is described above on pg. 257, except that in this case the master builder receives the best pieces. He takes (as *ardañel*) one *kluk* and several smaller pieces for himself and leaves the rest to the others (see above, pg. 170).

At the dedication, the “clipping of the roof” (see above, pg. 225) also plays a role. If the new construction is a Rubak Bai, a big *ruk* dance may follow. KUB. also mentions the *gáot*, which is held after some time has passed: The communities that are under contract to supply *mongol* send a lot of food and their women, who dance for 4-5 nights and sleep in the Bai; only then is the Bai considered fully christened.

As for the position of the Bai, the front gable, *madál a bai* “eye, tip of the Bai” is always supposed to be facing east, towards the sunrise. The roosters depicted on the outer wall, especially on the Rubak Bai, crow in this direction.

There are some exceptions; thus in Goréör, the front gable points West, towards Ngarekobasáng, which they conquered (see Vol. 2, pg. 257).

In Ngarameténgěl, the gable of the Ugélalúlk Bai points South, while that of the *bai l pélú* points West.

In general, however, the rule is that the gable of the Bai faces East; but one must always ask, as it is not visible in the construction itself. In a few cases, one can guess where the front is based on the ornamentation on the gable, as will be demonstrated in the section on *logúkl*.

As in the case of a Blai, the *ngelóng* side and the *rebái* side are determined by the *madál a bai* gable. If one thinks of the Bai as a ship and stands at the back gable looking forward, on one’s right side, where the tips of the purlins (*rsélgorongóděł*) are pointed forward (see pg. 211), is the *ngelóng* side, the starboard side. Under the point of the bow, at the *madál a bai*, near the door of the front gable, which may only be used during festive occasions (see Vol. 2, pg. 99), i.e. to starboard, is usually the seat of the Number 1 Rubak. Across from him, at the port bow, under the *úgul gorongóděł* is that of the Number III Rubak; at the *but l bai*, to port (*rsél*), sits Number IV⁷⁹¹, to starboard (*úgul*) Number II (see, for example, Vol. 2, pg. 89); this is the same in a Rubak Bai as it is in a club Bai. The seating changes in individual villages depending on the importance of the individual Rubak or due to coincidence (see, for example, Vol. 2, pg. 96); the families of the chiefs often sit near him.

They play a large role in particular in the case of the roof sections *nglósőg* (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 238 *nlosok*), which were previously discussed on pg. 202, because the inhabitants of the good Blai of a village, and also the owners of the taro fields (*meséi*), take over a certain *nglósőg* during the construction of a Blai.

Therefore, each of the 17 *naglósög* has its own name, from the 1st., the *umád*⁷⁹² (see above, pgs. 202 and 257) to the 9th, the “middle” *galíd*; the 10th through 17th repeat these names in opposite order.

Let us examine, as an example, Goréör, which was also used as the basis for the description of the construction of a village dwelling.

Front Gable (<i>madál a bai</i>)		
<i>rebái</i> side	<i>nglósōg</i> roof section	<i>ngelóng</i> side
Ngaratēgēkí (see Vol. 2, pg. 231) Ngira tēgē kí Nr. IV Ngira tēgē kí Nr. IV Regekemúr Nr. II <i>meséleg</i>⁷⁹³ Maulekikt Ngěrumáog <i>Blai</i> + <i>a</i> Ibedāgál Tēgamding Nr. X <i>a</i> Ingeáol Nr. VII <i>a</i> Ikēlau Nr. II Ruseblūk Nr. V Gētēt Nr. VI Gētēt Nr. VI <i>mesé ra</i> Kesól <i>meséleg</i> Ngeribúkul <i>mesé ra</i> Gēgóngg Jóulidíd Nr. III Joulidid Nr. III	1. <i>umád</i> 2. <i>bedebádēl</i> 3. <i>melái</i> 4. <i>mageīkíkt</i>⁷⁹⁴ 5. <i>túangēl</i> (“door”) 6. <i>mageīkíkt re gomkēgab</i>⁷⁹⁵ 7. <i>melái re gomkē gab</i> 8. <i>goliké galíd</i>⁷⁹⁶ 9. <i>Galid</i> (“middle”) 10. <i>goliké galíd</i> 11. <i>melái re gomkē gab</i> 12. <i>mageīkíkt re gomkē gab</i> 13. <i>túangēl</i> 14. <i>mageīkíkt</i> 15. <i>melái</i> 16. <i>bedebádēl</i> 17. <i>umád</i>	<i>a</i> Ibēdul Nr. I <i>a</i> Ibēdul Nr. I Dérābai Nr. 14 (his messenger, see Vol. 2, pg. 243) Gádlbai Nr. 19 Mad ra Gotolóiōg (Vol. 2, pg. 239) Goukerdéu Nr. 18 Ngiramerīl Nr. IX Ngiragētēt Nr. VI Ngirai kelau Nr. II Ngira tēgēkí Nr. IV Rubásāg Nr. VII <i>a</i> Kldngūl Nr. X Ngirai kelau Nr. II alone Ngirai kelau Nr. II with the help of relatives
	//p. 264//	
Back Gable (<i>but l bai</i>)		

In Ngarsúl, the distribution of the *nglósǫg* is as follows:

<i>rebaî</i> side	<i>ngelóng</i> side
1. – 5. Nr. II	1. – 4. Nr. I

6. – 7. Nr. VI

5. – 11. Nr. III

8. – 15. Nr. V

12. – 15. Nr. IV

That is more or less the distribution.

The seats on the *rebai* side are considered inferior; this is evident in the fact that the two doors on this side of the building are called “hunger doors,”

the front is *mangarém l tuángěl ra madál*

the back is *mangarém l tuángěl ra but*.

The third center door, as already mentioned, was missing entirely in former times; the only hearth (pg. 204) used to occupy that spot in the middle of the floor.

I must not neglect to mention that at one time there used to be “wide Bai” *metéu l bai*, which had two doors on the gable side. KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1, depicts such a Bai. In this case, the gable almost forms an isosceles triangle. KUB. saw a building of this type in Melekéiok, which was destroyed in a storm in 1875, because it was old and rotted. Since there were two *dilugai* figures on the gable, this was actually two Bai next to each other. It was the last, perhaps the only one, of its kind.

Vol. 2, Plate 4 shows a wide form with only one door; we never did see any two-doored ones.

On the other hand, two-story Bai, called *goutang*, were not so rare. I myself saw one in *a Irai* in 1907, although it was half decayed (see photo on Plate 10¹ in Vol. 2). Among KUBARY’s photographs in Hamburg, I found an unpublished one depicting the entire building; the photograph on Plate 15 shows its construction. Furthermore, KUB. Vol. VIII, Plate XXXII, illustrates the construction of the *goutang* of Ngivál, which stood in Ngaragelūk (Vol. 2, pg. 121). The gable was not occupied by a *dilugai* but by another woman (not with spayed legs, but standing upright) on a stand, the way the Bilekélěk in Ngabúkěd is full of human figures, for example (Vol. 2, Plate 4). KUB. speaks of such an *Antan* in Ngabiul, as well.

I can add that there were two-story Bai not only in the three villages mentioned by KUB., but also in Gólei⁷⁹⁷, Ngrīl, and in Keklāu, where I recorded a two-story Blai. Thus it becomes clear that these impressive buildings, like the two-story *sop* just mentioned on pg. 225, above, are dedicated to the Galid Medegēi pélau, who shall be discussed in the section on the Galid cult.

The *goutang* Bai were not, however, practical buildings for cults or dwellings; they were built more to be impressive structures.

The so-called *telegeiēr* Bai, about which there is discussion at the end, were the residential buildings for the priests.

These were real Bai, but with only 5 *bad* foundation beams; there were only a few left from the old days. In Ngarabagéd and *a Irai*, the ruins of these buildings were still visible;

in Melekéiok the house of the *a Răklăi*, which is pictured in Vol. 2, pg. 89, was still standing; a similar one was in Ngátpang (see there, Plate 9⁴). In the same village, however, there was also a real Galid Bai, as mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 159 and above on pg. 205, where I attempted to show the construction of a room in which the priest held his meetings. One can see by the windows that it is a real Bai; only the roof truss is different: The inner posts *galabád* are missing, as are, naturally, the mat holders *rěkoi*, on which the *rekāu* rafters are supposed to rest. Instead, these sit on the *góngrangěr* longitudinal beams, and the tie beams *a imūl* are mortised into the *rekāu* rafters, like the two smaller ones above.

These *telegēiěr* Bai were the splendid dwellings for the priests, for whom a simpler Blai was not enough, or for persons of high rank (see Story 136).

The Bai, with its carved wooden parts, is a work of art, as already emphasized above. But it is rendered truly resplendent with its artful carvings and ornamental painting, as Vol. 4 shall reveal.

Section VI.

Intellectual Culture.

For the following paragraphs, KUBARY's work, "The social arrangements of the Palauans" (KUB., Vol. II) has provided much outstanding information about the old times. I worked through the book while I was in Palau and discussed almost everything with my translator William, and I also had consultations with numerous Rubak, which brought much new information to light. My main goals were to clarify and explain, and to correct the spelling of the words, so that now, with the help of my notes and the relevant sections from the stories, I can deliver a pretty clear and comprehensive picture.

1. Family and Community.

a) Pregnancy and Birth.

When a daughter of a wealthy house is pregnant for the first time, she is ordered, sometimes with her spouse, as shown in Story 12, to the little decorative hut (see above, pg. 229). If no such hut is available, an enclosure *galsíměr* is marked off in the house (see pg. 312); in any case, the favorite (*galeóg*) is separated. This also occurs if the woman returns from her spouse's house to that of her parents, which she does at the very latest 6 months after the pregnancy begins.

In Vol. II, pg. 54, KUB. writes: "The husband, who from time to time was given Telgúl⁷⁹⁸ consisting of good taro, bananas, and such, now comes to the house and informs the parents about the condition of his wife, which is called Osúmuk ullitek⁷⁹⁹. He then gives the father one Adolóbok⁸⁰⁰ for the Osúmuk and one Kluk for the pkngel a díil⁸⁰¹, whereupon the father gives him back one Adolóbok for the Gal a Kaláng⁸⁰². In the fourth month, the parents send 10 baskets of the best type of taro for the Delúl a díil⁸⁰³, and the son-in-law informs the parents that he will come to the emúm a díil⁸⁰⁴, also known as the bún díil⁸⁰³, with so and so many of his female relatives.

The house of the woman's parents prepares everything for a good reception, and the father-in-law ensures that there will be an equal number of women from his side of the family as were announced will be coming from the other side. When the guests finally arrive, everyone eats together, and the relatives from both families exchange money, which must be at least equal in value, piece for piece. Afterward, the couple stays in the house of the wife's parents, where they are enclosed in a separate room using mats, and their companions return to the husband's home."



Fig. 202.

Coconut cracking club made of limestone, 39 cm long (Leipzig MI 1616).

The idea behind all of this is: the first time a woman becomes pregnant, "the belly must be paid for," as the wife of Ngirailangaláng says (see Story 205); then some magic for a successful birth, for the "bursting of the belly" *buldīl*, is imperative. The same term is used for the *kluk* that the husband pays the relatives of his wife in the 7th month, in addition to 1 *klsuk* (1/2 *kluk*), which is called *osúmĕg ulitĕg*⁸⁰⁵, then 2 *madál a kluk*, called *dik*⁸⁰⁶, since they are meant to "support and surround," like the belly does the child, and finally 1 *góngiaki* as a *gomēbáēl*⁸⁰⁷, "creator" of a well-formed body, which is meant to ensure a beautiful, good child. Collectively, the first four pieces of money, which the *keblīl*⁸⁰⁸ of the husband pay the family of the wife for the first pregnancy and the meal they received, are called *pokĕt*⁸⁰⁹.

However, before the *pokĕt* is paid, the *buldīl* magic is performed. It takes the form of *ómu*⁸¹⁰ *líus* breaking of the coconut. A woman, one of the husband's relatives, stands in front of the central door of the Blai where the pregnant woman is sitting. In her right hand she holds the club *gómu*, also called *gongoseliól* (see pg. 357), usually in the shape of a fish *bang* or *deg*⁸¹¹; in her right hand she holds a coconut; she says the following chant:



Fig. 203.
Coconut smashing club
made of wood, 63cm
long. HE 90.

<i>ak oltúrŭk</i> ⁸¹² <i>re keméu</i>	I plead with you,
<i>arbldekél</i> ⁸¹³ <i>tíal pelú</i>	spirits of this land
<i>marbldekél tíal blai</i>	and spirits of this house,
<i>ě ak ŭmú</i> ⁸¹⁴ <i>r tíal lisél</i> ⁸¹⁵ ,	agh! I break this fine nut,
<i>a lisáng ra gëlagál sils,</i>	the nut from today's sun;
<i>mang mëgél</i> ⁸¹⁶ <i>mang ardil</i>	if a woman is born,
<i>ě ng di uāngák</i>	let it be like me,
<i>mang sāgál</i>	if a man,
<i>a ng di uádamál</i>	let it be like its father.

Then she cracks the nut with the *gómu* and throws it on the ground; if both halves fall with the inside up, it is a good omen. After this, the door mat *ulítěg* is drawn back (*mesúměg*), and the payment of money *pokět* (pg. 171) commences.

KUB. also says: “now an *Arulap toákl*⁸¹⁷ is called in, who speaks magic over the pregnant woman and watches over her until the birth. Generally, no special customs are observed, except that the privileged families set a basket next to the pregnant woman, in which several sandpipers carved of wood sit incubating, representing the mythical Adalrók.”

However, E. K. also learned of the practice of casting a spell on the child *ngongětákl a ngálek* in the third or fourth month of pregnancy. The woman casting the spell, an old woman called *gobadíl*, comes to the pregnant one and brings along a *sis* leaf, which she strokes while casting the spell⁸¹⁸; after the chant, she gives the leaf to the pregnant woman, who folds it and crushes it, then squeezes it out into water, which she then drinks with the dripped-in juice. Several times over the course of the day, water is poured over the leaf, and the infusion is drunk; the pregnant woman also strokes her stomach with the leaf. The *gobadil* comes in the morning and the evening with a new leaf, almost throughout the remaining period of pregnancy; all of the leaves are pinned to the wall of the house.

Taboos: At gatherings, the pregnant woman does not sit with all the other people, but rather to the side; if there are rows, she sits at the beginning or at the end. She may not eat anything fatty, no pork, etc., also no *kúkau* (pg. 49), but only “roasted taro” *del'lúl*. She does not decorate her ears with taro sprouts⁸¹⁹ (*dait*). She is always covered, so is not to offend the Galíd Mariúr, who is particularly fond of making pregnant women sick and preventing successful births;

he is pictured in Bai 68 and Bai 136III^a. On the other hand, the medicine of *goubesós* leaves is considered good, because these lily leaves stick up like a comb *gomókět* (pg. 29). The following is said of them:

<i>ungil kloleklél a delép</i>	Good is the thing of the Delép,
<i>sěkīt mang kbóup re ngí</i>	on him it stands up somewhat like a wall;
<i>ě sel lamád a sagál</i>	when a man is dead,
<i>e ngu mangomoketél a delép</i>	one takes the headdress of the spirit.

Abortion (*melěgeb*, means *golěgěb*) is performed in the second or third month and is usually accomplished with poisonous plants.

Cesarean sections appear to have been practiced on Palau as on Truk (where I already reported about it⁸²⁰). Story 12 suggests that in former times all children had to be cut out, until natural birth was discovered by Mangidáp. I was unable to obtain any details about the operation as currently performed (see the section on cultural comparison).

b) Birth goról (poss. gērēl'él)⁸²¹ and the Weeks Following Childbirth

According to the notes of E. K., these proceed as follows:

The woman in labor props her feet against a house post, and during labor pains she also grabs it with her hands and presses it. During very painful contractions, she grabs parts of her own skirt *gěrévut*, which hang down to the side, and pulls herself up a bit. Another woman sits behind her and props her feet against the posterior of the woman in labor, a second helper stands to the side and back more, and pushes her shoulders down. The old, wise *gobadíl* sits in front of her, a little to the side, and very gently strokes the stomach and upper thighs of the groaning woman, while whispering chants⁸²². Diraingeáol said the following words:

<i>galălálakl, galalakl</i>	be quiet, hush!
<i>ak mongöluláu, těkóre ardil,</i>	I whisper, I speak to the woman,
<i>ak melái a ardil diól,</i>	I stroke the pregnant woman;
<i>úngil arungúl, ngálek l meī</i>	she is satisfied, the child comes.

The assistants are usually female relatives of the pregnant woman; if there are not enough of them, the husband may help as well; usually, however, men are excluded. If the birth proceeds slowly, they call out: push⁸²³, push!, and they sometimes also give her medicine, a little drink *imelél*⁸²⁴ *a goról*. The old woman receives the child; only rarely, in cases where the labor pains are weak or the position is bad, does she pull the child out.

According to KUB., Vol. II, pg. 55, the umbilical cord is cut off with a bamboo knife and is tied off with hibiscus twine. "The mother carefully saves the dried umbilical cord."

The afterbirth *rágǎd* usually follows quickly.



Fig. 204.

Primipara with breasts squeezed together.

Immediately after delivery, the woman who has given birth must once more drink a large bowl of medicine, which is often repeated in the days that follow; likewise, she is washed down almost daily with a liquid made of *rebótěl* leaves (*Jambosia*)⁸²⁵. Her main task, however, is to sit still or to walk with her arms together in front of her⁸²⁶, with her hair tied in a knot on top of her head. For the most part, wearing such a top knot *telók*⁸²⁷ (KUB.: *tólok*⁸²⁷) is practiced in rich families only.

The purpose for the arms being pressed stiffly to the chest or crossed is to squeeze the breasts together; the natives believe that otherwise the milk will dry up or run out. Therefore, breast feeding does not start until the third day⁸²⁸. Figure 204 shows the seated position and the topknot, as well as the painting that is applied; it also

accurately reflects the pained facial expression of the woman giving birth. Soon, numerous visitors, both friends and relatives, arrive; they bring food and want to see the child, this is called *galsóběl*⁸²⁹; they are, of course, invited to the celebration. For as a rule, on the seventh day, before the end of this period of suffering, which is marked with the *ngásǎg* celebration, there is one final torture, the culmination of everything, the steam bath *gosúrög*. A bamboo frame, called *bliúkǔl*, is erected in the house; it is large enough that two people can just barely sit in it together. Two bamboo crosses are stuck into the bamboo floor of the Blai with two of their arms, while the other two arms are tied together with transverse poles and covered with mats. In the room created this way, the woman who has recently given birth is seated on a three-legged stool *gosokěóákl* (see pg. 120), and bowls with steaming hot water, into which have been placed all manner of aromatic leaves,

are set around her legs, as is nicely described in Story 12.⁸³⁰ The woman remains in this steam bath for about ten minutes, sometimes longer. She must inhale not only the biting steam, but also the pungent smell of the *biúmk* (see pg. 41), which is brought out by the hot stones and pottery shards⁸³¹ that have been stuck into the mixture.

About ten baskets full of cooked taro are also placed in the room; they are meant for the family of the husband, which brings skirts for the new mother. Everything related to the steam bath *gosúrög* and the swirling, hot brew is called *gongát*⁸³². Once all of the ingredients of the *gongát* have been added, a woman crawls in to the woman who has recently given birth, to see if it is too hot; if this is the case, the side mats are lifted somewhat, and fresh air is allowed in. Once the temperature is right, the woman who has recently given birth is left alone in the room and brought out after the required period of time, dried off and rubbed down (*mesúld*). After this, she is taken to the house where the celebration is taking place, her father's house. Someone must guide her, of course, because she is now so weak that she weaves back and forth when walking. When she reaches the house, the child is laid at her breast, and when it is full, they rub coconut oil on the mother and paint her with turmeric *reng*.

The stripe painted on the cheek is called *gororengél* (from *goráre* to paint?), the one across the shoulders and the upper arm is called *diu lágél a mlāgél* (see pgs. 27 and 40).

The top knot *telók* is now loosened and the hair falls down, tied only once at the neck. The mother puts on a *ririámělk* dress (see pg. 6), adds two new little *gotúngěl* bags, one of which is the *ulálěk* (see pg. 140), which has a black and white pattern, and then finally dons the best available hip cord and belt.

Now she slowly rises from her small seating mat (*kingélél* "her seat"), walks arduously through the house, climbs out the central door onto a taro bench that has been placed there to serve as a step, and walks a little ways on the *gólbed* pavement, where she stops and stands stiffly upright. One woman waves the *liogöl*, a *monggongg* leaf sheath with two rows of alternating black and white coconut pieces⁸³³ over her stomach; another woman sits next to her with the infant. After a short time, the mother goes back into the house, slowly stepping backwards, passing through the door backwards with great difficulty. In the house once more, she sits down on her mat again. She has now presented herself to the people of the village who were gathered outside as a young, clean mother, and now there is a great banquet, which her family and her husband bring; cooked taro in baskets, *blsĩk* dumplings (pg. 102), bowls of cooked pork, fish in large kettles, etc. At the end of the meal, some more pretty skirts are distributed.

This presentation of oneself on the *gólbed* pavement is the general custom in the northern part of the archipelago. In the south however, particularly on *a Ngeaur*, rich houses present their daughters after their first birth on a stage, called *a ínging* or *gorolíu*.⁸³⁴ Oddly enough, KUB. does not mention this custom, although it is described by SEMP. pg. 304, who observed it himself in Pkulapelú (see Vol. 2, pg. 278). He writes the following about it:

“In front of the house of the king’s sister, a scaffold was built about 10 ft. high and made out of thick tree trunks, not unlike a pyre, with roughly hewn steps leading up to it. On the platform and on the path between the house and the structure were spread finely woven mats. Then a young woman came out of the house and sat there for about fifteen minutes under the gaze of the gathered group. It was a young mother, whose child had turned ten days old that day. Her hair was gathered in a tall, smooth knot that reached upward and was inclined forward, resembling a small cap; two short sticks stuck out of the hair on her forehead, and from them hung bushy balls of cotton dyed bright red. Her entire body, including her legs and feet, were painted red. At first, she sat for a while with her elbows pressed at an angle against her breasts, lifting them, with her hands stretched outward; later, she crossed her arms over her chest. After she descended, her feet and calves were washed before she entered the house again.”

Furthermore, SEMP. thought the custom was called *momasserc*, which supposedly meant “to climb up;” it is more correctly spelled *ngmásăg*⁸³⁵, which demonstrates the importance of the *ngăsăg* celebration, the climbing up, which was apparently widespread across the whole archipelago in the old days and is now practiced only in *Ngeaur*, of which Pkulapelú is really just an offshoot, as SEMP. points out.

Another thing which points to the customs being widespread in former times is the existence to this day of the privilege of Blai 13 *a Urák* in Goikúl, which is the only one to enjoy it on Babldaob⁸³⁶.

Otherwise, *ínging* platforms are reserved for the Galid during celebrations, as in the description of Melekéiok and *a Iraî* in Vol. 2, pgs. 101 and 186. This proves that honoring young women on the occasion of their first delivery was an unusually big deal, as only the gods were paid similar homage. However, this all happens for the first birth only; no attention is paid when the family expands later.

In the case of the death of a wife, the husband buys his freedom, so to speak. In Vol. II, on pg. 57, KUB. says: “If the wife dies, the family pays for the funeral, and the husband must pay the Diall⁸³⁷ and Dósomel⁸³⁷. The Kaubuk relationship, which has been interrupted by the death of the woman, is now formally canceled, with the widower giving his former father-in-law two pieces of money for

the Kalapahi⁸³⁸ and the Omsúmok⁸³⁹. After this, he returns to his own native village, as he is now considered a stranger to the family.”

Now that we have covered birth, let us turn our attention to the newborn infant.

According to KUB., like the mother, so too the child is often bathed with warm water in which leaves of the aromatic *bedél* and of *Morinda ngél* (see pg. 270) have been laid, and is given juice from a young coconut and syrup water to drink, until the mother can supply it with good milk. “Those present hold the child continually in their arms, and if it gets the hiccups⁸⁴⁰, a little piece of betel leaf is stuck to its forehead.” The baby is kept in a *mongongg* leaf sheath (Areca). “As soon as this withers, if the child is a son, this is laid in the crown of a coconut palm, otherwise, it is laid in a taro patch, and the coconut fiber used to clean the child after bowel movements is disposed of along with it. The interpretation of this usage is that the man should be good at climbing and the woman should work hard in the taro patch.”

The word for infant is *tologói*⁸⁴¹ or *gabasángěl*, breastfeeding is called *oltút*, and wet nurse *goltút*.

As soon as mother and child are strong enough, they return to the husband’s house.

c) The *namengakl* (possessive *ngaklél*)

The name is given early, usually by the father. Of course, long before the birth there are consultations about which name the child should be given. If the name of a living person is chosen, whose positive characteristics one wishes the child to have, the father pays one *golknngákl*⁸⁴² for it, a present, usually in the form of a pot of molasses or oil, etc. This is called *osngákl*, to lend a name; the child thus named is called *gosngákl gongkě klák – klāu – klí* it has my – your – his/her name. Names of foreigners are also popular, for example KUB. twice, Dokta for SEM. once, Profesáng for KR. once, Kingsos = King George (Vol. 2, pg. 225), etc.

Common or special events or circumstances may also result in names that are used during the child’s youth as *goldeolél* “his youth name.”

Sometimes other names are added later, and finally there is the Blai title *a dúi* (possessive *dial*) for both man and woman. In Blai Nr. I, it is the same as the name of the high chief of a district, in which case it is bestowed in a celebration, as can be seen in Vol. 2, pgs. 52, 99, 167, and 213.

These titles are not to be confused with the title of master and mistress of a Blai, for example in Goréör, in the case of Blai Nr. VII Ngira- and Dira-ingéáol. Occasionally, however, these may also be titles, as is the case for Blai Nr. II, VI, and IX (see Vol. 2, pg. 216), or they may be bestowed as youth names (see Gor. At. I Gen VII).

One more peculiar thing deserves mentioning, namely that they do not like to pronounce the name of the mother or sister in public (see below, in the section on totems, pg. 287).

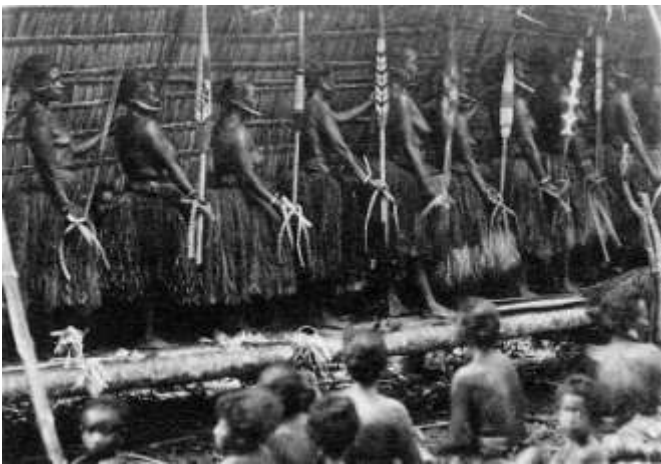
d) Children Growing Up

There are no special words for age groups (see the section on names for relatives). In the case of boys, the influence of the clubs, the *galdebégěl*, which they join at a young age already, plays a strong role early in their lives. KUB., in Vol. IV, pg. 80, observed early maturity in a gathering of 6-10-year-old boys (*kaubéngět*), who were boasting of their successes. For girls, the *móngol* institution is of decisive importance. For this reason, they receive instruction in the art of love at an early age, in fact there are actual love schools, known as *tegingěr ardil*. One well-known teacher was Diratkelgáng in Goikúl (see Story 134^a).

There are no rites of passage (as there are in Melanesia) for boys and girls when they reach puberty. On the other hand, defloration takes place at an early age. According to KUB., Vol. II, pg. 50, the mother takes care of this for a daughter. She tears the hymen and inserts a roll of *kebúi* leaves, then *kesibibúi*, and finally *ar'riú*, which is left there for 10 days. During this time, the girl may not do any work, instead she “goes for walks,” which is why this period of time is also called *mīlil* for short. After this, she must rebuff men for another 10 months, like pregnant women. KUB.’s claim that the deflowered girl searches for a partner in a manner of days was pointed out by my sources to be incorrect. After the 10 months, however, the mother sends her daughter to the *kér'rker* (KUB.: Gerger) to “earn money.” She is warned not to demean herself and to go to rich men. KUB., in Vol. II, pg. 51, describes vividly how she first goes to Rubak Nr. I, then to all the others, never returning to the same one. She brings home money from all of them, and her family is joyous. The first good piece of money means “luck for life”; it is called *gup*⁸⁴³. This is the word used for all money earned for free love.

e) Mongol

When the girl is old enough, when she is sexually mature, which is called *metāu* (WALL.), the same term as for a ripe coconut (pg. 43), she goes away in secret to be a Bai girl, a *móngol* (possessive *mǎngǎlngél* is used by men for women, and vice versa, plural *armóngol*, otherwise *klsāu* “sweetheart,” possessive *songél*) or is secretly called for. The secrecy is necessary, because otherwise confrontations could arise. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 52, speaks of the Armengól and explains *ara* and *mengól* to carry; WALL. speaks of *mengól* “to carry” and of “prostitutes in the Bai”; SEMP., however, spelled it *armungul*, and MCCLUER *Moongole*, “a housekeeper, a woman, who takes care of a public building”; M.-M. spells it *mongole*, BORN and others spell it *móngol* (see also Vol. 2, pg. 313), and so I must point out that the “e” is pronounced in a muffled fashion and sounds like “o.” How many hundreds of times have I heard the word this way, with the emphasis on it, i.e. *móngol*, plural *armóngol*! Whether this word is related to *mongol*, to carry, is not clear; I only know that two wives of one man are called *mongoruákl*; *klóu mǎngolungěl*



Above and below right:
Women in the Ngarevikēl dance house



Dancing women at the Rubak Bai in Galáp

is the obligation of one village to provide Bai girls to another, for which the reasons can be seen in Vol. 2, pg. 92, for example (see also Story 38). Fetching the girls, which is done by force (see KUB., Vol. IV, pg. 79), known as *melardíl*, is mentioned in Story 165, as is the *úlog* tribute after defeat, in which conquered villages had to deliver women to the victorious village. These women were forced to stay in the Bai of the victors for an indeterminate amount of time and did not have to be compensated (pg. 304). KUB., in Vol. II, pg. 145, says “If there was discord between two communities concerning women, the vanquished gave one “*ulok*” or entered into the Kaumengól relationship, i.e., allowed their women to go to the land of the conqueror as Armengols, without the reciprocal right of “*oumengols*,” the procuring of Armengols from their land.” – *kaumóngol*, however, means reciprocity, as the prefix *kau* implies; the following villages have such agreements: Goréör and *a Iraĩ*, Ngarekeai and Goréör, Ngarsúl and Melekéiok, Ngirál and Melekéiok, Ngabúkěd and Galáp, Ngabúkěd and Ngardmau (see Story 79^a), *a* Imeúngs and Ngatpang. Goréör, on the other hand, had *úlog* from Pelíliou (see KEATE, pg. 205), Melekéiok had it from Keklau, etc.

As a fundamental rule, a girl does not go to a Bai in the village in which she grows up and in which her family lives. She also does not leave publicly; SEMP. gives examples of this on pgs. 164 and 324. Incidentally, the club pays the family one *golták* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 92 *olták*; see also Song 196, Verse 4) when they pick up the girl. She stays in the Bai approximately three months and lives with the men of the club, hears of their deeds, of war campaigns, of politics, and is as involved as possible in everything. Together with the other girls in the Bai⁸⁴⁴ she keeps it clean, fetches water and dry coconut leaves for the fire, maintains the lamps, etc. Meals are brought by the women of the village, who themselves led the same kind of life once. The wives must watch the goings-on calmly, otherwise they may experience the same fate as the wife of Ngiragosisáng (story 76). Abuse of the Bai girls is not tolerated by the club, and they exact revenge for it, which is why every *móngol* stands by her Bai. But one must not get the impression that everyone lives together in promiscuity in the Bai; each girl chooses her particular lover⁸⁴⁵ *gőlól* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 125 *kolól*), her protector, by offering her hand bag to him. She sleeps on his mat, and after her Bai time is over, usually about 3 months, he pays the *goréděm*, the wages in the form of a *klsuk*, to the father when he comes to call for his daughter. If the girl is unfaithful to her *gőlól*, he refuses payment, as recounted so well in the famous Story 206 of Mangitíp. This does not, however, prevent business-minded women from secretly earning a *gup* from other members of her Bai, but only from them, and “theft” *meregórög* by club members is pretty much the rule. Sometimes, a girl changes her *gőlól* after 1-2 months,

if he agrees and pays his *goréděm*, and she selects another man, or she marries, which usually happens soon after she returns home anyway. Before payment takes place, however, the girl's relatives bring a meal *gelěás* (verb *mangěás*), the final meal⁸⁴⁶, consisting of taro, fish, betel leaves and nuts, etc., which is distributed to the club members. In the case of *úlõg*⁸⁴⁷ girls, who are forced to be there, of course, this step is omitted, since there is no time limit. The only thing that imposes a time limit in this case is pregnancy, which is also a decisive factor for the three-month time period. This does not mean, however, that the *móngol* service of the free woman is exhausted; even married women occasionally go into a Bai, to earn money.

In a special, more recent form of this, several women get together and attend to a rich village. Usually this is a women's club which, as described in Story 17, journeys to the men's club or to a Rubak Blai in a foreign village to achieve power. These love journeys are called *blolóbõl* and they used to last about 7 months⁸⁴⁸, and in more recent times as long as a year, as Story 154 recounts.

During the women's absence, their relatives send them food, *gásiâu*, on a monthly basis, usually seven times, i.e. in seven canoes, two baskets of taro, fish, and sweet dishes for each Rubak (see Story 154); usually it is the older club of the *bital táog* that prepares the food and brings it to the village in which the women are staying, where they give it to the chiefs to distribute. The last shipment of food is called *galěás*, like the one described above. When the time is up, the Rubak of the village they have visited arrange for a *gõlól*, a gift of money for the Rubak of the women's home village; each one gives "his contribution" *ruál*⁸⁴⁹, as described in Story 113. The gift of the 10 Rubak⁸⁵⁰ consists of 10 *kluk*, with 1 *bágěl* or *galebúgěp* and 10 *madál a kluk* consisting of *móngongâu* money. In addition, every lover finds a *goréděm* for his *móngol*, which then belongs to the paramour, and which she receives in her Blai; the visited men, you see, bring the women back to their village⁸⁵¹, where payment takes place.

The main purpose of the *blolóbõl*, besides being a good source of income, was to foster good relationships between two villages; of course, this was not always successful, and the invited women often served to satisfy the lust for revenge for previously committed and seemingly forgotten misdeeds. Usually, this entailed burning all of the visiting women on a pyre, as described in Stories 116, 161, and 227⁸⁵².

That is the most important information I was able to glean about the *móngol* institution, which I could no longer learn from first-hand observation, because in 1905, one year before my first arrival, it had been abolished by our government.

The symbols of the *móngol*, however, the *dilukai*⁸⁵³ figures, were still present on several Bai, of course only in a few villages, as can be seen in Plate 1 in Vol. 1, Plate 5¹ in Vol. 2, etc. As gable figures, they had special meaning during construction of the Bai, as well, as can be seen above on pg. 245. On the creation of the figures, I quote MIKLUCHO-MACLAY's story, as it has not been previously published:

"A long, long time ago, in the village Guárar, a woman by the name of Dilukai lived with her mother and her brother. This brother, whose name was Atmatuyuk, was a sinister, gruff character. His body was covered with a skin disease, so he was forbidden from bathing at the spot where the Rubak bathed. But he did not heed the restriction, so they imposed a monetary fine on him, which he then refused to pay. Because nobody wanted to lay a hand on him, they waited for an opportunity to punish him. This arose one day when he went to another village for business. While he was gone, his house was raided and stoned, to the point where his mother and sister could barely escape to the next Bai, where they waited for Atmatuyuk's return. When he returned, he met them and they told him what had happened. He said that he wanted to take a look and that he would then give them instructions on what to do. When he arrived at his house, it was in flames. This was a hard blow for him, because he had not a single friend in the village with whom his mother and sister could sought shelter. He went back to them and declared that they should stay in the Bai until he had found shelter for them in another village. But he did not find a place, or perhaps he did not even look for one. But from time to time he went to the Bai, supposedly to see his mother and sister, but in reality to pick a fight with the village residents. He was as much feared as he was unpopular, so everyone stayed away from him. Since the natives do not like to go into a Bai where there are female relatives of theirs, the mother and sister of Atmatuyuk were made into *mongol*. In this way, the inhabitants of the village hoped to rid themselves of him and the blows he meted out whenever he encountered someone in the Bai. But when this also did not help, and he continued to come back, they took away the skirts from both women and tied them naked to the doors of the Bai in the position depicted by the *dilukai*. They tied the mother to one entrance of the house, and they tied the sister to the other. This finally worked. Atmatuyuk never returned. He was said to have turned into a shooting star in the sky. However, to protect themselves from his return and revenge, the figures of the mother and the sister are now attached to all or very many Bai."

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 244, also reports a shortened version of this story, naming the fisherman Atmatuyuk and his two sisters Kobil i paka and Dilibali, who saved their bare lives and fled into a Bai, where they were covered by the men with coconut fronds. He closes by saying: “This legend explains the origins of Armengolism in war time, and to this day it is not rare that a woman flees a foreign community and finds shelter and security in a Bai.”

In 1909, I heard that the man was called Melég reirúr and his sister Bageî. She frequently came to the Bai in a Irúr⁸⁵⁴ with her lover and slept with him there. The Rubak noticed and disapproved of this behavior, and they tied her to the gable with her legs spread, so that all those who passed by could see. Melég was angry and went to the Bai with a burning coconut leaf sheath (*gosëgósu*) to set it on fire. But when he saw his sister exposed in this manner, he was so shocked that he vanished aloft, his lit fuse leaving a streak of fire behind like a “meteor,” which is therefore also called *melég*.

In 1907, I heard that Bageî was the brother and that the sister’s name was Dilukai; both lived in Ngabekai⁸⁵⁵. She slept with many men, who talked about it all around the village. “I slept with Dilukai last night,” etc. The brother was ashamed, and when a new Bai was being built in the village, he asked the carpenters to make a figure of his sister and place it on the Bai gable. When this was done, he said to his sister: “Go and look at yourself, how bad you are. All of the men see you now and will say your name when they see the figure.” She cried and went away.

There is, finally, one more story, which came to Leipzig with Bai 82 (see Vol. 4). According to this, Dilukai led a bad life in a Idegór⁸⁵⁶, to the point where her brother wanted to murder her. She fled to Ngūkl⁸⁵⁶, and when her brother found her there, she threw down her skirt, which surprised him and made him turn away. The people in Ngūkl recreated her when they built a Bai.

What these stories all have in common is the shame and inhibition that closely related men and women carry towards each other, especially brothers and sisters, and the indignation of a man at his sister’s loose way of life, all of which leads to the idea that the figure is meant to be a deterrent to hetairism. But this cannot be the reason; otherwise, how could the institution of *móngol* have been so widespread; and indeed, be done with the permission, nay even the urging, of the families, because it earns money. Much more likely is the religious interpretation, in which the Bai spirit Melég, who disappeared through the hole in the gable, is prevented by the sight of the figures from returning, i.e. that the Dilukai protects against illness and misery. Story 149^b, about the miraculous Dilukai of Ngurusár, and the hesitation to create it that is mentioned in the story, points to this same interpretation.

However, when one takes a closer look at the issue, it is clear that there is also a good deal of symbolism in the erection of the figure on the front gable of the Bai, like an advertisement.

I want to refer to Story 92^a and the *log*, in which the woman displays herself in a position with her legs spread out, to arouse the man. This female exhibitionism is the topic of discussion further down, on pg. 333.⁸⁵⁷ It is so bizarre, that it must have induced the Palauans, who are free of our kinds of scruples of modesty, to imitate it, especially since even some old sun legends play into it. For details about its preparation, see pg. 245.

So there are four points of view from which one must see these unusual works of sculpture and their erection: sensitivity towards relatives, protection against bad spirits, fertility magic, and representation of the free club life.

Now I must describe club life.

f) The Club *gáldēbegēl* (possessive: *galdēbegēlél*).

KUB.: *Kaldebékel*, v. M. M.: *káldebechel*, WALL.: *chaldebéchel*. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 35, surmises that the word is derived from *kaldíl* “part, share” and *kabékēl* “war canoe.” But the original meaning of the word is “school” of fish; WALL. is entirely correct when he points to the word *oudelebéchel* “occurrence in swarms, particularly of birds and fish.” As I already stated in Vol. 2, pg. 321, the root word is apparently *bágēl* “large money”; how this was related, however, I was unable to find out⁸⁵⁸. What is odd is that SEMPER never mentions the word *gáldēbegēl*—as though it were never used during his time—but instead mentions his famous Clöbbergöll, correctly spelled *klebekól*. The first meaning of this word is a friendship between two people (see Story 204, Verse 15); its second meaning is club (Story 74, Line 13). I could not find either word listed before SEMPER’s time. This makes it difficult to decide whether *gáldēbegēl* is a word that has only recently come into use. The more frequent occurrence since 1862 of the first word would support this (see Vol. 2, pg. 313). KUB., in Vol. 1, pg. 40, also says that *Kaldebeckel* is called *Kloebbergoll* in the northern dialect. KUB., in Vol. 2, pg. 34, already notes that some say *Klöbbergöll* should actually be *Klobogól*, and that this means “companion” and is not correct. In his day, this word was not used for *gáldēbegēl*.

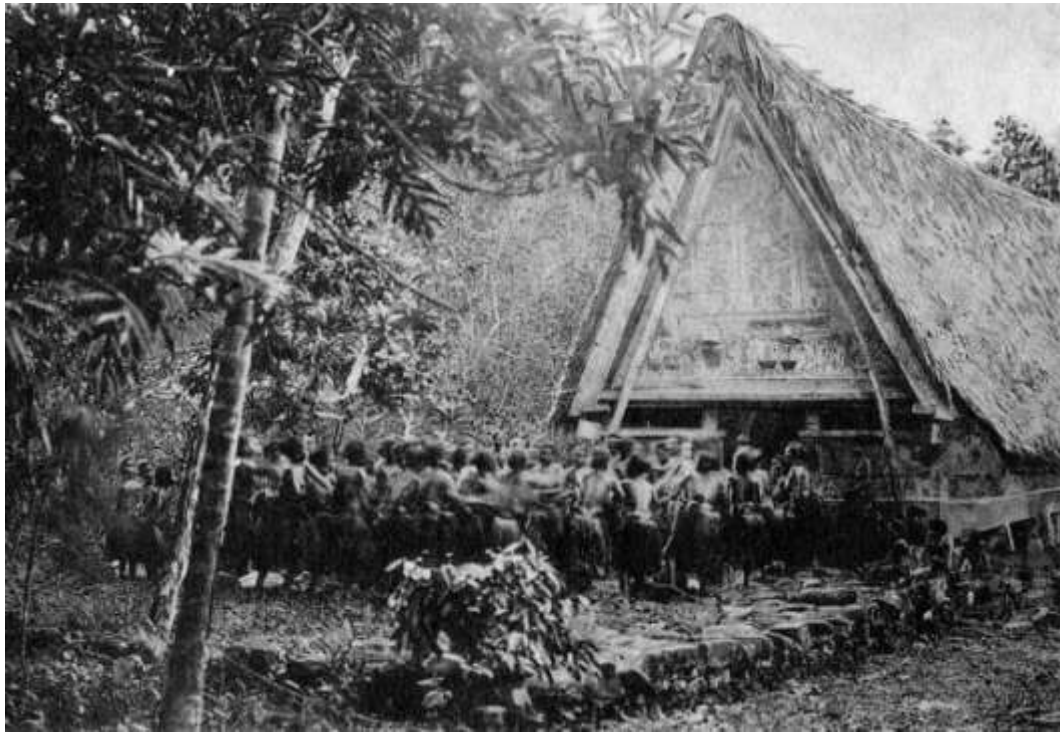
I should add here that the men’s club is called *gáldēbegēl sagál*, while the women’s club is known as *gáldēbegēl dil*. The term for comrade, friend, brother is *tēdóbōg l’lagád*⁸⁵⁹. The best information that is already known about the clubs can be found in KUB., Vol. 2, pgs. 83-91. I would like very briefly to present the most essential parts of this here: members are people from the village, called *gordómēl* (KUB. *Kordómmel*)⁸⁶⁰. Purpose of the clubs: protect the village, carry out the decisions of the Rubak and perform community work, *uréōr*⁸⁶¹ (KUB. *óryor*), which may not be dispersed among the families. This is why

they sleep together in the Bai and why the club has a certain amount of autonomy and influence on matters of state. When they have taken on work, or if there is a war campaign, any person absent, regardless of the reason, must pay a fine, which in some cases may be very high. The leader collects the money and when a certain amount has accumulated, he distributes it among the members as compensation. He also ensures that there is oil for lighting, pays the Bai girls if necessary, pays any fines for wrongdoings of individual members, etc. “The Bai, with all of its contents, is considered the property of the Kaldebékel; this includes the war canoe with all its accessories, the trees growing next to the Bai and planted by the Kaldebékel, especially the betel plants and Areca palms, and sometimes, suitable animals, such as pigs, goats, and dogs. If damage is done to any of these, compensation is sought, and if there is no other recourse, the entire Kaldebékel gathers in front of the house of the wrongdoer and demands satisfaction, which may never be refused.” The clubs also enforce the taboo orders of the Rubak, called *blul*⁸⁶². In general, only betel leaves, betel nuts, coconuts, and pigs are subject to these taboos when a celebration is coming up in the near future, etc. The *blul* is announced by sounding of the conch shell and shouting; the club keeps the fines for itself. The *blul* is so strict that the Rubak may touch their own property only after concessions and arrangements have been made. The head of the household pays the fine for family members. If he refuses, numerous holes are punched in his house, and pigeon-hunting arrows are shot inside. In the old days, the penalty was sometimes death.

Division into two sides⁸⁶³ is the rule in every village. It is said to have been first instituted in overpopulated Ngardolókók (see Vol. 2, pg. 266) (see below, pg. 287, in the section on totems). As nearly as possible, the two sides should be equal. One project is generally handled by just one side; if both sides take on a task together, there is usually nothing but squabbling. Within the club, the first leader cannot act without the consent of the second one. If the first one, who must come from Family 1, steps down from his post, and the family does not find a successor, this leads to *materákl*, dispersal and disbanding. This also happens when the Nr. 1 is ousted (*oltóběd*, KUB.: Oltuóbot), which is done by sending his mat to his Blai. He is then supposed to perform *melúkěd*, i.e. send in a piece of money as a fine (*ngúkěd*), as punishment for the behavior that caused his ouster. If he does not do this, this can also lead to *materákl*. Strong emphasis is placed on the good behavior (*úngil tokói*) of club members towards each other. Fistfights are almost unheard of⁸⁶⁴. In fact, any bodily contact at all is avoided, as is splashing when rowing, etc. Care is taken not to run into anyone at corners, like in Goréör, for example, as described already in Vol. 2, pg. 207. “Surprising a woman in the nude means losing a piece of money. So when a man approaches a bathing spot, he calls from afar: E óá! E óá!⁸⁶⁵. If a woman is there, she has time to grab her skirt.

//Krämer, Palau, Vol. 3, Plate 17//.





Women's Celebration and Dance in Săgămús, Goréör

Surprises of this kind are few and far between, and they are always accidental. A Palauan considers his *tet*, the hand basket in which he carries his betel pepper, the holiest thing next to a woman. No one may touch it, step over it, or take something out of it."

There are no furnishings in the Bai (pg. 236). There are simply two clay lamps that burn at night, or the fires in the hearths, which are not used for cooking. The sleeping mats are rolled up in the morning and laid on the *rekói*.—So much for KUBARY!



Fig. 205.

Women of the village bringing food to guests.

I would like to add some things to supplement his description. Division into two sides apparently was especially strict in Ngardmau and Ngatpang in former times, so much so that the men were even forbidden from walking from one section into the other. The *bai l pelú*, however, never belongs to one *bital táog* (see Vol. 2, pg. 3). I must mention here that, as is the case in Goréör (see Vol. 2, pg. 218), one of the three Bai belonging to each side is the leader, namely *a Dmásăg* and *a Dngoróngěr*. It is in these more public Bai that the *klegăđáol* visitors, men or women, tend to stay. When we were living in our last Bai in 1909, a *klegăđáol* of women came from Pelíliou; out of respect for us, they went to the Săgămús Bai (see Plate 17 and Fig. 205).

As for the foundation and expansion of a club, the Ibědul of Goréör say that they were the founders of clubs in general; of course, this is only self-glorifying talk. In recent times, however, it has been possible in Goréör to see how a club is formed by watching what happens when a club ages.

When old people see that a club is aging and only has a few members left, although there are many youths in the village who have not yet been inducted, they call two men from the Nr. I and Nr. II families and give them the task of forming a new club.

They build a rough Bai, outside the village, on the heath, out of bare wood (*bai l dort*, pg. 230), and cover it with pandanus leaves. They stay there until a Bai opens up for them, or until a new Bai can be constructed.

When the young people of the new club have grown up, the first thing that happens is that the 10 offices (*gamágěl*)⁸⁶⁶ of the “corps” are filled according to the pattern of the 10 Rubak of a village, i.e. according to the numbers of the families; the offices I through X are filled with members of family Nr. I through X, if possible, as can be seen in the listing of the 6 clubs of Goréör (see Vol. 2, pg. 218). These ten are “in front” *ugei*. Every family provides a substitute and in Goréör, their names are *Gamágăraidíd*, *Gamágăraikelâu*, etc., for example. Usually, Nr. 1 is called the leader, *ptelúl a galděbegěl*, and the rest are numbered like the Rubak: *gongěrúng*, *gongědei*, as shown in Vol. 2, pg. 332. All others are called *uriúl*, “in back,” like the lesser Rubak. If Nr. I receives 1 *kluk*, he gives half a *kluk* to Nr. II, who gives 1 *óngiaki* to Nr. III, who gives half of an *óngiaki* to Nr. IV, who gives a small *kliâu* to Nr. V; VI through X receive money (in descending amounts) only when there are large sums involved⁸⁶⁷. Every leader has several *uriúl* members to educate and protect; they receive very little, usually nothing. Once the *gamágěl* positions have been distributed, if the organization feels strong enough to go to war, something called a *blogodókl* takes place. Every member of the organization sports a *gosónd* comb (pg. 29) in their hair, and all of them wear the same kind of *ăusăkěr* loincloth. Each of them makes two *derâu* hand fishing nets (pg. 89) for himself, and then the whole group goes out fishing. The first time they do not go far, and usually, not much is caught in the beginning. In any case, the first catch belongs to the *Galíd* Ugerërak, to whose Bai *a* Irágěl (Blai Nr. 18) it is brought, with much singing and congratulations.

Next is the big *derâu* fishing, and when they have gathered one hundred *gălsúg*⁸⁶⁸ stringers, these are taken to the Nr. I Rubak. The third fishing excursion, with approximately 80 stringers, belongs to the Nr. II Rubak.

Nr. III	Receives	80	Stringers
Nr. IV	“	70	“
Nr. V	“	50	“
Nr. VI	“	30	“
Nr. VII	“	33	“
Nr. VIII	“	10	“
Nr. IX	“	10	“
Nr. X	“	10	“

Then there is another big *derâu* fishing, and this time everything is brought to the young club of the other village half, the other *bital táog*. My translator chimed in here with: “This is the beginning of all the foolishness they will do!”

The next goal of the club is to obtain a *blebáol*, a trophy head (see pg. 298). They set out in their *kabékl* canoe⁸⁶⁹ and grab any foreigner whom they happen to encounter on their way, and cut off his head. They bring it as a sign of bravery to the high chief⁸⁷⁰ and lay it in front of the *bai l pelú* on the *gomróěěl*⁸⁷¹ stone (see Vol. 2, Plate 4, and pg. 165, Fig. 37). After this first deed, the club is *klemeai*, i.e. “locked in,” but without the Bai girls or fish dishes. They only have coconut and syrup to eat. After three days, the taboos are over, and all of them bathe together. When they have reaped enough praise in their home village, they move into friendly districts. This is known as the *klegăđáol mlóik*, the dance visit. In all of the villages, they display the head and perform the *mlóik* dance. After three days, they move on, from village to village. If the head smells too much, it is occasionally left in the canoe, as v. M. M. discovered. In the last village, they hang the head in a basket in the *túngěl* grove (see pg. 335) at the village Bai and leave it there.⁸⁷² KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 131: “If the one killed belonged to a leading family, the relatives of the dead man send money to the victors with the request that they bury the head; this request is usually honored, and the dance then moves on without the head.” If an *uriúl* man in the club was the one to capture the head, his superior, his *gamágěl*, may not join the dance. A *gălděbegěl* distinguishes itself the most during the big *ruk* dances, which are discussed below.

New organizations always take a new name, and so it is that every generation has a new club, i.e. the same name does not continue ad infinitum, as it does in our student fraternities. I shall mention one example. Eight precursors are known for the 3rd club of Goréör Ngaratěkángěl (see Vol. 2, pg. 218):

1. Ngaratěkángěl, founded 1910
2. Ngaramatál
3. Ngarageibárs
4. Ngaragongók
5. Ngaratěkángěl
6. Ngaramelós
7. a Rangárd
8. Ngaratěkángěl
9. Ngarageibárs, which is the oldest known club in this series; the name appeared once before as the 3rd, just like the name Ngaratěkángěl already appeared in the 4th and 7th generation. Thus, a name may be repeated, or may be used by a different club (see Club 1), but the organization is always a new one.

There was a Ngaramatál club in the Bai *a* Dngoróngěr in Goréör around 1850 that was the precursor of Ngaraderúdēm; at that time, it was 108 members strong, while Ngaratėkángěl had 106 members. The famous organization Ngaratatiróu, which is the subject of Story 161, is said to have had almost 200 members. In 1910, most had barely 10 – 20 men.

Besides a club's political and military importance, its main task is the *magāsáng*, which was discussed in Vol. 2, pg. 309 already. But the fundamental rule is always: no work without compensation. If someone wanted make improvements on a public street or a Bai out of a sense of propriety or sympathy, without an order, he would be punished by his club. The islanders would rather to let everything deteriorate than work without an order⁸⁷³. When such an order comes down, however, first a meeting is held, a *galdágǎng* (WALL.: *chaldech duch*), to hear the intentions of the Rubak. The day ends with a long discussion. Then the work is allowed to proceed in a very leisurely fashion, as recounted in the 1910 "Out of the Missions" annual report, pg. 35. Occasionally, a women's club may help with the work⁸⁷⁴. Women's clubs are organized along the same lines as men's clubs (see Vol. 2, pg. 218), except that they do not have a Bai, and everything that goes along with that does not apply, especially the war canoe and warlike enterprises. The number of women's clubs in a village generally equals that of men's clubs, as is visible in numerous examples in Vol. 2, and, at least on some occasions, their authority is no less than that of the men's clubs. They sometimes punish their own, and even men are not spared and must submit to their judgment. During the big *terúgöl* and *mur pelúfeasts* (see below, pg. 306), a women's club drives the men and their *móngol* out of their Bai (they must then sleep in their Blai) and occupies the Bai for 3 to 4 months.

When a *mur pelúfeast* affects the entire village, sometimes all of the women of the village seize possession of the Rubak Bai; their power can extend that far! The *klegǎdáol* of the women was discussed above on pg. 281; for information about the *blolóböl*, see pg. 276.

g) Marriage (*bagei*⁸⁷⁵ possibly *gabagīl*) and Wedlock. Totemism.

After the boys and girls have enjoyed their freedom in the club and Bai life, the next step in their lives is marriage, i.e. *bagei ra pelú* marriage in the village, *mengírs*⁸⁷⁶ marriage outside. The word *bagei* is related to *oubúg* "to marry"⁸⁷⁷, because *bug* means spouse (poss. *bǎgīl*), and *klaubúg* (WALL.: *klaupuch*) means the matrimonial relationship, like *klaugád* means family ties, *klaungálek* the relationship between parents and children, *klaudód* that of a mother and her daughters, *klaudesiól* the relationship between uncle and nephew, aunt and niece, *klaugūs* (WALL.: *kaluguus*) in-law relationships between women.

Usually, a man has only one wife; in earlier times, however, 2-7 wives were possible for rich men, provided each one had her own house. KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 61, says, entirely correctly, that with the *mongol* institution as widespread as it was, one's standing and economic reasons were the only things that mattered. According to KUB., in his day *a Rǎklai* had 4 wives. HOCKIN, pg. 51, says that the Ibēdul had 5 wives when WILSON visited. But this is not evident in the legends, so it was undoubtedly always the exception. Incidentally, there is no wedding in the real sense, because the marriage ceremony usually takes place without any celebration; but the husband must soon thereafter host a *mur* feast in honor of his wife (pg. 306¹).

The basis for marriage is the purchase of a bride by means of the payment after the wedding night *bus* (KUB.: *mpus*). The *bus* consists of a piece of money whose value depends on wealth, family, etc., and which determines the standing of the husband. If he is young and poor, has no house, i.e. if his gift was small, he lives in his father-in-law's house as the son-in-law *gasmágēl* and does work there. This corresponds to the *ambil anak* marriage of the Malays. It is very loose; if the wife gets a call to go to a Bai as a *móngol*, or if some other opportunity to earn money arises, she simply leaves, and he is also free to leave. The situation is different if money is involved, as Story 136 shows. The end of Story 20 shows what happens in the case of wealthy Rubak.

Where there is actual love, and there are obstacles to marriage, abduction may be called for and may be permitted (KUB., Vol. IV, pg. 79). But even if love sometimes plays a large role, as the stirring story of Góreng and Máriar in Story 17c shows, it is really money that has the greatest impact in marriage, since the love life of a woman begins with her time as a *móngol*; how can it be different later? And just as the Bai girl chooses her lover by handing him her hand bag, a woman later seeks a rich husband, no matter how ugly and hideous, by giving him attention and devotion. This is evident in Story 17 of Gobakraibedagál, Story 39 of Ngēdēbug, Story 76 of Ngiragosisáng, Story 30 of Ngiratei, Story 170 of Golungīs, etc. Sometimes, the woman's family uses the services of a broker *goderúgēl* (pg. 294), and in former times, high-ranking women would order a wedding after a small gift of taro (for example, 2 baskets in Story 13), which is known as *ómōg* "to crush."

For some time now, it has usually been the men who do the courting, which is expressed in the gift of the *bus* to the father of the desired woman and in the desire to pay the woman, as told in Story 61. He does this later, too, during the first pregnancy, and if he lives it up in the Bai and wants to sleep with his wife again, this requires pieces of money. In fact, not every husband has an easy time of it *tatangalél* in this life; the henpecked husband *gomangedákl* is a familiar figure here, too; and a bad outcome *bangedákl* is not uncommon, as Story 134a shows, for example.

One must also bear in mind, however, that it is the woman who plants the taro patches and brings home this most important food, the daily bread. A woman is not only necessary to a man for starting a family, but is also a necessity economically.

She is an absolute necessity, because a man cannot plant taro, not least of all because of his reputation. Without a wife, a man remains dependent and cannot start a household. On the other hand, the woman does not help when he is in dire straits financially; this must be taken care of by his female relatives; in fact, he is obliged to give his wife money, for example if she needs some for her brother (for details, see the section on family and property). It is sometimes said that a Rubak is rich if he has many married women relatives, because they give him the *blekátěl* when there are payments at celebrations, etc. (see pgs. 276⁴ and 312).

Mismarriage between a high-ranking woman and a lower-ranking man is frowned upon and is met with fines *keratórog* or *kérílatoróg*⁸⁷⁸, as recounted in Story 203, where Madlútk goes into the sky with his wife out of despair, i.e. leaves this evil world. KUB., Vol. IV, pg. 84, tells of Tmórok, the severe punishment required if the man comes from a *kaumóngol* community (see pg. 275), because it means that the sons of slaves become Rubak of their family; for that reason, the family is deprived of its title, may not appear on stage during dances, and loses its taro patch. If the marriage is terminated, the head of the family must still pay hefty fines; if they are not wealthy, the family may have to emigrate. The poverty of such a husband, the Rubak cannot forgive.

When spouses separate, the husband pays a *górau* in the form of a *kluk* or a *galebúgěp*, but not until half of the value has been refunded as *gongráol*. Often, however, the husband is willing to forgo this compensation, particularly if the wife is not eager for a divorce, to maintain a good atmosphere. Sometimes there is a mutual exchange of pieces of money. According to KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 59, the man gives the woman the *omsúmuk* money and considers her divorced. “If the woman belongs to the first house of the community, he may not marry any other woman in the community and must search for a wife outside that community.”

Adultery. “Stealing” (see pg. 275) a married woman is severely punished if it takes place without the approval of the husband, because it is regarded simply as a theft that damages the standing and fortune of the owner. Arguments concerning adultery have a special name, *kasmágěl* (poss.: *kasmagělél*). If the wife is a *móngol*, either alone or with a *blolóböl*, and the husband knows about it, it is accepted, because that brings money home. If it happens without his consent, however, bitter vengeance can follow, as Story 165 shows. Usually, the adulterer must begin by paying money, which allows him to buy his freedom from the death penalty, which according to KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 60, is in order if the misdeed takes place in the woman’s home village. Then, after the deed, the husband flees to his home village, and everything is over. If he kills the adulterer here, he must pay a fine for murder; here he just demands “the *usákěr*”⁸⁷⁹, a piece of money, or beats the violator black and blue.

I observed several such cases in Goréör. The same thing happens if a woman is spoken about in an improper manner, in cases of *oltrébek* (rape or attempted rape of a relative), or when a woman is surprised while bathing⁸⁸⁰. On the other hand, the wife has no legitimate way to vent her own jealousy⁸⁸¹ and must acknowledge the consorting of men with the *armengóls*, as well as their polygamy.”

In the north of Palau, the punishment for adultery was formerly the death penalty, of which KUB. gives an example in Vol. 1, pg. 25.

Marriage Between Relatives, especially Blood Relatives

is forbidden. However, it appears there were instances of this in high-ranking families, as Story 13 implies; after all, the people in most creation legends came from sibling relations, as Story 1 tells! And we know of marriages between brothers and sisters, for example on Hawaii, despite the ban on incest! KUB. emphasizes that such incidents were not punished, but that the violators were disdained; they were not talked about in general, but they were ridiculed in public songs (see Section VI 3a).

The family considerations involved in *mongol* activities demonstrate how strict they are when it comes to blood relatives⁸⁸². In addition, in some villages the opinion prevails that if a man must marry a woman from his own village, at least she should not belong to his own *bital blai*, but ought to be a member of the other side (see below, pg. 293). This is because the Blai of one side are considered related to each other. These are undoubtedly remnants of totemism of the kind found in Melanesian peoples. The strict division of the community into the two *bital blai* and *bital táog*, discussed in Vol. 2, pg. 3, shows that originally, the Palauans’ ancestors practiced two-class totemism, at least the part of the population that descended from the Melanesians. What is odd is that in the south of the archipelago, mainly on Pelíliou, the people are generally darker than in the north, as Plate 20 in Vol. 2 shows, and as Story 48 indicates, which has caused this view to be widespread among the Palauans for quite some time already. Then there is the claim by KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 86 (see above, pg. 280), that the system of division into two groups originated in Peliliou. There are also other historical and legendary things originating from there that point to totemism, for example, the totem animals *delásěg* poss. *desegél*⁸⁸³ (see above, pg. 116) or *gěsingěl* poss. *gěsngelél*. The latter, according to WALL., is an object (particularly an animal) that cannot harm a person, because the *Galíd* belongs to or is dedicated to the person.

According to what I heard, *gěsingěł* is stronger, because it embodies the close, maternal bonds, which are not broken. *delásěg*, on the other hand, is considered dedicated to the *Galíd* and is respected and feared, but in this case, theft and desecration are not such rare occurrences. Totemism on Palau is founded on the extremely rare myth handed down here, in which the natives view themselves as descending from fishes on the maternal side and that the food taboos are related to this. The basic story for this, Story 193, shows that Těláměs on Pelíliou descended into the strait of Gěúgěł with his two spirit friends, where they made love with two female fish, *máměł* and *deságěł*. The images in the Bai and *gerabái* Nr. 1 (*logúkl* design, see Vol. 4) plainly depict this union, from which a large portion of the Palauan people sprang. The two pairs, which are clearly represented, unmistakably express the original form of the two-class totemism.

Many Blai whose *delásěg* I recorded in several main villages, for example in Melekéiok, Vol. 2, pg. 102, in *a Iraĩ*, pg. 187, in Goréör, pg. 216, certainly indicate that they, that is the family, descended from fish. And so Blai Nr. III *a Iměóng* says in *a Iebúköl* (pg. 31) that the *goroviděł* fish, who is their ancestor, is buried near their house; and Blai Nr. VIII Ngatogóng, whose *delásěg* is listed as the mullet on pg. 187, had the pigeon (*běłógěł*) as an ancestor.

But there is yet another type of personal totem (individual totemism), which is determined only in cases of illness. In Blai Nr. VIII Goiláng in Gólei, there lived a priestess Ngoróiklóu, to whom people came with coconut oil or expressed coconut milk (see pg. 44) mixed with water, of which she would pour a few drops onto a still water surface and then watch to see what shapes formed. From these she could determine the *delásěg* of the inquirer, his taboo fish, which he was not allowed to eat because his *Galíd* was living in it, and the eating of which would bring illness and death. This *delásěg*, of course, has nothing to do with the origin of the people of Palau.

A Blai can also have more than one *delásěg*, however, such as *a Idíd* (see Vol. 2, pg. 227), which has three, all of which are subject to food taboos; likewise *a Uděs* (see pg. 102). For the name of the mother, see above, pg. 273. See also the *kleblıl a Ugelióu* in the appendix, pg. 370.

Totemism is one of the marriage regulations of the original, larger communities; smaller circles are governed by

h) Matriarchy and Family.

We just discussed (pg. 287) the fact that the islanders do not like to marry in their own village. But who exactly is from their own village, and what is home? It is possible on Palau that all the inhabitants of a large village are not natives of that village. This is because of the pronounced matriarchy that prevails. All of the children belong to the woman's family. For example: a woman comes from outside, from *a Iraĩ*, from Blai Nr. VI *a Dai*, and she marries into Goréör,

into Blai Nr. 1 *a* Idíd, with the titled chief *a* Ibědul. Both children belong to the Blai a Dai in *a* Irâi. But *a* Ibědul is the son of an *a* Idíd woman who is married into Galáp, and he lived there until the previous *a* Ibědul died; only then did he come to Goréõr as a Galáper. When he dies, the son of his sister, who, let us assume, is married into Pelíliou, will succeed him. – One can see that not all of these family members grew up in Goréõr; only if an *a* Idíd woman is married there, i.e. in her home village, which is not supposed to happen, are her children true Goréõrans.

Only a member of the *a* Idíd family can hold the family titles and positions of the *a* Idíd family, i.e. the title of *a* Ibědul and the women's title of Bílung⁸⁸⁴. The wife of *a* Ibědul can never hold this title, because she does not belong to the *a* Idíd family and is merely the mistress of the house, Diraidíd; only the sister of *a* Ibědul can hold the title or another descendent of an *a* Idíd woman! In other words, only the descendents of an *a* Idíd woman are considered the family, the house *a* Idíd! This is matriarchy in its most pronounced form!⁸⁸⁵

The natural children of a married couple are called *ulăgél* (poss. *ulăgelél*⁸⁸⁶). If a married couple does not have children of their own, and children of the woman's relatives, for example, her sister, are brought into their house, these children are considered as belonging to the wife's family, and this is their mother; they are not thought of as adopted. The same is true if the man adopts children of a sister of his; but if he adopts the child of his brother, this is known as *kirs*; this word has an obscene meaning, referring to the genitals of the man. A child is called "adopted" *róděl*⁸⁸⁷ (poss.: *rědelél*) (KUB. *rodel ngálek*) only if it is not related to its foster parents⁸⁸⁸. The word, therefore, is also used for members of the same clan (*keblīl*), because these need not always be related. If an older person who is not related is taken into the Blai, he is usually called *gadák* "my man" for short; of course, this is intended to mean "my friend," "my brother," "my uncle," "my aunt," and everything else like that; people who live together for a longer period of time call each other the same thing, and two houses that are friendly with each other call each other *klaugád*.

There is no term for "family," i.e. parents and children and close relations, instead they are referred to as *geimólblai* "one house"⁸⁸⁹. This is simply the Blai, just like Luther used the word "house." The extended families, the large families, which would really already deserve to be called "clan," are called *keblīl*, plural: *kleblīl*, poss.: *keblilél*.

They have names and are listed in Vol. 2 with the larger communities, for example with Goréör, pg. 216. All the *keblil* have a Blai name with the prefix *ngar*, just as the districts Ngaramlungúi, Ngaragúmélbai, etc. do, indicating that these also arose from family units, just like on Samoa, where the prefix *sa* has the same purpose. The “leader” of the *keblil* is the Rubak of the Blai; if there are several Rubak in one Blai, they are collectively known as *meréděr ra keblil*. *Keblil* are based on the women, just like the closer family is, and the oldest women are called *rukdemáol* (singular *gokdemáol*⁸⁹⁰), which actually means “ancestor,” while the women who belong to a Blai are called *ardalál a blai* “mothers of the Blai.” But a *keblil* is definitely more than just a group of relatives (see *róděl*). I presented good examples of how a *keblil* is structured in Vol. 2, pgs. 227, 229, and 231, where I described the Blai Nr. I and II of Goréör. Nr. I has 6, and Nr. II has 9 Blai, mostly foreign, behind it, which form the clan of the leading Blai⁸⁹¹. These Blai usually do not marry among one another; for Nr. II, marriage to Nr. 3 Ngaramerĩl or Nr. 9 Maeriáng is possible⁸⁹², although it is frowned upon; marriage to any of the other seven is scorned completely, as is marriage within them. So the *keblil* is a true clan in the totemic sense! These foreign Blai of the leading house each have their own *keblil* that they bring along when there is a large celebration or a large project to be worked on for the leading house (for example, Nr. II), and all of them help pay with a piece of money (*a pkul a blil raikelau*). This monetary contribution, for example for constructing a new Blai, is called *omeldúgěl* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 17 *omeldúkul*).

As far as the origins of the *keblil* are concerned, there is the story of how Blai Nr. II of Goréör and Blai Nr. II of *a Imeúngs* came together. This is a nice example (see Vol. 2, pg. 144), because an *a Ikelau* man was given the title of Ngirturóng.

Glossary of Terms for Relationships

father <i>gadám</i> ⁸⁹³ (poss.: <i>damál</i>)	}	family home <i>geimól blai</i>
mother <i>gadíl</i> (poss.: <i>dālál</i>)		
child <i>ngálek</i> (poss.: <i>ngalekél</i>)		

married couple *kau békěl*

man (as in mankind) *a gad* (poss.: *gadál*⁸⁹⁴), a people *argád*, family *klaugád*, clan *keblil* (poss.: *keblilél*) plur. *keblil*

man (as in a man) *sagál*

spouse *a bug* (poss.: *abugil*)

ancestor, elder *gokdemáol* (poss.: *gokdemelél*), plur.: *rukdemáol*

family tree *goról* birth

her great grandmother *galdedír*

her grandmother *durír*, his *deúl*

her mother *derír*

her sister or brother *gogaderír*

offspring *gëbëdël a kesól*, skin of the turmeric plant=nieces, from *búdël* peel, skin; also *pkul a kesól* tips of the turmeric plant (see *pkul a gúdël*, Vol. 2, pg. 255, Note 3).

brother's sister

sister's brother

} *gogád* (poss.: *gogadál*), plur.: *ruegád* (poss.: *rugadál*)

brother's brother *odám* (poss.: *delíl*), sister's sister *odód* (poss.: *dedíl*)

older than I *guódël re ngak*

younger than I *kekeréi re ngak*

sons of one mother *klaudám*

daughters of one mother *klaudód*

children of several sisters, collective term *telungálek*

my older relative (uncle) *góbokuk* (plur.: *arúbukuk*)

♀ female to elders (*guódël*) ♀ female relatives *gudelék* (plur.: *armugudelék*)

my younger ♂ male and ♀ female relative (nephew) *gogalék* (plur.: *(a)rugalék*), younger (*kekeréi* small) *mer'rengék* (more correctly *kekerengék*) (plur.: *armer'rengék*)

my aunt

older niece, etc.

} *uádil re ngak*

son-in-law *gasmágël* (poss.: *gasmagelél*)

possessing children *klengelákl*

infant *gabasángël, tologói*

boy *kekerél sagál* young man, *buik!* boy (form of address), *arbúik* "boys," called to work by the Rubak

gomukldíl young girl, plur. *rumúkldil*

girl *gëkebil*

maiden *sauluái, meseúngël a blai.*

2. Politics, Government, Property, and Inheritance Laws.

The previous sections illuminate how property is obtained through marriage. A man's children, including those of the master of a Blai, belong to the wife's lineage, i.e. they have no inheritance rights on the father's side; rather, his brother and sister inherit from him. KUB., in Vol. I, pg. 53, says that the husband may not touch his wife's money, at least, he has no legal claim to it, and anything his daughter earns as a *móngol* legally belongs to her mother. But it is also stated that whatever property the woman brings into the marriage and whatever she acquires later also belongs to the husband. This may be true in individual marriages, but it is not the norm.

Generally, the wife receives money from her husband, as mentioned above on pg. 286; only when the woman's brothers need money is the husband required to help out; and he, in turn, receives assistance from his sisters and female relatives.

In some ways, the woman and her children are just guests in the Blai of her marriage partner. They have no right to claim any property that has belonged to the Blai since long ago, especially the house itself, the land, and the taro patches, which are considered the "foundation for the title" *lkul a dúi* (see Vol. 2, pg. 215). If some of the land is to be sold, the master of the Blai must get the consent of his next of kin. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 47, says: "The buyer gives one piece of money as a *Ngologollel*⁸⁹⁵ *a pelú* and one for *Ortél a kabeás*⁸⁹⁶, and thereupon he can then consider the purchased land his property." If relatives come to stay and bring their wives for whom there is no more room in the Blai and who must move into their own house, the Blai master gives them land at his discretion, and he puts taro patches at the disposal of his female relatives. If he allows foreigners to use land without payment, these people enter into a *kaugád*, "neighbor," relationship with the Blai, and they become associate members of the clan without acquiring any of its rights. They help with the work at celebrations, etc. and just kind of become family members. As a father, however, the master of the Blai may give land to his children, or bequeath it to them, only in exceptional cases, since they actually belong solely to his wife's family, as previously mentioned. He does give them money on occasion as well as other movable property.

a) The Chief *a Rúbak* (simple form *góbak*, plural *arúbak*, see Vol. 2, pg. 320)

High chief *rubukúl pélau* (see Vol. 2, pg. 3), also *meréděr* "ruler."

Every large village has 10 big titled Blai, in Vol. 2 these are numbered I through X (see there, pg. 3). It is said that originally there were only seven, in accordance with the holy number of Galid, which are discussed below. In Goréör (Vol. 2, pg. 214), this is still historical evidence for this; at large food distributions in that village, food was always divided into only seven shares. If seven Rubak agreed with the Ibědul, the decision was made, and if seven met without him, he feared for his life. To this day, the smaller villages have 7-8 Rubak, but this is usually because there are no more than that number available.

Each of these Blai has a titled chief at the helm, who is at the same time one of the 10 Rubak who form the council *klóbak* and hold their meetings *kldipl*⁸⁹⁷ in the center of the village *gelsél a pelú* and receive state visits *klegádáol*⁸⁹⁸ by foreigners *klóbak*. A man with a poor title or no title is called *pkul a gúděl* (see Vol. 2, pg. 255, Note 3). People of the upper class, "the beautiful," are called *kapkal'l*,

those of the lower class *bedăgëd úgos*. The commoners, i.e. people without titles, are called *armeâu* “the naked”⁸⁹⁹; the community in every large village has a special name, as seen in Vol. 2. The eldest is the *gokdemáol*⁹⁰⁰ (see pg. 290) and title holder *meréděr dúi*, and his rightful heir is the son of his sister, etc. But since such nephews do not always exist and may or may not be the right age—rarely does a man acquire a title before the age of 50—one of the other title holders receives the higher honor. In this way, after my departure, in Goréör Nr. III moved to Nr. I, Nr. V moved to Nr. III, Nr. VIII to Nr. V, just the way I recorded it (see Vol. 2, pg. 214). I was told that in Goréör anyone may succeed to a title provided the person belongs to *a* Idíd Nr. I and *a* Ikēlau Nr. II, the two leaders of the *bitalblai*, who may choose anyone. I believe, however, that in earlier days only the descendants from one *bitalblai* could move up and that originally, when the Blai were still powerful and flourishing, the mighty, rich and large, high-ranking Blai bestowed the Blai title only on members of their own Blai kin, because in those days substitutes (*tekaul*⁹⁰¹) were not even considered.

To round out the picture, I must add that every Rubak of one *bitalblái* side has a “friend” *săgălēi* (poss. *sagalíl*) (spelling, see Vol. 2, pg. 313) on the opposite side, so that there are bridges between the two sides (see, for example, Melekéiok, Vol. 2, pg. 102). These friends send each other something whenever food is distributed, the *godekúiel mo ra săgălil*. This reciprocal relationship is called *kauogáro* (pg. 290⁹⁰⁰). KUB., Vol. II, pg. 70, says that at the *murfeast*, the share of the host of the celebration belongs to the “friend” (pg. 356), and that upon the death of the friend, he accepts the “food for the soul” *kal a delép*, which consists of taro. He is also allowed to raid the house of the dead friend and resist all plans for the funeral until he is given two pieces of money, one as *orētēg* and one as *ul'likil'l* (see pg. 295). KUB., Vol. III, pg. 8, says of this: “The first piece is a formal payment for all of the money that the deceased and all other chiefs received from fines; the Auligíl, however, is the payment for the title. The heir pays this money only if he wants to accept the title, otherwise he turns away the messengers sent by the chiefs. If the money has already been paid, and the heir has announced his willingness to accept the title, again a chief is sent to the house with the question: Who will now become the friend of the chiefs? The heir formally abrogates his rights and sends the messenger to his younger cousin, who is according to law the next heir. He, of course, sends the messenger back to the former, and so the messenger must execute about seventeen trips before the heir comes out with a statement to the effect: well, if he does not want it and nobody wants it and the chiefs want it this way, I will become their friend.”

—Every *bitalblai* side also has its messenger *kěmědángěł*, usually this is only true of Nr. I and II, but also for others, depending on their importance; this representative is at the same time the distributor. In Vol. 2, he is mentioned in numerous village listings, for example on pg. 103, 142, 150, 175, etc.

A messenger in general is called *goderúgěl* (see above, marriage broker, pg. 285, below pg. 336), and he receives proof of identity *gosisál*⁹⁰² from the Rubak, as previously described above on pgs. 169 and 156.

Although they are not so strict with regard to being descended from the Blai kin when they bestow the male titles, it is a different story with the female titles. A woman who obtains a Blai title must absolutely belong to the clan of the Blai. The titled women of the 10 Blai are the *rubák l dil*, or *ariěbil* (=ribil), the “female chiefs” (not the wives of chiefs = *arbug lúbak*). They have their own named council just as the men do; Vol. 2 presents numerous examples of this. Nr. I is the female high chief *ptelúl a pelúardıl*, also called “village mother” *dalál apelú*⁹⁰³; the 10 titled women in big villages are occasionally called *ardalál a pelú* “village mothers.” They are, as it were, the representatives of the Rubak in the title *kldolólél* (from *kldělálol* “motherhood”) and may even acquire the equivalent men’s title (see Stories 42 and 80). If the women’s title is not bestowed on anyone, the oldest woman of the highest-ranking Blai is called *gourót*⁹⁰⁴. The council of the oldest women *arurót* is of great importance to a Blai. It metes out punishment for offenses against old customs (*tokói* or *guóděł*). KUB., Vol. II, pg. 82, provides a good example of how powerful such an old woman can become: “Some years ago, when Ara Klay, the most powerful chief in Palau, feared for his life and suspected his cousins of wanting to do Garaus to him, he reproached the current Kourođ, because she was the mother of the closest cousin and must, according to custom, give her consent to his murder. This made her furious. “If they want to murder you,” she shouted at him, “why are you still alive? Does it take so much time to kill you? You certainly are stupid and cowardly and so you should best leave, if you are cowardly, I will be Rúpak for you.” Insulted, Ara Klay packed up and went to Ngorsúl, where he lived for several months, and the old woman did not call him back. She took his place, and the chiefs remained passive and took a wait-and-see attitude. Finally, Ara Klay sent her a piece of money to make peace with her, and she promptly sent a Kaldebékel to bring him back. Since that day, Ara Klay is afraid of Kourođ and takes care not to tangle with her”.

One of the most unusual customs in Palau is the removal of old high chiefs, when they become a burden. It is known as revenge *tegei*⁹⁰⁵ or *bııl* against the powerful and violent ones. This danger is most acute when ambitious young “cousins” (*arúgel’l*, sing. *gogolél*) grow up. The ambitious one must, however, as mentioned above, have the consent of the oldest woman, and must buy that of the other high-ranking Rubak,

to wash off the guilt as it is called, therefore *tegelpél a gokdemáol* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 43 *toholbiy*⁹⁰⁶ *a Rúpak*, KUB. Vol. IV, pg. 87 *Foholbel*) “the washing off of the oldest ones.” At the time of my stay, *a Ibědul* in Gorěör was very old; he was still alive only because of German protection. In former times, many titled chiefs were killed after only a few months; this was especially true in powerful Melekéiok. KUB. reports, that the cousins first inquire where the newly-acquired money is, hidden or kept by the wife; the *gourót*, you see, keeps the inherited Blai money.

The murder is followed by the “binding” *melékět* of the widow. A noose is placed around her neck, and she is forced to confess where the money is kept. Afterwards, the Rubak gather in the village Bai and order the calling up, known as *tmaut a díu* (KUB.: *tangadiu* or *tautadiu*, see pg. 301) “arrival of the shouting”⁹⁰⁷, the calling of the warriors with horn blasts, so that they shall throw stones and spears at the Blai of the murdered one, the house in which the successor is known to be. This is a mock fight for the symbolic punishment of the wrongdoer. The latter pays both sides one *madál a kluk* for the *omdagél a lild* (KUB.: *Handakél a lilt*) “the laying down of the spears” and one *galebúgěp* to the Rúbak as an *ul’likil’l*⁹⁰⁸ (KUB.: *Auligil*) for the “knotting” and the death money *orětěg* (KUB.: *Horrettek*). The payment, in the form of numerous small pieces of money (see above, pg. 293)⁹⁰⁹, must also be made to the villages of the district for the “dead man,” the *mad lagád*. Then finally, the high chiefs of the other districts come, accompanied by their warrior bands, and demand a piece of money. Thus murder was always a daring undertaking, and the assassin had to have money, otherwise he put himself in a precarious position. This may explain why such a change of office happened only in the large families: *a Uděs* in Melekéiok, *a Idíd* in Gorěör, Ngěrturóng in *a Imeúngs*, Klóulblai in Ngarekeai, Túblai in Ngabúkěd. The murdered one was buried quietly, without ceremony, because the title was wrested from him violently, which meant his corpse was no longer holy, and mourning was restricted to the closest family members who wished him well.

It was different when a *ptelúl a pelú* died in office while in possession of a title. In this case, the title had to be transferred symbolically, as mentioned above, with a bundle of knotted coconut and taro leaves. For this reason, *dúi* (poss. *diál*) is the word for both “coconut frond” and “title.”⁹¹⁰

Conferral of Title

When a chief in possession of a title dies in office, a celebration is held to confer the title.

The customs differ somewhat among the large families. You will find them described in Vol. 2 for the Mad in Ngabúkěd, pg. 52, for the *a Răklāi* in Melekéiok, pg. 99, and for the *a Ibědul* in Goréör, pg. 213, as well.⁹¹¹ All of this demonstrates the sanctification of the chief when the title is transferred, his being locked up afterwards for a certain amount of time (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 76 in the little decorative hut for 30-40 days), and his release when the head of an enemy is captured. This *goltebedél a dúi* “bringing out of the title” (from *oltóběd* to bring out), is given a special reward and is celebrated extensively. KUB. talks about the dishes *Olsisebél a duy* (from *olsísěl* to lay something in something), the Gal *umrúmus* consisting of sweet foods, *Tósok* and *Tolumar* (meaning not given), which occur between these events. Then Gal *giritakl* (*kal keretákl*, see Vol. 2, pg. 99) and Gal *ongel teláng duy*, more correctly *ongeltél a dúi* (from *mangěólt* to cool oneself in the wind). There is also a big fishing excursion *gongéd*, see pg. 69.

A great title bestowed this way makes the bearer “holy” *měáng* and invincible to enemies in war, as well (pg. 305). This *mana* of the Polynesians is called *Kengal* by KUB., Vol. II, pg. 86; WALL. calls it *iltět*; I also heard the words *bldagél* and *tudél* for such demonic power, as it is described in Story 165; but the most correct word to use is *měáng*. It is conditional, however; if an important step was omitted during the conferral process, for example if there was no *blebáol* head; then the person in question has no retinue, no *klegăđáol*, as mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 53, in the case of Mad (pg. 292⁴). Insults directed at the sacred one leads to severe punishment. Most importantly, the islanders may not carry a hand basket in front of a titled Rubak, nor a comb or a long limestone stick, and they may not paint themselves red (Story 195).

In general, the respect shown the high chiefs was striking. WILSON speaks about it (KEATE, pg. 292): “When news was brought to the king, whether in the council or otherwise, and it was brought by someone from the general population, it was delivered from quite a distance, in a low voice, to one of the lower-ranking Rubak, who, leaning in a reverent manner at the king’s side, conveyed the news in a low voice, his face turned to the side.” Every Rubak has his own spot in the Bai (see above, Bai, pg. 263), as well as on the stone square *ilíud*, as described for Melekéiok (Vol. 2, pg. 89). In his Blai, the Rubak also has his own spot (see pg. 211), as well as his own stone in front of the house (see KUB., Vol. II, pg. 71). KUB., Vol. I, pg. 43, lists the following customs that the natives must observe towards their chiefs: bowing when passing; speaking in a cowering position, sitting on their heels with their hands at their backs, and only if asked; no loud speaking or noise (see Stories 13, 30a, 161, etc.); announcement of the purpose for a trip when encountering a canoe and handing over of any fish caught; it is bad form to step over the hand basket *tet*; when visiting, it is necessary to wait in front of the house until asked to come in; when leaving the house, people of low rank go first, the one with the highest rank goes last; touching a Rubak woman carries the death penalty, and the same penalty is imposed for insults; the mere mention is forbidden. For information about the comb, see pg. 31.

Finally, I should still mention the privileges *klepkál’l* (poss. *klepelél*) that individual high-ranking houses have (bracelets, pg. 24). The details were already described with reference to the skirts on pg. 6 and 8,

also with reference to first-time mothers ascending the stage and knotting their hair (above, pg. 272). KUB., Vol. II, pg. 72, also mentions hanging coconut fronds on the house in which a dead body is laid out. The privileges of *a Irai* should also be mentioned, which according to Story 197 were acquired by the Galid Medegeipélau for the Galid house there. The weaving of the magic symbol *blsebúd* (pgs. 71, 145, and 344), the jagged mats *telutau* and *kleiangél* weaving pg. 141, the blowing of the *debúsög* triton horn and the stage set up for celebrations (see Vol. 2, pg. 186 and below, pg. 309). Even the making of Turang likenesses was a privilege in *a Irai*. The privileges of the individual districts and villages are recorded comprehensively in Vol. 2, to which I shall refer here.

b) State Affairs and War

All of the titles of Blai Nr. I in the main villages of the 10 districts, which are listed in Vol. 2, pg. 2, are stepping stones to the high chieftom in that district, but only there. Each of the 10 high chiefs is “the Rubak of Palau,” i.e. *rubukúl pélau*, as a sign of the goal of their desires. But only rarely has any of these Rubak ruled over a few of these districts even temporarily. In fact, as far as I know, this would actually be true only of Goréör, as shown in Vol. 2, pg. 215. But the reasons for this are also described there, namely the help of the white men and their guns.

On Samoa, 4 titles from the three most important areas sufficed to unite the kingdom across the entire island area in a single body. In Palau, at least 5 titles would have been needed, namely those of the 5 first Blai named above on pg. 295. But I was never able to determine if even two of these were ever held by a single Rubak at the same time, although it was often the case that one Rubak held several lower-ranking Blai titles, such as Gobak of Goréör (see Vol. 2, pg. 231).

Various factors proved to be inhibitive to the formation of a kingdom: the great strife-torn nature of political life, the marked independence of the individual communities and the unchecked greed for money⁹¹² of various Rubak, of which there must have been way more than 1000 in the old Palau, when it was still richly populated⁹¹³. There is not enough money in all of Palau to satisfy all of these insatiable wolves. Finally, there is also the Melanesian influence, which promotes the strong isolation of communities from each other, although on the other hand, the uniform language in the archipelago is testimony to Malayan interest and friendly contact. Only within the individual districts do political groups form; they are listed in Vol. 2, as are the temporary alliances and friendships between individual districts. Negotiations between them are carried out by the high chiefs, and this business is called *kelulau*⁹¹⁵ (KUB., Vol. IV, pg. 87, Kolulaul), the “whispering” between the great villages. The internal administration of a village community is often handled by Nr. II.

The history of the land and settlement in Vol. 2, pgs. 5-8, explains the origins of the Palauan state; the extensive list of the settlements itself shows the government and organization better than any words could. The extensive dismemberment of the Palauan state was also exacerbated by the constant feuds that flared not only between districts, but also between villages in individual districts.

War⁹¹⁶ *măkămád* (poss.: *măkămadíl*) on a large scale has not been practiced in a long time. KEATE still gives descriptions of battles and how they are fought, principally at sea, but in his day we have for the first time the influence of British guns. Story 50 describes particularly good examples of the old form of warfare, where a warrior challenging his enemy to a duel, let out a battle cry, crouched down, weighing his spear (*oráel*) in his hand and advanced toward the enemy (*garárou*, poss.: *gararovél*); and in addition to the other stories, Stories 60, 80, 195, 204, etc. provide wonderful illustrations.

Details about the war canoe have previously been presented above, on pgs. 184 and 194; on pg. 193, the kingfisher is mentioned as a navigator for the *káep* (pg. 340). P. RAYM. tells us on pg. 60 that on a war canoe, the kingfisher's call lifts the spirits and is considered a good omen. Anyone who has observed how this bird stalks its prey so purposefully and then pounces on it with a quick strike, is able to understand this.

KUB., Vol. II, pgs. 124-141, speaks extensively of war; there are two kinds of war: war on a large scale Benget⁹¹⁷ (*béngěd*, poss.: *bengědél*) and headhunting *osík a kad*⁹¹⁸, an actual *osík a gad* "looking for a person," or, as my people said, *regórög l măkămád* "thieving battle." In the latter case, the villages are always in a continuous state of war *lógěd* (K^{ub}. *Lokot*), because a person⁹¹⁹ could disappear at any time. This person is then relieved of his head, which is announced by a blast of the conch shell. The victor brings it as a "present" *blebáol* (poss.: *blebelél*) to his own village, just as one brings a present (*blebáol*) when visiting *oldingěl* in everyday life. The correct word for the trophy head is *blolói*, also pronounced *blel'loi* in Babldáob (pg. 304). Only in times of absolute peace *búdög* (poss.: *bděgél*), which is secured by mutual exchange of peace money *kngakiréng* (see below, pg. 304), do the various districts associate with one another freely. KUB. described head hunting in Vol. II, pgs. 124-137, in all detail; he pays particular attention to the history of that custom, so there is little I can add here. I shall restrict my comments to several supplements and spelling corrections. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 128, describes the preparation for battle only briefly: One threw oneself at the mercy of the war god Horgim (Gorekím = Ngirairiáng, below, pg. 341). "One was allowed to call his name only while chopping off a head,

otherwise one had to call him by his human name, Iraria. The preceding night, one hung up the spear and asked the god for luck, and if one heard a Burbur, a type of gecko⁹²⁰, or a certain type of small insect, this was a sure sign of favor, and such a man proceeded without fear. These days only the second part of the ritual is observed, because if someone were to cut off the head of an enemy without a dedication to Horgim, the blood of the beheaded would spurt on him and he would become sick or even die.”

I heard the following in a Irāi concerning preparation and execution:

When one is ready to go into battle the next morning, a Rdegór of a Irāi goes very early to the heath by a Irāi and clears an area of approximately two paces in diameter of all plant growth. He steps on the spot, blows the conch shell seven times and beats the ground with his fist seven times. Then he speaks:

*olokói! Matugáis! kemerkmang?*⁹²¹

Hey there! Matugais! Have you arrived?

*msbedi*⁹²² a Ugéldákt⁹²³ l kmú:

Give Ugeldákt the news and speak:

*a Rdegór goldúřę*⁹²⁴ *rengák*

Rdegór sends me

*l mo mesúběd ra Ugéliángêd*⁹²⁵ l kmu:

to bring news to Ugéliángêd, he says:

*măkămad*⁹²⁶ r tial Irāi

the battle troop is in this Irāi

*a mo měús*⁹²⁷ ě geilagáng l mo ra Imelĭk

paddles today to a Imelĭk,

*mak mesúběd rekau logengít*⁹²⁸

and I report to you and ask

*rsél klúpěd ra Ngërudelóng*⁹²⁹

for the landing Ngërudelóng,

*l lekérđ*⁹³⁰ re ngí a mēkēmēdĭl a Irāi

where he lands the troop of Irāi;

ě ak mangatákl re ngí l mo ra pelú

and I lead them to the village;

*meke goridi*⁹³¹ a tēlēbráděl re ngak ma tial Irāi

set far away the wound from me and this Irāi;

ě ák ulengít ra godóim me kungú

I ask for meat⁹³² and make

*losiuklĭ*⁹³³ tial mēkēmēdĭl a Irāi

(that) someone meet this troop from Irāi;

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ak ulengít e rengí lodóim l ng kal'í

ma ki mangárengi

ě a rektél⁹³⁴ ma gědúl a dī ngar tia pelú ra Imelík

a nguluklél⁹³⁵ a Ibědul ma Răklāi

ma Ngirturóng ma Mad re Ngabúkěd

lomūs⁹³⁶ re ngí ra Medegēipélau⁹³⁷

ak melái ra Melimrásăg⁹³⁸

ma mer'rengél ma gogěderír

l mo ra pelú l ki mo ra kabékl

I ask for meat, because it is nourishment

and we eat it,

but his illness and his Galid should stay only in this land
of Imelík

at the bidding of Ibědul and a Răklāi

and Ngirturóng and Mad from Ngabúkěd,

who were ordered by Medegēipélau.

I take Melimrásăg

and his younger brother and her sister

to the place, because we (go) to the war canoe.

While speaking these words, he lays a piece of turmeric on the ground, then he picks it up again and carries it to the war canoe, where he lays it on the *gordál'í* the seat board on the outrigger (Fig. 172) (pg. 194). Then he goes home, fetches his things, and gets ready. When he returns to the *kabékl*, he lays two spears on the outrigger⁹³⁹ and says:

āika lidéd⁹⁴⁰ ě Ngirairiáng⁹⁴¹

kau ma Melimrásăg!

These are our spears, Ngirairiáng,

you and Melimrásăg!

Then the canoe is manned and launched. While they are still in the channel, they all say to a Rdegór: Give your instructions!

tia Ngaragúmělbai

l maramá kldepl

a kmo Rdegór

m gaderderi⁹⁴³ tial mākāmád

This Ngaragúmělbai⁹⁴²

has come to the gathering

and says Rdegór

has ordered this battle!

Then he tells the warriors where each of them should go when they land and where they should meet.

At the landing place, a Rdegór speaks to the Galid:

Ko mekeráng⁹⁴⁴?

ka morurūl⁹⁴⁵ rekemíu

You do what?

prepare yourselves,

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ë l kerd ngiká logadád⁹⁴⁶

l mo ra pelú melangá⁹⁴⁷ rengí

ë l gitëgetúr⁹⁴⁸ a pelú ë longíl rekíd

ma debó⁹⁴⁹ a lomís

they should land here our sisters

at this place, set themselves there,

weaken the village, wait for us

and when we go, they should look (after us).

After this he prepares his betel quid, rubs turmeric yellow on his body, takes his two spears and says: I will go ahead, we land at the Bai..., where we shall get our *blebáol*. He takes the two spears in his left hand, as previously on pg. 300, with the tips pointing in opposite directions, and proceeds, the others follow. They advance alongside the Bai, and he stops and waits for the others. When all are there, he lets the spear that is pointing forward fall (*olít*)⁹⁵⁰, steps over it and picks it up with his right hand; then he ducks, in fencing position⁹⁵¹, the right arm lifted forwards. If he does not throw, the right spear returns to the left hand. Once the spear in the right hand has been thrown, he lets the one in the left hand fall, turns around and picks it up with his right hand.

When a canoe has a *blebáol*, a Rdegór calls for it to be brought alongside him and he says:

*m ngu godóim l mẽ med ë sáŋ*⁹⁵²?

Bring the meat, so we can see it!

He takes the basket, opens it and addresses the Galid:

ko mekeráng?

*dikamuák*⁹⁵³ a rengmíu ë moráel,

ë bagëre⁹⁵⁴ tiáng ë ng uluókl ra rubukúl Pëlau.

*lulumūs*⁹⁵⁵ rengíra M. meng ker'rekerengél

meng óbal l maráel l mesúk l gerálra rubukúl Pălau.

You do what?

eat just a little as your heart desires and go,

it matters not, it happened on the order of the high chief;

it was ordered by M. and he has earned it.

And he takes it and goes, pockets the prize of the high chief.

KUB., Vol. II, pg. 129, adds to the above (pg. 45): "When the noise, the *tautadíu*⁹⁵⁶, starts in the attacked village, and the Rurt⁹⁵⁷ begins, then it is time to run, because often, instead of taking a *Blobáol*, the attackers leave one behind,

and the vanquished chief must pay a heavy Blals, fine, when he returns. If he has at least brought back a head, that is still acceptable—then both sides dance. As long as he returns victorious, everything is alright.”

I already reported about the laying down of the head on the display stone and the club’s dance trip above, on pg. 283. What is important, as mentioned there, is the fact that, just like someone capturing a head for the first time, the members of a new club are locked up for three days.

KUB., Vol. II, pg. 126, says of the village from which the head was taken: “Soon, however, everything calms down, one just thinks of the head as a debt that will soon be collected, and only the family of the murdered person is more directly affected by the incident. The headless body must be buried in the spot where it was slain, because it may not be buried in the burial spots next to the dwellings. No ceremonies are held, one just replaces the head with a pandanus fruit or the trunk of a musa, into which facial features are carved. The relatives, however, are *meay*, and they must undergo cleansing, *magolgól a hongol mádak*⁹⁵⁸, to escape the wrath of the murdered one’s spirit. They are locked in the house, may not touch any bloody meat, and chew betelnut that has had magic said on it by the cleanser and conjuror. The spirit then goes to the land of the enemy and pursues him and his murderers.”—

KUB. also says that in earlier days, the friends of the fallen one came to visit the mourning house (*oldingěl*), and that one of them took with him the spear of the dead one that had been planted by the door, as a vow to vengeance. This spear was not called Kotimb (*otimd* means “to snap”), however, but simply *galévěl* “weapon.”

These war campaigns, which always center around capturing a head, are always very secret, not only so that the threatened village does not find out, but often one’s own Rubak are not supposed to know anything. Because if such an undertaking does not suit the village chief for political reasons, he will attempt to prevent it. If the troop is already gone, he gives (KUB., pg. 128) his adze to a man to show the warriors and persuade them to turn back.

When the victors bring in the head, for example in the canoe, they display a sign of victory *galeótl*, as Story 18 shows (see above, pg. 283²).

Trophy scalps of fallen enemies were left to flap in the wind on bamboo poles (see Vol. 2, pg. 199).

The heads are not just pure signs of victory and bravery; the intention is to put the dead person’s spirit to one’s own use.

Head hunting is also a matter of greed, as can be seen above on pg. 284. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 131, reports of a case around 1850 of a man from the Uděs clan

in Melekéiok who was murdered by Goreórans and was brought to Goréör. The whole body was laid on the stone on which captured dugongs are usually displayed. The Uděs women came to retrieve the corpse. “The price was a very high one, because the sale took place according to all of the rules of a ceremonial fish sale, in which one must pay a certain amount for every part of the body.”—

The occasions for which a head is needed demonstrate that chopping off heads is not just a war-time activity, but has its roots in magic:

1. Release of the title-holding chief (see pg. 296)
2. Dedication ceremony of a newly founded men’s club (see pg. 283)
3. (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 125): When a high chief is taken ill, if a *mangǎlíl*⁹⁵⁹ prophesy has revealed that his house god⁹⁶⁰ is making him ill and requires a *gosóls*⁹⁶¹ song, this is done, and then a *blebáol* is sought for his pacification.
4. For a *mulbékl* celebration with the *ruk* dance one needs two heads. One is called *golemél a ingúkl* (KUB.: Ngolomél ayngúkl) and is used for setting *melálem* the pots on the three stones *a ingúkl* (see pg. 45). The second one is used after the celebration and is called *mǎngóit aremengéd* (KUB. mongoyt a remengír); it is supposed to throw away *mǎngóit* the tiredness.⁹⁶²
5. Construction of a new Galid house (see above, pg. 226)
6. Construction of a new Bai, when raising the gable (see pg. 245).

A more symbolic action, finally, is that mentioned by KUB., the *olengít a talagád l mo golól*, the “request for a person as a hostage” which is carried out by the women of one *bitang táog* within a village. The man is brought by the other side, and the women carry him to their side with a lot of singing and shouting. This is reciprocated with gifts, etc.

One unusual form is also mentioned by KUB., Vol. II, pg. 132: In Nggēsár, the warriors set out with a rope *matáng lěkíl*⁹⁶³ with which they capture whole people or simply tear off pieces of people who, for example, are in a house; these are then also considered *blebáol*.

It is odd that a prisoner of war is also called a *blebáol*, a gift; in former times, prisoners were captured, but this practice was abandoned, as Story 45 tells. In fact, supposedly prisoners were even tied by the Achilles tendon of their heel to parade them around like a pig, called *omokul a blebáol*. The prisoner was either killed⁹⁶⁴, to serve as a spirit, or was released in exchange for a ransom,

for example, in exchange for several women (see above, pg. 275) called *vúlog* (poss.: *ulăgét*), which also means “old skirt.” Otherwise, war reparations are called *omdagěl a ráel*⁹⁶⁵, clearing the path (see above, pg. 298). Prisoners of war who were old people, women, and children were called *ngáis* (poss.: *ngisél*), weak ones, who had to be treated with care like an “egg.” For information about revenge and pyres, see Vol. 2, pg. 306.

Suppression *oukérr*—thus slave *kér* (poss.: *kerengél*)—was the highest goal of political statesmanship (see, for example, Story 60). When a weak community is pressed hard by a strong one, the former sends a mediator with money, *oudid l rásăg ra klai* “a bridge to make for the blood of freedom,” to the ones causing the pressure, to put them in a good mood. Often the supplicants are stalled a long time, so that as much money as possible can be extorted before there is an agreement. The many possibilities can be read in KUB., Vol. II, pgs. 133-137. He also says on pg. 149 that from about 1870-1880, in all only about 34 heads were chopped off, implying that the frequency and number were certainly never very high. The last two heads were supposedly seized by a *Regúgěr* (see Vol. 2, Plate 12) in a *Imelík* shortly before the German occupation.

c) Crime and Punishment

This is the title of KUB., Vol. IV. As he has already gathered the important information on this topic and presented it in 15 pages, I can be very brief here, especially since much has already been mentioned in other places. He discusses the following:

1. Murder. Atonement, if necessary, achieved by paying for *mad lagád* (see pg. 295), except in war, self-defense, infanticide, adultery, accidental death.
2. Suicide. See Death.
3. Intentional bodily harm, if done by stone or stick, is unimportant, cutting weapons (shark’s tooth, etc.) are frowned upon.
4. Rape is punishable, especially if a low-ranking man attacks a high-ranking woman (for example, Story 161), or if a woman is attacked while carrying a burden (water, taro, etc.).
5. Abduction. See Marriage, pg. 285, and *mongol* kidnapping.
6. Seduction. See pg. 274; considering the general customs, this is not important.
7. Child molestation. See pg. 274; considering the general customs, this is not important.
8. Attack or assault.
9. Adultery. See pg. 286.
10. Breaking customs, incest, and all related offenses.
11. Misalliance (that is, a mismatched marriage). See pg. 286.
12. Arson, other than during war, is considered a private matter.

13. Unlawful entry (burglary).
14. Betrayal Oblàt (*mangablád* verb).
15. Crimes against the state.
16. Crimes against the Galid.
17. General crimes.

All areas of life are ruled by the law of the stronger and richer. The higher-ranking and more respected the Blai is, the more protected are its members and the more compensation they can demand when injured.

The means of atonement in almost all things is money, as already described in Vol. 2, pg. 307; in that volume, on pg. 306, I also mentioned the atrocities that were visited on entire villages on account of offenses against high-ranking persons.⁹⁶⁶ There are numerous such cases. Simply put, those who have power and might do the punishing.

If someone assaults another citizen, that is their own business, and they work it out among themselves. If someone assaults a Rubak Nr. I, he can be sure that the punishment will be severe, because that is considered a village matter. If someone cannot find justice with another person, he turns to the high chief, who acts as judge but who expects to receive a fee for handling the complaint. He or the council *klóbak* imposes a punishment *blals* (poss. *blsél*), which usually takes the form of a fine. I already mentioned previously, on pg. 280, that these fines in cases where public bans (*blul*) are disobeyed, are collected and kept by the clubs. A club may also punish its own members, of course (see pg. 284).

v. M. M. correctly makes a distinction between *blul* and *múgǫl*, which are two distinct kinds of taboo: “Pljul” is punished by human beings, “Modul” is punished by the gods. So the latter has more of a religious character and belongs to the sphere of the Galid, like *měáng* “holy”⁹⁶⁷. The purpose of both was to protect against burglary, theft (*meregórög*) of betel leaves and nuts, of coconuts, and especially of taro, which was protected with coconut fronds (*gúiiūt* in Story 195) or bows of coconut pinnae. Theft *munjúps* and its punishment are related in Stories 30a and 157; these stories also tell of the custom of publicizing such deeds through public singing at celebrations, particularly when Rubak are involved. Theft of women, see pgs. 275 and 286.

The death penalty is actually reserved for high treason and revealing war secrets, such as plans of attack, as well as adultery (see above, pg. 286) and insult or injury to a Rubak. Escaping death by fleeing is effective only if one can gain asylum, reach a place of refuge *sobaláng*. KUB., Vol. I, pg. 25, mentions a case that would qualify as asylum. The wife of Ngirturóng in a Imeúngs had died, and it was rumored (probably through *mangalíl*, see below, pg. 345) that the master builder, who lived in Ngaregól on Pelíliou, had left his Galid in the house because of poor payment, causing the woman’s death. Ngirturóng sent two men to Pelíliou to kill him. Upon landing, one went into the Bai there,

where the accused murderer lay, and he killed him, right there in the presence of the others, with a blow of an axe.



Fig 206. Sanctuary stone
in aImeúngs,
approximately 40cm tall.

He then fled and escaped into Blai Nr. II, “where he was safe, because no enemy may be killed in a house, especially when the host is present. If the fugitive is a chief, he gives those avengers a piece of money and is saved.”—Of course, only a high-ranking Blai can provide such protection, especially Nr. I and II in a village. In *a Imeúngs*, next to Blai Nr. II Ngërturóng, I just found the refuge stone *ií re* Ngërturong “cave of Ngërturong.” (Fig. 206), reaching which provided safety (see Vol. 2, pg. 140). In Ngëräir (see pg. 125) there was a bridge one had to cross, and there, also, reaching the terminus of a path provided safety, as was the case in Keklau (see pg. 65) with an *ilíud* pavement. Even a tree can be a *sobaláng*, like the sandalwood tree in Vaigafa (Samoan Islands, Vol. I, pg. 286). The sacred *Calophyllum* tree on Mount Ngëlúkës (Vol. 2, pg. 46) was probably

also a sanctuary. Story 126a of the Pangium tree implies that the tree had a similar holy effect.

We add here some sign language:

raised arms lowered quickly

= *ouelág* “come quickly”

arms crossed over the head, lowered quickly

= *skokl* “someone is dead”

3. Social Life and Science.

a) Celebrations, Dance, Music.

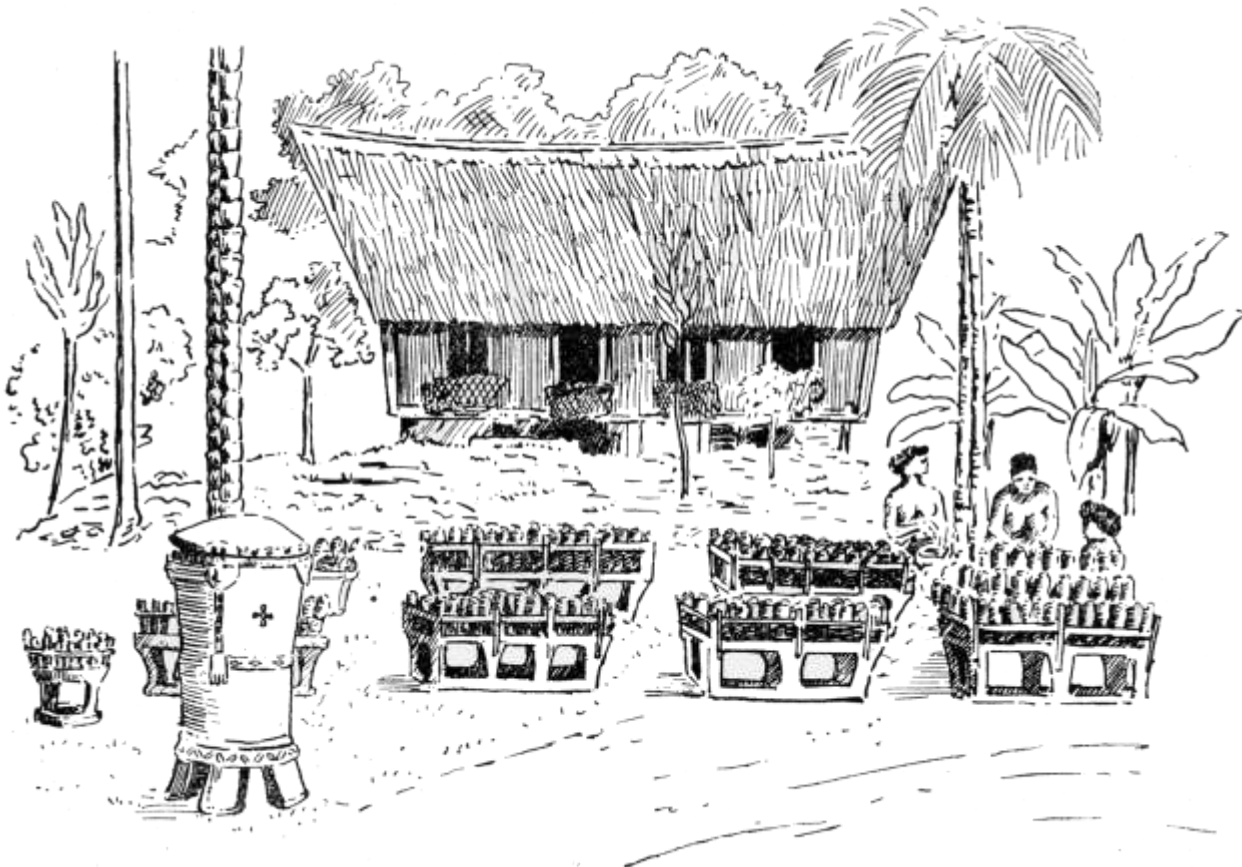
As can be seen from the stories, celebrations played a large role in former times in Palau; while we were there, they were already quite rare, due to the government’s interference. Dances are held to praise the gods, heal the sick, to celebrate the rebuilding of destroyed villages, to increase the fame and glory (*godángëd*) of the wife of a Rubak, and to multiply riches (*omeka iltët*), because invited guests tend to bring a sum of money, for example a *ruk*.

If the celebration is for a respected Blai, there must be an abundance taro laid out on the benches, and there must be plenty of syrup water in the containers, as shown in Fig. 207.

The word for *feast* is always *múr*⁹⁶⁸ (poss. *merngél*), and if a *feast* is held on behalf of a Rubak it is also called *tkul a bad* (see Vol. 2, pg. 214). *Feasts* that a whole village participates in are called *mur pelú* (also *mul pelú*); or *mul bekl* “a couple of *feasts*,” probably due to their large scale, because they are held for the reconstruction of destroyed property, for the dedication of a new Rubak Bai for an important Galid, etc. For these *feasts* the women move into the Rubak Bai for 3-4 months, as already mentioned above on pg. 284.

Large celebrations in the main villages last 7 *plkul*⁹⁶⁹, 7 days; otherwise, they usually last only three. The finale of such a festival is the *gotúl a mur*, the “smoke of the feast,” with payment (see Story 157). The most frequent *mur* are those given by a husband for his wife, for example in Story 30a, in which the *feast* is called *galsiměr*, because the dancers must undergo seclusion for this, which is especially necessary for the big *ruk* dances.

There are different types of celebrations, but they almost always involve dance *nglóik*⁹⁷⁰ (poss. *nglikél*),



Round offering table and a *iléngěł*, see pg. 119.

Taro benches 1920.

Fig 207. Feast in Gorėör, Blai VII (see pg. 160).

particularly when religious commandments require it. A leading voice *ked ra nglóik* is needed, a man or a girl from a high-ranking family, as well told in Story 154. Smaller dances—often substitutes for those on a larger scale, which only the rich can afford—are held at full moon, *nglóik búiěl*; they continue through the whole night and end with a feast.

Smaller celebrations, for which no dance is necessary, are held on the occasion of the ripening of the first bananas and are therefore called *udóim tu* (*godóim* side dish, *tu* banana). KUB., Vol. V, pg. 44,

also mentions *ngais burbúr*, a larger Blai celebration; there is dancing by men and women separately in the courtyard (*mekesókěs*) and Kosolsárdil with lots of taro and meat; there is also a women's dance on the *golběd* pavement in front of the Blai; between the dances there is singing (*gosóls*) addressed to the Galid of the house on behalf of an ill person.

A very large celebration that is related to Ngabúkěd and Gobadád ruâu, is called *kikeruâu*; I was not able to find out any details about it (see below, pg. 316). The large celebrations are held to honor the gods and are a source of money for the Rubak, because all celebration participants bring a sum of money (see the *ruk* dances). For information about the celebrations for the dead, see Chapter 5.

The four most important celebrations are:

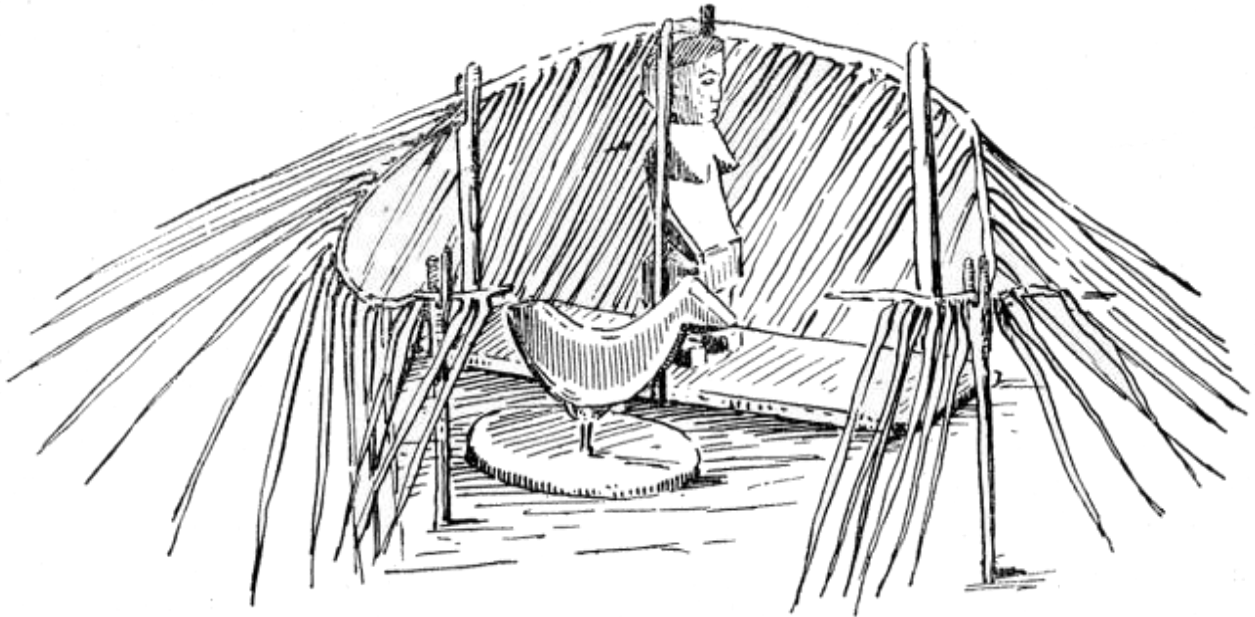
1. *gāot* celebration for the dedication of a new village Bai, also for renovation of one that the Rubak women of a village are moving into. All of the women of neighboring and friendly villages, both old and young, are called together. They are expected to perform the dance, in this case the *nglók ra gútũm*⁹⁷¹, the “earth floor dance,” which is called this way because it is performed on the *galdúkl* pavement, with the dancers slapping their hands on their thighs. The women from the foreign villages stay three days in the *bai l pelú*, while the Rubak stay in their Blai and cook there, mainly preparing fish that they have caught for the celebration. There is a large feast *desĩl*⁹⁷² consisting of four pigs, fish and taro, which is not, however, heaped on the benches (see above, pgs. 262 and 292⁴).
2. *gongéd* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 57, Hongét), a village celebration, really nothing more than a ceremonial fishing excursion (see pg. 69) in connection with a large-scale celebration, for which reason it is also often really called *múr pelú*, which later came to mean the celebration itself (see Stories 6, 17a, and 215). The *mesekūk* fish on the Rubak Bai (see Vol. 2, Plate 1) demonstrate this. One of the women's clubs of a *bital táog*, usually the oldest of the three, hosts the celebration, and the others from that side help. The club lives for three months in the leading Bai of that side⁹⁷², which is off limits for the men during this time. The various women visit all of the villages of Palau, to gather together the women who belonged to the club previously as well as now and who are to remain in the Bai the entire time. The club hosting the celebration hires a men's club to catch fish (*rúnged*, see pg. 69); if they bring in a large catch, a *put*, the women send the greatest part to the women of the other side, who are also gathered in their Bai. The last *put*, however, is retained; on the last day, the *pu líus*⁹⁷³ takes place, to appease the spirits living in the fish, and a large feast of pigs (butchered by the men), fish, taro, etc. takes place. All of the clubs of the one side, dressed in their finery and adorned with combs, calls on the other *bital táog* seven times, and the club of that side reciprocates seven times. Finally the women of both sides come, doing the *galitūk* dance (see pg. 317), towards one another with branches⁹⁷⁴ in their hand, then all of them sit down in front of the Bai and eat; then both groups dance until the following morning.

On this second day, in the afternoon around 4 o'clock, the food that is left is distributed, the men come to carry it away, and one of them takes care of the *omngél a lei*⁹⁷⁵. Laden with gifts, the *bital táog* then goes home; after two days it returns to watch the *tíakl*⁹⁷⁶, the “paying of the fishermen.” Blai I-VII pays one *galebúgěp*, VII-X one *kluk*, and then they receive a lot of change from the youngest club, whose eldest member pays 1/2 a *kluk*, the others lesser amounts, in decreasing scale, down to one *góngiaki*, because this club has the privilege to receive the sides of the *delsóngěl* fish, severed from the spine, but still attached. After several years (often as many as 10), the other side reciprocates the *gongéd*.

3. *těrugǒl* (from *otúgǒr* “to stamp on the ground” in dancing) (KUB.: Mur turúkul). *Feast of the rich Rubak* for showing off their Blai and honoring their wife, therefore performed in their home village. The women, who host the *feast* and dance, occupy a Bai for three months and chase out the men. In this case, too, a men’s club is hired to catch fish, as for the *gongéd*; three months pass before all of the fish are distributed; but no coconuts are cracked. The men take care of the food for the women. A dance platform with a roof is built in front of the wife’s Blai. The women dance on this, often forming 3 to 5 rows, with the Rubak women of the village hosting the celebration in the front row. The singing for the dance is found in Story 19, where *Terkélěl* is named as the originator of the celebration in honor of his wife *Sagalai* of *Nggeiangěl*. According to KUB., the people of that locality supposedly have the privilege of constructing the dance platform, something that is certainly no longer true today. Nor is his claim that the dancing women are a permanent *klegădáol* (pg. 281) that occupies a Bai for two months and performs its dances and songs several times daily. This is characteristic of the *gongéd*, but in former times it supposedly also applied to *terugǒl*; *ngúiěs* is the last *plkul a múr*; its end is called *a ukaráel*. The women of the family bring taro, *uléld* (pg. 102), etc., and distribute their gifts among the celebration’s participants.

Together with E.K., I participated in the first three days of a dance celebration of the women of *a Iraĩ*, from July 28 until July 30, 1909. A long platform *gailáol* was built in front of Blai Nr. II *Gěsurói* (see Map 22, Vol. 2, pg. 182), on which 4 women’s dances took place on the first afternoon, two with dance paddles (Plates 16 and 1), two without. The women’s wrists were decorated with coconut frond bows (*garderíd*), a green leaf was stuck in their ear, their chests were painted yellowish-red with *reng*, and on their face were drawn two red vertical stripes, from near the ear to the chin. Body painting, see above, Fig. 46. The platform *goiláol* had a roof, so it was actually a dance house *diangěl* (Fig. 187). In the beginning, before the dancing started, the side of the roof of the approximately 25m long dance house facing the audience was raised at an angle with bamboo poles, like a trap door, resulting in a slanted wall approximately 6m high (Plate 16, upper photo). About 40 painted and beautifully ornamented dancers stood in front of this, ready to begin the dance.

4. Large quantities of taro had been gathered before the celebration⁹⁷⁷ (Plate 20). In the first dance, two women appeared, each of whom had a *delásěg* figurine on her head, representing the goddess Túrang and a kingfisher⁹⁷⁸, and stood in front of the lead singer; several of the women present were thereupon overcome with cramp-like convulsions and cried out. The two women were quickly taken to the Blai, next to which a circle of coconut fronds was made on the ground, into which the figurines were placed (Fig. 208). In the third dance, two trees, called *mesáng*, with bands like the *mangerengér* snake and with



b

Fig. 208

r

Goddess Túrang and kingfisher, Size 1:10.

a

nches at the top, were brought in and placed front of the lead singer. I was told that after the dance was over (about 6 days later), these would be planted in the lagoon⁹⁷⁹. Finally, in the last dance, a small tree was brought in, hung with money and betel quids as a reward for the dancers. At the end of the day, coconuts and syrup water were distributed. I should also mention that during the performance on stage, the daughter of the host stands in the center in front, and on each side stand the women of the leading family. Especially on Goréör, these women have the privilege of wearing special skirts, as discussed above on pg. 8 (see Plate 18).

SEMP., Vol. II, pg. 57, describes the experience of attending such a women's dance this way: On the third day of the celebration, the proximity of the dancers was heralded with wild cries. "From one side came a group of women, their naked upper bodies and their legs painted red all over. With fierce gestures, spears swinging in their hands, they approached a little group that, similarly adorned and armed, approached from the opposite side. They strode towards each other until they were three or four steps apart, as though they wanted to start a battle; but then both parties stopped, formed several rows, and started, in unison, to sing a very monotone, but not unmelodic, song. It had been many years since I had heard such a sound resounding from the chest⁹⁸⁰. They did not move from their spots, but by rocking their hips in an unusual motion, in a precise, measured rhythm, they created a loud rustling with the brushing together of their leaf dress, and this sound accompanied their singing in precise timing. The pantomime, which I was told represented a scene from the last war, ended with a loud cry. Then, in their fiery red decoration, they all climbed up on the platform and formed another long row. There were probably about 30 women. They began a kind of pantomime dance, in which they moved their arms slowly in various revolutions, but eventually they just rocked their upper bodies back and forth, keeping their arms still; or they bent their knees⁹⁸¹ slightly, held their upper body still, and swung their lower bodies rhythmically to the left and to the right. As a result, the entire row of orange, stiff, puffy skirts seemed to move as a uniform, uninterrupted wave. In this case, too, the dance was accompanied by singing. A lead singer appeared to improvise the words for it, which, unfortunately, I could not understand at all; and the chorus then repeated in unison the line she had sung—as in a mass. When dusk fell, a loud cry ended the dance, and thereby also the celebration."

On pg. 250 of his book, SEMPER describes a dance that Ngirturóng held for the Galid of Goréör, to appeal for the recovery of his sick wife.

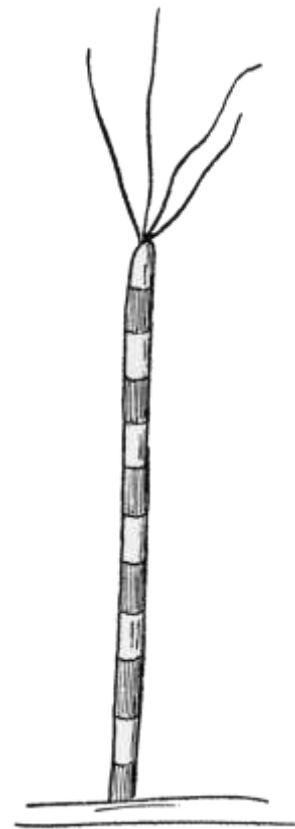


Fig. 209.
Dance tree.

Voluminous dishes, prepared at Ngirturóng's expense, were brought to the Galid on a daily basis, and Ngirturóng had a special house and a covered dance area built next to the Blai Nr. I in a Idid. On the *gólbed* in front of the Blai sat the high-ranking women, behind them the young girls. To the side, hidden in the bushes and the houses, were the men. Women, painted red, with "a stick decorated at the top with a crown, artfully crafted of white wood strips with painted red tips" in each hand performed the dances on the dance floor, accompanied by song. "A lead singer would sing a verse, without moving." The dance eventually grows wilder and ends with a shout.

5. *galsíměr*⁹⁸² "locked in" (KUB.: Mur kalsimmel), because on the occasion of this *feast* the women who perform the dance must live secluded for a long time prior to the dance. This celebration is specially hosted by a husband to honor his wife, as seen in Stories 30 and 170, or as a reward (*golbatl*) for the house god, when the oracle (*mangelíl*) demonstrates that he requests a celebration. Alternatively, a celebration may be held simply because a rich Rubak is in high spirits. Poorer people hold a simple moonlight dance *nglóik búíěł*, which lasts the night of the full moon, as a *gobátl*. For smaller celebrations, seclusion in the Blai lasts up to five days. In Goréör, the dancers were locked into the dance house, which was already discussed in the previous dance, for up to 3-4 months; usually it was only 1-2 months. The seclusion was not strict, the individual dancers would alternate, so that always only a part of the whole group was there. 5-8 days before the celebration, no one was allowed to leave anymore, because sexual intercourse was also forbidden during that time. In particular, two women were always segregated very strictly, on account of the Galid. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 44, says: "The amount of taro consumed runs to hundreds of baskets, and the costs are so high, that a Horau must take place, i.e., all women related to the family of the host give money" (see above, pg. 286).

Dances.

The most important of the dances is the *ruk*, also called *gorúk*. It involves temporary seclusion of the men, just as *galsíměr* demands for women. It is performed at *mulbekl* celebrations, i.e. at large-scale celebrations, for example, when a village destroyed by war is to be rebuilt, or when an important Bai is to be newly constructed, for which the blessing of the gods is sought, or when a high-ranking Rubak is ill. A *ruk* is one of the most important events in the lives of the natives, particularly in the principal villages. SEMPER and KUBARY have published many reports of their first-hand observations, which are all the more important in light of the fact that in recent times these dances have been forbidden due to some of irregularities associated with them, which meant that I myself was unable to witness them.

The overall picture of the *ruk* is this:

When the Rubak decide that a *mulbekl* should be held with a *ruk*, they break up a round taro bench (see above, pg. 119) in the *bai l pelú*, the village Bai, and hang the broken pieces outside on the Bai; this is the *mesívěg a tóluk* (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 104: *mesíuker a tolúk*). It is a sign for everyone that there will soon be a *ruk*.

Now the clubs of the village are informed and asked if they are ready to perform the dance. The oldest club is tasked to perform the dance with the sacred *goroviděl*, the wooden reproduction of the Caranx fish (Fig. 210), which each dancer holds in their hands; they even assume the name *goroviděl* (pg. 315). This oldest club, when secluded, is therefore called *klemeai*⁹⁸³,

while the other, younger ones are called *gotebáděl* (KUB. Kotobádel), or also *goltebér*⁹⁸⁴, and are only partially secluded, if at all. If the clubs accept the invitation, a banquet is held for them (KUB.: *kal ra mtu* food for entering). Then the preparations and the preliminary rehearsals (*mesup*)

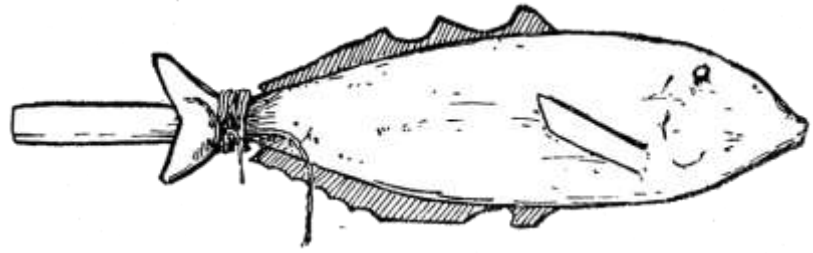


Fig.210.

Goroviděl Fisch als Tanzgegenstand.

begin. When a club is ready, it goes into the neighboring villages, to recruit helpers (*sauluai*⁹⁸⁵, KUB.: *sauluayu*), who are then trained. The club members who are not secluded may include servers who arrange for the food. Then an agreement is made (KUB.: *Klauses*, probably from *klau* reciprocal, *sess* industry) that all participants in the dance will dress alike, that they will wear the same earrings, combs, adzes, baskets, limestone sticks, etc.; everyone then looks around for these items.

Once everything is ready, the seclusion begins. It is particularly strict in those villages where the village god is to be honored, for example in *a Irai* (Vol. 2, pg. 186), in *Melekéiok* (Vol. 2, pg. 101), then in *Ngërupesáng* and *Ngarbagéd* (it. pgs. 111 and 248), where the god *a Ugél'lëgalid* was celebrated. KUB., Vol. II, pgs. 105-108, describes it from this point on. When everything is ready, the leading club, the *klemeai*, which has the privilege of calling itself *goroviděl*, announces that the *metególp*⁹⁸⁶ *a táiu* (KUB.: *megolgollp a tain*) must now take place, the washing and oiling. Before the procession into the village, all of the dancers rub turmeric yellow on themselves, called "strengthening oneself" *omesiěg* (KUB.: *Mesiýek*). At the same time, they tie coconut fronds around their neck (*lebú*, KUB.: *golobún*, see pg. 20 and Fig. 212) and around their wrists and ankles (see above, pg. 31). Thus adorned and singing, they proceed towards the main Bai, where the Rubak are gathered.

The lead club enters (*olsísěp* or *soísěp a klemeâi*), becoming *meâi*, and may no longer leave. The other clubs go into their Bai. Both sides of the *bai l pelú* are cleared of weeds and bushes, and a hut (*gongróěl* and *uldékl*; see House above, pg. 208) is built here for every Rubak, in which he stays with his family, and where the food is prepared for the dancers. The women, however, may not see them, so a fence is constructed around the Bai. Only men may hand food (pork, sweets, but no fish⁹⁸⁷) to those who are in seclusion. The dishes must be on wooden plates, into which coconut fronds woven by the priest are stuck, called *blsebúd*⁹⁸⁸; these may not quiver when the bowl is carried. In addition to the huts, a raised shrine is built for the priest of the god⁹⁸⁹; its lower space represents a room. The priest is locked in this little two-story house. He has a conch shell with him, which he uses to sound his signals, early in the morning the *ovětkéu*⁹⁹⁰ *ra gameráěg* (KUB.: Owitkeu a Kameráek), at day break the *melógěd ra mangidáp* “the breaking of spider webs,” followed later by the call to breakfast *gongráol*, at noon to eat *goléngěl* and in the evening the *gúěs* (see above, pg. 42). “After each of the priest’s trumpet calls, the secluded ones answer with a long signal, for each member has a conch shell, and the four houses of the village answer one by one with gradually shorter blows.” In the Rubak Bai, the *goroviděl* performs its dance after every signal. According to KUB., this sounding of the horn is the privilege of *a Irai*, Ngarbagéd, and Ngerupesáng, while Melekéiok, for example, refrains from doing it, out of respect for its neighbor.

Once the priest has declared that the period of seclusion is over, there is a celebratory “coming out of the *ruk*,” *goltóběd ra ruk* (KUB.: Ottobot a ruk), also called *klóul tebedél* “his big coming out”; clubs from other villages are needed for this.

The most important feature is the setting up of the *mesáng* mast, which was previously discussed in Vol. 2, pg. 101, the *bedeklél*⁹⁹¹ *a mesáng*, which is especially popular at women’s celebrations (Fig. 209). The mast is considered the cane (*skors*, poss. *skersél*) of the god. Often, a coconut hangs at its tip and is left there after the celebration; if it sprouts and falls off, it is planted, and if the tree thrives, this is seen as a good omen (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 112). In Ngerupesáng (Vol. II, pg. 210) the two sides are hung with a wooden kingfisher and a frigate bird, which are holy to Ugél’lěgalíd.

This god is considered the inventor of the *ruk*. It is said that once when he sat on the shore of a Ugél pelú, he saw a *goroviděl* jumping after a *tebér* sardine. The jumps inspired him so much that he decided to adopt the Caranx as a symbol of the dance. In *a Irai*, especially, this is observed, because their god Medegei is a descendent of Ugél'lëgalid. In *a Irai*, during the period of seclusion, the dancers have in the Bai, in addition to their *tet* hand baskets, another little basket called *gomsangěl*⁹⁹². This basket contains the betel quid for the god and is hung on the Bai wall behind the back of its owner. In *a Irai*, where several other unusual things occur (Vol. 2, pg. 186, and here, pg. 338), the *klemeai* people engage in something special. Everyone from Blai Nr. I-X makes thread (*ker'rël*) and weaves a net with a particular mesh size; even the *uriúl* members take part. All of the nets are then tied together, resulting in a long net, which is spread out over the water on the Megórei stone wharf (Vol. 2, Map 22, pg. 182), as a soul-catching net for the protective deities, the 7 Galid, the Tekiél maláp (Story 137). These special practices apply only to *a Irai* and Ngát pang, however, which are the villages of Medegei pélau (Story 197). After all of these activities, the day of coming out begins in earnest.

In the morning, the village women go to the village Bai and rub turmeric on the *klemeai*⁹⁹³. Each of them puts on a women's skirt. In this state, the men now advance in a festive procession towards the ocean, holding the wooden *goroviděl* in their raised right hands. At the edge of the path, at some distance, lies a tridacna clam shell filled with water. The leader dips the head of his dance rod figure into this, an act known as *omárëg ra goroviděl*⁹⁹⁴ "the dipping of the Caranx." After this, the group returns to the Bai in silence, where the women perform their dances on the stage. Now has come the time for the dancers to show what they have learned while being sequestered. First they do *klemeai* a little dance and then return to their Bai. It is not until the afternoon that the great dance *goroviděl* is performed; it is followed by the *kotebádël*, the other clubs.

Next on the program is "catching spears" *bedóiël* (KUB.: Blodoyol). One of the *klemeai* stays on the platform, while down below another one approaches with 3 spears, which he hurls at the person standing above. The latter dodges them adroitly or even catches them (Story 161). In former times, this spear throwing game was popular all over Palau.

After this, the other clubs also dance on the stage, exhibiting the same ornamentation as their predecessors. Stories 232 and 233 show two very old songs that used to accompany the *ruk* dance, but which are no longer understood these days. The first song shows many shouts,

and its first two verses are sung while in a sitting position. In the evening, everyone bathes and eats, and then the ceremonial *ruk* is over.⁹⁹⁵

It is worth considering the report in the *Deutsche Kolonialblatt* in 1901, pg. 449: “The dance was performed on a 200-300m long and several meter wide wooden structure by men and boys only. Red hibiscus blossoms protruded from their black hair, garlands of reedlike leaves were wound around their shoulders, and their hands moved like castanets when they danced. In their right hand they held a spearlike bamboo pole, which they held and swung gracefully in accordance with the rhythmic movements of their bodies. Representing a historical event, the dance began with a spear duel between two solo dancers. In this duel, the first one, without throwing any spears himself, adroitly caught the spears hurled at him, until his opponent, now weaponless, gave up the fight and disappeared among the spectators. Then about 60 men entered the dance structure, moving in a slow dance step and accompanying their movements with a deep, melodious singing, and artfully performed frontal dances and dances facing sideways, which had obviously been carefully rehearsed. This dance had very few erotic aspects. The whole performance conveyed quite a ceremonial, unique impression, one that I have never before experienced in dances of other colored peoples.”

KUB. says that all brothers-in-law and sons-in-law of the celebration hosts attend the *ruk* with their wives and give the *gorau*⁹⁹⁶, which is later announced in ceremonial fashion at the village Bai. Friendly villages and districts are invited to attend. The invitation takes the form of a sweet dish, called *debëgël* “support”⁹⁹⁷ in this context. Acceptance of the dish obligates them to come and deliver the *peketél a udóud* (from *omókēt* “to pay,” “money”; KUB.: Bohatél a Audoud). The foreign Rubak come as *klegădăol*⁹⁹⁸, are fed and entertained for three days in ceremonial fashion, and when the time is up they make their contribution; the Rubak Nr. I-V give 1 *kluk*, the rest give 1 *delóbög*. In this way, the *ruk* strengthens friendly relations. After the first main day, the *beregél a gorovíděl*, there are more dances and games, but these are no longer ceremonial; they are for entertainment.

According to KUB., Vol. II, pg. 112, in Ngabúkěd (Vol. 2, pg. 50), instead of a *ruk*, there was just a small *temengél a vag* (Temengél a wak), a men’s dance, for which the women provide torch light = *metúiëg a ruk* (molúyoker a ruk). The only guests invited for this are from Ngarárd, and they pay little or nothing (see the *kikeruau* celebration, pg. 308). For information about the *blebáol* before and after the *ruk*, see above, pg. 303.

This is how the famous Palauan *ruk* dance was performed!

As for the dancing itself, all movements are generally subdued; only in the moonlight dances *melíl a búiël* (see Story 37) do things appear to proceed

a little more lively and represent events, as SEMP., Vol. II, pg. 293, describes. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 103, names the wild *ngadēbú* dances Angadewu. A distinction is made between dances on the ground *ngloik ra gútūm* and on the stage *goiláol* in the dance house *diangěl*.

Dances on the Ground:

I once saw a dance performed in a seated position by a women's *klegădăol* from Pelíliou, on the pavement in front of the *Săgămús Bai* in Goréör (Plate 17). The dancers sat crowded together, more or less in a circle and, singing in a monotone, performed languid arm movements. In the dance song *bóid* (see Story 235), every one stands up only when they are to slap themselves on the thighs while clapping. The clapping dance *malagolei* and *iangsól* (Bai 88) also belong in this category.

Standing dance. I watched the previously mentioned *klegădăol* from Pelíliou perform this in a circular formation.

The most common are the row dances. P. RAYMUND says (From the Mission, 1909, pg. 24): They form two long rows. "A shrill, piercing cry opens the dance, which consists of little more than body movements, facial expressions, and marching back and forth. The accompanying singing is very slow and monotonous, and the voices range only in half notes."—"But this makes the movements even more beautiful. So precise, so elegant and diverse were the many gestures, steps, turns, that one could only admire them."

Plate 16 shows a simple row dance of young girls in Galáp with the movements.

For information about the "standing dance" *golekisél*, with hand clapping, see Story 236.

The walking dance *galitūk* is, like all dances, accompanied by singing *galitákl*, which is probably where the name comes from (see Story 89 and Story 231). Often, the dancers are arranged in five rows, but then squat, known as *blsúkl*, *blseklél a galitūk*, and move this way, dancing, along the stone path, often with branches in their hand (*klbógěl*). Story 39 shows some of the things that can happen in this dance; also pg. 261.

The stick dance *geivod* is identical to the *gamál* on Yap and was imported from there. This is probably also the place for the *telutau* dance (see pg. 151), in which the women hold a *rongór* mat in their hands (see Bai 50, VIIa).

War dances, performed mostly when a head has been captured *blebáol*, are therefore called *blebadáol* (see pg. 302); the spear dance (Vol. 1, pg. 105) mentioned by WILSON indicates this; the story on pg. 283 confirms it.

Religious celebrations, as KUB. says, usually end with dances in the nude.

Dances on the Stage *goiláol*:

These were previously described above on pg. 309 (see also *ruk*). I would like to still mention here that the opening of the roof at the beginning must be considered to be the basis of our theater performances, which achieve their first effect through raising of the curtain.

This has not been reported by anyone previously. The stage for the men's dances does not have a roof. On Palau, the raised roof side is not lowered at the end of the performance. The *ngáis berebúr* appears to be a dance on the wooden floor of the Bai (Story 38), in this instance men and women appear together, otherwise they usually dance separately. Considering their customs, one can assume that this was quite a liberal affair (see Vol. 1, pg. 133, and Vol. 2, pg. 275).

Dance objects held in the hand during the dance, such as spears and the *gorovídēl* fish, have already been mentioned. Additional objects of importance are the dance paddles, called *besós ra nglóik* when they are one-sided, and *besós lī ē tekil* when "both sides" have a blade (see Fig. 211).

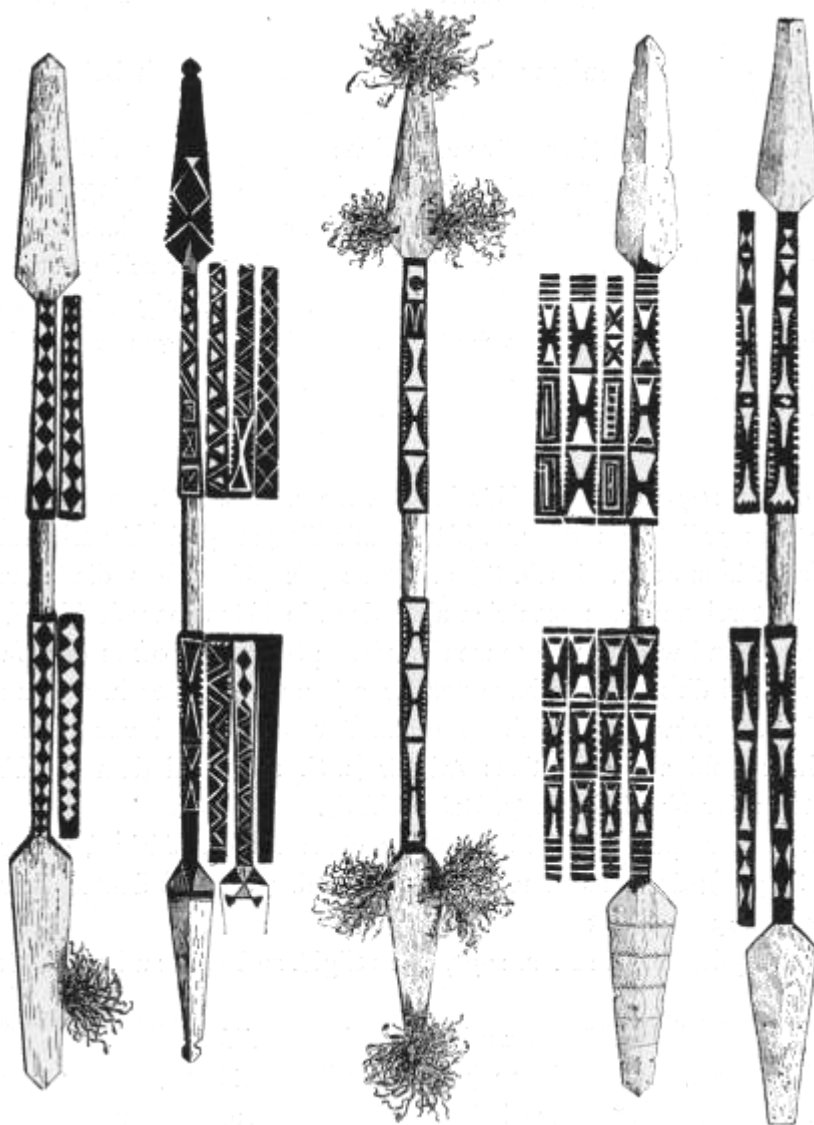
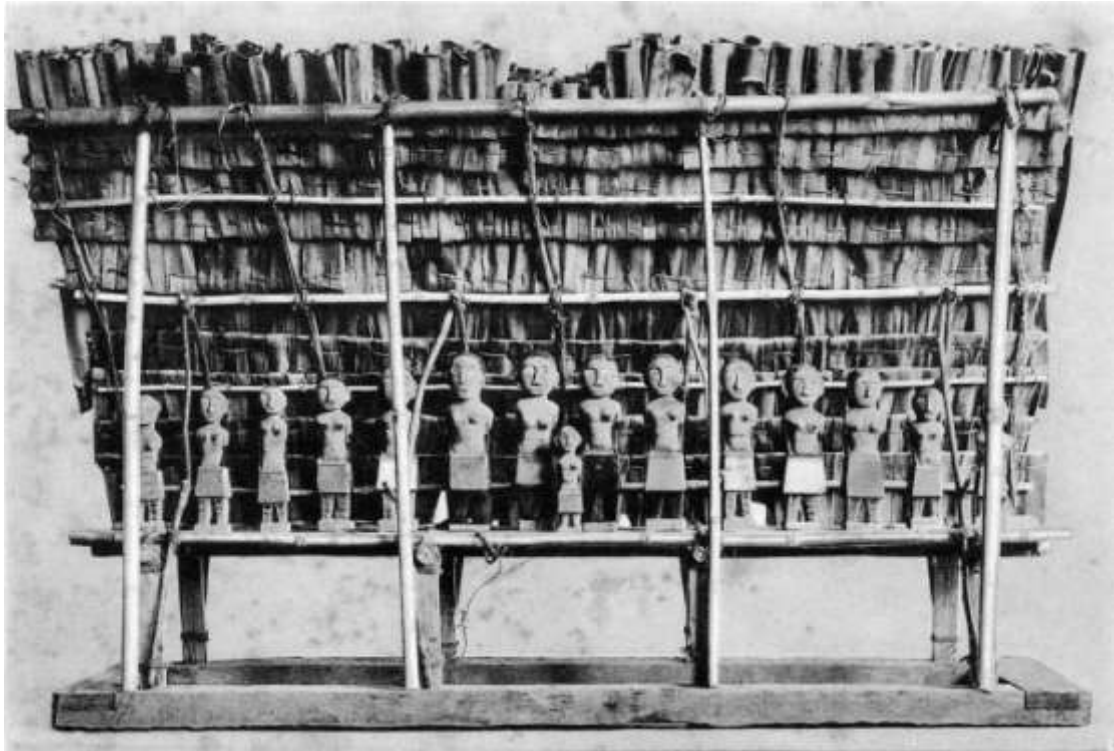


Fig. 211. Dance paddles. Hamburg. Length approx. 60 cm.

//Krämer, Palau, Vol. 3, Plate 18//



Upper left: Galid Mogoloú of Ngaraus with phallus
Upper right: Galid Temdókl (see Vol. 2, Plate 10)
Below: Model of a Women's Dance House

Alles im Linden-Museum Stuttgart

These paddles were used on bamboo rafts, like the kayaks of the Eskimos. The paddles have holes for inserting white feathers (*bsěgěl a besós*) or bundles of fiber; they are decorated with notched cuts and paint. Finally, the dancers often hold branches *klbógěl* in their hands (see pg. 308), which are also depicted with the 10 crabs in Bai 144 VIIIa. Hand movements alone are called *blěgóbög*.

Dance masks are not used (see MÜLLER, Yap, pg. 265).

Music.

On Palau, music is sparse. There are no instruments⁹⁹⁹, not even drums. Music is confined to singing, but the forms I heard spanned a range of only 2 or 3 notes, similar to Yap, and in accordance with what MÜLLER says on pg. 265 about singing in Palau. WILSON's reports are in agreement with this. Even SEMP. already mentions the monotone (see above, pg. 311). This is even more noteworthy when one considers how highly developed the art of poetry is.



Fig. 212.

Jew's harp made of bamboo.

The only music was singing *l'ál*¹⁰⁰⁰. Singing is divided into the following types:

1. *klakelál* alternating singing (Story 37 and example in Stories 226 and 228).
2. *galítakl* (poss. *galiteklél*) improvised song dealing with any subject.
3. *kerekórd* nice-sounding singing (Story 229), sung by at least three people.
4. *gelgesgésěp* loud sound, sung by at least three persons in the club in the evening (Story 230).
5. *bóid* (poss. *bidél*) dance songs (Story 235 and f.).
6. *repetí*, or *aurepetí*, dance songs (Story 234).
7. *bagēsīl dere rebāgesīl* (poss. *bagēsīlél*) love songs (see Stories 212-114).
8. *gosóls*¹⁰⁰¹ dirges sung at funeral ceremonies (see KUB., Vol. III, pg. 6), also litanies in cases of illness (see pgs. 303, 308, and 326).
9. *gongúrěs* war and rowing songs.

Often, when someone felt he had been treated poorly by another, he would make his injury known in a song, which was then answered by the offending party (see Story 210).

Alternating singing is the most popular: a precantor¹⁰⁰³ *ked ra nglóik*, who must be a descendent of a certain family (see Story 154) and enjoys greater liberties, begins; sometimes he sings or speaks the main verse as many as 12 times, as WILSON reported in Vol. I, pg. 110. The main verse is called *a úgul* according to SEMP., Vol. II, pg. 314, i.e. “stem.” The refrain, called *rsél*¹⁰⁰⁴ “his end” (SEMP.: Serséll), is taken up by the chorus. Often, the precantor at a women’s dance was a man, as Story 131 of Delákl shows. Song 234 Repetí is performed loudly on stage by a man, who claps on his right thigh; the chorus then joins in; then from the other side, someone sings a *golekál*¹⁰⁰⁵, which is also taken up by the chorus.

Generally, the islanders sing with a full voice from the chest, but I also heard shrill voices rising above the chorus, and occasionally also calls from the row of dancers. The screeching voices in the *ruk* must be powerful, as Story 232 shows.

Litanies *kel’lói galdólóm*¹⁰⁰⁶ (WALL.: *galdólem*) are performed at funerals. The ones I heard in Ngarmid consisted of two long, drawn-out notes, the second one an entire note lower than the first. As with the *golekāsēl* (above, pg. 317), the hands are clapped during the singing. For information about the wild dances and obscene songs sung at funerals, see KUB., Vol. II, pg. 7, and below.

Simple songs are called *deláng*. Everything points to the fact that the art of poetry is highly respected, especially the great epic songs, the songs of the heroes 193-209. The singer Goldegól from Nggeiangel was famous. He once brought eight baskets full of songs to Goréör, of which some samples remain in Story 196. The magical effect of song on gods and people was crucial.

b) Games and Sports.

The *melil a búiēl*, which was previously mentioned with the dances and singing, is one of the most charming expressions of Palauan life. “Promenading under the moon,” meaning of course the full moon, is really a pleasure enjoyed by inhabitants of the tropics that we who live in upper latitudes cannot share. The cool night, following a hot day, and the brightness of the full moon at the equator play a large role in this. Even the danger of an ambush does nothing to subdue the playfulness of the youths, seeing as rain or wind or other circumstances often prevent the excursion already. If there is a state of *lógēd*, i.e. a state of war, depending on the danger,

the islanders gather at the beach, if there is one, or else on the lowlands near their village, which is possible anywhere. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 101 says: “The girls go to great lengths to adorn themselves, because at this time they are to exert the power of their charms on their *songél*, their lovers¹⁰⁰⁸. But the whole group scatters across the grass-covered areas and plays numerous games, of which I will list the most important ones here.”

I shall list them in order, to correct the names and provide additional information.

*kleiskúrs*¹⁰⁰⁹ (Klayskúrs) Tug-of-war (see Bai 26 Via).

klaivúl (Klaylúul). An upright pole is surrounded by one group; another tries to grab it. Attack cry *vúl*. Anyone touched by the attackers is “out” as *terútěg* (torútok) a “touched one.” If someone touches the pole, they call out *tű*, which is the name for the pole itself.

klaiberebárt (Klaybarbárt) Hide-and-seek (see Bai 13 IVb).

túungei (Tuungéy) Human chain game, long chain of people. “The two ends of it break apart and, following each other, run under the arms of the others, who are forming arches.”

*kaiděbedóbög*¹⁰¹⁰ (Kaydobodóbok) Wrestling match between two men.

kaibibráng (Kaybibrá) Game of throwing, catching, and placing in a hole. Two people sit opposite one another; each one has a hole next to them. A) throws an Areca nut or a little stone, B) tries to catch the item and quickly puts it in the hole next to A), which A) tries to prevent.

klaipdú (Kayptú) Ball game. Square, woven ball (*pdú*), tossed by all players of the game, may not fall to the ground. On the Gilbert Islands, there is a stone inside the ball.

klaitmálk (Klaytmálk) Chicken fighting. This is what KUB. calls the game wherein men stand on each other's shoulders and attack each other, trying to push each other off.

Real cock fighting has also recently cropped up, introduced from Manila, as the *logukl* show (Vol. 4, double Plate 32 s. u. t.). But the sport must not have been entirely unfamiliar on Palau, because it appears in many places in the Carolines, especially in Truk, where it is quite advanced. It is said that originally there were no domestic chickens on Palau, only bush chickens (verb *mangaitmálk* to play chicken fight).

tumgúb (Tumogúb). A man stands on top of a group of men who are lying down, and an attempt is made to get him to lose his balance and fall.

garmék l kíaú (Karamél kiyéu) “my animal the *kíaú*” (see fish). Ring dance; in the center stands a dancer who jumps about happily like a *kíaú* fish.

kaibrebúrěg (Kay burbúrok) Throwing spears at one another.

kaitevētēg (Kay toétték) Throwing objects (for example, stones) at one another.

bedóieł Catching spears (see above, pg. 315).

blútēk (poss. *bltekél*) Racing toy canoes (see above, pg. 197). KUB. expresses the opinion that this activity was as hotly pursued as on Truk, where it also had religious meaning, and where they built beautiful models like on the Gilbert Islands. On Palau (Fig. 175), on the other hand, it seems to have remained a game and not become a sport, even though occasionally the adults organized little races for the instruction of the boys. The fact that canoe racing¹⁰¹¹ was practiced in Palau is shown by Story 16. Thus one may assume that at least the youth occasionally engaged in this sport (see also below, the votive canoe, Fig. 176).

Pigeon hunting and hunting of bats count as sports; both are described above, on pg. 65.

Also among sports-related events are the ceremonial flying of kites, which were called *kēdām* (poss. *kedemúl*) like the frigate bird, as Story 18 of Ngardmau reports and describes (see below, pg. 328). It must have been a wonderful sight to see the sky over the heath full of huge flying objects. It is lamentable that there are no documented observations of this. And not even a model has survived. The importance of the kite as messenger is shown in Story 8 with the *ngamgogúi*, the feather in the hair tie, and especially fascinating is the foreign Story 176 of the letter-bearing kite.

I also found no previous mentions of the following games: *mangebís*, which is played with tops (WALL.: *chebís* top), *melitái* rolling of hoops (WALL.: rolling) and spearing while rolling, *omóiēs* shooting with the small fruit of the *demāilei* mountain palm, *mēdegímēs* smoking (*molokói*) of the hollow fern stems of the *delímēs* fern, which both boys and girls engage in. What is also cute is watching the children carry water in the hollowed-out fruit of *bekróu*, which is about the size of an apple, stick the palm-like starch plants *sēbósōp* in the sand at the beach, and then pretend to cook the syrup *a iláot* in *Calophyllum* fruits in this palm orchard.

As everywhere, there are many such games of imitation, and they change from time to time, as P. RAYMUNDUS states in *Anthropos* 1911, pg. 40. The last important thing to mention is the *galid ē bálol*¹⁰¹² string game, to which P. RAYM. devoted his whole work. He calls it “god’s gift” (see Gólei, Vol. 2) and distinguishes the following:

- a) String figure games played by two people, which are very easy. “When a child has completed a figure with his or her string, a friend takes over the string, producing another shape, a new figure.” This is also the category under which he includes pictures made from two skirts.
- b) Simple string games, played by one person, much more artistic and elaborate; teeth, toes, etc. are used.

String games also served to pass the time for adults, for example on ocean voyages, as Story 8 shows. P. RAYM. gives 76 examples with drawings and excellent photos; anyone interested in this subject should definitely consult the original. The hopes that were entertained concerning the development of ornamental art from these string games has not been fulfilled; but they remain important enough. Furthermore, explanations of the pictures result in a lot of material for the stories, so in-depth research and description of this kind are not in vain, as shown here.

Because of my own observations of such games, which we played a lot ourselves for amusement, I refer here to Truk.

c) Geography and Astronomy.

Due to the lack of ocean navigation, which was reported above on pg. 172, the islanders have no precise knowledge of this. Ugeltmél (Story 10) taught his son the principles of navigation, which are Central Carolinian. Otherwise, Palau, like most native peoples, has its own land created by its own god, and its own sky. Several words best reflect the state of knowledge (compare Vol. 1, Maps 2 and 3, Vol. 2 beginning).

Earth <i>pelú lagád</i> (land of the people)	Volcanic land <i>pelau</i>
Ground <i>gútũm</i> (poss. <i>gětēmél</i>)	Coral (limestone) <i>lovĩl</i>
Hard kernel <i>ungelél a gutũm</i> (from <i>uíngěl</i> tooth)	Loose stones <i>guld</i> ; gravel <i>geidúdēs</i>
White clay <i>gasagáem</i>	White earth <i>mlús</i>
Stone <i>bád</i> (<i>bědũl</i>)	Cliff <i>rois</i> , <i>ĩl</i> cave (WALL.: <i>ĩi</i>)
Black stone <i>risóis</i> , bad <i>ritěg</i>	Coal <i>deldálāg</i> ; mud <i>mangelengélt</i>
Red earth <i>gorĩg</i>	Yellow earth <i>gesú</i>
Limestone cliff <i>gogeál</i> (poss. <i>gogalél</i>)	Hollow gorge <i>měbeóbog</i> , <i>ĩlsngesngéld</i> ¹⁰¹³ a <i>galebágap</i>
Coastal cliffs <i>galebágap</i> (WALL.: Coral reefs)	Mountain <i>róis</i> , hill <i>bukl</i>
Lowland <i>medũl</i> (poss. <i>meduelél</i>)	Valley <i>medéu</i> , <i>eóbog</i> , hilly <i>měbeóbog</i>
Bay <i>metúkěr</i> (poss. <i>metkerél</i>)	Flatland <i>modéd le gútum</i>
Beach <i>kerekér</i> (poss. <i>kerekerengél</i>)	Flatland <i>malamált le gútum</i>
Sand <i>golegól</i>	Sandy bottom in the ocean <i>bärtakl</i>
Sand and rocks in the ocean <i>bătăot</i>	
Forest <i>goreóměł</i> (poss. <i>goremelél</i>)	Large forest <i>maltált ureóměł</i>
Heath <i>ked</i>	
Moon <i>búiěł</i> (poss. <i>bilél</i>)	4 days before full moon <i>kedēsāu</i> (a fish)
Waning <i>búiěłngod</i> or <i>kereměrēm</i> ¹⁰¹⁴	3 days before full moon <i>ogoingárk</i>

New moon <i>tap</i> ¹⁰¹⁵ l <i>búiěł</i>	2 days before full moon <i>koidúdur</i>
1 st quarter moon (sickle) <i>tuáp</i>	1 day before full moon <i>buikrú</i>
Waxing <i>búiěłngabárd</i>	Full moon <i>gorakirūg</i>
Half moon <i>gēsěp</i> ¹⁰¹⁶	
Sky <i>iángěd</i> (WALL. <i>eánged</i>)	Heaven, divine <i>babluáděs</i>
Horizon <i>a úgul a iángěd</i>	Earth <i>eóul uáděs</i>

Sun *sils* (poss. *ksél*): Sunrise *másăg*, morning *tútau* (morning bird), approx. 8 o'clock *golmatmalá*¹⁰¹⁷ l *děrudēm*, the sucking of the Diodon fish, 10 o'clock *gosbáděl a rongós* (see pg. 44), noon *gosbáděl* (WALL.: *godogosóug chosbedelang*), 1-3 o'clock *ieta gosbáděl* (past noon, WALL.), 3-5 *mulékl a sils* (*dulókl* crooked), 5-6 o'clock *golongosóngol a sils* (see pg. 44), sundown *ngelt a sils* (*mieténgěl*), evening *kebesengei*. Night *klebesei* or *moáis*. Star *pdúg* (poss. *psegengél*), meteor *mungúps* (thief), comet *ouemókět* (from comb feather *gomókět*, pg. 26).

Astronomy was poorly developed, for the reasons already mentioned. The islanders know, of course, that the Pleiades *mesikt* rise in the East and set in the West, and that is how they measure the year. The Seven Sisters are also important because of illness and death, which are thought to be the result of their too rapid rise, which can be prevented by magic, as presented in Story 94a. The leader of the constellations also causes the moon and Pleiades to move closer to one another often. The *logukl* in Bai 6 IIIb shows next to them the constellation *bersákl a riráměs* (WALL.: *berdakl a R.* the four little stars under Orion's sword); Bai 29 IVb and Bai 106 IIb also show the pincers *gogádu* (WALL.: *chochádou* Hyaden with Aldebaran), then the big star *gomeráed* Venus as the morning star¹⁰¹⁸ and the pitcher-shaped constellation *gongáu*, Bai 43 IIb, next to *bersákl* and *gogádu*, like a nose clamp, the crab *gamáng*, the right angle *baraikngót* (*bar* mat, *ngot* taro pounding board) and the three flints *aingúkl* (WALL.: head of Orion). These are also called the Orion's belt *tpard i dngód* (tattoo hook, pg. 34). The Milky Way is called *didíl* (path) of Gadabedei (Story 193). WALL. names some of the planets: Jupiter *milenglí*, derived from *ómang* to make slide, because it is sometimes confused with Venus as the morning star, then *chuíť er a* Ngatmél, hair of Berenike¹⁰¹⁹, *derráu l chetmél* (*deráu l gatmél* net of Ngt., Story 10) the crown (Gemma). WALL. also mentions *telchát el tkngei* a constellation in Taurus.

The islanders use the following compass directions: North *dilúgěs*, South *a dims*, East *gongós* (poss. *gongosíl*) and West *ngabárd* (poss. *ngăbărdél*), Northeast *dilúgěs ungós*, Northwest *dilúgěs ngabárd*, etc.

When I said that the years are determined by the Pleiades, I must say that there is no real word for a year; perhaps the word *darak* is used. It is more common to calculate in half years *rak* (see Story 54) (poss. *rekíl*), and the following distinctions are made:

The trade wind season (our winter, December through May) *klsél a gongós* the “sun of the East,” so called because the northeastern trade winds blow.

The rainy season (July through November) *kelél a ngabárd* the “food of the West,” because that the majority of fruit ripening takes place when the West winds come, which bring rain. On the island of Ngarekobasáng, the place where the sun rises and sets is marked, and certain flowers are watched.

I should mention several time periods that are like months; but the times correspond only generally to our system of months:

March-April	<i>Táog</i>
Approx. June	<i>râud</i> “fickle,” because of changes in wind direction
Approx. July	<i>kmúr</i> . The <i>Dracaena</i> bloom. It is said: “The tongue of the <i>kmur</i> trembles when the new wind comes.” I was unable to learn more. WALL.: <i>tngmur</i> , KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 268: <i>tmur</i> , from Carolinian <i>tumur</i> = Antares
Approx. August	<i>madaláp</i> “open,” i.e. the stomach, because there is too much high water ¹⁰²⁰ , so that the catch of fish is reduced, and there is much taro in the oven. The <i>roro</i> (<i>Erythrina</i>) blossom appears at the foot of the tree.
Approx. September	<i>galíd</i> (according to KUB. also <i>mékngit a ngklél</i> “bad his name” or <i>lak</i>) “middle,” because the Pleiades and the moon are at their zenith at this time, i.e. they pass each other. Blossoming of the <i>Erythrina</i> at the top of the tree, breadfruit ripe.
Approx. October	<i>gorongóděl</i> “binding,” because the pigeon hunting huts are newly tied and the decoy pigeons are lashed on; the bush pigeons are fat at this time.
Approx. November	<i>geiag</i> “someone who stares out,” because all of the fruit now emerges, or ripens (from <i>mangiág</i> “to stare out of a hole”), see also the schools of fish in <i>a Iraî</i> , Story 11.

High tide and low tide are aspects of the ocean *dáob* and sea *ngaovávél* (WALL.: *ngoóol*) that are particularly important to the natives, because their entire navigation in inland waters is dependent on them (see Vol. 1, pg. 212).

Important terms:

Incoming tide (flood, high tide) *kerík*

Ebbing tide (low tide) *garágās, magaragár*

Low tide *magédageî*

Medium tide *admólog a geî* (sufficient for canoes)

gei, ged or *ugél a géd* shallow water on the reef good for a fishing spot,
 then *ged lorakirug* low tide at full moon
ged l'tap l búiěł low tide at new moon
 also *delegél a dorakirūg* high tide at full moon or *klól dólōg* (great flood)
delegél a tapl búiěł low tide at full moon or *kekerél dólōg* (small flood) or *mangeāi*
makáud water dammed up

d) Medicine and Sexual Expressions.

All illness (*rakt*)¹⁰²¹ comes from the *Galíd*. Healing is therefore called “freeing” *melúbět* from them. When someone is taken ill, one first does a *mangălíl* (pg. 345), after the relatives of the sick have told the fortune teller what the sick person did, whether he insulted a person or a Galid, whether he was adulterous, etc. The fortune teller acts accordingly. He either breaks coconuts, as previously described on pg. 267, or he weaves coconut fronds into magic knots, Figs. 213 and 214 (see Bai 41 IIb), he checks the spiders on the *lap* trees, listens to the gecko, observes the clouds¹⁰²², etc. (see Chapter 4). From these signs he learns the will of the gods (*gongalíl*). Generally, the Galid of the insulted person is thought to be angry and is thus the cause of the offender’s illness, for example in the case of adultery, where the Galid of the betrayed person seeks revenge. The situation is particularly bad if the divine protectors are *tengangói lě galíd* “ugly gods” (see pg. 335). If the god in question is an important one, the fortune teller usually predicts that a *murfeast* must be held for the *klól l galíd*, as discussed above on pg. 306. SEMP. describes such a celebration, which is like the one we observed. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 44, also calls a small celebration *melángēs a dep*¹⁰²³, a banquet with 10 baskets of taro, one pot of cooked meat, and betelnut, to which the friend of the sick person is invited. He apparently negotiates with the priests and gods. The larger *ngáis burbur* and Kosols ardil were previously discussed above on pg. 308.

In general, the *gosóls* singing (see above pg. 319) played a large role in healing the sick, because the art of poetry was highly esteemed, as emphasized on pg. 308. KUB. also mentions a men’s *gosóls* as being particularly effective. A club of young people goes with the Rubak to the location of the god and sacrifices the sick person’s money. For this purpose, the *súmōg* of the god (see pg. 228) is carried out of the priest’s house or the Bai, wherever it happens to be, and set up in front of the house (then *tet*). The sacrificial donation is laid in this *tet*. For information about the *blebáol* that is then also required, see pg. 303.

A special method of appealing for recovery is the use of the little consecrated houses *gatekil'l*, which are similar to our votive offerings. Above (pg. 227), I already spoke of one that I found on Ngátmědug. Koróděldil from the Blai Ngarairomél in Ngarebóděł, who was old, had been taken ill, and her relatives therefore had a little house made. They brought this, along with several baskets of taro and young coconuts, a small pitcher of syrup, and a stinking fish,

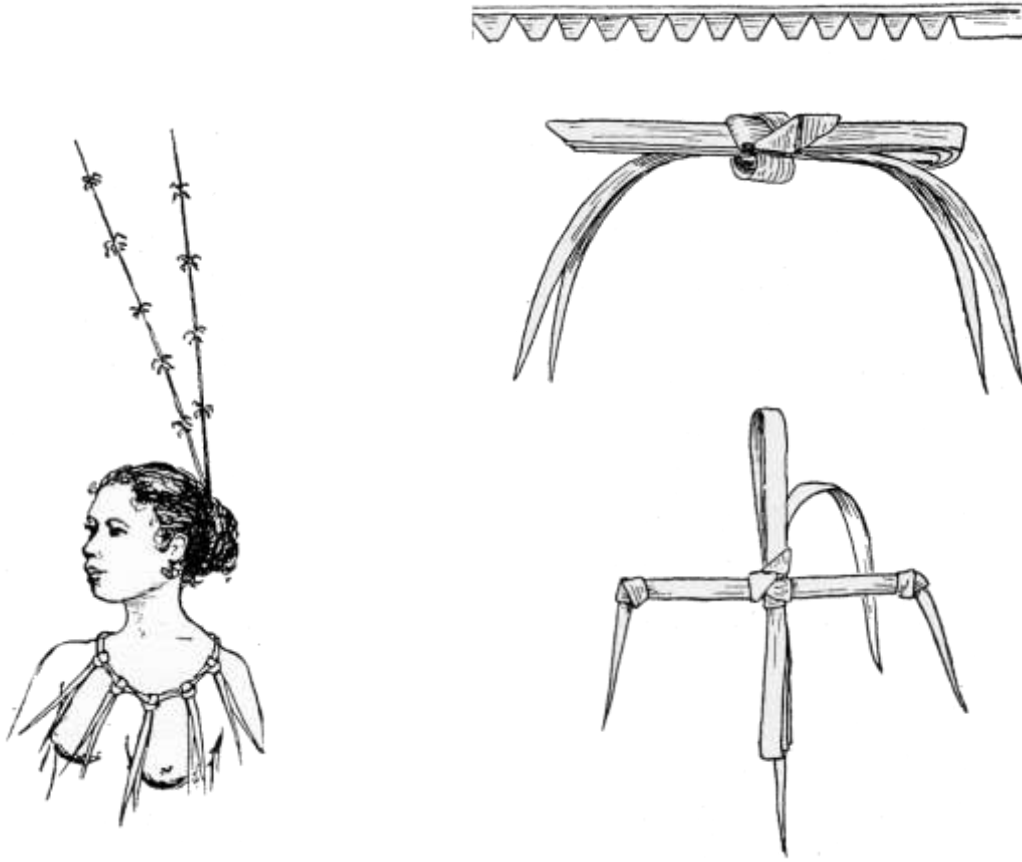


Fig. 213.
Woman with two coconut
leaf ribs (pg. 31)
and a necklace made
of coconut frond knots.

Fig. 214.
Magic coconut frond knots.

by canoe to the grotto Ngarsúmōg. All of them dressed nicely and appeared with ornamentation, even the sick woman, because the sick must if at all possible be along on such an excursion. Once there, the members of the party ate, including the stinking fish; then they laid some of the food into the cave for the *Galid* Dilrekúng (a female land crab), hung up the little house, and someone spoke: “This is your house and your food; you can stay here and do not need to come and make us sick; stay here and be satisfied.”

Dilrekúng, merekóng, ě kǎmám tiáng l maramá merŭl ra mur

Dilrekúng, get ready, we (are) here arrived, to make a feast,

mě tía blim l mulekér¹⁰²⁴ re ngí ma ki úlěbal¹⁰²⁵ l mēi ma rungúm

this (is) your house, you asked for it and we brought it here and your heart

a ungiáng¹⁰²⁶, merekóng, ě lak morakt ra ngarág lagád, ma

is satisfied, get ready, (make) not you sick any person, and

logúp ng dil, mě ke di kiengēi, ě kǎmám a ríědung.

especially the woman, but you just stay, and we go!

Then they return home, taking along the rest of the food, which they distribute amongst neighbors and friends; then the celebration is over. This usually takes place in the house of the family of the sick person, who is later taken back to the house of his or her spouse. If an excursion is not possible, a messenger is sent with the little house and some food. The point, you see, is to visit the Galíd at his location, if possible.

In the case of the *kumerēu* fish pole (see pg. 227), similar customs are observed. They say the *gatekil'l* is primarily for women, *blil a Kumerēu* for men; the Galíd Kumerēu lives in the moray eel; his wife Turang¹⁰²⁷, however, lives in the octopus. The little house of the women always stands in the Blai, in a cave, etc., i.e. sheltered, whereas the fish pole stands outside.

Pregnant women like to make offerings to the Galíd Mariúr (see pg. 268) because of illness. WALL., for example, calls such illnesses *kliriúll* “general weakness linked to abdominal pains.”

The larger cult houses, too, especially the four-legged *tet*, serve to pacify the anger of the village or family god and keep away or drive away illness. Because the hut is considered his “basket,” they like to deposit betel pepper and Areca nuts there. The islanders lay singed coconut (*ulogógug*) and taro in the little shrine of the sun *gáios* (see pg. 227).

But a hut is not the only way to gain favor with the Galíd, one can also do so with a canoe, because the Galid sailed across the ocean on one, and so they love sailing races (Story 16). If a high-ranking Rubak is ill, or if a village is threatened by illness, they build a votive canoe, called *kěóngěl* (see above, pg. 198), especially at the 7 places sacred to the a Ugél lěgalíd, which Stories 195 and 98 are about. He was playing in Ngarenggól with his favorite bird *kědám*, his messenger, the symbol of the kite, which was just mentioned on pg. 322. When the bird flew away, he carved an exact replica out of wood and also one of these canoes, which looks like the *kěóngěl*. That is why it is built primarily in the locations where the god was originally worshiped¹⁰²⁸, where the canoes also have their own names and were made by the priests:

Localities of the Galid	Name of the <i>kěóngěł</i>	Name of the priest around 1900
<i>a</i> Iebúkul (by Goréör)	Ngartiáu	+
Ngarbagéd	Remúrt	Ngiraibúǒg
Ngërupesáng	<i>gaus a galid</i> ¹⁰²⁹	Mebúk
Ngarekobasáng	<i>a</i> Ikíděł	Ngiragoběgěbóng
Ngarmid	--	Dingeliús
Ngurusár	--	Dingeliús
Ngaráus	--	Ngiralemólom

These canoes are stored in the Bai of the villages in question, but I saw them not only in the villages named, but also in Ngril (Fig. 176), Ngaregól, etc., a sign that this custom was more widespread; it is especially pronounced on Pelíliou¹⁰³⁰. There, when the priest needs one (or two) of the god's canoes, he tells the Rubak, who get together to make the *kěóngěł*, while he has the food prepared in the village Bai for the workers. The finished canoe is then set on the floor of the Bai. Then there is some *gosóls* singing. Lots of taro and fish are brought, and the singing lasts all night. A little taste of such a song follows:

*ng di dóu*¹⁰³¹ *déu*¹⁰³² *rengúl a galid l ngar a mlai mangupětau,*

it is only satisfied, glad the heart of the Galid on the canoe, to free you,

*e ngupěták*¹⁰³³ *e ngupěti uriúeli*

to free me, to free those behind (offspring)

chorus: *áu guēi, ng uēi*

The following morning, the food is distributed and the people disperse. Now the *kěóngěł* is supposed to protect the people of the village from illness, as the *súmǒg* did before, which is removed after the *gosóls* and given as place in front of the Bai, as *tet* (see pg. 197, Fig. 176).

A similar institution to the votive canoe is the Galid seat, *kingelél a galid* as KUB. calls it and depicts it in Vol. V, pg. 38 (see also Vol. 2, pg. 101). But it is really called *ngot ri dmúiěł* "taro pounding board at the exit" (HAM.: *notteritt s'mui* "Galid chair for sun")¹⁰³⁴. As Fig. 215 (HAM. 11 and KR. 6'07) shows, it is a board hung on 4 strings, a board that happens to look like a taro pounding board (see pg. 98), see Plate 19. Story 98 describes the *ngot* as a sleeping area for a girl. The women like to consider it the resting place of the goddess Túrang,

which is why there is almost always a fiber skirt hung on it. *Dmúiěl* is the courtyard exit by the house, or the wider area surrounding the house, to indicate that the resting place is some distance from the house. I usually

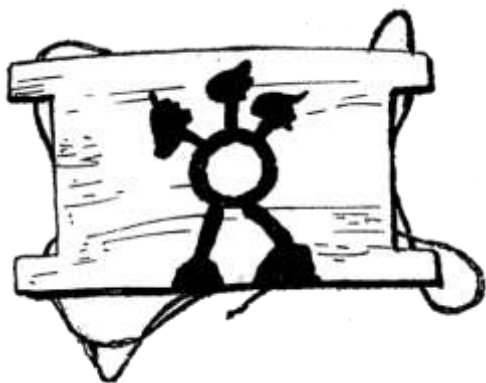


Fig. 215.

Spirit Seat. Sun with three heads.

found it hung in the little ornamental hut. HAM. 11 and K. 6'07 on Plate 19, however, also show a specimen with four prongs on the narrow sides, which are missing on the *ngot* device. That immediately made me think of the Trukese ghost altars which were hung up for the same purpose, which also have a square concavity in the middle, and whose prongs clearly represent the 4 ends of a double canoe (arms). Page 98 shows that the *ngot* served as a vehicle in legends on Palau, too. So there can be no doubt about the original meaning of this board. It now serves mainly as a place to put offerings to the family god when a family member is ill.

Naturally, there are also individual spells against particular illnesses, for example headaches, as Story 221 shows.

There are forbidden foods for pregnant women (see pg. 268); the taboo, i.e. food that is forbidden when taking medicine, is called *ulekiái* (Story 146). According to WALL., taking laxatives is called *mangerúmět*, temporary bloating is called *cheidogo*, abortions are called *cholégeb*, etc. But the medicine *kar* (poss.: *kerúl*)¹⁰³⁵ is primarily given for internal complaints, for example, for abdominal pain *súgös* (source of the term for spear wound), *kesibibúi*¹⁰³⁶, a type of betelnut, is given.

ilalítl fever with chills

ngul consumption

mesél shortness of breath

ngliil (WALL.) difficulty breathing

gétěláol dizziness

terétěr influenza (more about this in Vol. 2, pg. 296)

ngirt poss.: *ngertél* cold, sneezing

ugísp hiccups

uâu, *déngerengěr* mental illness

*uldegũāl*¹⁰³⁷ is the word for internal injury brought about by a fall, by lifting something, etc. For this, they give

1. if there is loss of consciousness, first the medicine *dögödögóměl*¹⁰³⁸, chewed-up leaves of *ulúi*, *gabelúdēs*¹⁰³⁹, *debégěl*, etc. The chewed leaves are blown into the nose and ears of the sick person, then placed into his mouth, which wakes him up.

2. medicinal *kěbéas*. The leaves and tips of this vine are crushed and wrapped in woven coconut. A little shaved coconut from the eye of the nut, roasted over the fire, also wrapped in woven coconut. For every potion prepared, a little bit is squeezed into water.
3. if the illness continues, a different *dōgōdōgómě̄l* is used. It probably consists of *bungaruāu* and wild taro *béosōg*, two pieces, each ground separately, mixed together and placed in the mouth. The sick person takes it in the mouth and submerges in the bath, swallowing under water, then he is brought home, where he is given more *kěbéas* medicine.

Bathing *melěgóng* is important. This includes the medicine *gosúrōg* for washing, made of boiled leaves, and the herbal bath *mesúrōg*. A strange practice is the steam bath given to women who have recently given birth, which was previously discussed above on pg. 270; Caesarians and abortions are mentioned on pg. 269. In Goikúl, I saw a Rubak suffering from severe third-stage syphilis on his forehead and leg. He dug a hole in the floor of a hut and kept a fire of coconut shells going there, which he covered with green leaves. He held his sores, which were partially healed, in the steam.

Rubbing in, known as *mangilt*, is the custom for skin ailments, for *krásūs*¹⁰⁴⁰, scabs, *Tinea imbricata sókě̄l*¹⁰⁴¹, scab *kuóku* (WALL.), Cascas *taptapk*¹⁰⁴², for *rakt a sagál* “illness of the man,” as eczema is called, because they believe it is a result of touching the blood of a dead person; it is probably confused with the first stage of syphilis, otherwise known as *mesěgěs* or *gasěgěs*¹⁰⁴³, but which, in contrast, never heals on its own due to the itching effect *kertál* (WALL. *gertáll* poss. *gertellek*, a type of carbuncle), according to the natives. There are many medications for this (see for example *kerúl*). Oddly, the Palauans claim that syphilis was known to them before the arrival of the white man¹⁰⁴⁴. Actually, this may not be entirely out of the question, because the many shipwrecks in the Philippines, which are listed in Vol. 1, pg. 14, probably already transferred sexually transmitted diseases to Palau before 1700. But after the visit of the Antelope and the increase in traffic after 1800, the damage really became evident, as is demonstrated in Vol. 2, pg. 294ff.

There is also apparently a medicine, called *gongut*, that can poison by smell; the woman in Story 51 was blinded by it. It was produced in Ngaregolóng with oil. For information about other poisons, see the discussion of fauna and flora in Section VIII.

As a blood-clotting agent, the islanders use freshly chewed leaves of the *madudín* tree. To bandage a wound *gatăgát* (poss.: *gatatatíl*) that has opened *kěltat*¹⁰⁴⁵,

they use the leaves of *Clerodendron* (*butagárěgar*), also juice of *ouderódög* (see Vol. 1, pg. 243) and *ilemlakl*. If a man received a spear wound¹⁰⁴⁶ in the lung, he was stood on his head, to drain the blood through his mouth (see Bai 36 IIa and Bai 40 VIII). A bandage of the type we know is called *telagáiět* (from *omangáiět* to tie, to bind). Abscesses *ptú*¹⁰⁴⁷ (poss.: *ptungél*) are opened with sharp pieces of bone or cut with shells (see Story 77), and the pus *lálăg* (poss.: *lagél*) is drained out, or they are allowed to open on their own (*obú* WALL.). The ganglion *olagatăgél* is healed by hammering it down *melogótög*, therefore the name for it.

For information about elephantiasis, leprosy, and framboesia, see Vol. 2, pgs. 297 and 326. Finally, I should add that already MAC CLUER, pg. 99, called it Cur theke, i.e. *kerdik*; he called a lesser form of the same thing Cook no thuk, which I consider a misunderstanding, because it is correctly called *kuk ngóděg* “then different.”

I have already related the attitude of Palauans concerning paying for medical attention in Vol. 2, pg. 309. For their prophylactic treatment, the priest doctors receive nothing, just food and money when they heal someone successfully, for which they are credited mainly because they are priests. The Galid receive their payment, their *golbátl*, in the food and the *gosóls*.

Fear of coming in contact with blood originates from headhunting (pg. 299) and mummification (pg. 358) practices. The process of defloration (above, pg. 274) reveals this as well, which is reminiscent of the Indian lingam.

Finally, a few words about sexual perversions. It is worth mentioning that the lecherous old Rubak like to use aphrodisiacs, of which Story 64b includes an amusing rendition. I learned that it consists of the following: very young pandanus *gongór* roots, ground-up aerial roots of *gărtókět* (*Freycinetia*) mixed with 5 egg yolks; swallowed fresh (Bai 62 IIIa).

The question arises whether Palauans are more licentious than most other Australasian peoples; the institution of the Bai girls would seem immediately to indicate this. But I have already stated that the club Bai are not a hotbed of promiscuity, i.e. unlimited intercourse, but that each man is faithful to a single Bai girl, i.e. has a relationship, which of course may often have been rather fragile.—Others point to the many obscene illustrations in the Bai¹⁰⁴⁸, especially the phallus representations (*túbög*) on the gables of the old Bai in *a* Imeúngs and Ngarekeai, as can be seen on the photos of Bai 69 and 86 (see also Plate 1 in Vol. 1).

They are always grouped around the wooden *dilukai* figure (see above, pg. 277), who, like the girl Manga mangai fatua in Polynesia, is depicted facing from the sun as it rises, with her legs spread wide (see for example KRÄMER “The Samoa Islands,” Vol. 1, pgs. 403-409).

This representation is apparently a type of fertility magic¹⁰⁴⁹ and is the remnant of a sun legend. On these old Bai, there is always a sun below this on the lowest plank, as exhibited in Vol. 4. Such female exhibitionism, however, also appears elsewhere in Palau with the purpose of arousing a desire for coitus in the men¹⁰⁵⁰. Story 92a describes this, and it is also depicted on Bai 25 VIIa. Another case of exhibition is shown on Bai 44 IIIa and Bai 17 IVb (Fig. 216c). But earning money plays a large role in this (see above, pg. 274), and so even young girls begin at an early age to engage in such activities. In Bai 24 VIIb (Story 79a) and in Bai 3 VIII, intercourse is shown on a raft, and the giant phallus of Melegótog (Story 155a) is shown in Bai 120 VIIa. The little couples in Bai 73 IIa are also very intimately involved, as is the pairing with the fish in Bai 115 IXa (see the section on totemism, pg. 288). Incidentally, the naïveté of Palauans regarding genitalia, to which they attribute a certain amount of independence, is illuminated by the creation legend, Story 7, and the illustration in Bai 8 Vb. The gable of Bai 130 also shows a

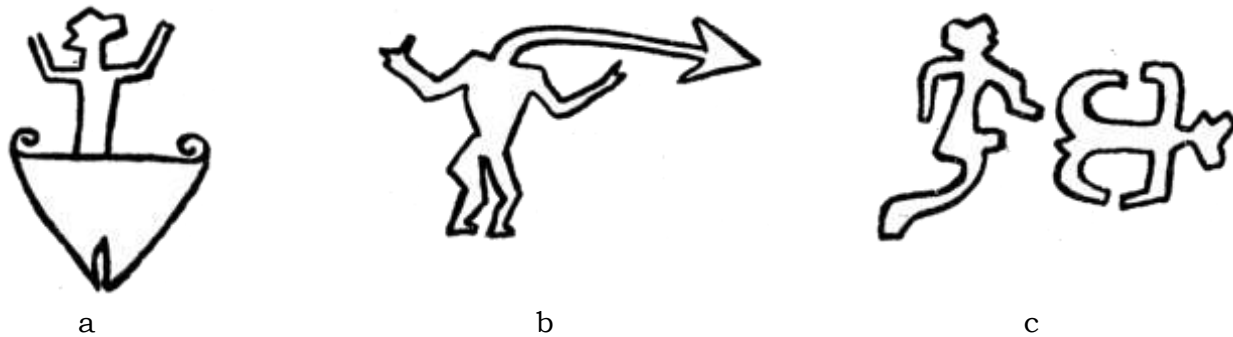


Fig. 216. Sex figures. a and b Bai 145, c Bai 17 IVb.

vuk on its way to the *kirs*, and in the note in Story 30a, it even goes out and steals, and is caught (see also Fig. 216a). It is characteristic of all of these representations of sexual acts that observers are present, furthermore that there were schools for sex, which I previously reported above on pg. 274 (Fig. Bai 37 IIIb and 38 IIIb).

As for perversities, I saw only one illustration (see Vol. 2, pg. 308) in Bai 121, where *melím* “drinking” (irrumatio) is depicted: a man stands in a tree and the woman is shown below, the *kirs* in her mouth; then there is the abuse of a goat (sodomy) that appears in Story 92. For anything else, see Vol. 2, pgs. 307 and 308. That is also where the lengthening of the labia minora *báog* (poss.: *begél*) is discussed, which was considered beautiful.

The fact that the woman’s private parts *vuk* (poss.: *ukíl*) are, according to WALL., also called *klegósog* (poss.: *klegesegelél*), whose verb form *melegósog* means “to trim, to circumcise,” indicates that the long appendages were shortened. Women are shown riding on men who are lying on the ground, *mālam*¹⁰⁵¹ *medú* (see Bai 9 VIII and Bai 59 IIb). There is also the depiction of a man who,

when his wife is away, smells her little *gotúngěł* bag, which she wears in front, under her skirt.

Masturbation (*ngolókuk*, *mengeláoch*, *melegeták* WALL.) in the pigeon hut Bai 68 Va. Wall. calls cunnilingus *meláng*; pederasty is *outibéngěd ra btil* (poss.: from *but* rear); breaking into a Blai for purposes of committing rape is called *omelókl l blai* “making the Blai sway” (KUB., Vol. IV 83), which was not so rare. Finally, there is even a report of necrophelia in Bai 54 IIIa.

For information about public sexual relations that, as HELLWALD Family claims, pg. 91, occurred among Australians and was known in Papua (see Anthropos 1926, pg. 55), see Vol. 2, pg. 307 and Vol. 1, pg. 133.

All together, it is hardly possible to credit the Palauans with a good record on morality, especially since marriage was a rather unsteady institution. But when one compares them to the other peoples of the region, for example the Malaysians, one must be cautious about passing such harsh judgement. For it is certain that many things are revealed in the art of the Palauans that would otherwise go unnoticed or receive very little attention. Let us not make them pay for that!

4. Galid Worship, Religion, and Magic.

The second volume and the sections preceding this, in particular the discussion of medicine, have contributed a lot to the overall picture. KUB., Vol. V, dedicated a special piece of work to the religion of the Palauans, so here I will just combine everything with some new material. According to widespread views in ethnology, which WUNDT discusses in detail in his Elements of Anthropological Psychology, pg. 350, religious development of primitive peoples was based on polytheism. “This polytheism, moreover, is based on primitive speculations about the heavenly bodies, especially the large stars, the sun, and the moon.” On Palau, however, the earliest period is a time of darkness, in which the Galid existed. Sun and moon were created by the great Galid Iegád re ngél, and the light banished the power of the evil spirits, as the stars disappear in daylight. The creator was called the “man from Ngél,”¹⁰⁵² because he created the sun and moon on the piece of land called Ngél, which is probably named after the Morinda bush *ngél*. They believed the actual god lived in heaven; his name was Ugéliángěd, “first of the sky,” as well-told in Story 19; Stories 1 and 3 discuss his family. In his earthly form, he is called Iegád re ngél, and as such he created not only the sun and moon, but also people, which he did with the help of his sister, who took over the female part (Story 7). Ugéliángěd has another earthly form, as well, namely that of Ugél lě galíd, the “first of the Galid,” who plays the role of the protagonist in Story 195 (see pgs. 328 and 338).

There are several magical, superhuman beings.

All divine beings are collectively called *Galid* (poss.: *gēsúl* or *gaidúl*¹⁰⁵³), which is understood to include celestial gods, terrestrial gods, village gods, and family gods. The highest-ranking heavenly deity, God, is called *ugél iángěd*, as already mentioned, while the first people are simply called *arúgel* “the first.” Often, the family god or the Galid of an individual is just the returned “soul”, the *delep*¹⁰⁵⁴ (poss.: *delepengél*) of a relative, in which case it is called *bládek* (poss.: *bldekél*), i.e. “ancestor spirit.” The soul of someone who has died twice is called *tēmamú*, more about this below on pg. 347.

The following are field and forest spirits or demons, “magical beings,” worth mentioning:

the *telbaki* or *godögül* spirits who preside over construction (see pg. 238)

the *bel'lek* spirits of the bush (see Vol. 2, pg. 29)

the *ar bau* spirits of the beach (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 130; WALL.: *bāu* “smell”)

the *debásăg* the 7 limping spirits (see Story 74 and Story 137, the one-legged *bitagolíl*)

the *těuid l ketórd* the 7 with the crooked mouths (Stories 19 and 58)

the *tekil maláp* the 7 Galid with the owl heads (Story 137 and Vol. 2, pg. 46)

finally, there are the *těngangói lě galíd* (Story 167), who have on “bad things,”¹⁰⁵⁵; I have already mentioned that they are especially called upon in cases of illness. They are presented with offerings of fish or crabs that are left lying out uncooked for one day, until they stink—*bărăom*, after which they are brought by several women to the *túngěl* grove (pg. 283), also called *gědáo* because it is “holy” (pg. 305) (for example, in *Gámliangěl*, see Vol. 2, pg. 173). These areas usually lie near the village Bai and have many red *gerdéu* bushes, which the *Galíd* are fond of, and often there is also a little decorated house nearby (see *Ngërupesáng*, Vol. 2, pg. 110), where the women place the *bărăom*, after they have tasted some of it, together with some taro.

The favorite food of the other *Galíd*, next to captured souls (see Story 29), is usually roasted coconut *ulogóg* (see pgs. 41 and 73 and, for example, Story 137); the *Godomáděl* or *tubög l ráod*, from which all bad things come, accompany the latter. They are often depicted as having two bodies (see Bai 130 I and Story 127b, Bai 136 VIII and 137 Xb), and almost always with a tail (Fig. 217). Often there are heads on the tails, giving them the appearance of a phallus (*túbög*). *ráod* does not appear to mean *Ngěráod*, but rather the mangrove roots under which they are said to wander.



Fig. 217.
Galíd with a tail.

Finally, the “demigods or semi-humans” belong in this category.

They are called *oléplāgalid* or *oléplagád*, which designates one “tip” *olép* of an object with two ends, because the beings can appear in Galid form or in human form, so that both ends *olép* touch (see pg. 339²). The expression “god person” *galidëgád* is most commonly used for heroes, but also (see Story 172a) for mermaid people, otherwise known as *ilokugíl* (Story 170) and *gadëłul*, beings that are half human with a fish tail¹⁰⁵⁶, probably of the moray eel *luléu* (see Bai 22 VIb).

There are also female Galid, such as Gobagád in Story 58, the “single-breasted” Bitatút in Stories 82 and 137, etc. Finally, the god in heaven also appears as the god of the sun. According to Story 7, Jegád re ngél went

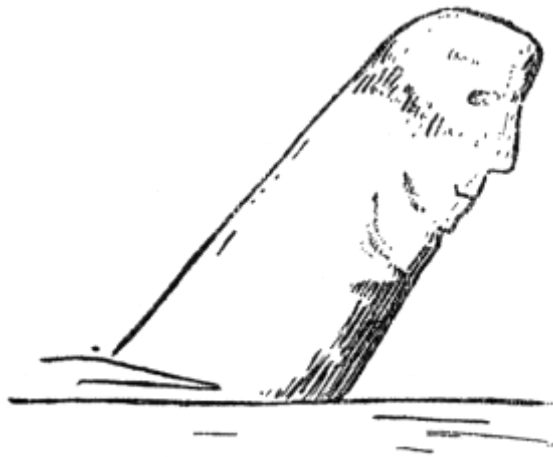


Fig. 218.
Stone carving of Medegei Pelau
in Ngatpang, see map, Fig. 219^b.

into the sun himself, i.e. he became the sun god. However, Ugélkeklāu in Story 8, Ugéltmél in Story 10, and perhaps Bói in Story 11, are all considered sun gods, which particularly evident of the former in Story 168. Ugélkeklāu, of whom I reported previously in Vol. 2, pg. 7, led the migration from the East, from Kusae, and thus entered the Palauan imagination as a sun god; the story of Ugéltmél centers around the same theme. LEO FROBENIUS has pointed out that the legends of the spider (Story 12), the fish tail (Story 14), the children of the reed (Story 15), etc., should be interpreted as sun myths. The last-named (Fig. 218), however, is more likely a moon god, and his wife Túrang is the bright, shining sun.

So we see that the highest-ranking being in heaven appears in many forms. It is not clear from the mythology or from the statements of the islanders themselves whether all beings are to be interpreted as one, or if lesser deities carry out the various tasks. The Palauans say that the chief messengers¹⁰⁵⁷ of the deity in heaven are *a Ugél lë galíd*, *a Guódëł* and *Medegei pelau*; he came to all villages and was given different names; Ugéliángëd is thus to be interpreted as “the god” of Palau, like the Polynesians’ Tangaloa. (See Incarnation in Fish, pg. 337.) Goddesses appear even in the early myths of the natives.

The universe is divided, as WALL. correctly reports, into three levels: “above” *bal l uádës*, “below” where the people live *eóluuádës*, and the underworld *datk*.

Gods and Heaven.

Heaven *a iángëd* is divided into 10 levels, which are talked about in detail in Story 203 about Madlutk; a beautiful illustration of this can be seen on the gable of Bai 142. According

to Story 1, the first gods were created from the male cliff in the ocean, the *risóis*. From this arose the first pair: Tpäreakl (male), the breaker of the ocean, and Latmikáik (female), the mother of fish and people. She bore two sons:

1. *a* Ugéliángěd “first in heaven,” the father of all Galid.
2. *a* Ugéldátk¹⁰⁵⁸ “first in the underworld” (see Chant, pg. 299).

Some say the brother’s name was Ugér ’rérák (see Vol. 2, pg. 215), because Ugéldátk turned into Ugéliángěd; that is why in all villages there is a strong chief divinity and a weaker one as his companion. The cosmogony is purely Australasian: *papa* the original rock brings forth the first two gods of the heaven and the underworld, as on Java, where Ompong Patara Guru diatás is the god of heaven, and Ompong Batara Guru di-toru is the ruler of the underworld¹⁰⁵⁹. Anthropologically speaking, the two should probably be considered the sun god and moon god.

The ancestral goddess Latmikáik then bore two girls, who married the first two sons (Story 3). Other sons then married mermaids, which is why many fish are now considered sacred among Palauans (see above, pg. 288, section on totemism). Latmikaik is considered to have had innumerable descendents, as shown in Story 1. Story 3 lists the most important gods from this line of descent. These are mainly the fish Galid: *a* Ugélpebáěl, named after the *pebáěl* fish, a dark-blue teuthis with yellow dots and a yellow barb on its back; the Ugélagái, the half-beak, dangerous because of its pointed snout, and Ugél kemúl ’l gadéng, the “shark’s tail,” of which Story 172a tells. These 3 fish, however, are at the same time incarnations of the highest-ranking god Ugéliángěd. Among other descendents, then, there are several well-known Galid, including:

Golungīs of Ngarapelāu on Ngeaur (see Story 170),
 Ngirauluóng of Ngarapelāu,
 Kereóměl of Pkulapelú on Pelíliou,
a Guóděł¹⁰⁶⁰ of Ngardolólik on Pelíliou,
 Ugél kobasáděł of Ngarekobasáng (Vol. 2, pgs. 202 and 257),
 and Ugél kldéu of Goréör (Story 14).

Also known are the bush spirit Gobagád (Story 17, 58 and 202) see Ngěráod, the *galíd ra ked* (“heath gods”) *a* Tpalapálag, Keruāu l búkl and Kerengókl (see Story 17), Gaderés, Tagád uěāu.

The spirits of the sea are: Sagál a gei, Kereóměl, Láladang and Sáulang (see above, pg. 72) and Geiugidatk, who works in the deep waterway *geúgěł*, as a partner to Ugéldatk (see also Ngiratei, Story 30, etc.).

The spirits of the earth are: Remesegāu, Udibóng, and Gobilbagei, the three are in charge of the surface of the earth; they live approximately 1 foot below the surface and are invoked during planting.

KUB., Vol. V, pg. 50, names numerous others; see also the stories, for example, 1 through 20, as well as the sections on house construction and canoe building.

Of all the Galíd, however, one stands out, the one who in Story 3 is named as another form of the underworld god Ugéldatk, Ngiraidemāi of Ngaramásăg on Ngeaur. Even the name Ngiraidemāi hints that this is not his original name, because the house of *a* Idemāi stands in Ngabiúl, in the North of Babldáob (see Vol. 2, pg. 28). From Story 197, it is clear that this is just one of the many names of Medegēipélau, the “punisher of Pélau.” He is believed to be a son of a Ugél lē galíd, who, like his father, was honored in numerous places (see above, pgs. 328 and 334), and Medegēi had his main place of worship in *a* Irai and Ngátpang, as Story 197 relates in detail. That is also the reason for the two sites of worship in the two villages, which are reported in Vol. 2, pgs. 185 and 159.

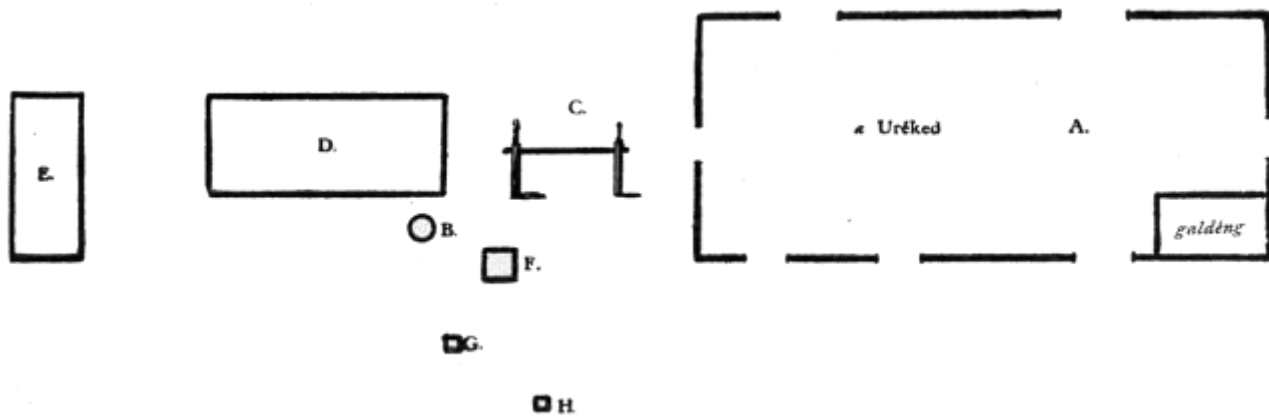


Fig. 219. Map of the worship site in Ngátpang.

B. Galidbai <i>a</i> Urékēd with chamber (<i>galdéng</i>)	A. Priests' quarters <i>sop</i> with 6 transverse beams (<i>imúl</i>)	G. Shrine (<i>tet</i>)
C. Stone column (Fig. 218)	E. Shrine	H. Little sun house (<i>gáios</i>)
D. Structure (Spirit yoke) Fig. 220	F. Shrine	

A) The Bai *a* Urékēd (see map, Fig. 219) originally stood at the landing of Ngērutegei. The priest of Medegēi dreamt that a stone image of his god lay buried in the village.

B) He dug in the spot and actually found at Location B the pillar (Fig. 218) with the face of the god. So he had a Bai built next to the pillar. This is reminiscent of the god of the earth Golekéiok (Vol. 2, pg. 90, Fig. 30).

Fig. 184 shows the interior of the house with the room *galdéng*, which is the object of Story 197. The room is separated from the rest of the house. Here he communicates with the god; he chews betel and then goes into a shaman-like frenzy with convulsions, during which he receives the answer from Medegēi, which he then tells the Rubak gathered in the Bai. The offerings for the Galid, usually red *kesik* leaves and taro¹⁰⁶¹ roasted by the women,

are placed on an *ouăg* plate (Fig. 123, pg. 122) and are laid in the area made of mats high up on the wall, the *kléangēl*¹⁰⁶². Those making offerings usually stay for two days in the Bai and only sleep in their Blai at night. During celebrations, the Galíd's portion of food is laid on the round *tóluk*, of which I found one in the house in 1909 that was decorated with faces (Fig. 119).

Next to the Bai was an unusual, yoke-like structure that was falling apart (Fig. 219 C.), called *geimobedúl* "his own body," with figures on the posts and several others lying on the ground, as Fig. 220 shows. Its meaning is unclear. I was able to find out only that Remeskang in Ngarmíd had a dream that showed him the structure in heaven; he then built it and raised it here. Next to it stands the other structures shown in Map 219.

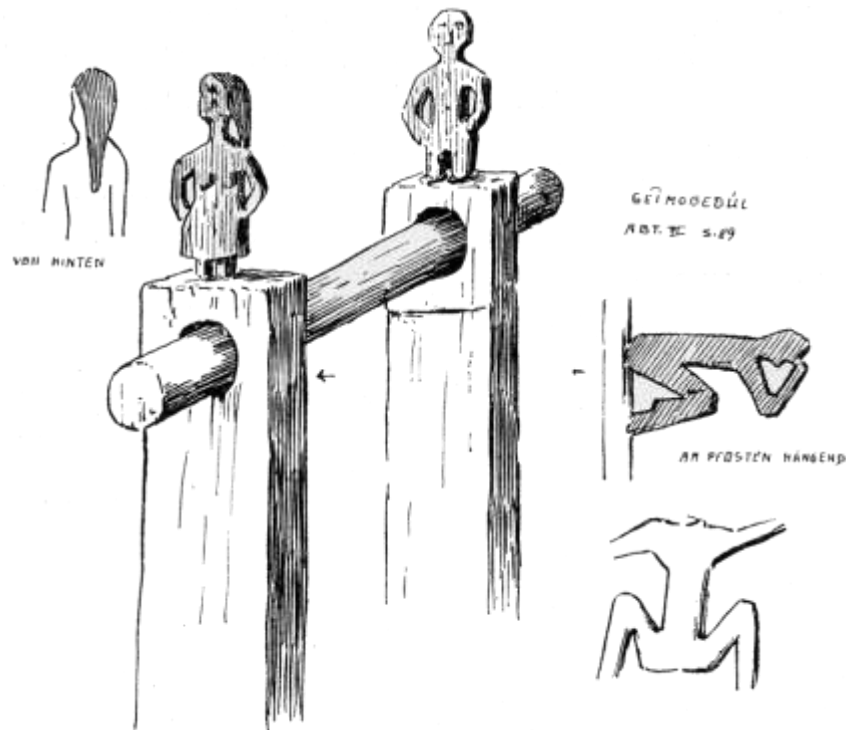


Fig. 220. Figures from the spirit yoke C.

In *a Iraĩ*, there once was a place of worship, as previously mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 185 (see there, Map 22). The unusual wooden figures are also mentioned in that volume, particularly that of Goltegeĩ and Maráel kéd (see Story 197), who was able to see both *a Iraĩ* and Ngátpang at the same time with his two faces¹⁰⁶³ (see Plate 19 1. middle); the kingfisher (third item from the left) with the two faces on his back originates there as well. These were brought, together with the sharks (far left) from Ngareklím cave for celebrations at the Baiairai, and returned there afterwards.

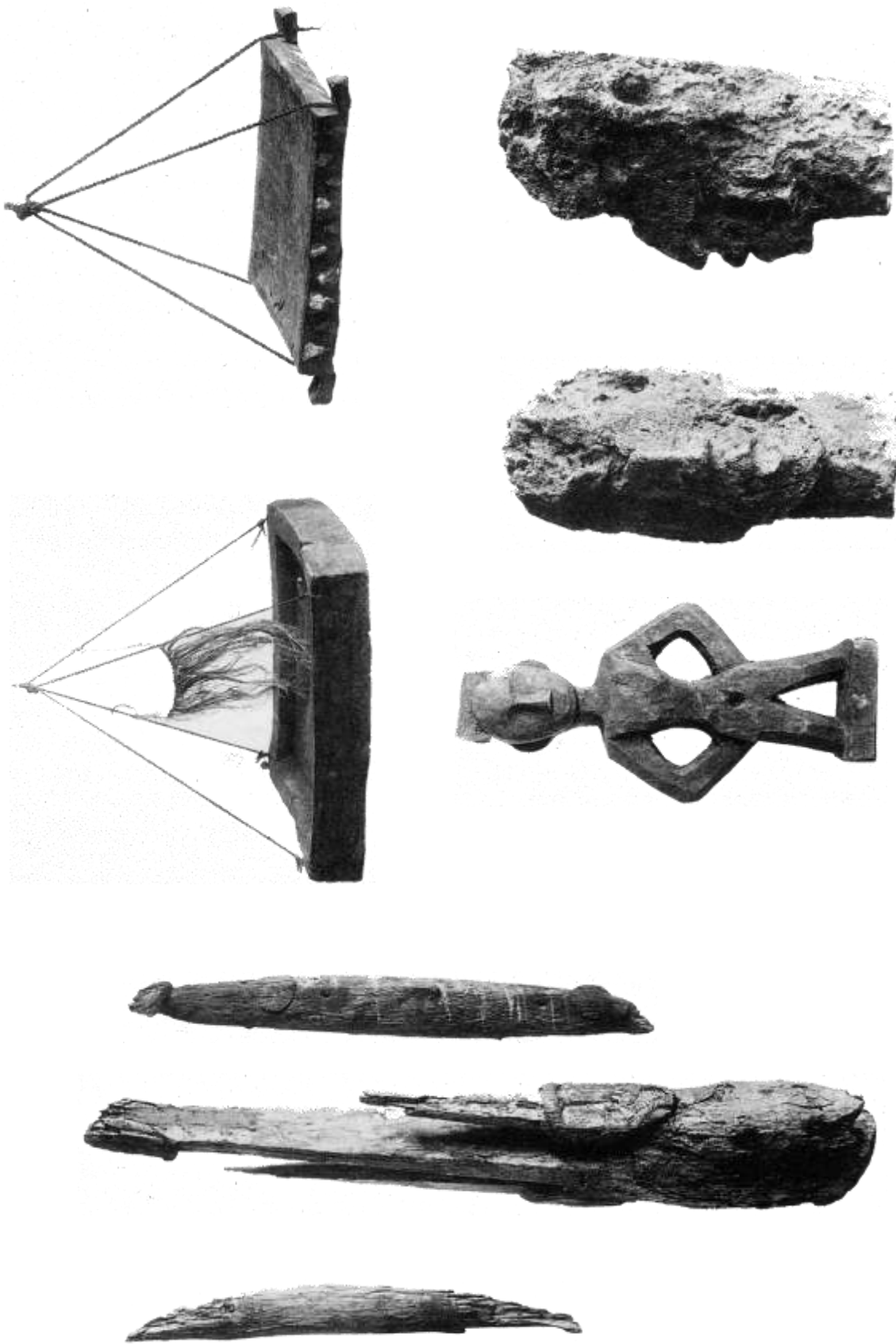
The kingfisher *tangadík*, which also adorns the war canoe, is believed to be the favorite of the wife of Medegei¹⁰⁶⁴, Túrang (see pgs. 193, 310, and 329). Both are represented by images at celebrations (see above, fig. 208, pg. 310). The kingfisher with a red cap, the *galiëmasăg* species¹⁰⁶⁵, is the master of Klim, Ngiraklim. It is evident that he is a symbol of the sun, a phoenix, especially since Turang is always closely associated with the little sun house¹⁰⁶⁶ (see pg. 227¹ and Fig. 194) (see also Túrang re Ngeráod). How Medegei wandered around in Palau is described in Story 197. Because of these wanderings, he is sacred in numerous villages. Thus, today he is worshiped not only in Ngatpang and *a Irai*, but also in other villages, especially Ngarsúl, Ngardmau, Goléi, and Ngabiúl, where in addition to the priest there was a priestess *mlagei* (also *mlágél* from *omágél* “to bear” see pg. 269) who carried out duties, as well as in Ngarevíkl, Galáp, *a Gol*.

The gods themselves were only rarely represented by wooden figures, that is, as idols. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 248, says: “I should mention in passing that today, out of the entire group there remain only 6 wooden idols from the past. These are *Ankoy* and *Mathahey pelau* with their wives, kept in caves in Eyrray and only brought out during the *Ruk*; the land god called Magoloy in Ngaraus, who is stored in a seated position in a shrine, and Aygól in Naburok, who is a protection god of the local waterway (a channel in the mangroves) and was made from a living tree trunk on which were carved two heads.”—I was still able to find Mogolou, wearing a hat (!) and with a long, removable *kírs*, in 1907 (Vol. 2, pg. 127); he is in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart (Plate 18). *a Igól* in Ngébúřg, see Vol. 2, pg. 114. But there were also stone images of the gods, as shown by the previously mentioned Temdókl, as well as Delangerík in Vol. 2, pg. 12, *a Iluóngél* on pg. 35, the famous Gamasiógél (Plate 19), and so on.

Medegei pélau is also considered to have discovered the sail, as shown in Story 197 (navigation, Story 10). In order to attain supremacy, he held the *omlútěk*, the sailing race, which was discussed above on pg. 322. The one who brought the *ngas* branch from Nggeiangél would be king, which is why the Palauans also call the competitors *arúgel mesíběg ra ngas*—the first to break the *ngas* branch.

There were 7 Galid in all:

1. *a Ugél kldéu*, see pg. 337 and Vol. 2, pg. 204.
2. *a Ugél kobasáděl*, see Vol. 2, pg. 257.
3. *a Uger'rěrák*, see pg. 337 and Vol. 2, pg. 215.
4. *a Ugélsúng* (see Story 16), often thought to be the same as Nr. 7.
5. *a Itúngělbai* (see Vol. 2, pg. 162).
6. *a Ugél'lěgalíd* (see above, pgs. 79 and 63).
7. Medegei pélau.



Carvings from Ngareklim Cave in a Iraŋ (see Vol. 2, pg. 185), Above: two hanging spirit tables

Wooden figure
Below: *Gamasiógēl* (see Vol. 2, pg. 207)
Museum in Hamburg

Story 197 tells how the last-named came to be victorious. He is always cunning and crafty. His escape in Gólei, which describes how he sat in the post hole and was supposed to be killed, but crawled instead through the hollow¹⁰⁶⁷ tree that was pushed into the hole, to its tip, proves that he is identical to the sly Olifat of the Central Carolinians.

The Palauans assume that many of their god figures came from afar. The belief that Ugélkeklaŭ came from the East has already been described; the reference that mentions Itúngělbai states that he came with Medegēi pélaŭ from the West¹⁰⁶⁸. This is a further indication that the Palauans had contact to the rest of the world even in early times, or at least had knowledge of it.

Two of the Galid are closely connected to Medegēi pélaŭ: Bói and Gorekím. Bói is said to have come from the Eastern islands, like a Ugélkeklaŭ. Story 11 begins: “Boi is the god of rainstorms, which fish and birds follow.” As pg. 325 shows, the rainy season is the time when the sun is the closest, and the fruit, pigeons, and fish are most abundant, just as in the rainy season on Samoa, for example, the Palolo comes with many fish. Bói moves around with the spawning fish and comes to a Irai, where he loses them to the moon figure of Medegēi pélaŭ through trickery. The fact that Bói is endowed with many *kirs* indicates his great fertility. He also owns a rooster, which, as herald of the sun, is a symbol of hard work and wealth. The stone image of a rooster came from Ngatmél to Gólei (Vol. 2, pgs. 35 and 33); a rooster also figures in Stories 73, 140, and 172b. Bói began his victorious race in Ngatmél, at the spot on the Northern tip of the island, at the foot of the Galid mountain Ngadég, that faces East, where the village god Ugéltmél, a relative of the sun god, lived (Story 10).

It was here that the god of the rainbow Gorěkím¹⁰⁶⁹ emerged, about which there are numerous scattered notes, both my own and those of others, which I will summarize here. His creation is connected with the reed (see Story 15), because as the god of war, he needed spears made from reeds. Bai 76 IVb shows him climbing out of the reed, the rainbow being created by two men bending toward each other. Pg. 298 ff., above, shows how he was called to be the god of war. I was told that his father was the Varanus lizard Golubás in heaven (see Story 40 and pg. 71); his mother is Gobil ě geisau, his brother is Melimrásăg (pgs. 35 and 300), his sister is Gobildep (see Blai Construction, pg. 215). According to KUB., Vol. V, pg. 50, he is supposedly the god of Ngarulang (Ngěruliang, Vol. 2, pg. 113). But I did not hear about this, because the inhabitants of that village told me that Medegēi pélaŭ was the deity of the village. There is said to be a stone there that is used for offerings and banquets, to drive the Galid out of the person (*melúbět*) whom he has possessed out of dissatisfaction during an extended period of peace.

“The other part is a war game, in which all of the men throw spears made of soft plant stems at the possessed one, accompanied by great howling, which he returns.

If the ill one, who is always very sullen and lethargic, cannot be convinced to leave the house, he is ambushed in his house with as much warlike commotion as possible. The surprise has such an effect on him that he grabs his spear and follows the supposed enemy, after which he can be expected to recover. Such a man is then considered the *odo*¹⁰⁷⁰ of Horgim until the next time.”—

In Story 48, Gorekím is the husband of Gobiróu, the dawn (Story 58).

Gorekím’s origin, the relation to the lizard, to the reeds, the holiness of the fighting cock, and his own belligerous nature, demonstrate a strong resemblance to Boi. However, he differs from Boi in that his figure as a rainbow is a special one; he follows the rain, the weather, while Boi embodies it. Boi is closer to the earth, because he gives it his blessing, while the rainbow belongs to heaven, where Gorekím also has his house, as the *log* on the gable in Bai 95 shows. This is the bow of victory, formed by two Galíd bending towards each other; they guard the fruits of victory, always ready for battle. This is how Gorekím became the god of war.

There were 3 places of worship of special interest, besides those mentioned in the villages—these are on the mountains (see Map 3 in Vol. 1).

The islanders consider *a* Iegád l kéd, who bears the title Melíd kéd “climbing on the heath,” to be their creator. He is said to come from the Strait of Makáep in the South. He is called on during shark hunting and pigeon hunting, and especially during fishing expeditions.

1. Ngeráod ϕ 24’ in the Southern part of Babldáob, in *a* Iraî, see Vol. 1, pg. 238 and Vol. 2, pg. 180. Diraikebúi lives here under the *gongáiěr* tree. The ones who drill the holes in money live here, the *rubagád* ě Ngeráod, the forest spirits (see Story 138), the one-legged *bitagogíl*, and the single-breasted *bitatút* (Story 137), the wealthy rooster (Story 140), the frog (Story 17d), etc.
2. Ngulítěl ϕ 37’ near Kekláu, see Vol. 2, pg. 46, see Stories 19, 61, 66, 73, see also above, pg. 167.
3. Ngadég ϕ 45’, see Vol. 2, pg. 11. The natives believed the Galid did not appear in the shape of people here, as they did on the other two mountains, but instead appeared in the shape of fish. The highest-ranking one was Gad ě berípěr, then came the Serranus species, Klúděl, Ksau, etc. On nearby Mount Galeós there was a priest house, of which in 1907 a square stone foundation was still visible, as was a stone image (Vol. 2, pgs. 11-12); see Story 29.

The priests are called *melúgöl*¹⁰⁷¹ *a galid* “carrier of the Galid,” also *kerdelél*¹⁰⁷² *a galid* “protector of the Galid,” but usually they are just called *Galíd* for short. They like to call themselves a younger brother *gogalél* of their spirit, i.e. they consider themselves godlike. One of them begins with a spell, which turns him temporarily into a tool *godóngěl* (KUB., Vol. V, pg. 31, *odo*), until he is acknowledged as a true representative *kěróng* or

kórong (KUB. *koróng*). In some villages such as Gólei, Ngabiúl, Ngardmau, Ngivál, Ngardolólók, Ngasiás and Ngaregól, the priest attains the rank of Nr. 1 Rubak and rules over the others because of his divine power. In any case, his influence was considerable, but only as long as the god living in him was revered. In other villages, it can happen that the Galid is not Nr. 1, but instead holds the lowest rank among the uriúl rúbak, i.e. Nr. 20, such as in Mangal'lang (see Vol. 2, pg. 18), Ngarekeai (pg. 167), Goréör (pg. 217), Ngarmíd (pg. 256), Ngarekobasáng (pg. 259), etc. When items are distributed, they do not always receive their proper share, as Stories 14 and 195 show. These were attempts to mute the power of the Galid.

Close to the priests are the *rubagadengél a pelú* “the forest spirits of the village,” meaning all people whose blessings and curses are feared.

The Galid had the privilege of wearing red garments and wearing a hat; they receive betel leaves and Areca nuts and, in important matters, also money.

So much has been conveyed previously about the activities of priests (see also KUB., Vol. V, pgs. 33 and 34), that additional descriptions are superfluous here.

Still worth mentioning are the priestesses *mlagei* or *mlagél* (see pg. 340), who have already been mentioned in the discussion on Ngardmau (see Vol. 2, pg. 79) and Ngarsúl (pgs. 100 and 134). They are often very powerful, because the most powerful priests in Gólei, Ngabiúl, etc., reveal themselves only through the priestesses, as KUB. relates in Vol. V, pg. 34. These women are considered sacred by normal men, but the priests consider themselves above them. Sometimes, a female Galid enters a man, who then wears women's clothing and acts entirely as a woman, except in relation to his fellow sisters. This tends to lead to misunderstandings, as Story 161 shows. The Galid woman in Goréör also originates from a Guódél (Vol. 2, pg. 215).

The powerful Galid are called *klou l galíd* or *bedógél galíd*. Often, they have two heads like the sun, which the spirits roll across the sky (see Story 6), and Túrang (see pg. 340). The monsters Maluad lë gūr (Story 164) and the Tëbló l ptelúl (Bai 25 VIII) are also depicted as having two heads.

The most important mythical stones are mentioned or pictured in Vol. 2: Galeós, pg. 12, Mangal'lang, pgs. 15-16, Ngabiúl, pg. 27, Gólei, pgs. 33 and 35, Galáp, pg. 39, Ngardmau, pg. 78, Melekéiok, pg. 90, *a Imeúngs*, pg. 140, Ngaremeskáng, pg. 154, Ngátpang, pg. 159¹⁰⁷³, *a Iraí*, pgs. 184-185¹⁰⁷⁴, Goréör, pgs. 207¹⁰⁷⁵, 208 and 210, Ngarebódél, pg. 251, Ngarmid, pg. 254, Ngardolólók, pg. 266; see also the Gorágél of Story 13, the stone posts of Story 5, the turning into stone of *a Guáp* in Story 2, and the ancestral father *risóis*, Story 1.

Many Galid appear in the shape of animals. The most important are: the *bersóiög* snake (Story 13), the sea snake (Story 30), the crab (Story 16), the shark (Story 172a), etc. See also the animal stories 181-192.

Offerings, the tributes *tengét*¹⁰⁷⁶, or *blebáol* gifts to the *galíd* see pg. 303) usually consist of betel offerings, especially in the case of the *tet* (see pg. 228), offerings of food (such as the fish), money (but only counterfeit), as described for canoe construction on pg. 185, and for example in Story 60, where, in addition to *kesól*, the fruits of the *bel'loi* bush must also be provided. Red *kesík* leaves (probably red Croton *kesúk*) are placed in the *kléangěl* shrines (see pg. 338). The offering of a fish that has been wounded by another (Story 200) is called *klsaděl. tíakl* (poss.: *tiklél*) means offering to the gods of the sea (see above, pgs. 71, 119 and 309), *blsebúd* (pg. 29, 71, 145, 214, 297, and 314) (see above, pg. 305) to the gods of the land (KUB., VIII, pg. 295).

For information about taboos, see above, pg. 305.

Magic and spells *gólei*¹⁰⁷⁷ (poss. *goleúl*) play a large role in life. They are highly important during planting, fishing, house construction and canoe building, in short, in all of life's activities. The magic songs 215-225 give clear examples of this.

KUB., in Vol. V, pg. 5, names the following spells:

*dangasákl*¹⁰⁷⁸ “Cursing” of a person by handing over to the priest some hair from the person to be hurt, along with a piece of money. The priest places the hair in the shrine of the Galid while praying.

ougalaya buhk = *ougólei* to mean, *búög* Areca nut. A spell is cast on the nut and it is given to the victim or laid in his basket, see *ousagaláia* in Story 195.

hongélép Areca blossoms that have had a spell cast on them are scattered on the roof of the family to be hurt.

arkíyl Shells with spells cast on them are laid in the house of the family to be hurt.

hongobrókkol = *gongobrígěl* (*melúches* to bury, WALL.). To bury an item with a spell cast on it under the house, for example a singed coconut shell (*korúms*), a piece of coral (*marángd*) with or without pottery shards (*kasúlög*), a blossom from the *kuat* tree wrapped in two leaves. If the desired person does not die quickly, one sneaks back and pours ocean water on the spot.

KUB. says the following about breaking the spell: “If an object is found, and there is an ill person in the house, one tries to attain safety by asking someone knowledgeable in Kosákal if the object is poison or magic or not, which he will gladly say in exchange for payment. Once one is certain that the item is magic, someone knowledgeable in Agolp is acquired, who must undertake the Molgolpsel, which he does willingly for payment. He takes the object to the channel, washes it off thoroughly, says an incantation over it, and leaves it lying in the water, so that it can wash out to sea. If this is not sufficient, they perform the *molgolp*¹⁰⁷⁹ *a sis*, washing with *Cordilyna* leaves, which they use to carefully paint the house.”—

For amulets, primarily *lap* leaves are used; they are carried in the basket as a sign of good luck. Young coconut leaves (*měólt*) and leaves of *kotep* are also used. *lap* leaves are believed to have the power to remind debtors of their debt (Stories 9 and 99, see also pg. 326).

Finally, there is a magic “trick” *údăg*, used to hurt others. The possessive, *uděgúl*, appears in the secret incantations of the Galid, for example in Story 137 and Vol. 2, pg. 93, *udögúl ma gěuíd*, the latter referring to the holy number seven. Recall the 7 Galid groups, pgs. 335 and 340, the 7 *bersóiög* snakes in Story 128, the 7 construction spirits, and offerings consisting of 7 taro slices, see pg. 239, the 7 Rubak of Goréör (Vol. 2, pg. 214), the 7 cities of Ngaregolóng (pg. 9), the 7 waves in Story 20 that destroyed Ngáruangěł, the 7 blows in Story 73. Also, the conch shell is blown 7 times in war (see pg. 299), food is sent to the *blolóböl* 7 times (see pg. 276), 7 *plkul* are made for celebrations (pg. 307) and there are 7 courses (pg. 308), etc.

Soothsaying *mangalíl* was previously mentioned above on pg. 326. Golungīs of Story 170 was a particularly famous fortune teller, for details see Stories 80a, 161, etc. The following terms are important: *uláueg*, *urongókl* sign, *óueling* bad sign, see Blai Construction, WALL.: *melángch*, *dengéchěl* to guess from signs. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 41, names the following types:

1. Olongasak ayábed to ask the clouds.
2. honglul mlar mesúbut a toákl = *gongalíl mla r mesúběd a toágěl* “recitation of the news provided by the channel.”
3. *oméu a lius* “breaking of the coconut” (see above, pg. 267).
4. malangas a lap and a sngal = *melángěs* “looking up at the *lap* or *sangál’l* tree,” performed by women with turtleshell plates in their hands, on which they are able to see the Galid through magical incantations.
5. *mangalíl a mangidáp* “prophecy of the spider,” from observing it (see Story 39) above, pg. 326.
6. Meréo a galéol = *melúk a galěvěl* “measuring of the spear.”
7. Mangált a gréel = *mengáet a ker’rěl* “winding the string” around the hand.
8. Manglil a búuk = *mangălíl a buög* “prophecy of the Areca nut,” after it has been split.
9. Manglíl a gútum. A piece of money is laid on the ground, next to it a piece of wood is driven in, which shifts some earth through its movement.
10. Malatk = *melatk* “pondering” of a Galid woman about a little betel.
11. Omásak a duy = *omásăg a dui* “counting the coconut frond”, split and tied into knots (see Carolinians during ocean voyages), see Story 179.
12. Melingáol omuóngl = “puncturing of a coconut shell.”
13. Melyúuk a haus = *melúk a gáus* “measuring of the limestone pipe.”
14. Marásm a suk = *merásm a sug* “sewing of *sug* leaves,” see the section on house construction, the part concerning roofs.
15. Manglil a úyud “From the Island of Angyáur” (Ngeaur) “A certain number of short pieces of equal length from the Palauan Uyud torch are set in a bowl of water, and every piece is said to be a certain country.

Then the water is stirred lightly with a little stick, and based on how the pieces extinguish, conclusions are drawn about the fate of the countries in question.” This is certainly about the *gúíiūt* taboo sign, pg. 305.

16. Manglil a tanatík = *tangadík* kingfisher.
17. Manglil a Kossuk from the cry of the owl (*gěsúg*) (see Story 23).
18. Manglil a borsóyok = *bersóiōg* snake.
19. Manglil a Ulghóuk = *ulogóug* singed coconut, its cracks, etc. during singeing.
20. Homlusút little, torn-off leaves in small piles, then broken up into pairs.
21. Manglil er ardil asked about “women,” whom one plans to “steal.” 2 betel leaves are crossed and 2 Areca nuts are laid on top, all of this is thrown into the air and conclusions are drawn based on how they fall and how they line up on the ground.
22. Maláuk a gargár = *meláug a ker’regár* “notching a tree,” that is, a stick.
23. Manglil a sis from the sprouting areas of the little *sis* stems.
24. Manglil a mlai from rigging up a canoe *a mlai*.
25. Manglil mlar mesúbut er a ked, see Nr. 2, here *ked* heath.
26. Omásak a domikel, see Nr. 11, “using three coconut leaf nerves,” in questionable cases, to show the spot where a lost item is located.
27. Olduruk a kalkngelél “asking his fingers” *galdngelél*, putting the tips of his fingers together.

For information about other superstitions, see Story 65.

Apparently, the phases of the moon were also used for making prophesies, as MC CLUER supposedly relates¹⁰⁸⁰. But I could not find this claim in the original. Also important is the “questioning of flowers” in cases of death, more about this below on pg. 356. That is how one discovers who the wrongdoer is; the consequences are described in the case above, on pg. 305.

Causes of Death.

Suicide was reported by KUB. in Vol. V, pg. 3. A man in Ngasagáng threw himself from a palm tree out of love sickness. Another hung himself with a forest vine because of a fight with his family. I myself only know of one case of hanging in Samoa, without a doubt the most common type of suicide among primitive peoples.

KUB. also reminds us of the voluntary death of Góreng (see Story 17c). In this case, the cause was mourning over the death of the lover. The woman threw herself on his body and pressed her nose against him so hard that she suffocated.

KUB, Vol. IV, pg. 78: “Because they died an unnatural death, their spirits are feared and an honorable burial of their bodies in the family plot is not allowed. Like the corpses of those who have fallen in battle, they are buried on the spot where they ended their lives.”—

5. Worship of the Soul and of the Dead.

There is also a special work by KUBARY about this: KUB., Vol. III “The burial of the dead on the Pelau Islands”; KUB. Vol. V also adds quite a bit.

I shall report mainly on what I observed and heard myself, and I shall add the most important things from the literature.

The Soul (see pg. 335).

In living beings, one is aware of breath, the wind from the nose, so life is described as *tīl* (poss.: *telīl*)¹⁰⁸¹. Also residing in the living body is the soul *reng* (poss.: *rěngúl*, usually sounds like *rǔngúl*), the seat of the spirit and the mind. “Behavior” is called *tőkói*, the noun of *melekói* “talking speaking,” thus actually the “word,” the “talk.” Based on this they say that in daily life, when someone is acting properly, *úngil a tekingél* “good his behavior,” while a soft warm-heartedness is called *úngil a rengúl* (*rǔngúl*) and “to wish” is called *oureng*. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 2, uses the term “*arngúl*” for the soul or all inner activity and mentions as a comparison that the arrow root powder is called “*arngúl a sobósob*” and that of the turmeric “*arngúl a kosól*.” This is in line with my observations, because I was also told that the content of the *kěsol* root is the turmeric powder *reng*, which is manufactured as a profession in the Central Carolines, primarily on Truk, from where it is traded to Yap and Palau. It is also made on Palau itself, as described above on pg. 40. The yellow powder is made during certain ceremonies and is used almost everywhere in those areas, also on Palau, for painting and preparing corpses. On Samoa, this powder is called *lenga*, in Raratonga *renga*. On Palau, the word means “egg yolk¹⁰⁸², sediment,” etc., i.e. the content of a thing. The yellow powder is simply the content of the turmeric root, like the soul is the content of the body. But the possessive of *reng* is *rengúl*, as can be seen in Vol. 2, pg. 315, and above; if *reng* = *lenga*, it would have to be *rengák*. The Igorrots (more correctly Igolots) on Luzon call the soul of a living person *lengág*, and since their *g* is often used interchangeably with *k*, this could easily mean “my soul.” On the other hand, the familiar orange dye used in Persian hair coloring from *Lawsonia* = henna, and the addition of powdered indigo leaves is called *reng*. If these words are to be considered related, which is possible according to various examples, it would be two words, *lenga* and *lengu*. In Samoa, in addition to *lenga*, there is also *penu*, the shavings of the root, from which the dye is extracted. So we shall reserve judgment in this case. The word *reng* thus refers to the emotional “content” of a person, i.e. “soul.” KUB., Vol. V, pg. 2, however, also says: “the soul residing in the living person is called “*adalbengél*”... specifically, *a dalbengél* is just the name for the soul during life, derived from *á dalép*, spirit,

after the death of a person.” This is entirely correct. The Palauan term for the concept of the soul as a picture¹⁰⁸³ is *delép* (poss. *delepěngél*), as well as *lag* (poss.: *logúl*) “shadow.” It is said that the soul can leave the body while it is alive, and some people believe that this is always the case during sleep, as Story 19 relates. This term, however, also includes the concept of spirit, and when one speaks of the *delép* of a person, one always thinks at the same time of its independence after death. There are even special magicians who know how to restore the soul to the body, *olsísěp a delép*, the escaped soul. Story 173 confesses this. W. W. GILL calls those who restore wandering souls in Rarotonga the beneficent spirits¹⁰⁸⁴, likewise the story is told of Uéa, in which a soul doctor accomplishes the magic with the relatives. Thus we are not dealing with the soul of a living person, but with the spirit of a deceased person. If the dead person’s eyes and mouth are shut, this is a sign that the *delép* has already left the body. It stays at first in the Blai where the body lies, then on the fifth day it flies to Ngeaur, as a winged body (see the *logukl* in Story 173 a and b) or as a bird¹⁰⁸⁵ *idedelép*¹⁰⁸⁶ (Bai 65).

From Babldaob, the soul makes its way over Malágal, where it bathes in the spring (Vol. 2, pg. 204). Wandering farther South, it jumps off of the southern point of Pelíliou, from the Ngaramókěd stone, which is on the Southern side of the island Bitang (pg. 262), and then swims to a Ngeaur. Once there, it flies to the wide, gently sloping sand beach in the Southwest, Ngēdelóg¹⁰⁸⁷, also called Ngadológ, the famous beach of departed souls, the *arungád*. There is a bridge there that the spirit must cross; it is guarded by an old woman. If the *delép* has no holes in its nose or ears, so that a *bersóiōg* snake can be inserted, the old woman pushes him off the bridge into the deep, where there is a *kim* shell that closes and pinches him.¹⁰⁸⁸

For this reason, people without piercings are given money on their journey, to pay the female guard. For male corpses, a piece of money is placed in their *tet* basket while they are awaiting burial; for women, it is placed in their little *gotúngěł* bag, which is removed before burial, however, because only the shadow of the object is supposed to go accompany the body. In the same way, only money symbolically carved from the turmeric root is offered to the Galid, as just mentioned in the discussion on offerings, pg. 344. Apparently,

the spirits remain a long time on the beach of Ngēdelóg, where they dance and hold their celebrations¹⁰⁸⁹. The natives also say that they occasionally set up pieces of driftwood, especially during the new moon (see Story 173b), when they can be heard singing:

<i>kiki! ng matusá</i> ¹⁰⁹⁰ <i>a Bēlau</i>	hello! split is Palau
<i>mě go kekri</i> ¹⁰⁹¹ <i>a mamăřámáng</i>	and his thick part has already come
<i>a lilitél</i> ¹⁰⁹² <i>a di ng kiei, uí!</i>	his thin part however remains, uí!
	that is, the larger part of the world has died, the
	smaller part has remained.

On the Southern tip of Ngeaur is also the *golimtemútl*, however, the whirlpool, which was discussed in the section on canoe building above on pg. 191. He who falls into it is forgotten for all time.

The islanders believe that there are people who can see spirits and can recall them. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 8, reported on such a case from Pelíliou. I refer also to Story 122, which reports of a recalling of a soul; then there is the magic Gomókēt in Story 215; and especially the awakening of Mílad in Story 19.

The owl and, according to WALL., a small night bird called *chabáchěb* are considered to be birds of the dead.

The last meal given to a dying person consists of pork, fish, *blsík* (see pg. 102), sweets; it is called *goseregél*¹⁰⁹³ *a uláol* “the burden of the floor.”

KUB., Vol. III, pg. 4, says the following about dying: “When the ill person is at death’s door, when his breathing increases (*ometyakl a telíl*)¹⁰⁹⁴ and he finally calls out (*olgyérd*¹⁰⁹⁵ *a telíl*), i.e. when the end is near, the closest relatives sit closely at his sides, and one of them goes outside to pick a few leaves from the *rbótel*¹⁰⁹⁶ tree and fetch some water, which is placed on the fire and awaits the passing. Once this has occurred (*makapdá*¹⁰⁹⁷), the sister closes the eyes and lips on the corpse, and all of the women present perform the first Manl, weeping, whereupon the corpse is washed with warm water. This, like the entire handling of the corpse overall, is done by the sister and the wife. After the corpse has been washed, the rear (in the case of a woman the vagina, in the case of a man the opening of the urethra) is stuffed with *Namnamk*¹⁰⁹⁸, combed-out, soft *lap* fibers. 4-5 small balls of fiber wound around a finger are stuffed into the rear and into the vagina,

the opening of the urethra is lightly covered with the fibers, and the foreskin is secured over the glans by tying with banana fibers. The corpse is then rubbed with oil and turmeric¹⁰⁹⁹, and a man is given a fresh loincloth, the woman a skirt, which, according to her rank, is either the normal Bunan, or the Riryámmel¹¹⁰⁰, or even the Ulálek¹¹⁰¹.” He continues: “The corpses of women are surrounded by turtleshell plates,” depending on the wealth of the house, these might reach around the legs to the hips, in which case the plates are leaned against the body; or they may reach all the way up to the shoulders. In the case of a man, the hand basket is laid on his left side; fresh betel and tobacco are placed in it, and the money that has been taken from the widow (see above, pg. 295) is lined up around the edge; the axe is laid in his basket, and his war spear is leaned in front of the door. Below the chin is a piece of turmeric, the chin support *Tkel a komellél* (*tkakl a gomalél*). The hair on the head is made into a single knot on the forehead, the way rich women who have just borne children wear it, or it is let down in two loose knots at the side.”—So much for KUBARY. Now for my own observations:

The Funeral Celebration *gaměldıl*¹¹⁰² (WALL.: *kemeldúl*).

When a Rubak has died, the ban against noise *táor*, which Gorágěl introduced, takes effect immediately (Story 13). Cooking in the Blai is also forbidden, which is why a shed *ngoliděúl* (KUB., Vol. III, pg. 7) is built for that (see the section on the canoe cart, pg. 185).

The dead body is laid on a bier *gomăsăuégěl*¹¹⁰³ (WALL. *chomesoéchel*), which consists of two long bamboo poles with cross rods made of bamboo or, in the case of wealthy people, made of split Areca leaf stalks. The first families use a long *tóluk* bench, and in Ngërupesang, there is even a family that has the right to use a large taro pounding board (*ngot*) as a bier (see Vol. 2, pg. 110). The bier is covered with the *gerévut* skirts of the women of the family, and with 6-10 mats are laid over this. The corpse is painted with turmeric yellow, and it is powdered thickly with turmeric powder.

The bier is placed in the central door of the Blai in such a way that the head of the corpse is situated outside the door (Figs. 221 and 222). Because the door of a Blai, as mentioned above on pg. 112, is supposed to face North, the head also points in that direction, so that the dead person can see Ngeaur, where his soul will go. The women sing the songs of lament in the house (see above, pg. 319), mainly during the night, with each of them taking up her own lament¹¹⁰⁴.

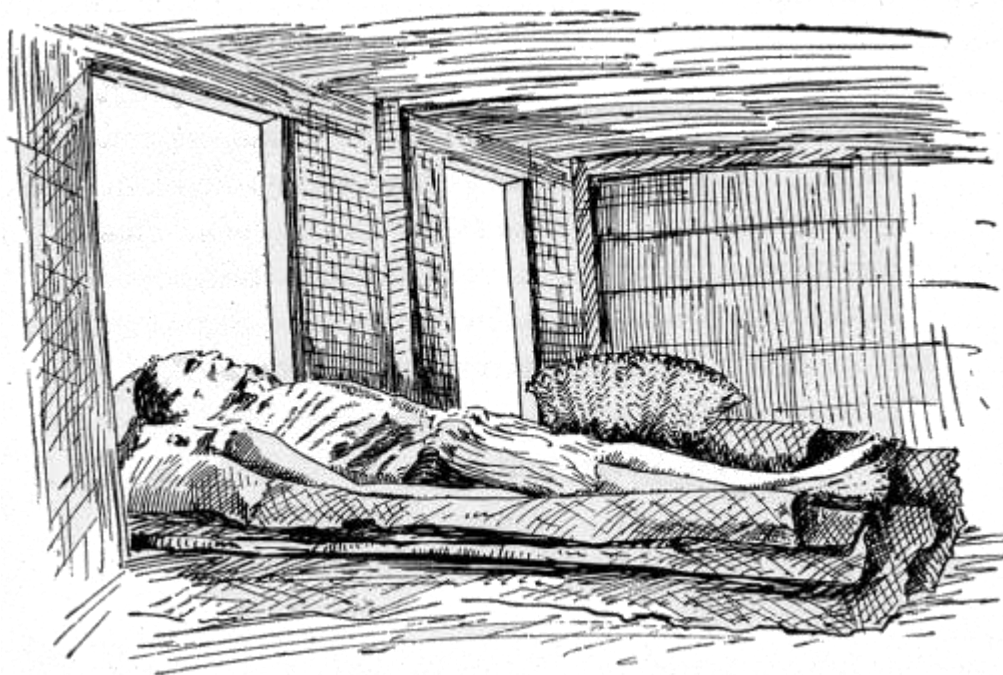


Fig. 221. Placing on the bier in the Blai.



Fig. 222. Consecration of the body with taro.

Outsiders who come to sing are given gifts of turtleshell items (*gekúr* KUB.) for their trouble, or Avicula bowls (*rúděl*), as HE. determined. In the case of high-ranking Rubak, the following day there is a *diágās* celebration, called *galáng* in Ngaregolóng. *diágās* is what young taro plants¹¹⁰⁵ are called in Goréör, which are usually called *dáit* (pg. 55). One woman who wears her hair loose and hanging down puts two of these on her head; the roots are painted yellow, and each leaf is tied up fist-sized (Fig. 222). The woman climbs onto the *gólbed* pavement in front of the Blai and stands in front of the bier, her face turned away from it, so that the taro leaves hang in the air over the body of the dead person. Now and then, a woman's hand can be seen reaching out of the house and grabbing the plants and sometimes breaking off a stem.

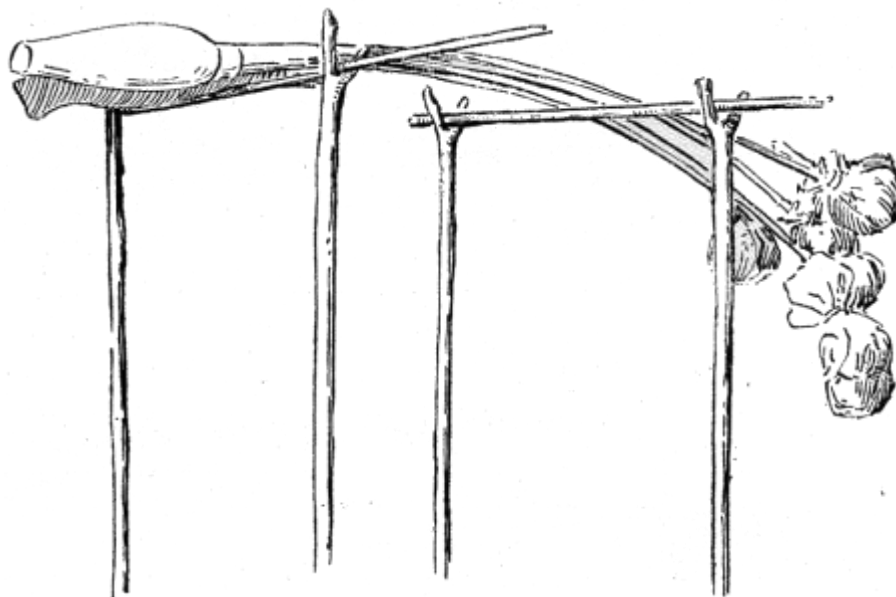


Fig. 223. Taro on a structure.

After some time, the woman places the two plants on a rack (Fig. 223) that has been constructed nearby. This rack consists of two poles placed across two forked sticks. The taro plants are left lying there for some time, and their shadows are meant to accompany the soul of the dead person, to serve as his or her food. For information about the planting of it, see below.

In Nggēsár, people are buried in boxes or coffins (WALL. *kiuár*, poss.: *kiurúl* “lockable box”) (see Vol. 2, pg. 126), a split *titiměl* trunk hollowed out by men from Ngaráus. When the casket is delivered, a mock fight takes place on the beach in Nggēsár, because the bearers strive to prevent the block of wood from being pulled up (see also the fight over the corpse in Story 31a), and they even go so far as to cut through the ropes until they are appeased with counterfeit money. The people of the friendly house in this case also make an *ogáro* (KUB. *mañoharo*), with the participation of the women of Ngarengasáng, who go so far as to paint themselves with pictures of genitalia and sing obscene songs until they have been appeased with gifts.

—In Goréör, I saw a large wooden coffin at the house of *a* Ibedul, which stood ready for the old man, who was seriously ill.

At the same time, assuming the person is not buried in a coffin or in simple burial cloths, the sewing up of the body in mats *mărasm ra blsókl*¹¹⁰⁶ “sewing of the corpse bundle” (see Story 71) begins. 6-12 mats for the dead are used for this, depending on wealth; these mats are described above on pg. 140, Plate 12. Each mat is later paid for with a *galábad* banquet (see pg. 357). The women who wash the corpse and sew it up, that is, all those who touch it, are secluded afterwards for 10 days and are considered *meái*.

In general, burial gifts are not placed in the bundle or grave. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 8, however, speaks of *diál’l* (ship)

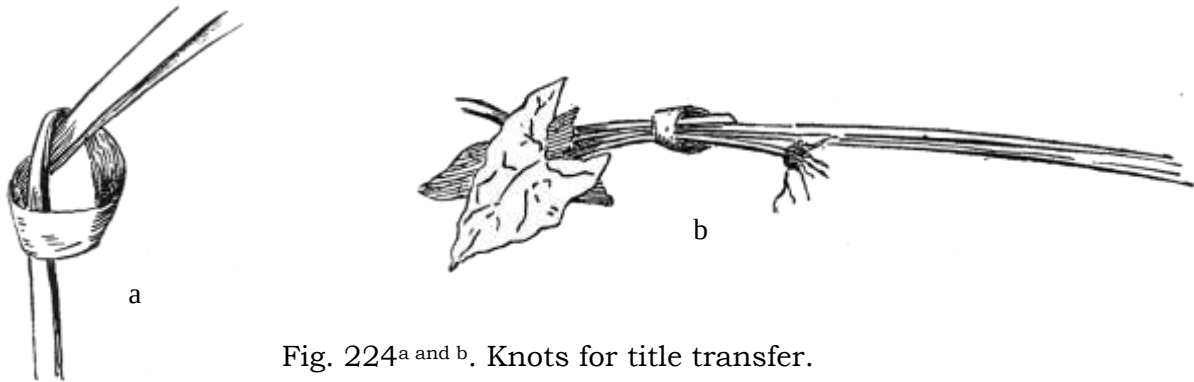


Fig. 224^a and ^b. Knots for title transfer.

money for women, because they are supposed to reach the other side in a vehicle, or because they will otherwise fall into the *kim* (see above, pg. 348). KUB., pg. 9 says that when a mother dies during childbirth, her spirit comes and calls for her child. For this reason, a piece of banana tree trunk is placed between her right arm and her breast, and her hand basket is placed at her left side. Finally, HAM. heard that the Conus bracelets are intended for placement in the grave and are not worn (see above, pg. 22). After the ceremony, a woman speaks:

<i>a l medēi Ngira...</i>	Just as Ngira... died
<i>ra ungi a tagelél a sils</i>	just at noon,
<i>ě ngomíkl</i> ¹¹⁰⁷ <i>a kersél l morbáb</i>	his <i>kirs</i> rises.

After this, an awful noise begins, which is created using all manner of items imaginable, by banging together pieces of wood, stones, etc. Everyone participates, achieving a rather impressive effect, and scaring away the evil spirits.

In Ngarmíd, this noise was kept up for almost a quarter of an hour. I was told that it only takes place for the title Gad l bai.

Shortly after the noise, the *blngur* banquet is held (see *gólengěł*, pg. 42). The women who have come as guests receive syrup to take home, the men do not. *iláot* plays a large role at funeral ceremonies, as Stories 13 and 73, and Bai 2 VIIa demonstrate.

After this, the Rubak from the dead person's village arrive. One brings the *déliakl*¹¹⁰⁸ *dúi* "recipient of the title." This consists of two coconut fronds (a) tied in an intricate knot, through the eye of which a small taro plant is stuck (Fig. 224b)¹¹⁰⁹.

With this bundle in hand, he walks around the dead person and says:

<i>ak ultúruk rekau̇ e Ugéliáng</i>	I plead with you, Ugéliángěd,
<i>kau ma ra bldekěl¹¹¹⁰ l tial blai</i>	you and the spirit of this house,
<i>ě ak mělái ra diál¹¹¹¹ a Gádlbai</i>	I take the title of Gádlbai
<i>rě gělagál sils.</i>	on this day.
<i>Gádlbang, kau di a l medei̇</i>	Gádlbai, you are just dead,
<i>meng di mesúběd a rěngúm</i>	and you know it in your heart,
<i>l ke di mlě delebáob, rúbak,</i>	you were just indifferent, Rubak,
<i>l 'ka mul¹¹¹² e mur ra rubak,</i>	you made not <i>feasts</i> for the chiefs
<i>ma 'ka m ngílu¹¹¹³ a tal songd</i>	and you made also not a branch ¹¹¹³ ;
<i>ě mogá tuobókl¹¹¹⁴ ma ke maráel</i>	you went down, and you wander
<i>ě di ungil a rěngúm</i>	with contented heart ¹¹¹⁵
<i>ma ko ngatangatí a moimák¹¹¹⁶ lagád</i>	and you bless him, the high man,
<i>e ngatangaták!</i>	and may he bless me!

The title is thus transferred to the *déliakl* bundle, which is then stuck into the interior wall of the Blai, near the bottom-most *gongasagákl* stake (see pg. 224).

In the meantime, the grave (*debúl*, poss.: *debelél*) has been dug, in the *gólbed* pavement in front of the house (Plate 20), facing in the direction of the *gólbed*. It is dug 1-2 m deep, with a niche at the side at that depth, into which the shrouded body is placed after it has been wrapped in the rough *golúběd* mat. The entrance to the chamber is closed by laying wooden poles at an angle, with mats over them, so that, when the shaft is filled with dirt, the small chamber remains free of dirt.

//Krämer, Palau, Vol. 3, Plate 20.//



Above: Gifts of taro stacks at a feast.

Below: Burial in Ngarbagéd, Blai Nr. II

If no side chamber is made, the mat with the shrouded corpse is laid at the bottom of the shaft and the stakes are laid over it, resting on two ledges in the dirt, so that a chamber is created here, as well. The grave diggers throw dirt on the mat with their hands and stomp it down. Once the level of the *gólbed* has been reached, a layer of stones is spread out, followed by a mound of earth. There may be obstacles to the burial, however, such as the incident caused by the “friend” (see above, pg. 293). The wild, often obscene songs and dances of friendly Blai or higher-ranking Rubak wives, called *ogaro*, also have the purpose of extorting gifts, often money, even if only symbolically. KUB., Vol. III, pg. 8, says at the end: “Before the body is removed from the door, everyone says their final farewell to the dead one, whose face is still uncovered. Each one in turn touches the face with their nose, while the heir himself or one of the older cousins grabs the basket hung with money and quickly leaves. The aunts say nothing about this, and the widow calls out as a formality: “The basket!”—This was previously discussed above on pg. 350. But the customs vary, depending on the village and family. Usually, the title is transferred and the corpse is sewn up in the house already. Now the burial *mělákl* (KUB. *melwosu*, which means “to duck” according to WALL.) begins.

The corpse’s head is placed facing East¹¹¹⁷, just as the main gable of the Bai is supposed to face East (see pg.

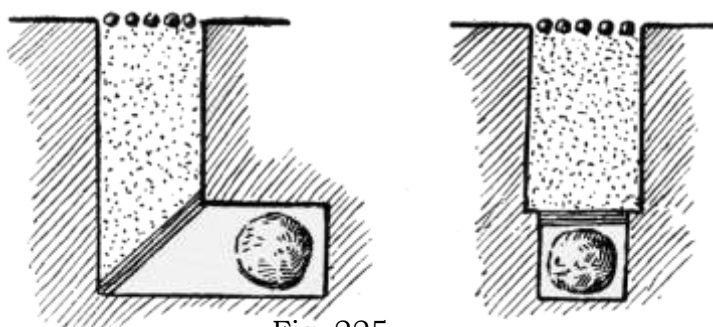


Fig. 225.

Cross section of a niche grave and a layered grave,
each with a shrouded corpse.

262). The *déliakl* bundle remains on the lowest of the 6 *gongasagákl* stakes (pg. 354) until the grave is covered with stones (about 9 days later). It is placed on the 2nd *gongasagákl*, counted from the bottom, when the *dépēs*¹¹¹⁸ celebration, the end of his nourishment, is held about 10 days later (Vol. 2, pg. 213); the meal consists of pork and taro.

It is stuck on the third stake by the *uldekiál a dui* (Vol. 2, pg. 214), on the fourth by the *udóimtú*, on the fifth by the *but l blai*¹¹¹⁹; the *déliakl* remains there until it rots.

On the third day, in the morning, the food for the spirit *kal (kelél) a delép* is heaped in front of the house door; this consists of a large pile of raw taro, which belongs to the friend of the deceased by law (see above, pgs. 293 and 355).

On the fourth evening, after the burial, the family usually consults the oracle of the flowers “*oltúruk ra sis*” (KUB.: *marad*¹¹²⁰ *a sis*), asking the spirit of the departed what caused his demise. Two women, wearing elaborate ornamentation, go into the bush, tie a bouquet of red *sis* leaves of the *Dracaena*. These have been washed with oil and rubbed with turmeric yellow, so that they have a strong odor. They add long grasses and flower clusters to this, zig-zag-shaped, like lightening, with ornamentation (Fig. 226). The bouquet is wrapped in a mat. In the evening, in the Blai, after darkness descends, a woman takes the *sis* bouquet out of the mat, wraps a piece of cloth around the stem, and stands it up on the floor in the middle of the house and holds it there by hand¹¹²¹. Those present call out the possible causes of death, in particular they name the Galid who may have brought it about. If the bouquet begins to quiver, or if it spins or falls over, they know that they have hit on the right answer. Someone says, for example:

ngar'rag lă galid aurakt rekau Any Galid you sick, you he killed;
monggoblóng;

When the bouquet quivers, everyone calls out:

*górengí, gorengi, a ngói kau.*¹¹²²

that is it, that is it, it took you.

After this test, the bouquet is taken outside and set up in front of the house, on a bamboo pole that has been expanded like a basket at the top. The little split sticks are held together at the base by a *dóud* = binding (Fig. 226). The bouquet is placed into this basket. The Rubak's clothes and *tet* basket are also hung on a stake, so that the spirit, when it starts its journey to Ngeaur on the fifth morning, can take along the shadow of all of these things, which ensures he will be favorably received in the kingdom of the dead. On this day, the *galábad* banquet previously mentioned on pg. 353 takes place, a dish of boiled taro leaf stems with syrup poured over them, accompanied by fish, pork, taro, etc.

On the fifth day, it is also customary to crack a coconut, as already described above on pg. 267 in the discussion on the woman who has just given birth. In this case, however, it is done using a shell called *gongoseliól* or *gomu*, whose hinged part smashes the shell. This takes place on the other side of the *golbed* and is meant to lift the *meái*, so that everyone can now break and scrape coconuts again in or around the Blai, etc, and the women may leave the house of mourning (see Story 48).

At first, the burial mound consists only of dirt. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 9, says that it is adorned with a mat with *gerdéu* blossoms and *kesúk* leaves; but this is probably just a local custom. On the other hand, it is generally the case that the two taro plants (see above, pg. 352) are planted at the head and the foot of the grave, after the tubers have been cut off. If they thrive, this is taken to be a good omen for the successor. They cannot remain undamaged

for long, however, if the *blil a debúl*, the "burial hut" is constructed. This is usually just a roof, but can often be quite expansive, as Fig. 227 shows. We saw a hut like this after the death of a youth from the Nr. I family *a Idíd*. In that case, three of his sisters held a vigil by the grave in this hut. The inhabitants give part of the food that comes in to the dead person,

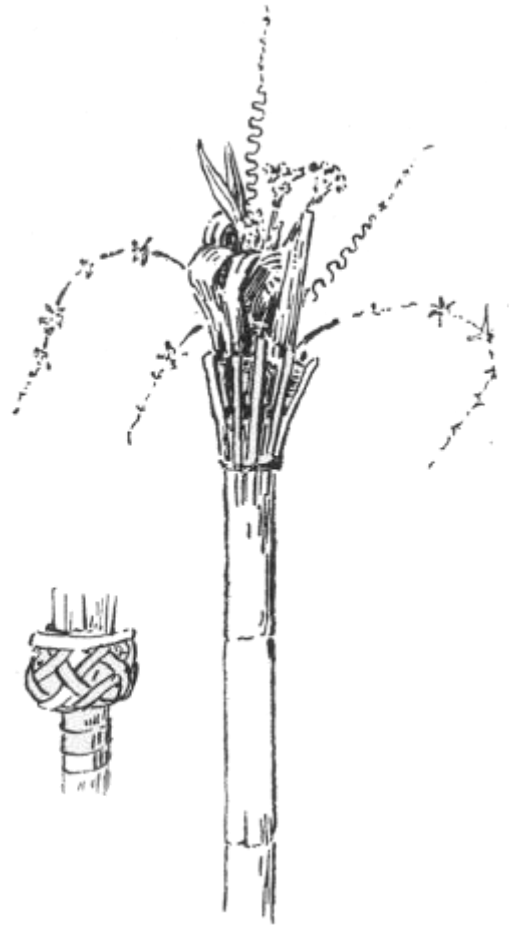


Fig. 226.

Flower oracle and prophesy bouquet.



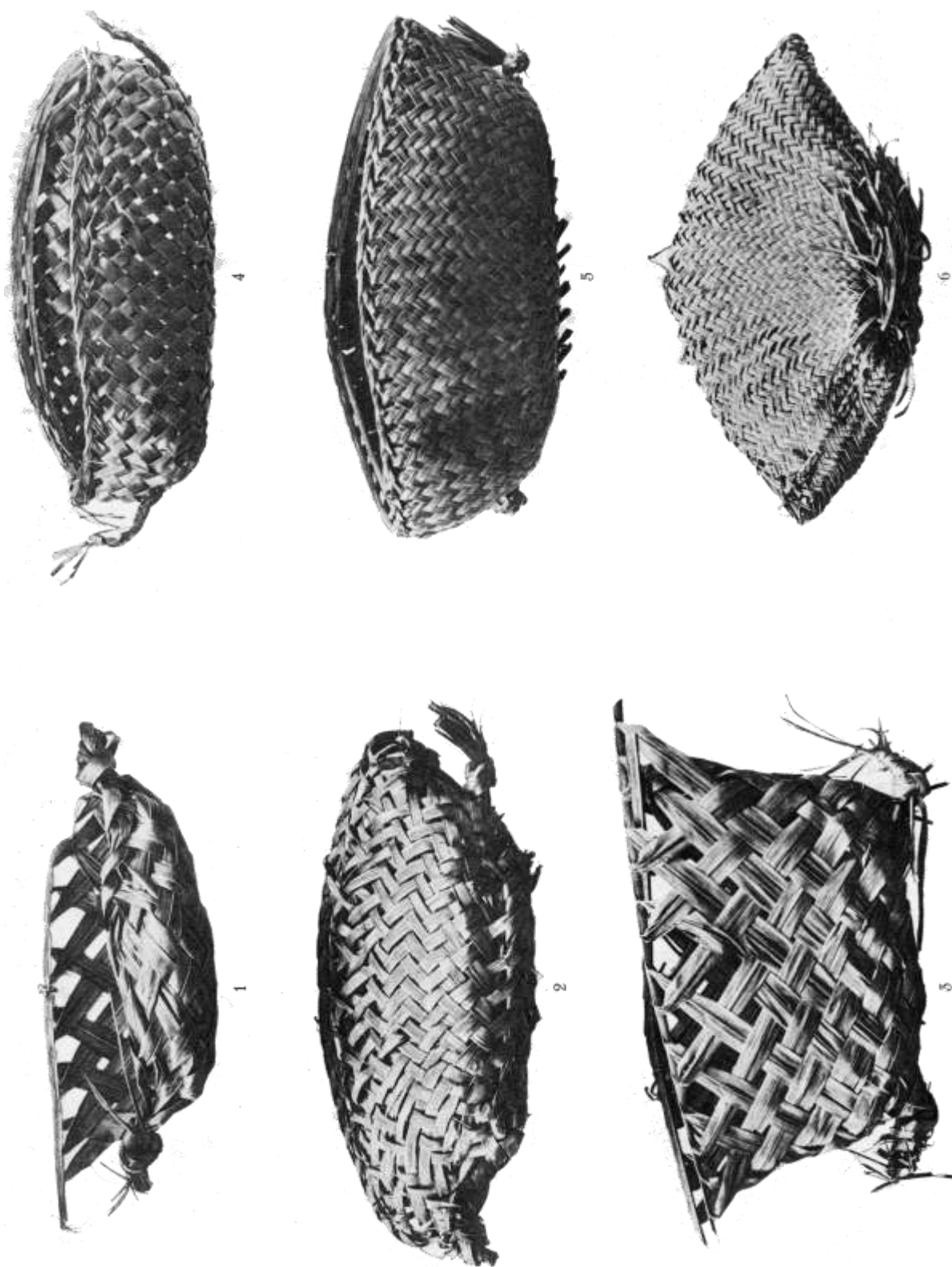
Fig. 227. Burial hut, Goréör.

and they pour some of the beverages on the ground¹¹²³. Later, the women occasionally bring the dead one some betel (Bai 59 II b).

After about 9 days (see pg. 355), the hut is removed, and the stones are placed on the *golbed*, so that it looks as it did before. The period of mourning, however, lasts a long time, especially for high-ranking chiefs, as described in Vol. 2, pgs. 213-214. The *táor*, which forbids all noise, must be observed during the entire 100 days.

Cremation is not practiced, only punishment by burning at the stake (see above, pg. 304). In the case of the chiefs of Ngarsung, the corpse is said to be retrieved by the death crab (Story 16).

Great, beloved heroes were occasionally mummified, as shown in Story 204 of Ugélregulsiáng. This was done by rubbing the body with oil and lime, slitting the skin, and smoking. The natives avoid contact with the blood of the dead, because they believe it causes illness *gongelěmáděg*. These unusual customs, especially that of spacing the different celebration banquets over a period of one year, points to the Melanesian view of life, while the cult of spirits points towards the West. Palau-Bannoi¹¹²⁴-Hawaiki, a wide region of former research!



Baskets made of coconut leaves.

1. tangerik, pg. 151
2. gorovikl, telu style, pg. 145
3. ngoluokl, pg. 150
4. gorovikl, galusakl style, pg. 145
5. aulok (He 941 = 4783 II)
6. tet ulok, ulagddager style, pg. 149

Appendix

(see pg. 290)

As mentioned in the foreword, in the spring I received a piece of work from WILLIAM GIBBON, in which a whole series of clans are recorded in detail. WILLIAM divides each *kebl̄l* into two sides, a front side and a back side, *ngelóng* and *rebái*, as can be seen in Blai, pg. 211, and Bai, pg. 263. This division can be traced back to the two *bítang* of Rubak Nr. I and Nr. II¹¹²⁵, whom all others generally follow. The Rubak *kebl̄l* demonstrate this division in detail, of which I shall list one group each from Goréör and Melekéiok. See also the “friend,” pg. 293.

Klebl̄l of Meketí (pg. 216) Goréör.

ngelóng = side*rebái* = side*Kebl̄l*

1. Gongolákāl (pg. 227)	a) a Ibēdul I	1. a Ikelau	a) Ngiraikelau II
	b) Mad XIII		b) Remeráng XVII
	c) Dérabai XIV		c) a Ugél XV
	d) Goukerdéu XVIII		d) Mudelong XVI
2. Ngariólulilid	a) Regugěr Ngiriólulilid	2. Bab l Dmiu	a) Regúgěr Ngiratëgëkí
	III ¹¹²⁶		IV
	b) Ngiragët ⁶ VI		b) Regekemúr XI
	c) Ngiramer ¹ IX		
3. Eóul Dmíu ¹¹²⁷	a) Klotráol V	3. Gógop (♀ VII)	a) Rubasǎg VII
	b) Keúkl XII		b) Rekesiváng VIII
	c) Gad l bai XIX		c) Kldngül X

Melekéiok (Vol. 2, pg. 102).

Likewise for every Rubak Blai 1 *kebl̄l*, of which only the four primary ones appear, divided into two, with the ranking of the Rubak.

*Ngelóng**Rebái*

1. Gogád arúgěl (<i>kebl̄l</i> Nr. I)	1. Gúmerang (<i>kebl̄l</i> Nr. II a Gum)
a Raklái I	Rěgěbong II
Sagaruleong V	Golikong VIII

//360/

Rengül XII
 Ngiratekau IX
 Med re nggar XXII
 Tkul a gudǎl

Tmekei XI
 Ngira gongor XIII
 Mad ra lmi XVII
 Ruikang

Ngiruosog XVI

2. Ngerĕkungil (*keblil* Nr. VII)
Ngirĕ kungil V
Kemadaol XX
a Imetukĕr XV
Regĕtáog VII

2. Ngatbúiĕl (*keblil* Nr. III)
Ruluked III
Ngiramang X
Koi XIV
Ruadesúl XIX
Madra gulsiang XVII

One example of a large family *keblil* is shown by the *keblil* of a Ugélióu of Blai Nr. IX Meril of Goréör. *a* Ugélióu is listed in Vol. 2, pgs. 216 and 234 as the title-holding woman of Blai Nr. VIII Ngardĕngól; that is the way the chiefs and William himself as translator relayed it to me. Now he reports, however, that the titles of the women must be switched between VIII and IX. It is incomprehensible that the specifications in the main village Goréör, where I stayed for so long and had excellent relationships with the Rubak, could hide such an error; on the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that there was a change after 1910. So, this correction needs to be entered in Vol. 2, as above for Nr. III and IV.

The large family *keblil* named after a titled woman is as follows:

Arabic numerals in parentheses denote SS from Vol. 2, while Roman numerals indicate the Nr. of the Rubak; the totem animals (*delásĕg*) are usually fish.

Village	Blai	Rubak and Rubak women	Galid	Totem
1. Goréör (216)	Ngaramerĭl IX	Kldngul IX ra Merĭl <i>a</i> Ugélióu ¹¹²⁸	Túrang	Octopus <i>gorovidĕl</i> fish (Fig. 210) <i>derúdĕm</i> <i>klúdĕl</i>
2. Ngarekobasáng (259)	Godiláng VI	Răgăbei VI Rengĭl Tpekriu Bedúl Regĕkemúr	Turang Risois	Octopus <i>bang</i> <i>karamlál</i>
3. Ngatkíp (199)	Ngaramangrang X	Gadlbai X Kekerél-Gadlbai	Turang	Octopus <i>bang</i> <i>kludĕl</i> and <i>ketau</i> same
4. Ngurusár (196)	Ngĕrulkong V (Goivél)	Risong	Gĕbilrisong	Turang
5. Nggasagáng (193)	Gasél I	Spis I ¹¹²⁹ Buikaspis V Malangaibúgĕl	Guódel'lagád I V IX	♂ Dagelbai ♀ Gamáng
				<i>gamáng</i> (= crab)

//361//6. Ngërupesáng (111)	Gëbül VI ¹¹³⁰ (<i>bab</i>)	Ngiripkál V Ngira bersóiǫǫ VIII Ngiragóng klúngǽl XVIII	Diripkal VIII Dirak Gëbül	Gorekim Góbilgësau	moray eel <i>derúdēm</i> <i>kludǽl</i>
7. Ngëruliáng (114)	Bersóiǫǫ VIII (<i>eóu</i>) Gorúkei I ¹¹³¹	Ngirakúmer I Ngíramǽǫau V a Ingebáng IX Isokeli X Koibád	Golsivékl I Diramǽǫau V Diraingebáng Keturang X Ngeringidal	Medegēipélau	<i>gai</i> (barracuda)
8. Ngaragëlūk (123)	Ngereketuráng IX(X)			Gorekim	moray eel eel <i>gaséngǽl</i> <i>mesekūk</i> <i>rekúng</i> (land crab)
9. Kekláu (68) ¹¹³² in Ngotel	Merap III	Gadlbai ra Merap III Túlei V Ranggai IX Galid ěǫǫsong III a Rdui VI	Sumog Dil V Ilungel a Sumog Ugelióu III a Ngaprengel	Damlgalíd	
in a Iráǫel	Ksid III			Duoi ♀	<i>gorovidǽl</i> <i>gadui</i> <i>klúdǽl</i> <i>gadúi</i> <i>kelát</i> <i>gasall</i> <i>derúdēm</i> <i>kengól, ksau</i> and moray eel
10. Galáp (60)	Ngaruaug VIII ¹¹³³	Ruaug VIII	--	a Iliuai ♀ Remeng ♀ (227)	
11. a Iebúkul (31)	a Ibóng IV ¹¹³⁴ (<i>uriúl</i>) Ngarebogóng II (<i>úgei</i>)	Gësang IV a Iegád ra Tǫǫǫgui VIII Geoél II Iegad IV Kemedangǽl X Regeirēi III R. ra Galkáng VII Gǫǫpedēi II Gad l pelú VI Mad raidúp Regatáoǫǫ a Spis II Gadlbai III Buikspis VI Ruregerudǽl III Ngiraeagerēi IX Mad XII Métilap XVIII	Gëbilësáng Gëbilgëoél II VI X	a Ugél ra (Story 204) Gulsiáng it.	<i>it.</i>
12. Ngabiül (23)	Idebóng III ¹¹³⁵		Rúgel legíu III Goltopodagúr VII	Gebelksid	<i>ksid</i> (tree)
13. Ngarametukǽr (21)	Dmagel II (<i>úgei</i>) Ngeáol IV (<i>uriül</i>)		II VI IV VIII	a Ugérrekǽam it.	<i>gorovidǽl</i> <i>klúdǽl</i> <i>it.</i>
14. Ngardims (44)	Milong II		G. ra Milong II III ---	Mororou ♀	<i>karamlál</i> <i>bang</i>
15. Ngarekeai (106)	Sëgesúǫǫ III ¹¹³⁶		III Ulonggongg	Gorekím	{ moray eel <i>klúdǽl</i> <i>derúdēm</i>
16. Ngarbagéd (249)	Ngeripkál VI (<i>bab</i>) Golsugol VIII(<i>eóu</i>)	Ngiripkal VI Ngiragolsugol VIII Ngiragaldais	VI VIII Dir...	Gorekím Gogilgësau	

//p. 362//

17. Ngardolólok (268)	Ngarakelaŭ II	<i>a</i> Iderég Mogugēu VI Klamatalúlik X ¹¹³⁷ Mad ra golep XI	Bálang II Dilm... VI Dir... X Mad. XI	Mlagél ♀ Guódel ♂	<i>klúděl</i>
18. Ngarekeúkl (277)	Lulk II	Gad l pelú II Galdbai VI X Mad. XI	Gobagád ra Ugelíou VI X XI	Túrang	moray eel <i>kluděl</i> <i>bang</i> <i>karamlál</i>
19. Ngarapelaŭ (285)	Ngartungěl III	Gobak III Talobak IX Mad.	Gebil III IX Mad.	Remédlgalid ♂ Mlagél ♀	<i>derúdēm</i> <i>karamlál</i> <i>madálagarm</i>

Endnotes

1. //p. 1//See KR. Samoan Islands, Vol. I, pg. 11 and pg. 480, under pa'ia.
2. = phallus.
3. //p. 2//From omsáker to tie around; musekerák tie me, musekerí tie it! sákēr choker, see also KUB. bottom of pg. 20
4. This word, which is difficult to pronounce, has been recorded in several different forms: WILS.: carute, KUB.: tariuth, v. M. M.: karjut, WALL.: chariut. Details are given in KUB. Vol. VIII, pg. 212-215; after repeated, precise checking, I reject the i; I heard it only in the possessive.
5. Hawaii, Eastern Micronesia and Samoa, Stuttgart 1906, pg. 339.
6. WALL. tachull, tachellél "belt," KUB. thogúl.
7. Apparently, this word is derived from lius coconut.
8. //p. 4//According to P. SALESIUS in Yap, this is the Chama pacifica, see MÜLLER Yap I, pg. 27.
9. MÜLLER Yap, Vol. I, pg. 27, presents additional similar statements by KUBARY, reproduced from his "Catalog," which add a lot to the discussion, Plate 123, but the belt shown there is not a typical one.
10. Called gâu here, i.e. the same name. The necklaces made out of roughly cut red shell pieces are called dauái on Yap and are shown in MÜLLER Plate 123. When VOLKENS says (About the Caroline Island Yap, Journal of the Geographical Society, Berlin 1901, pg. 72), that the Thauie is Palauan work, I just note this as not applicable.
11. //p. 5//blubëu indicates the whip-like weaving.
12. KUB.: "Hoñowatel is the term for the other known types of women's skirts, which are less important.
13. //p. 6//From melíl "to wander," therefore sometimes also melil riaměl.
14. //p. 7//When the lower part appears nicely reddish, one speaks of "its redness" blungungul (from búngungau "red"); it is called bldul if the roots are still attached at the bottom.
15. KUB. uses the term kaltioth for a special type of skirt made of sug leaves. Affixed to it: lap dyed with turmeric.
16. //p. 8//See materials below.
17. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 210, says: The gathering of suk leaves, omús a Suk, usually takes place in the dry season.
18. //p. 10//gotógěl miěg are the seeds of the miěg almond tree; so miěg should have been used.
19. //p. 11//If this string is black, a type of pattern emerges, which is called madamadál (KUB. matamatál) in front.
20. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 214, erroneously calls them ruklél; see bottom of pg. 15.
21. Poss. golodelél.
22. WALL.: chertechetál v. mengertóchet to finalize the edge.
23. manga bagēiep the swinging of the skirts when walking.
24. //p. 12//Something similar has been reported from Melanesia, for example in southeastern New Guinea.

25. //p. 14//I recorded golúičs, from melúičs “to sew” (see pg. 11); also called rásm a gerevut “needle for gerevut”, usually fashioned out of dort wood (Afzelia). A. K.
26. //p. 17//The rest left over when the lap fibers are combed out is called ngamngam (KUB. namiamk), see Section VI. 5.
27. //p. 20//KUB. II, pg. 105, golobún.
28. //p. 21//Further up it says they are made from the yellow siŋk pieces.
29. a telau kim; formerly, they probably used the pearls of the Tridacna clam for this, not polished ones. Also on Yap these kind of pearls are used in earrings, up to ten. See MÜLLER Yap, Vol. I, plate 128; formerly they are supposed to have been fish eyes.
30. //p. 22//WILLIAM GIBBON claimed this was something new that he had invented.
31. Even the septum of the nose exhibits a hole ilang, which v. M. M. describes. It is used less for ornamentation, however, than for religious purposes (see Soul). But KEATE, on pg. 319, reports that occasionally a flower was put in there, as well.
32. //p. 23//I only find the word golgol once in KUB. VIII, pg. 176, for “the finished bracelet,” in v. M. M.: ohogol., HE. nóluxódl.
33. galebúgěb, see the section on money.
34. a Ibědul Nr. I from Goréör, see Vol. 2, pg. 216.
35. Ngarárd, District II.
36. melóik to dance; a nglóik the dance.
37. Ngabukěd, main village of Ngarárd.
38. //p. 24//Meketí, Rubak Bai of Goréör.
39. a Idíd Nr. 1.
40. Mad. Nr. IV, Kerai Nr. I from Ngabúkěd, from the Ngaruau council.
41. gólbed, the pavement in front of the house.
42. Kldngül remerīl, see Vol. 2, pg. 216, Note 1.
43. According to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 177, first the killing (stab to the heart) is paid, then the cutting open bitang ma bitang, then the carving up and viewing of the first vertebra of the neck; after that there are secondary payments.
44. kluk and a delóbok, see the section on money.
45. gálděbegěl club.
46. Ngiraikelau Nr. II from Goréör.
47. //p. 25//He tells the legend of a young boy in Ngarekeai (District VI), who was working as a servant and found such a bone in the kitchen garbage. He found it too difficult to wear it as a bracelet, so he tied it on, which people found attractive.
48. //p. 27//KUB. 64 rings, shown in Vol. VIII, Plate XXII, Fig. 14.
49. //p. 29//merungūs to oil up, melúps to rinse, to squeeze out margivětokl.

50. //p. 30//On Yap rauai = *Rhizophora mucronata*, and the common name for comb (MÜ. pg. 21).
51. tilol tree with aerial roots.
52. //p. 31//*Rhizophora conjugata*; debëgël = the wild lime, tovëgël = the Nipa palm.
53. See above, personal hygiene.
54. Two are described in SZ.-K., pg. 413.
55. In general, only the children of marriages between priests and priestesses (KUB.) did this; see the Galid carvings of Ngatpang, Section VI4.
56. //p. 32//From omúnt, to twist the hair into a bush, WALL. ger. blengútël.
57. WALL. mengás.
58. //p. 33//From the Polynesian tatau, as I explained in "The Samoan Islands." I wrote there that RHEINHOLD FORSTER already used the term tatauiere instead of "tätowieren;" but also the German TH. F. EHRMANN, who translated from HOCKIN, said tättauieren for Melgotiren, as one can see in the text.
59. H. WILSON and MC CLUER: melgoth, v. M. M.: mignot, KUB. melingot, WALL.: melngód.
60. //p. 34//v. M. M. also mentions kwel, with which he probably means a uél "turtle." To my knowledge, however, turtleshell was not used.
61. This name applies to all of the small patterns that are made with this little instrument.
62. The lild cane is used. "The men occupy themselves with making these combs, which they then sell to the women" (KUB.).
63. //p. 35//KUB., Vol. VI, pg. 74, calls this an oulgóu = band, from ousekóuël "to play"; I recorded the term oulkóu head dress, cover.
64. lagang a patch piece, for example on a boat, ikr outside; KUB. alakaikr.
65. //p. 36//mesépës "to divide, to cut through."
66. KUB., Vol. VI, pg. 75: "As soon as the girl begins to associate with men, she strives to acquire the indispensable tattoo telengékel, because without this no man will look at her. This tattoo consists of a triangle that covers the mons veneris and whose outlines consist of the simple greel line. The inner area is blackened evenly, which is called oguttum, and the base of the triangle, which points upward, is given a blásak lining." v. M. M. reports that the Bai girls showed him this ornamentation without shame.
67. //p. 37//KUB., Vol. VI, pg. 76: "Inside of the medéu, separated by a band over the elbow, there are four klikoy stripes, the set of which are called karamel a buik and which reach almost to the armpit; underneath the elbow there are three similar stripes, called kalim." See Fig. in the quoted volume. garm means "animal," in this case favorite animal.
68. From meródël to adopt.
69. From mangát to smoke; gat smoke.
70. //p. 38//goáläg sea urchin.
71. badáok black noddy.
72. //p. 39//WALL.: chosébeg wing, galemül broken 1 piece see Section VII, Story 235, line 6.

73. //p. 40//geidúdēs gravel KR., with which the scars can be compared.
74. From melōgótōg to pound (see 3b rope making), probably because pounded coconut fibers are needed to apply it.
75. The “quince colored ones” Vol. 1, pg. 51, appear to belong here; the pintado there is probably tattooing.
76. According to SEM. Vol. II, pg. 361, painting was apparently still widely practiced in his time.
77. //p. 42//WALL.: blsól, part of omesoil evening meal. KEATE indicates the following for the three meals: Thomor acocook kukúk = early, Weetacallell a coyoß = Wall.: ungitachalél a sils “noon,” Comosoy = omesól.
78. WALL.: meliich, coconut meat in strips, meliuch to cut out in a round shape.
79. For a list and more detailed classification of all plants, see Section VIII.
80. //p. 44//Actually “binding”; from omīr to bind.
81. Literally, to notify the blossom sheath, talk to it, clean it, so that it flows.
82. //p. 45//Pronounced like the German Eilaut.
83. According to KUB., Vol. I pg. 62, the beverage was spiced with orange leaves or lavender grass; when it is mixed and warm, it is called kar “medicine,” and the containers with lids are used for it.
84. This last word, however, is indecent, as it represents a comparison with a glans membri virilis (poss. of búi genitalia), a circumcised one.
85. //p. 46//gongeómēl (choreomel WALL.) whetstone: misúr mang bibóik ungeómēl. Story 197.
86. See, for example, Story 60.
87. Actually stirring spoon gongósu, for which pieces of the gosēgósu blossom stem (KUB. Vol. VIII, pg. 208, Korndhok, probably = gorúsog “pounder”) are used.
88. //p. 47//See G. A. WILKEN. De Hagedis in het volksgeloof der Malaio-Polynesier Bijdr. Ind. Taal- Land- en Volkkunde 5. VI, pg. 463.
89. //p. 48//Also the skull cap, which was sometimes used for drinking.
90. WALL. osehél more correct gasagél from uásāg (see the section on fishes).
91. Word for lime (see below); so “lemonade” was translated correctly here.
92. //p. 49//See Index, Section. VIII and Vol. 2, pg. 95. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 161, names two subspecies Péodhok and Kasngerél.
93. WALL.: meselch or meséi, KUB.: misiélek.
94. reméd taro on dry land.
95. //p. 51//omúlt, merúōg. In Goikúl I once saw a woman work this way for four hours in the hot sun.
96. WALL.: ngeásek young, little; HE.: ngeiássek white clay (see the section on pottery).
97. gúsēm = beard, mangusēm to pull weeds.
98. //p. 52//See the section on baskets, pg. 3b.
99. //p. 53//See Vol. 2, pg. 263, name of a Galíd.
100. //p. 54//See the word also for the door handle of the Bai; melais to delouse; dait taro shoot.

101. According to a letter: the tubers are green and fresh when dry, but are spongy and watery when wet, because the leaves burn in the sun due to drops of water.
102. //p. 55//gólei magic, mel'lálem to plant.
103. Like, equal.
104. My source claimed to have experienced 100 dung.
105. See also Story 194, around Verse 100; băngkúr bad taro; KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 130, names one type Kalsáko as provisions for fishermen.
106. Sprouting in "one night."
107. //p. 56//In poetry, also known as ngalekél "his child" Story 203, Verse 6.
108. Its male blossom corm are called a ibibi.
109. //p. 57//See the karásăg species in Story 16 of Ugélsúng; it supposedly turns red in water, see also in the section on canoes.
110. HOCKIN: Tolngoth white yam root, Ungow a tolngoth red yam root.
111. KEATE: Sopossup A sweetmeat made of a small root like a turnip; see there, pg. 304; HOCKIN: wet confection.
112. KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 163: "Two citrus species (Dhebékél, C. lunetta and Golugau, the sweet orange); the islands originally had two species, Gurgúr and Malkayangeth, whose common name is Marádhel."
113. //p. 58//HOCKIN: Commutee sweet potatoes.
114. In the Philippines bugo, see Vol. 1, pg. 67.
115. //p. 59//klom poss. klemngél blossoms and fruit side-branches WALL.
116. Also called leaf sheath.
117. //p. 60//WALL.: togóal, galiúd; in Story 209, the word temakóng appears for "tobacco".
118. //p. 61//Substantive of merúsög "to pound"; like the German terms for "nut" and "bolt" (Schraubenmutter, Schraubenvater), they are distinguished as being "feminine" and "masculine," dil'lorúsög and sagál'lorúsög.
119. //p. 63//For a list of all animals and a more detailed discussion of them, see Section VIII.
120. Voyage autour du Monde... sur la corvette Sėniavine 1826-29 par Frédéric Lütke Paris 1835 Tome II pg. 315.
121. //p. 65//KUB. V, pg. 51, Balabálak.
122. And also the tébégěl, namely from the aerial roots ráod, see Vol. I, pg. 245.
123. KUB. calls the whole hunt meréngět, without knowing the meaning of the word.
124. //p. 67//KUB. says: "On the inner side of the bow, 35 mm from each end, there is a raised notch, Fig. 1c, in which the bowstring rests as soon as the bow is no longer drawn."
125. KUB.: utúrok, WALL.: utúrög, HAM.: poss. uterégél.
126. //p. 68//ulék behind me (from uriúl); but backside.
127. In Vol. I, pg. 191, a bay is mentioned which obviously was given the name Pedíkl because it works like a trap.

128. //p. 69//A subsistence fisherman is called kereóměĭ, and the same term applies to the Galid; but the word for the one who sends out the fisherman is ker'reóměĭ.

129. See below, the helpers in the kitchen.

130. Also called galáis ě gei (poss. galiséĭ), which is the name of the coconut leaf basket in which the fish are carried home (see Bai 24 IIIa).

131. See bestowal of titles, Section VI 3a.

132. //p. 70//See Vol. 2, pg. 191 note and pg. 60.

133. kói (goi WALL.)

134. Gobagád, see Section VI 4.

135. Melim rásag "blood drinker."

136. Jegád I toágěĭ "lord of the channel;" refers to the demon in the form of a shark, and his wife Delatmikáik (Story 1), who were invoked as follows:

ak ultúrũk ra kemíu, ak oltóběd tiál gesegěsuél a Klúbudsingál (see Story 18).

I beseech you, I bring here the vessel of the Klúbudsingál.

A gosegósu blossom sheath symbolizes the vessel.

137. KUB. VIII pg. 128 Hoñoáol from ngaováěĭ the high seas; WALL.: ngoáol.

138. See pg. 72. As in Melanesia, it was done with a loop (galsiegúr) without a float. A flying fish served as bait; a riúr line (KUB.: Oriúr) (see Story 204) was pulled through its mouth and gills, and its wings were tied to its side; ahead of it on the line was a float. When the shark follows the bait as it is reeled in, the fisherman tosses the bait over his own back, takes the loop, pulls it directly over the soft gills and then pulls it tight. Once the shark is secured, they pull it up using the tagarákl hook at the spot where the outrigger boom meets the canoe. They kill it by blows (ongimetúměĭ) to the head with a stick or with an adze (gěbákl).

139. //p. 71//According to KUB. VIII pg. 129, text orthographically rewritten.

140. KUB. ulsak.

141. KUB. omsubut a toákl.

142. KUB. peldhe buth, see also KUB. II pg. 106 and VIII pg. 130 and 295, and weaving, 3b.

143. //p. 72//See above, pg. 70 note 5.

144. See above, fishing; small fish congregate around driftwood gotáor, and the sharks try to catch them.

145. Láladang and Sáulang, as mentioned earlier, the ocean gods of the Central Carolines.

146. iegád a mederárt, large black shark.

147. riúg large, yellow shark, white underneath

148. Gobil Teievúl, Galid of the driftwood.

149. sivese kil'l; Galid in the form of a turtle in the deep.

150. Jegad gotáor, driftwood man.

151. Gomák Utáoer village Vol. 2, pg. 70.

152. Gongál ipeképek; this is the name of a line in the saltwater that appears flat as a plate although the water may otherwise be rippled.
153. //p. 73//One says generally ak mo ra geî “I am going fishing” and fishing canoe galáis a geî, actually “basket,” see above.
154. goleáol stone with holes.
155. //p. 74//The liver of rays and sharks is eaten raw!
156. See The Samoa Islands Vol. 2, pg. 408: maísu.
157. According to KUB.; likewise Yap MÜLLER Vol 1, pg. 61, gířěďán.
158. According to KUB.; according to WALL.: “gold finger.”
159. //p. 75//By HOCKIN Patharluckertele. The translator believes Beech de mer means “black ocean beeches,” Cassopil “white ocean beeches,” WALL.: cheléd (= galéd, see Section VIII).
160. //p. 76//The word is also used for “fork.”
161. KUB. VIII, pg. 124, táot a sogós and makabúth.
162. From melíkěs.
163. tuóběd, to go out.
164. obang, “to take, to hold.”
165. From omúrög, “to spear.”
166. From omekouád, to kill.
167. merégěd, fast.
168. From songerénger, hungry.
169. //p. 77//From omikěl, to pick up something long; KUB. VIII, pg. 125, bigel; he calls it Bigól when a line with an iron hook is tied to a rod planted in the sand at the beach, which quivers when there is a bite.
170. A larger piece of wood tied crosswise to the line is called galeókl, see Story 160.
171. KUB. says: “The Deléu is a turtleshell hook similar to the thothób, except that it is bent at a bit of an angle in the middle and is pointed at one end, and ranges from somewhat thicker to wide and sharp-edged at the other end (Plate XVII, Fig. 2).”
172. W. MÜLLER, too, in Vol. 1, Pg. 72, excludes this for Yap.
173. //p. 78//He calls it Alwal, a word that my sources did not know.
174. As Schmeltz already argues in KUB. VIII, pg. 126 note, those portrayed in the Journal of the Godeffroy Museum, journal. IV, Plate 4, Fig. 4 and 6, do not originate from Palau, but rather from the Western Carolines.
175. //p. 79//KUB. VIII, pg. 127, dyoth, from the canoe.
176. //p. 80//KUB. bidhokl, and fishing itself is ornidhokl; the canoe is anchored in 10 fathoms of water.
177. See W. MÜLLER Yap Vol. 1, pg. 77.
178. //p. 82//Verb: omúb, fishing with fish traps. I used to write pup and omup, but changed it, because both KUB. and WALL. spell it bub.
179. Figures 68–78 are not all reliable, because the descriptions were lost.

180. KUB., pg. 141, also mentions *nittek* (*ngíděg*, a climbing fern) *Risel a Giyul* (*risél a giüel*, “root of the Freycinetia), *gogáol*, a *ulúi*, *Armókol* (*remógěl*), and *Meliík* (*melík*).
181. *ng ngláos* means a small, lower wall board in the Bai; perhaps the two words are identical.
182. KUB., pg. 142, says *Orongódhol* (*gorongóděł*) and *Eymúl* (*a imül*), but these are only used for a *Blai* or *Bai*; *goreál*, see also the beam that runs the length of the canoe.
183. The roof beams at the ends of a *Bai*, which frame the gable and the entrance, are called *umád*, and probably mean the same thing here. KUB. says: The entrance to the fish trap is called different names, depending on the type; the following are distinguished: *Kaloálek* (*goloálěg KR.*), *Uldárs*, *Paráper Teluoráoth* (*teluó a ráod*), *Oumath el uguíth* (*oumád l Uekeuíd*), *Mad Engkasár* (*mad l Gěsár*), *Asiul ngáarak* (*a síul ngárek*). I also heard mentioned: *a ilengóiěl*, *delebákl’loug*, *gousáus*.
184. //p. 83//KUB., pg. 141, says dropping off straight; pg. 146 (*Delebóngol*) flat surface, which is not correct.
185. KUB., pg. 142, says the following belong to this group: *Ksekl* (*Kosekl*), *Dahál*, *Taheyól*, *Belsebes*, *Bub el kamuth*, *Anthangaol*, *Kalebithel*, *Rithek*, *Dhaláy*, *Buber kamáng*. One can see that all of the adjectives are listed here, and only a few of the genres shown above.
186. //p. 86//Galid of the reef, in addition to the other two named further down.
187. //p. 87//I was also told that leaving fences made out of rolls of bamboo mesh with fish baskets to work alone is called *gabíngěl*.
188. Or a stone fish trap, as can be seen in Bai 18 IIIb.
189. In the *mesekiú* catch described in Story 39, everything was similar, except that the net was not arranged in a bottle shape, but rather in a bowl shape.
190. //p. 88//WALL.: poss. *choklengél*.
191. //p. 90//oldúrog, to send.
192. Transitive imperative of *mesúběd*.
193. See Vol. 1, pg. 202, Note 2; here it means “stone steps.”
194. Name of the club.
195. From *omáנגg*, “to bite,” for example by eels.
196. WALL.: *telemáll*, to damage.
197. WALL.: “stiff,” KUB.: *sekudul*.
198. KUB.: *ñortkókl*; HE.: *arrkókl*.
199. KUB.: *Dokhól*; HE.: *soxótl*, *toxold*.
200. //p. 91//KUB.: *koriáur*; HE.: *mbot*.
201. KUB.: *utohóttok*.
202. WALL.: “plumb line,” spirit-level; KUB.: *keydhádhah*.
203. //p. 92//WALL.: *ikúrs*, a special type of fishing net on a forked frame, similar to a butterfly net, see Bai 28 VIII.
204. Actually belongs with *rül* fishing; see above, pg. 86.

205. //p. 93//I was told that gongiól comes from mangīl, “to wait,” so this would mean “waiting net.”
206. WALL.: cheléb, it is bag-like and is used particularly when catching fish, to drive in the encircled fish.
207. See Story 18.
208. //p. 94//tëdóbog l ngikēl “school of fish,” tëdóbog l’lagád, club, “groups of people.”
209. KUB. also mentions mámmel, which is incorrect, because these do not occur in schools; see above, pg. 80, fishing methods.
210. These also include the nets of Story 38, 193, etc. WALL.: prebór, wide-meshed net especially for catching turtles.
211. //p. 95//Also called iláil, poss. ilengél.
212. //p. 96//mungúm to cook, klum stove.
213. Also means “ashes.”
214. The stone pot of Ngabúkēd, called kless, Vol. 1, pg. 50, may also belong here.
215. From mangés “to grate”; see kless gratings above, pg. 48.
216. //p. 97//In Vol. VIII, pg. 196, KUB. mentioned and depicted a larger mother-of-pearl shell with a polished edge and a clasp, ngatpúlt. At burials, these constitute the mourners’ remuneration gekár.
217. Pounding is called morúsög, from which the word for betelnut pounder gorúsög is derived.
218. //p. 98//WALL.: In addition to gsóus, also chongés and chongesegíkl; see grater.
219. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 167: beldhákl fish, or parts of fish, wrapped with twine so that they do not fall apart.
220. KUB. Kolwómel and ulokhém, not correctly interpreted (see below, 5g in the section on Bai)
221. From mangúēm to wrap up.
222. //p. 99//Often sounds like wasög; KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 167 Wasák, WALL.: uásach (poss. chosechél) the juice; source of gäságél a líus coconut juice.
223. Raw meat, including that of fruit, is called tegél; in Story 202 gedēi appears simply as a general term for meat, see also Stories 194 and 204, verse 40.
224. WALL.: to eat without side dishes mengelóach.
225. WALL.: mengát.
226. See above, pg. 42, the section on eating habits. In Vol. VIII, pg. 167, KUB. says: “Several types of fish such as a Mugil, some Theutis, and others are sometimes eaten raw, although this is a rare occurrence. The women, however, have the unfortunate habit of eating themselves as full as possible on small Pomacentrus species that have begun to rot, which makes their breath smell very bad shortly after they eat them. This, combined with the custom of uninhibited burping, makes the presence of these women in too great a proximity highly undesirable.” See KEATE, pg. 305.
227. //p. 100//From mangúběl to pour out.
228. See wrapped fish (see pg. 98).
229. Might I add that taro slices fried in fat taste delicious. This was part of our breakfast almost on a daily basis.

230. WALL.: blechákl to make something swim.
231. From meláiu to scrape off WALL.
232. From mangés to scrape (see pg. 96).
233. From melép to cut.
234. There are many words for “to press, to squeeze out,” such as: olsárăg, merémět, manguiěd, melegėsěg, gotílěg, mangivětókl, omét (according to WALL., also omóch).
235. melăgeier to catch something with a basket or a skirt or a net.
236. //p. 101//I also heard moliók; boiling water gomregórog, WALL. omrechóroch; to fry in the fire melúl; to roast mengesékl; a cooker molongasál; to cook to preserve oméld.
237. melíld to peel.
238. See del’lúl, pg. 102, Note 2 bleób.
239. See kless, pg. 96.
240. WALL.: ulóch, participle of omóch “to squash, to smash.”
241. blsĭk.
242. “Bridge,” Vol. 1, pg. 99, and KUB., Vol. II, pg. 109 debékél.
243. KUB.: Doúl, SEMP., Vol. II, pg. 222 Döhlull, see Note 7.
244. Trans. of melúl “to roast.”
245. Trans. of mangórěd to grate; WALL. mengárd “to gnaw on.”
246. From merémět to knead.
247. WALL. omódoch to pick off with the fingers; also melégěb “to divide up.”
248. //p. 102//WALL.: “to flatten.”
249. WALL.: “to round”; verb omeób “to roll out.” WALL.: “to form, create.”
250. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 172 Aylélt commodity (see Vol. 1, pg. 13), WALL.: part. of oméld “to preserve”; KEATE: pg. 304, woolell.
251. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 171 Kalbákl is tied up in Areca leaf blades and made into longish packets and stored in a dry place. In this condition, it is a commodity. Aulogéro is a dish made of mashed taro and syrup; this dish is left to gel, and when fresh oil is then poured on it, it is called Tolumár (see Burial); KEATE: Kalpatt.
252. WALL.: From omgóbk “to peel.”
253. See del’lúl, pg. 101.
254. //p. 103//WALL.: From meláuch “to wound.”
255. From mengsós to grate; ksós the file, poss. kseksél.
256. imudí, diudí and dobǫgí come from meliud to cut through lengthwise and melóbǫg crosswise, as WALL. also indicates correctly, subst. tíud and tědóbǫg.
257. KUB., Vol. I, pg. 61, Golssureor.
258. From melíld.
259. Often used for “throw away”; from mengóit “to throw away.”

260. See Story 227.
261. melíud to split.
262. //p. 104//meróděł to take away WALL.
263. melíud to split, see pg. 103, Note 3.
264. See Vol. 2, pg. 214.
265. Poss. of mārěk cooked until done (WALL.: mark).
266. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 173: tótok; also used as infant food when there is insufficient milk. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 223 erroneously calls the tree Hotókol.
267. //p. 105//KEATE: Meeake A sweetmeat made of almonds and molasses, see the discussion of this on pg. 304.
268. From ométěg to crack open WALL.
269. WALL. mengúbl “to pour out.”
270. Poss. of ralm “water.”
271. megěrei “set it down” from omkedúrěs to lay down.
272. WALL.: melécheb “to tear away something that is stuck on.”
273. WALL.: gerund of meliókl “to boil, to simmer.”
274. See inocarpus dumplings, pg. 103, Note 2.
275. WALL.: melegósog “to cut, to cut up.”
276. Probably from omail “to wrap up.”
277. //p. 106//From mesióu to serve, to make; this is also the name of the lowest denomination of money. It is more commonly called uliókěr’ra telngót, which refers to the residue left in the strainer gorokóděł (Fig. 27) when ti is washed, the same thing is true of sobósűp starch.
278. magéld runny; WALL. “out of breath.”
279. WALL.: klechár “watch.”
280. WALL.: mechás “to mark, to draw on.”
281. //p. 107//melasăg, mangedúiűb.
282. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 292: Kaybákl.
283. //p. 109//KUB. Holóbok a 3-6cm wide chisel, even smaller and more common Hońiut, Geuyól, Gubiá.
284. //p. 110//melogólög to saw, see the section on money, which is sawed apart using shells and hard stones (básag).
285. //p. 111//HE. galdebsúng.
286. //p. 112//WALL.: melúches, omúrk, mengesperéber, mengsósus, below in the section on Bai construction mangasimóim.
287. KUB. Vol. VIII, pg. 247, Horíyek and Kadún.
288. From láok “fat, oil.”
289. //p. 113//From omródog “to inlay.”

290. KUB.: Dalhuduk, WALL.: delechúdoch; see also use, pg. 130.
291. See also EDGE-PARTINGTON Tools and Weapons, etc. Plate 181 is realistic, but in the Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections of the British Museum 1910, pg. 169.
292. //p. 114//See also the earring mentioned above on pg. 22.
293. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 206, Susíwak; misunderstood by him, see pg. 113.
294. //p. 115//I only know of one case, in KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate 24, Fig. 18, where only one flat handle is evident. He calls the pear-shaped plate Butullúnt, probably after the fish basket butllüt, see pg. 84.
295. Poss. debīngél'l is supposedly the name of the prow of the Yapese canoe. KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 203, says: "The name thabíy is used when they are talking about a single container with wedged sides. However, if the containers are in sets, which usually consist of 10 pieces, each individual piece is called blagalákl. Round containers that are generally called Matel gadhen are called omohidel if they are produced individually." The Palauans call the heavy canoes of the Yapese debí after the wedged bowls, in contrast to their own light sailing canoes (see below, pg. 121).
296. //p. 116//Called tēblól, sukerí; sukerí is probably the trans. of mesúk "to put in, to pack up"; the similarity of the word to the name of the Indian monkey king Sugrīva is unusual. The word for monkey is monki, from the English monkey.
297. Containers for drinking are called golúmēl (from melím "to drink"); for information about kar, see pgs. 45 and 119, the note.
298. In Vol. VIII, pg. 202, KUB. says that there is no collective term, which is true. Nevertheless, one says górsagēl when one places something on a "wooden plate." WALL. says that the same term also means mortar and is derived from merusoch "to push, to pound," but gorsegēl means "his pounder" from gorúsog; see above pg. 61. The pictures in KUBARY's Plates 24-28 are too schematic to convey a correct impression of the art.
299. //p. 119//In Vol. VIII, pg. 204, KUB. says of this smallest type of tóluk: "Fig. 12, Plate XXVI shows the smallest shape of this type; it is called Horomokl and is used publicly only on special occasions. The specimen depicted has been used since time immemorial as an orsakelél a tiákl, an offering table, by the Iranatkibul family. On it, the successive Koreomel (fishing experts) brought the gods of the sea the Kossúk offering. Otherwise, the turmeric powder and the Apelsiyek dish are prepared on a similar table-plate when the office of the king is transferred." The latter are the ouág plates; the goromógēl (see pgs. 116 and 123) are not tóluk, they are mixing bowls. It is true, however, that the round tóluk are cult objects; tiákl see above, pg. 71.
300. //p. 120//WALL.: oungełsódēl rectangular.
301. melekétek to line up taro, telekotókl lined up.
302. //p. 121//One plate in Dresden, Nr. 5496, is circular overall, but the rim has 11 corners. It also belongs to the round ones. For more information, see Section VIII, Culture Comparison.
303. kless poss.: klsíl, see pg. 96.
304. See Vol. 1, pg. 212 HA. galloklill probably = geiklél "his neck."

305. KUB. bottom ptil, fold elwethelél, correctly it would read ilodelél, from iluodél carrying ring, see below, pg. 136.
306. //p. 122//A similar form used for ritual purposes appears to be called gësekísp.
307. //p. 123//This figure in Dresden Public Museum VIII, plate 145.
308. Length 85cm, width 43cm, height 33cm.
309. //p. 124//Wall.: cholüb, poss. cholübél turtleshell.
310. Commonly called a uél; it is the *Chelonia imbricata* that provides turtleshell, called maránd or ngásak according to KUB.; the former term, however, is the word for the Madreporal coral, and the latter is a celebration for women who have recently given birth; the green turtle, which provides no turtleshell for practical use, is called meĩóp l uél (KUB.: molób Ch. mydas); turtleshell golúiũp.
311. //p. 125//mesaur to bind.
312. melisái to braid.
313. The strands are spun before being braided (omíd to spin).
314. //p. 127//melegótög to hit with the hand, omrótög to hammer; see also the fiber club and the “hammer for pots,” pg. 134.
315. Also in EDGE-PARTINGTON, Tools and Weapons, Plate 182.
316. In KEATE, pg. 315, it says: When they went to battle, some of the Ruback carried in their canoes a kind of sword, made of very hard wood, and inlaid with part of shells; this they only made use of in hand-to-hand combat; they were of sufficient weight to cleave a man’s skull.
317. //p. 129//See Story 164 also in the skin of people.
318. KUB., Vol. VI, pg. 77.
319. //p. 130//WALL.: chetgóngel.
320. See the same type on Yap in MÜLLER, Vol. 1, pg. 191.
321. MAC CLUER calls them Oliooks, darts thrown by a sling.
322. //p. 131//See Vol. 2, pg. 192, Blai 17.
323. gútũm (see Vol. 2, pg. 1, Note 2).
324. telík.
325. dangăb (see above, pg. 116), also called kingelél “his seat.”
326. As a base gongëpsúél.
327. blad, bulge, also strand in a rope; kneading board gomedóngël; to knead, to roll omád.
328. //p. 132//omák to squeeze out.
329. She sometimes turns the board in the process, in order to stay in the same spot; of course, this is not a turntable; “to turn” mangebís.
330. //p. 134//prótog, see above, pg 127 “pounder”
331. tektik, made of basalt; see KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 199: beób.
332. To smooth omikiňgár.

333. mebéšəp, KUB. melúl.
334. káiŭ.
335. tagěrákl.
336. From the garítm fruit, see pg. 113.
337. //p. 135//KUB.: trótor, nilimesáñ a smaller type of this; hemarík rounded, spherical, with an inward-turned edge, originating from Yap, see MŮ. Yap, Vol. 1, Plate 683.
338. //p. 136//WALL.: tebull thick-bellied.
339. See Vol. 2, pg. 24.
340. KUB.: kolbidel, WALL.: golbídel, more accurate spelling is probably gólbitl, because it comes from tpitl sap, which was formerly used for lighting.
341. //p. 138//From melegótog “to beat”, see prótog, pg. 127 (delegótog, see turmeric yellow).
342. From dag garbage, feces.
343. From ómad “to turn” gomedóngöl “turner”, see above pottery kneading board, see pg. 131, Note 9.
344. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 61, Note, says the following: “I already suspected earlier that there was a closer relationship between the Central Carolinian textile known as Os, and the Palauan word for the men’s loincloth Usáker. I was finally able to obtain evidence that documents the existence in the past of a primitive art of weaving on the Palau Islands, although this has been entirely abandoned today. In Arakalong, I found two bands (2.5cm wide, 3.10cm long) made out of bundles of banana fibers called Sáker. They had been carefully stored as a family heirloom. These were used by the high-ranking people for binding corpses in mats, or they are worn as bows around the neck by warriors; their loss was considered a disgrace comparable to the loss of life. //p. 139//In any case, the name comes from mañáus, to braid, and there is more information, a discussion of which, unfortunately, I must save for another place and time.” To my knowledge, KUB. never provided this information. The two bands are not woven but rather braided, or have, at most, been made using band weaving, which is done by hand. On Palau I also heard that sáker is the word used for necklaces of braided hibiscus fiber, which are worn in battle or during magic rituals (see pg. 20). There is nothing to support the weaving claim.
345. See pg. 153, the weft strip gongár and the warp gongŭíkl.
346. WALL.: tengerik “little basket with handle.”
347. gorovíkl food from the woman’s relatives to the man’s side of the family
348. //p. 140//KUB.’s claim, “all Palauan bags are taller than they are wide,” is not necessarily accurate; long handle kuápēs, mekepekápēs to carry by a long handle.
349. See Story 229; see Plate 11.
350. WALL.: chedegól; smaller ones for children are called gǎdǎgól a ngálek, those with holes are called gǎdǎgól a bagárs and look as if they had been chewed on by cockroaches.
351. //p. 141//According to KUB., Vol. III, pg. 8, placing a pillow and mats into the grave is called Kalúbús; the fine mat decorated with gerdéu flowers and kěšúk leaves, which is laid on top of the grave, is called Oegédek.

352. WALL.: chertóchet, chongeretóchet trim, border, mengertóchet to trim, to border; uis (poss. ulisúl) Saeum with a band sewn onto it.
353. It was the privilege of a Irai to braid them, see Vol. 2, pg. 181.
354. //p. 143//On pg. 212, he says of the bar: "Telrindul has strips that are more than 1 cm wide, and in the Teriwo mat they are 4-5cm wide." terivong, however, is made of wide sug leaves of two halves, telngúděl has strips that are 3-5mm wide.
355. //p. 146//dúi coconut frond.
356. maltekákl tearing the frond pieces off of the middle rib of the frond.
357. ngulier basket's edge, ak umiel "I edge," tuk (poss.: tkúl) edge, omdid edge braids.
358. //p. 148//The basket in KUB., Vol. 1, Plate 4, Fig. 16 is similar; it is probably from Yap, seeing as in fact only a few items are definitely from Palau, like 1, 2, 3, 14, and 17.
359. //p. 153//melái ra togédél "taking away his thorns."
360. marat ra sils "to dry in the sun."
361. mangíüt "to split, to close."
362. //p. 155//omogesíu to braid the end with the beginning.
363. ngoleoéss to pull the edge strips tight.
364. Journal of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Primitive Societies Vol. 36, 1903, pg. 108. BUSCHAN's Illustrated Ethnology, Fig. pg. 157.
365. //p. 156//From olsirs to pledge security; WALL.: ulsirs "security," more accurate golsirs.
366. According to KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 196, rudul made of mother-of-pearl shell, always kept in the hand basket tet; for the Rubak women, the turtleshell spoon is the sign.
367. //p. 159//His foot remained in the grave another six years.
368. In 1870 already, KUB., in Vol. I, pgs. 50 and 53: "crushed glass is also melted. FINSCH's objections to this (South Seas Work, pg. 283) are unfounded. In the journal "From the Missions" 1910, pg. 25, the Palauan rubs the glass on his nose, because acquisition of oil is a sign that the piece is real. That is why sly con men carry fake money wrapped in an oil rag around with them for a long time.
369. //p. 161//Pg. 77; inadvertently spelled ngolegëtóköl there.
370. See pg. 158 and here below.
371. KUB., in Vol. IV, Plate 2, includes beautiful colored pictures.
372. One says, for example, mongongúl a ududék = mongongâu is my money.
373. Often sounds like galebógüp.
374. See Vol. 2, pg. 356.
375. Also the word for "notch."
376. //p. 162//KUB., Vol. VII, pg. 7 Bákal.
377. = "feed", KUB. Horákl only for Barák.

378. FINSCH (South Seas Work, pg. 283) considered this to be so impossible that he accused KUB. of ignorance as to the materials and technical difficulties.
379. //p. 163//KUB. “The upper side is called deloés, the two lower sides kasepókop” (delūs “umbrella,” gasbógöp the “board”). “The upper two edges are called ñellimes, the lower edge is called ptil” (delímēs the “nest fern” with long stalks, but poss. btil “end”). “The two ends are called ulbonelel” (ulebóngēl end).
380. golúmēl busög “container feather.”
381. mosiúr to let the ends touch, i.e. both ends very close to each other. See Story 194.
382. See above, pg. 158 merés.
383. //p. 164//Probably poss. of rekómēl to break into pieces. WALL., see pgs. 165 and 169.
384. //p. 165//KUB. translates: “Fruits of the perch of Arnau.” For information about the tree bars ruāu, see Vol. 2, pg. 50; fruit ródog, poss. rdegél.
385. ksid Fragraea.
386. KUB. presents the following as delóbog: Tangét er medim, Asagál kalyúl and Bébil kabgúl (see above).
387. //p. 166//See the section on Blai construction blngél “middle.”
388. //p. 167//Near Keklāu, Vol. 2, pg. 46.
389. A yellowish-green glass is owned by the ngálam gamaséd “found in the earth” of Nggamaséd.
390. KUB.: “Among the most prominent of this group is the Karamal, of which there are two types, the Komátak and the Marát. The mass is dull, milky glass and is consequently opaque.”
391. //p. 168//KUB.: Ngarteriil consists of dark gray-blue, opaque porcelain mass with a shell-like crack.” KUB. also lists the turquoise-blue Ngariámmel, as well as Komatak Suk, etc.
392. KUB.: Mor a kaymó, geimóng one.
393. KUB. “Honiákl is almost double the value of Mor a kaymó. At full value, the piece is called Matál Adolóbok.” For information about gongiákl and madál see below, pg. 169.
394. From mesúk “to fill in,” kluk the contents.
395. At the time of my stay, the people of Goréör were selling 50 baskets of taro to a Japanese man for 40 marks.
396. //p. 169//From this comes rekómēl “large denominations of money to be changed,” gorúkum change; dāgeiól (poss. dagalél) remainder needed to make up the difference, see pg. 164.
397. Also the word for “death money,” probably connected to mad “dead” (see madélēgad). The galebúgēp called madál a galíd by WALL., however, means “eye of the Galíd.”
398. KUB. Olsiris.
399. According to KUB., the large denominations of money cannot be moved, díak maráel “does not go.”
400. //p. 170//1 klsuk was added, because the kluk was not first-class.
401. The ménsang needed 1 gongiákl to make it 1 klsuk.
402. mesél “short of breath,” that is, a gongiákl that is not of full value.

403. Nr. VI was Rekesiváng, otherwise Nr. VIII, because in matters of money Nr. VIII comes before Rubásag Nr. VII, who comes first in matters of eating.
404. //p. 171//bldúgēl is the word for when the women of the family gather money for their spouse, father, etc. and give it to him as financial aid in the purchase of a house, etc. In fact, many women often make an overpayment.
405. //p. 172//From the Missions 1908, pg. 35.
406. See Vol. 1, pgs. 51, 65, 79, 99, 127, 128, 130, etc.
407. //p. 173//See TETENS-KUBARY, The Caroline Island Yap, Journal of the Museum of Godesberg, Vol. 2, pgs. 20 and 21, see MÜLLER Yap, pgs. 129-132, nice illustrations in P. RAYMUNDUS, pgs. 43 and 44, Figs. 2 and 3.
408. From mesakt “to tie, to bind”; lashing on the hull of the canoe is called gēēd; lashing on a house réngēd, see below.
409. //p. 175//From melíng to make a leak, l’ling the leak.
410. //p. 176//See above, pg. 116.
411. From mel’lóbög to hollow out, KUB. Aylóbok; WALL. ilóboch.
412. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 270: “The natives make a distinction between the Amlay, the hull of the canoe, the keel, Ptil, the two long sides, Kalebodolél, the upper side, Deloés, and the two ends, Deleboñol or Gutílin.”
413. WALL.: ubíd a raised decoration on both ends, on which the sail stands. In Fig. 158b, the cover is shown with a groove or socket which is not always there (below).
414. WALL.: kutelíng tip, especially of a boat or canoe.
415. If we may use the terms starboard and port for outrigger sailing canoes, which one really only does for vessels with a bow and a stern that cannot be switched, then in a Palauan canoe, the lee outrigger side would be to starboard, because the battle position is without a doubt the most important, while in a Samoan canoe, which has a bow and a stern and is just a fishing boat (see KR., Samoa Islands, Vol. II, pg. 249), the outrigger is to port. In Story 102, the term ketelí is given for starboard, and molú for port.
416. //p. 177//gomát “to cover,” gometiél’l “covering,” also “clamp,” deî “stay,” see below, pg. 181.
417. KUB. and WALL. write tudáp and tudáb.
418. According to this, the space in a house under the gorongódēl top is called golmátēl luaségēs, see below, pg. 2112.
419. karásāg a type of banana, whose trunk turns red in water, see Story 165.
420. From gorú the tying, see below.
421. golisál round pot, KUB.
422. WALL.: chorú strings used to tie cheldul to the back of the canoe, goru is also the word for the ropes used to bring a load from bank to bank in the táog, as with the canoe in Tuápēl, see Vol. 2, pg. 195.
423. //p. 178//KUB., pg. 273: “In large vessels, there are 8 holes, Ultnatel, between the two Komakarásak pieces, and two more outside these. The cords for lashing, oru, are passed through these, and in fact the second

from the end on each side has a special name, Mat el oru, because making it is especially difficult. The reason is the fact that this lashing, in addition to having the same purpose as the others, has the task of holding the Honélt in place.

424. This is also the name of the bottom carved wooden piece on the Bai, see pgs. 203 and 230.

425. WALL. just says “from mesákt, to tie together.”

426. //p. 179//From melekau “to hold up.” The tekau are tied to the outrigger beams 8 ways; this lashing is called sakt (see above).

427. WALL.: chorrebágel, the curved beams next to the soaes, on which the thick end of the bamboo poles usually rests.

428. //p. 180//In this case, this is the spot where the consecrated reng is placed before battle (see below, Section VI).

429. In our numerous, sail-less trips on which our dog Lut accompanied us, his place was here; he always simply occupied that spot when we boarded.

430. According to Story 8, he came from the East.

431. Illustration in KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate 52, Figs. 5 and 6; the belaying to the mast is done by wrapping the lashing around several times and fastening it with a tack.

432. //p. 181//KUB.: ogúl, probably gokúl “his anchor.”

433. The male is kleríkl; the female the gaff, see under boom (see KUB., Vol. III, Plate 52, Fig. 7).

434. Probably gokúl “his anchor.”

435. //p. 184//In a rowing canoe (see the discussion on canoes), a white clump is pierced by the goreál’l just short of the tip, called sogósög like the white tern.

436. From gasivög, the semi-circular mother-of-pearl shell used for cutting (see pg. 97).

437. Of the iregeiër type (KUB.: argiyl).

438. KUB., in Vol. VII, pg. 279, also mentions the Turbodeckel sungurúk, Karmeróyok (deróiog = bird?), Blahakl = blegakl swimming?

439. //p. 185//See KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 279.

440. Kingfisher, see the section on war and pg. 193 (Figs. 158 and 167).

441. WALL.: poss. gongél; megói “pull on the goi,” it. gloi.

442. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 227, calls it the “message to the forest” mesúbéd a goreómél; for information about the chant to the Pleiades that is said the night before, see Story 94; see also Story 58 of Gobagád, especially the ending.

443. //p. 186//KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 296: “If a trunk they are working on turns out to be Kedáol (gedáol sacred KR.), the vessel is abandoned, even if it is almost finished. There is a magnificent Kaep rotting on a path in Eñkásar, simply because the man who thought he had owner’s rights to the wood was unhappy with its being felled and secretly had a sliver of it brought to him.”

444. Ladder did l bói, or the trunk is notched.

445. dagĕsög frog.
446. I am about to climb up.
447. olekérđ to protect, to keep (WALL.: to unload).
448. What is meant here is community work, also called magasáng (see Vol. 2, pg. 309), which is often very difficult and costs the chiefs money. kodál from omekóud to kill = death; ségĕr from smégĕr sick.
449. orégĕđ to hasten. When someone is called upon to hurry up, the expression is moregedāu.
450. //p. 187//bol means the future, that one will do something. bol merék almost finished, merekóng finished! The master builder holds the axe upright as a sign of respect, not to take a blow against men. Naïve view!
451. keléng maybe, kelé and kelém in the sense of “do not,” for example, kelébokung do not go!
452. omekóuad to kill.
453. mangisngul’l to avert one’s gaze in embarrassment.
454. From melekói to talk.
455. Poss. of klaugád family.
456. In particular, dúb, alúi, etc., serve as strong vines.
457. See Story and Song 96.
458. //p. 188//The centipede, see the section on Blai construction, pg. 239.
459. bomdĕseĭ come close; from olseseĭ to move aside, WALL.
460. More correctly ungil pesúl in a good position.
461. //p. 189//metemal’l to ruin, to damage, intransitive; melemaal’l to damage, transitive. WALL.
462. omsáng give him, but before ko mesáng you see.
463. The piece of hard blossom sheath gosĕgósu looks like a spatula that is angled at the end; the long surface is used for painting.
464. //p. 190//blágĕl chips, are not carved out until the end.
465. gomeleués preparing and smoothing, deleués the deck, kluótĕl the final cleaning and smoothing.
466. The large sailing canoes, the káep, have an impressive rise, see below, pg. 192.
467. To sand down omangsóus (using ray skin)—WALL. mengsóus.
468. To sand down finely using reeds omtángĕt.
469. The oil of Parinarium nuts: for information on preparation, see pg. 112.
470. Lashing with coconut string mesákt, see pg. 173.
471. úlag the stalk with the pinnae.
472. Like the Scolopender and the butterfly pupa, the sand worm gúlad is also considered a demon; the long one is thought to be a man, the short one a woman.
473. //p. 191//otóbĕđ to bring out.
474. gokú = maráel to go.
475. melúgĕl to carry something on one’s head.
476. Piece of money with a value of 40 marks or more, see pg. 158.

477. Money box, in former times a piece of bamboo.
478. According to KUB., one pays one galebúgëp for a large káep, and between one delóbög and a madál a kluk for a smaller one.
479. Possessive of mlai the canoe, gókau provisions.
480. ëmél inside, ëmér a blai inside the house.
481. At the Southwest corner of Ngeaur̃ (in the southernmost part of Palau); he who falls in is lost and is forgotten.
482. //p. 193//One only need read the account in From the Missions 1908, pg. 35, about the rowing race of the war canoes on the emperor's birthday! There is also an illustration of 2 canoes racing.
483. //p. 197//a Reguger claims still to have seen one of these in his youth.
484. //p. 199//dángab is the name for the deck boards of the canoe, pg. 176, and the lid, pg. 116.
485. KUB. gives these as the Palauan names: rekán, sékes, Osogidel, Tmaláot, Wuádel, Ráel, oronódol, búik oronódl, Omérik, Honláygúrus, Duús.
486. pivët wood is very popular for sëgës spars.
487. meláod to spear with a fork (táod); two on each side.
488. //p. 201//See The Samoa Islands, Vol. 2, pg. 237. The description there essentially applies to Palau, as well; mengádou to cover.
489. //p. 202//derágël is the term for a leaking roof when a roof leaf is missing: see Story 204, Verse 16.
490. Opening of the fish basket oumád, see above, pg. 82, Note 6.
491. From olsárag, to press.
492. //p. 203//WALL.: nguanggaráng “how?”—usually ngaráng “what? how?” tëláng “how many?”
493. From meréngëd “to tie, to bind,” rongódl “tied, bound.”
494. //p. 204//This term actually applies only to the longitudinal beam; the wide transverse piece is called ngamókl “glutton,” because raw and cooked fish is set down on it.
495. On the next page, there is the following comment: “We noticed that the family occupied one side, while the servants occupied the other.”
496. From mungúm to cook.
497. //p. 206//Poss. goteromodelél: also geiul, poss. geielél.
498. galsímër “closed door” and thus also closed-off space or room, see Section 6.
499. delevégël coconut tree trunk with steps.
500. See also pg. XII and 3 there.
501. //p. 207//Poss. gáldeklél, the word also used for stone walls, whereas an embankment is called geoátël (poss. geoatelél).
502. See Story 204, Verse 4, and Vol. 2, pg. 58.
503. Poss. golbedúl, because its root is bad “stone”; also godesóngël, from mengádës “to wall up” WALL.

504. Between the gólbed and the house there is usually a narrow passage that is paved and that is called dél, see Plate 20.
505. //p. 209//Probably from merúkūm “to break.”
506. See pg. 2043, from the Malayan word for house rumah; Samoa umu cookhouse. Also the term for other types of houses or sheds that are not Blai or Bai (KUB.).
507. //p. 210//Poss. of kpoup, wall, see pg. 205.
508. //p. 211//blú the middle section of the canoe, pg. 177.
509. Also called golmátēl luaségēs; see the section on Bai; see also Story 16; see the section on canoes, above, pg. 177.
510. In Story 52, madál golágēl, named after the roof truss of the blai (WALL.: choláchel front side).
511. Ngariáp in Vol. 2, pg. 264.
512. WALL.: kliú the areas on the gable sides of the house.
513. //p. 212//From meliókl to cook, see above.
514. This month is popular with the master builders, see Section VI 3c.
515. See pg. 211, Note 2, the house part.
516. Perf. of melēdāēs to clear, to clarify.
517. From mangaus to cover with lime, to prepare a quid.
518. melegédegēdúg to tell stories.
519. In Story 7 she is called Magád re ngādsákēr.
520. //p. 213//mengetákl to tow on a line, to carry by the handle.
521. Poss. of tangét stopper, etc., see pg. 62.
522. galépēd stick for hitting, WALL.: golébed stick, club; golebedábel scales.
523. melásāg to carve wood, to build.
524. From maráel to go.
525. metēt rich.
526. melóbog to cut through.
527. //p. 214//deságēl, gerund of melásāg to chop, WALL.
528. Poss. of mekngrit bad.
529. dikēáng not longer.
530. From mengádou to cover.
531. Probably from melebedébēk “to think.”
532. From gerál his price.
533. mengetīt to take off the hull, to husk.
534. Compare ulogógug roasted coconut, pg. 41.
535. mesíbech to tear down (small tree) WALL.
536. mesílek to wash.

537. kmu into, for example into a house.
538. From mangéd to set, to lay, to hold; WALL.: kldóel, from mended to place.
539. //p. 215//moltóbéd all go outside, from tuóbéd, pg. 213.
540. The side of the golmátēl, see pg. 211, Note 2.
541. From melivékl to go around something WALL.
542. merekerúkum to make noise (meregurúgum to crack, to break apart WALL.).
543. From meróus to hand out WALL.
544. From mengídēr to lift WALL.
545. From ilúmēl drink.
546. //p. 216//See Story 202, Note 3, and Vol. 2, pg. 331.
547. morokóng finished, from rokir (WALL.); merekóng finished.
548. mengúr unripe WALL., see pg. 43; mengáng to eat, Vol. 2, pg. 346.
549. lmuk to be silent.
550. See the section on money, pg. 161.
551. Probably from meketékēt long time, see Vol. 2, pg. 331 “hesitates it.”
552. kelél from kal food, meal. WILLIAM translated “which is a drink from someone who has arrived late,” that is, he has given the gods all of the bills of money, all of the large bágēl, except the delóbōg piece, which he now also gives the lingering ones. dilop to come too late.
553. From medórōm “to sharpen.”
554. = lóia from mēlāi “to take, to bring,” here “brought in...” (see Vol. 2, pg. 346).
555. See above, pg. 211, úgul gorongódēl, Fig. 188a.
556. //p. 217//obang “to hold, to take” Vol. 2, pg. 341.
557. From kadíkm “right.”
558. olingátēg to bend on one knee.
559. See Note 9, pg. 216.
560. del the pavement under the door; kadk probably from kadíkm “right.”
561. From úgei “first.”
562. From mesárāg “to step.”
563. From melám “to smooth, to grind down” WALL.; in this case, “to drag with the foot” is meant.
564. From vág “leg.”
565. l mūt “to return”, see Vol. 2, pg. 350.
566. See Note 10, pg. 216.
567. From melásăg “to chop.”
568. From metík or betík “to find” WALL.
569. Also pronounced bangbu, foreign word; otherwise bevégēl.
570. From mengóit “to throw away.”

571. gërung two uláog or uláueg signs.
572. From the extended family, meaning more distant relatives.
573. From otóběd to start.
574. //p. 218//From merīk to clear, to sweep WALL.
575. klóu large, kl'lóu size: in this case poss.
576. teluóng one when counting taro.
577. From obang to take, see above.
578. From melógod breaking a line.
579. From mangáis to pick; rúel leaf, poss. lél.
580. From omkedures to lay (something that is standing) or from mangéd to stand something, see Vol. 2, pg. 351.
581. He lays the seven taro slices on the leaves, as is done at celebrations on the benches of the eating place.
582. lóug and buld skin.
583. From oltóběd to take out WALL.; from tuóběd to go outside, pg. 215.
584. Actually súběd means “news”; but here it means “free of taboo.”
585. goreóměł forest, rokúi all.
586. See above pg. 76 and pg. 239f.
587. From melóbög; ulogóg the singed coconut as offering, in this case symbolic.
588. //p. 219//From omagár to pay, gerál price (WALL.: ogeráol to buy).
589. From mesúk to pocket.
590. From melásag to chop (KUB., pg. 263 Dasahel work)
591. From mengiut to split (KUB.: Honiut discussing, imploring).
592. From merül to make.
593. melegerákl to hang up WALL.
594. See below, pg. 231, KUB.
595. //p. 222//By didél a káram (garm), KUB. means “rat path,” or more precisely “bridge of the animals.”
596. This means “lid,” because the protruding gadéng beam which is known by that name in the Bai on Pelíliou functions as a roof (see below, pg. 234). In this case, it should be translated as “cover,” because mats often lie on it (on the inner tie-beam).
597. Exception, for example 189d and e on the Blai in Vol. 2, Plate 92.
598. //p. 224//From merót to hammer, WALL.
599. //p. 225//Also called a delsél golukl, from delūs (poss. delsél) umbrella, see above.
600. Probably from the many corner posts sáus.
601. //p. 226//Not the painting of the head, as KUB. claims in Vol. 5, pg. 49.
602. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 240, menimtr a bay when the Bai is dedicated.

603. //p. 227//The wife of Medegei pélau, see Section VI, pg. 340. The two-headed goddess said to her priest: “I am so beautiful that I need the sun in my house. Place it inside for me!” When turtles are purchased, there must always be two, one for each of Túrang’s mouths.
604. //p. 228//When it is brought out of there (see kéongěł, pg. 198), loud gosols singing takes place.
605. There is a new sumech in P. RAYMUNDUS, pg. 45, Fig. 4, that is similar.
606. //p. 230//Compare outrigger, pgs. 178 and 203.
607. From melíp “to combine.” KUB.: tethib, keldok, etc. For more about the Bilekélěk type, see Vol. 2, pg. 3.
608. KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 241, says that in 1882 he found all Bai and Blai in Melekéiok to be this way, because they had been burned down shortly before his visit.
609. Usually made of heavy Calophyllum wood. In Vol. VIII, pg. 223, KUB. speaks of the stones Pat derittek (derětěg “long side,” in contrast to terúkl “corner”) and Pát el gargar, the true bad. The two outermost ones, under the two gables, are sometimes called tangét “stopper” (see pg. 62 and pg. 232, Note 2).
610. //p. 231//See Vol. 2, pg. 3.
611. In KUB. ñot, see above, pg. 97. Some of the spelling KUB. uses is rather different, but nevertheless easily recognizable; I shall list all the terms together here: Kwokn, Kath, Saus, ñláos, Kasepókop, orsogókl, Golik, Hoñrañl, Brúkul.
612. In some Rubak Bai, these tapered pieces, which line the sides of the windows, have the shape of human figures. This is the case in Goréör, Ngabiúl. (Vol. 2, pgs. 208 and 24)
613. //p. 232//According to KUB., this is called tík on the gable sides.
614. KUB. Horidigil and Js.
615. tangét the stopper, for example on a water bottle (see pg. 230, Note 4).
616. This word may also come from melík “to support,” as for the 8th nglósog (see pg. 233); Bai 69, for example, supports the idea of flying fox.
617. According to KUB., those at the longitudinal beam are called tórot, which is probably identical to dort, the name of the wood.
618. KUB. Onomogímel, WALL.: gongemechíměł, from mengemóchem urination, used here too.
619. //p. 233//WALL. says: the floor is set into the cholóboch (see Blai, pg. 219).
620. WALL. nglikiábed gable areas (see Blai, pg. 211). KUB. lists the following words: Melék, Hoñian, Hoñolúgub.
621. //p. 234//This is nicely visible on the large Bai model in Hamburg; see also Vol. 1, Plate 1. Usually, the sharks are part of Story 168, which is often depicted in this spot (see KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 243).
622. //p. 235//KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 242 provides the following list: Forroy-Pelú on Gadeñ, Dilngay (probably means dilugái), Pagéy, Misogúuk, Kalebosóy.
623. KUB. Sekesél, Adalál and Delbárt a ñitiliábat (see pg. 211).
624. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 249: “Alongside the delolákl beams there are numerous Brúkul beams, on whose two sides and in the center there are vertical supports, called Asñolokl, for the upper Omguuk beams. These, in

turn, support several Brúkul beams, on which there are more supports for the Oberbál beams.” See the interior photographs in Vol. 4.

625. //p. 236//Also pronounced galabád, located directly over the bad “stones,” like galagád the “rump” of a person gad.

626. KUB. Eymul, Omgúuk and Oberbal; Galábat and Argóy.

627. According to KUB., the narrowing is called Omogotél a galábat (probably from omóket “to wrap up”).

628. From rebóröb squatting, meaning the roofers; see the plant rebérebélél a tangadík.

629. //p. 238//See the meaning of the word in Vol. 2, pg. 3.

630. Two each at the gables and 14 each on the long sides.

631. //p. 239//Poss. goderegelél (WALL.) from oldúrog “to send.”

632. See the following number of the 14 Rubak (=2x7). KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 228, names the following as Galíd: Kobildép, Gayúk yedátk, Yekáth era Kabúrus, and Korákel.

633. dep, a little ornamental house, see above, pg. 229.

634. //p. 240//melulūg, to pray, plead.

635. Gobak rēmegú, the Rubak Nr. 1 of Ngarsúl and the 6 that follow! (see Vol. 2, pg. 135).

636. kroli, probably from maráel to go, transitive.

637. The Rubak Nr. 1 from Nggēsár, chosen at random as an example here.

638. Poss. of a gar the price.

639. Poss. of nglósog, the leaf rows on the roof of the Bai (see pg. 233).

640. The first of the Ngaratúmetum club in Ngarsúl. He should be ashamed if his club is not paid for the work.

641. //p. 241//For more about the chant preceding this, see above, pg. 186.

642. Actually “old”, said of objects.

643. rogir (=rokir) whole, complete. WALL. from merekúi to finish.

644. See Vol. 2, pg. 102.

645. //p. 242//From merūl to make.

646. tamal’l damage, omelāmal’l to damage.

647. //p. 243//The names of the uriúl, the 7 lower-ranking chiefs, who pay the gongere matl (2 klsuk) and the goliruóngēl; lobak, Vol. 2, pgs. 314 and 320; longi from meléng to ask for something on loan? rel. longir WALL.

648. goliruóngēl the money for taking away the foundation beams = 2 góngiakl.

649. The carving, simply called omotút “to cut,” takes place without ceremony, and the same is true of the painting mangasimóim. The logúkl, the carvings, are said to have been more beautiful in former times, when they were produced by painstaking work with shells (the black Pinna sebúiēs). Today, everything is done with the adze, which has a sharp iron blade.

650. //p. 244//The roof section over the gable on either side, wide at the top, pointed at the bottom, see pg. 202.

651. The roof ridge, roof sections, see above, pg. 233.

652. mengúk to sink one’s claws in.

653. //p. 245//mēlāsāg or omágēl to build, to carve, while melóbog means the cutting down, felling of a tree, gom... = noun bai l pelú, the “village meeting house;” the construction of a new Bai, according to KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 227, is Oromúl.
654. tomūs = tē omūs, they request, order, the chiefs, the Rubak.
655. mo future participle or imperative.
656. Verb mengidép, to gather, namely the gáldēbegēl, the club that handles house construction.
657. Literally: sleep while cradling the adze, as a mother with a child; that is, to consider it. kiséma a type of tridacna clam that is good for blades; otherwise, for the adze gotíleg, see pg. 108.
658. bo = bol participle in the sense of “almost, then;” dabad = ked a bad; very common: mobad lie down (imperative).
659. //p. 246//ulogóug roasted coconut, the smell of which is appealing to the forest spirits.
660. ma a tútau kung “and the morning when.”
661. tē di “they only.”
662. debóng from mong to go (see Vol. 2, pg. 348) instead of ked mong.
663. úngil pesúl when something is positioned right or is in a good state.
664. metik to find, ak metkē I found; de betkē = ked metkē, so here there is the same transformation and abbreviation as in debóng.
665. Transitive of melóbog to fell; one can also say dōlóbog re ngi for “we fell it,” as follows immediately.
666. metágēr “bad,” otherwise mekngit. He looks at it (the trunk), to see if it will fall in a good direction or a bad direction; in the latter case, he stops the work; whether—or is arbitrary; actually: look at it, at will bad be its position and will good be its position.
667. “to speak,” dmung; dmul kmo is a common expression (see Vol. 2, pg. 355); m mekngit is literally you (the tree) are bad. Likewise ng úngil: it is good.
668. a logúp instead; so can be translated here as “but, however.”
669. ukál’l Serianthes gradiflora.
670. tǎngét the two outermost foundation beams at the gables as seats, at the front gable, for the Number I and Number II Rúbak in the village or in the club (see the description of the Bai); at the back gable, for Number 3 and Number 4; the posts between them are called mǎngikai l bad; tǎngét longgěáol are the window sills on the gable sides (see above, pg. 232).
671. //p. 247//iáu, ngariáu below, meriáu moriáu down.
672. teluóng one, for example, for taro, sel teluó that other one, that is felled for the back gable; teliá ma teliǎng this and that end (gable).
673. ě soláe or soláng appears often in the sense of “and then.”
674. The residential houses—Blai—of a village are divided into two village halves (see Vol. 2, pg. 3); bítalblai ma bítalblai “house side and house side;” since the club is made up of young people from the whole village, those from one bítalblai work together, and those from the other do so as well.

675. melākldēi brought together, from melái “to bring” and kldēi “three,” the latter form of which is used when counting houses, etc.
676. In Vol. VIII, pg. 224, KUB. says that Calophyllum wood is mostly used. Usually, 8 men carry one heavy beam; for this, a transverse beam (Karabiey) out of sturdy Barringtonian wood is used, and long bamboo poles are used to carry the load (góngolungěi).
677. ngmail see the verb ngu (Vol. 2, pg. 344); ka reciprocal prefix.
678. Trans. of oldúrög “to send.”
679. Trans. of mesúběd “to notify.”
680. mǎřámáng “arrived.”
681. kabóng, from bong “to go,” in the sense of “please be so good as to go,” then also in the sense of “it’s going well.”
682. goingaráng when?
683. Actually this should say ng melekói (“he speaks”), because lolokói belongs to the negative form (see the verb melekói, Vol. 2, pg. 355).
684. //p. 248//omókět to pay, meketí transitive; gomókět noun; goláũg from meláũg the marking of the trunk, for which the master builder receives the first payment.
685. KUB.: Omergél a kabeás (WALL.: omérg “to spread out”) the stretching of the guide line; for information about the first piece of earnest money oltebedél a melásăg, see above, pg. 240.
686. a kekirél it is my turn, kekirél it is your turn, ngkirél it is his turn.
687. Half of a kluk = approx. 10 marks, see the section on money, page 158.
688. ngóiong imperfect tense of ngu to bring, ngóiang completed, that is, when it has been brought.
689. goiláol the floor, the bottommost section of the house. Now the workers disperse and start to work individually on the pieces that they carved roughly together.
690. gěbakl adze, gěbeklír their adzes.
691. béklagád “every man;” “all” is actually rőkúi instead of arbekl.
692. kekeróus different, various.
693. //p. 249//From klalo object.
694. Each family has a particular section of the Bai, which is signified by the roof ridge (see above, pg. 233); ku yes, now; indeterminate participle.
695. oltekerékl, from olengăsăg to bring up; madá, from adáng so.
696. melílt to dress up, golitl noun.
697. The blossom sheath of the coconut palm serves as a kind of paintbrush for marking, pg. 109.
698. merینگél lagád “pain person,” a person so beautiful as to cause pain; a góngiaki has a value of 5 marks (see pg. 158).
699. Possessive of blevéget width. ta = atang one.
700. morólung to come.

701. moesóil to eat supper.
702. Gathering; the whole club gathers for community work; nobody works separately any longer. In return, the one who has ordered the construction provides food.
703. //p. 250//From amaráel to go; actually the negative form of the present tense.
704. omés to see; mesá short for omés ra.
705. mǎngit to squeeze, to squash (the floor with the support beams); possessive ongtil.
706. mekīs to get up, to stand up, bekīs get up, stand up.
707. kebēas a strong vine.
708. mangídēr to raise, to lift.
709. selmogokl to put in order, to arrange (imperative m smogókl), m kedmeklí to clean up,--kldmókl order.
710. melongákl to lay down on, trans. tmongklí.
711. omúgēl, from rúgēi first, ugél the first.
712. The line (rus) is used for diagonal measurements, to get two foundation beams that are lying lengthwise to be parallel. Imagine a rectangle with two diagonals, and the latter form two parallel sides.
713. //p. 251//mekīs to stand up, ka reciprocal, that is, everyone stands up together.
714. mangikaī, actually “to swim,” meaning the middle beams, between the first and the last, between which they “swim.”
715. ometíkl to carve notches, actually to remove something encumbering.
716. The longitudinal beam of the lower house frame consists of three parts (see above, pg. 231).
717. kemíu you (plural); gáus, góus limestone for betelnuts.
718. Plural and possessive of gad man, person.
719. geimól kúkau value of “ten heads of taro.” Small piece of money (see above, pg. 158).
720. tmuk, from meluk to cut; to mark; mangídēr to lift; kideri to lift a piece, kmídēr to lift many.
721. //p. 252//See note 8, pg. 251.
722. dertang each one, changes into dersē in front of geimól.
723. From mesúk to pocket, see sukúr.
724. Poss. of nglósög.
725. From túab to stop; doibkúr from melibúk to bind together, WALL.
726. From omdábd to cap at the top, to shorten to the correct length.
727. ungámk the line for marking.
728. //p. 253//getópt tip of trees, masts, etc.
729. From omdábd to cap at the top, to shorten to the correct length.
730. omogēbēgēb to turn upside down.
731. sauák I want.
732. góngrangēr, gólik, see pg. 232.
733. meróus to distribute, gasbógōb plank, keróus = gemúr each, every, kekeróus different, various.

734. ouspég to need, WALL.
735. //p. 254//lebë = lemë = l mei it is coming; compare bong, mong; l më here, kidep together, mekidep to gather together, see pg. 256.
736. From melép to cut.
737. oldárs to hold something out in one's hand.
738. //p. 255//From melívěg to make a round hole, namely in the gable frame, so one can stick the tenons through (see pg. 233).
739. The limestone is mixed with Calophyllum water and a thin stream is poured onto the notches in the wood. The dried limestone is then painted on using yellow, red, and black paint. (Calophyllum leaves are torn into little pieces and thrown into a wooden bowl with water, resulting in a thin milky liquid; the milk is poured into a monggóngg container (pg. 59) and limestone is put into a bag made out of tageiër (pg. 100) (teat, nipple), which is then dipped into the milk. What drips off is the limestone base, which must then dry on the beams while they are lying horizontally.)
740. From mer'rop to bend, to lean, WALL., to fall in Story 214, Verse 35.
741. From omagár to buy.
742. tuáb (possessive tebangél) new moon (see pg. 324).
743. //p. 256//gei the fishing grounds.
744. See pg. 98.
745. mekiděp, mekuíděp to gather together, thus the dishes gather together (see pg. 2541).
746. That is, they put on a nice a usákěr, for ornamentation, see pg. 2.
747. a gamágěl the quid (betelnut leaf, Areca nut, limestone). The chiefs always see to it that someone else offers them one, just as in former times a little pinch was always accepted (see pg. 60).
748. iětá from imíet the other side (of time and place), for example, ra blsagél after the determined time.
749. blsukl the row.
750. ptelúl his head.
751. goldíu the one who calls out, the caller.
752. mora madál according to his eye.
753. See pg. 202.
754. KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 249, says that in the case of the large Bilekélěk Bai, a galebúgěp was paid for the umád.
755. //p. 257//meringěl lagád "painfully beautiful person;" in this case, the expression is used for money, see pg. 160.
756. olimóim to let down, golimiúměl tool for the following: The little one helps the big one build and is thus his companion, helper.
757. a Ibědúl is Rúbak Number I from Goréör, where this description originated.

758. I had at first written: *ë kuk merékóng ë deî* “and then finished three,” but it must obviously say: *ë kuk mo ra gongëdeî*.
759. *ngot* nice word for a *ugútũm*, actually a taro pounding board. *ngelóng* the left side, *rebai* going right from the front gable (*madál*) (see pgs. 211 and 262).
760. //p. 258//Literally “the only people,” in contrast to the 10 highest-ranking of the club, the 10 *gamágěl*.
761. *omëgúker* to fill up (when paying), transitive *megëki*.
762. *tagër* ten and *kl* as a prefix before 3 through 9 (see Vol. 2, pg. 331) when counting money, coconuts, etc. *bítang ma bítang* is indicative of the division of the village houses into two sections, *bítalblai ma bítalblai* (see there).
763. From *oltobóid* to estimate the value.
764. From *gorédēm*; otherwise just used for paying off courtesans.
765. Literally: their words (from *tokói*).
766. Chief of Ngarmid on Babldáob, east of Goréör (Vol. 2, pg. 255).
767. Chief of Ngarekobasáng, island west of Goréör (Vol. 2, pg. 259).
768. //p. 259//a *uláol* floor, *omláol*, to make the floor of a house.
769. *Meketí*, name of the 3 chief’s Bai of Goréör; the association of the chiefs of Ngarameketí, Vol. 2, pg. 216.
770. *oldúrög* to send.
771. *soísep* to go in, to enter.
772. *gomakáng* feeding.
773. For example, to leave a visit (*klegädáol*, *blolóböl*).
774. a *Delúi* and *Săgămús* are both main landing spots on the coast of Goréör.
775. //p. 260//*olsédem* to fit side-by-side.
776. *ridm* the coconut cluster; here it means “food.”
777. *mesáoëd* to work hard at a celebration, to get everything in the right place.
778. *ougüei* singing in front of people, by a singer; at the end of the song, everyone chimes in: *ng huéi*.
779. The limestone, mixed with water, is poured over the marked and carved wood as a base for painting. See above.
780. From *medengëi* to know.
781. What is meant are the gable’s reinforcing rods on the rear side, which run parallel to the roof rafters.
782. //p. 261//From *mesúk*, to lay in a basket.
783. Apparently (see Vol. 2, pg. 341), *obang* means to hold one piece, *olab* means to hold many pieces; so actually, “he (who) holds the gable pieces,” honorary title for the master builder.
784. See pg. 235.
785. A dance with song, pg. 317.
786. *bóës* the rifle, *bóës gobubú* the cannon.

787. Everyone makes noise, shoots, pounds on loud objects, to drive away the evil spirits; when iū mesekú is called, the noise stops suddenly, and everyone sings out iū!
788. From mesáod, to distribute.
789. What remains is divided among the chiefs, who take it home with them.
790. //p. 262//From remíd to go home.
791. In Ngarsúl, Number V.
792. //p. 263//The 1st and 2nd are always together.
793. The “taro field” meséi; see also pg. 49, KUB., Vol. II, pg. 57, says that feudal obligations are associated with taro patches and that, for example, they must deliver a certain number of leaves for the roofs of the Bai.
794. “overloaded,” because many things come together here.
795. Across from the hearth gab.
796. From melík “to support,” with respect to the “middle” Galíd, i.e. “support of the middle.”
797. //p. 264//See Story 197.
798. //p. 266//telegúl food gifts sent by relatives to married couples (see Story 58), the term also means all food, money, etc., sent from the house of the wife to the house of the husband during the marriage.
799. Meaning: correct hanging ósuměg of the door mats ulitěg (see pg. 226); mesúměg means “to hang back,” when they are drawn to the side; melmesúměg “to bid farewell.”
800. delóbog, see pg. 161.
801. pkngel = bngél from obéu to burst. Possessive of bul “bursting of the belly” dīl.
802. kal a galáng food consisting of galáng “cooked taro stalks,” which were customary in Ngarárd, but not in the south.
803. buldīl is meant.
804. omúr “to break,” all other details follow shortly.
805. //p. 267//See note 2, pg. 266.
806. WALL.: melíg to lay something under something.
807. WALL.: omeób “to create,” gerund bebáel.
808. See pg. 258.
809. Vol. 2, pg. 3 clan.
810. oméu to smash (see below, pgs. 345, 308, and 309).
811. Both are species of mullet. In Vol. II, pg. 78, KUB. says: “an old knife made of Tridacna shell, called Dek or Pang, used to crack open the coconut during title conferral (see the discussion on that topic).” In 1907, I was given an old club in Goréór with two holes, made of sinter limestone, similar to a bang. It is now in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart; there is a similar piece in Berlin, and another in Leipzig (see Fig. 202). These stone fish have 1 or 2 holes in their back, through which a cord is pulled to serve as a handle. Fig. 203 shows the normal wooden club, which HE calls moněget.
812. //p. 268//See pg. 187 and the prayers, for example in Story 193.

813. Possessive of bládek “spirits” of the dead, see pg. 335.
814. From ómu “to break.”
815. Possessive of líus “coconut.”
816. omăgél to bear.
817. rúlab toágěl “the midwife,” from ólab “to look out” for the canal toágěl, rúlab “after a lot of looking.” If the pregnant woman gets sick, a pig or a turtle is offered to the Galid Gobagád; it is then eaten as kelél a Gobagád (possessive of kál food).
818. oelái a sis; WALL.: meláiu to stroke softly over something.
819. See KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 181.
820. //p. 269//See “The Medicine of the Trukese,” archive of ship and tropical hygiene, 1906, pg. 461.
821. To bear, to give birth omăgél, ak mlagél “I was born,” mlagél the woman in childbed, labor pains ngevíl (WALL.: omechél).
822. E.K. most frequently heard the word mágěra, mágěra; whether this is meant to cast a spell on an enemy gerárou is pure conjecture.
823. The effort and pushing of the woman in labor is called ongēměk, otherwise olsárăg.
824. WALL.: from ilúmel, possessive of drink.
825. //p. 270//KUB., Vol. II, pg. 55, mentions leaves of Bedél and Ngel (see pg. 273).
826. galisemesóměl to walk with arms pressed to one’s sides.
827. Also telók a blengtelél, from blengútěl to coil the hair.
828. According to P. RAYM., pg. 59, 10 days must pass, but that is probably rare; 10 days, see pgs. 272 and 274.
829. From mengésěp to cut off, which KUB. gives as the noun.
830. //p. 271//Most common are leaves of the following plants from the ked (see Vol. 1, pg. 243): lycopodium, gaitóug fern, krtup, Nepenthes, Cassytha, gapduí, gomudelag, klorovíkl fern, kuskus reed, gaskīk, sau grass, goubesós, ěáměl, etc.
831. Called kasúlög.
832. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 56, Mangat; verb gomangát (from gat steam) “to take a steam bath,” but the noun is gongát; KUB.: Omeskél, from omesiókl “to gather leaves.”
833. About 30-35 in each row, stuck onto two coconut palm fronds, which are attached to the leaf sheath. The black slices are roasted ulogóug slices (see pg. 41). There is a similar piece with mother-of-pearl shells in Stuttgart, a small skirt the size of the palm of a hand.
834. //p. 272//See Bai 29 IV and also Bai 49, etc.
835. See Vol. 2, pg. 283.
836. See Vol. 2, pg. 191 and Bai 82 O.
837. diál’l “ship” and desóměl “swimmer,” see section on the death cult.
838. //p. 273//galabagīl “marriage gift.”

839. golmesúmĕg, from melmesúmĕg “to bid farewell” (see pg. 266).
840. ugísp KR.
841. MC CLUER writes Tala coy and Carpesangle, that is, old words.
842. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 57, Olokolngiákl.
843. //p. 274//This word is found in Song 204, Verse 36, and in Song 197, where its meaning is “pity, compassion, sympathy.”
844. //p. 275//M.-M. counted 20 men and 12 women in one Bai in Melekéiok.
845. According to KUB., he pays compensation if he refuses her. According to Story 43, the club members offer her a quid, whose selection by name is binding.
846. //p. 276//This is the same word used to pay the carpenter and to pay for the gásiaū deliveries.
847. See Story 195. Girls from subject villages kĕr also have less freedom, see Story 275.
848. According to SEM, Vol. II, pg. 320, there were also one-day trips with men into the Gogeál.
849. The same term is used for a girl whom a Rubak has sent to a blolóböl (see Story 154). ruák “my contribution,” ru “contribution” rarely used; blekátĕl or blekál the contribution that a Rubak receives from his sister and her husband.
850. If there are only 8 present, they pay only 8 kluk; in former times, the charge was actually only 1-3 kluk; it is only in more recent times that every Rubak pays one kluk.
851. súbĕd is the “news” boat, which reports whether they may come, komedáol is the boat that takes back the answer, i.e. the invitation. This is also a new word for “thank you” (see Story 113).
852. See also KUB., Vol. II, pgs. 97 and 98, and Vol. IV, pg. 79.
853. //p. 277//This word is apparently new; it may be composed of dil woman, uk (possessive ukíl “female genitalia”); this is what KUB. thinks, Vol. VIII, pg. 243; for details, see below, pg. 333; formerly, the word bageī was used, which means “marriage” (see above, pgs. 235 and 284).
854. //p. 278//See Vol. 2, pg. 84.
855. See Vol. 2, pg. 160.
856. See Vol. 2, pg. 154.
857. //p. 279//See also Vol. 2, pg. 307.
858. Composition of the word would then be similar to the word galdegaiós, signifying the period of sunshine during the day, from gaiós sun.
859. Also the word for part of a net, see above, pg. 941.
860. This is in contrast to outsiders, called uásăg a líus “coconut juice,” the children of women who have married into the village; these children are considered to belong to their mother’s native village.
861. From ourĕör “to work.”
862. //p. 280//WALL. from omúl “to forbid,” see pg. 305.
863. See Vol. 2, pgs. 3-4, also A. K. The Malanggan of Tombára, where everything is split in half.

864. SEMP., on pg. 306, experienced something like this on Pelíliou, when one person criticized the dance in a severe fashion.
865. My people called out: ía, ía!
866. //p. 282//The “betel quid” is called the same thing, pg. 60.
867. Easy to see on pg. 170, see for example the sale of dugong, pg. 25, and in Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 178.
868. One gālsúg consists of two strands side-by-side, each of which displays 5 fish.
869. //p. 283//These excursions by boat, also to visit friendly clubs, are called gomeús.
870. When they enter the village, they carry a long bamboo pole as a flag, a sign of victory (see P. RAYM., pg. 61), see Story 18 and below, pg. 302.
871. KUB., Vol. 2, pg. 130 Ngomoróyol.
872. KUB., Vol. 1, pgs. 11 and 18 recounts several related experiences.
873. //p. 284//In recent times, the work also includes hauling in the sailing vessels.
874. A work team of women is called gagerákl, see Story 56 and Story 113, for example.
875. Also the old word for dilukaî, as just mentioned on pg. 277.
876. See Story 205, Verse 5.
877. This is also called ng bageîl; ogáro, see pg. 2902 and 293.
878. //p. 286//WALL.: tngmóroch and tilóroch verb form of “to slip.”
879. “Loincloth.”
880. //p. 287//See above, pg. 280.
881. megēgeî (WALL.).
882. Because a man’s children belong to the woman’s totem, he is not considered to be blood-related to them, so their relationship is not governed by the same strict regulations. KUB., Vol. IV, pg. 81, tells of a father who married his daughter and did not give in, despite the laughter and scorn of the whole island; he could not be prosecuted either by law or by custom.
883. According to KUB., Vol. V, pg. 13 “On the Pelau islands, such an animal is called “adalsahél” of the Kalid or of the person who possesses the Kalid. This word stems from dalásak, a picture, a carved work, from melásak, to hew out with an axe.”
884. //p. 289//See Vol. 2, pg. 222.
885. Those who have read the descriptions of the móngol and marriage will, like myself, not quite be able to close their minds to the idea, despite lessons to the contrary, that the free intercourse both before and during marriage, which borders on promiscuity, could have been the cause of the outspokenly matriarchal relations on Palau. Things are similar on the Ralik-Rataks.
886. (KUB.: ulogellél).
887. Verb meróděl, to adopt.

888. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 59 says: “The children of people who are completely foreign are never adopted; at the most they may be taken in, in which case they become the ngálek a auláol children of the floor, who are really only taken in as helpers.” This is also the term for “children of two sisters,” however.
889. See Story 210, which is also an example of how complaints against close relatives were revealed in public and were then answered accordingly; there were often tears in the process.
890. //p. 290//See Vol. 2, pg. 321, Stories 210 and 194; this is also the name of the eldest in the Blai, the title holder.
891. The appendix, on pg. 359, shows that in addition to these family kleblīl, there are also Rubak kleblīl. The bitang column shows (for example, Vol. 2, pg. 102) that these are divided into two sides and that all high- and low-ranking Rubak and women chiefs belong to them.
892. This right is called ogáro ke keblīl; marriage agreement between two Blai kauogáro (see pg. 284).
893. For information about uádam, see Vol. 2, pg. 321, where all plural forms are listed. WALL. says that you use uádam when speaking of others.
894. See meaning above.
895. //p. 292//olekel’lél a pelú the purchase price, from kel’lu to transfer (see Story 197, line 45).
896. goretél a kēbēás “purification, clarifying of creepers” (see also Story 129).
897. Meeting place gongdípl, seating order Vol. 2, pg. 89 above Bai pg. 263 and KEATE, pg. 292, the meeting is called by sounding with a conch shell horn.
898. Like the Samoan malága, such a visit lasts 3 days at the most. The banquet on the first day is called gokérd, because it is held immediately after visiting party has landed kmerd; the feast on the third day is called desīl (2nd celebration gáot). In the case of revenge, a visit may be accompanied by a death threat (see Stories 73, 123a, and 126b). If the visiting delegation is large, all of the Blai deliver several dishes of food to the Rubak Bai (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 201: Klegodáol); klegādáol is also the word for the retinue of the high chief (see below, pg. 269).
899. //p. 293//Also ulengokl (poss. ...klél); the groups have names, see the large villages in Vol. 2.
900. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 35, speaks of the Obokúl; but gobokúk (plur. arúbukuk) is the word for my older relative, my old one; it has nothing to do with the title holder, the leader merédër; a younger relative is addressed as gogalék, women are addressed as gudelék and me’rengék (see pg. 291).
901. See Vol. 2, pg. 218, the sad conditions in the club; (WALL.: techēi), tekāulobák for Rubak, tekaul gamágēl in the club.
902. //p. 294//According to KUB., Vol. II, pg. 196, rudul of mother-of-pearl shell, always carried in the hand basket tet.
903. The form of address is dalák “my mother,” root word gadíl, like gadám father.
904. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 40, Kouród (see Vol. 2, pg. 106).
905. According to WALL., also “representative,” like tekāul, see above.
906. //p. 295//From melogólp “to wash”; metogólp “washed,” because the flowing blood must be washed off.

907. Falsetto singing, in this case referring to the sound of the conch shell horn.
908. From meliákl to tie together in a knot, namely coconut and taro leaves, with which the title is transferred from the dead to the living, see the déliákl, below, pg. 354.
909. If the dead person is a female Rubak, the transfer of the title must be paid by the successor with 4 pieces of money, called dial'í (canoe), desómēl (float), dékēl (pole), and besós (paddle), because the belief prevails that the woman's soul journeys to the netherworld in a canoe (KUB., Vol. III, pg. 10).
910. In Story 204, about line 8, kebekūl is also used for "title."
911. //p. 296//See also KUB., Vol. II, pg. 75.
912. //p. 297//See Vol. 2, pg. 307, and above, pg. 159.
913. See Vol. 2, pg. 292.
914. See Vol. 2, pg. 310.
915. From mangalulāu "to whisper," see Story 195, Part 2.
916. //p. 298//Quarrel klautngérd (WALL.: quarrelsome knged, to fight with words kaungeróel, violent kakoád, aggressive pegokoád), see also adultery.
917. KUB., Vol. IV, pg. 80, kaubenget a gathering of boys.
918. KUB., Vol. I, pg. 62, Margórok aragad = meregórög argád "to steal people."
919. All heads are acceptable, even those of women and children. One islander said to v. M. M.: "The woman can bear many children and the children grow up."
920. //p. 299//This yellowish gecko species is called berebūr; KUB., Vol. V, pg. 49, names the other gecko Segéseke (segaség) and Kamaís for the insect. However, kamaírs is a snake in the mangroves. The prayer to Gorekím that is said when the head is cut off and the person who utters it gazes upward: Gorekím, ak ultúrūh re kau, ak melái sél bakāi. Gorekím, I ask you I bring this head.
921. = ke maramáng, see Vol. 2, pg. 349.
922. mesúbēd to notify.
923. God of remembrance, see Story 1 and pg. 337.
924. oldúrög to send.
925. "First in heaven."
926. Means war and army.
927. WALL.: miús to row.
928. olengít to ask, to plead.
929. See Vol. 2, pg. 164.
930. olekérd to land (WALL.), kmérd to jump from the boat onto land.
931. mengeróid to remove (WALL.), goróid far.
932. A "head" is meant.
933. WALL.: olsiuékl to encounter, to meet.
934. //p. 300//rakt illness.

935. From uluókl “he ordered” = order, command.
936. omūs to order, to command.
937. God of a Iraī, see below.
938. See the Galid “blood drinker,” see above, pg. 35, and below, the brother of Gorekim (see pg. 341), who is also depicted as drinking blood from a blebáol in Bai 86, IV b.
939. They are laid side by side, but with their tips pointing in opposite directions, see pg. 176.
940. Possessive of lild spear.
941. Other name of Gorekím, for whom the fighting cock is sacred, which is why the warriors may not eat chicken (KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 168).
942. District of a Iraī.
943. From meréděr to lead, to arrange, to order.
944. See Vol. 2, pg. 354.
945. lpur. form ebenda, pg. 353.
946. //p. 301//See above, pg. 290.
947. melánglang sitting at the channel without doing anything (and, for example, begging from passers-by).
948. See WALL. mengitochút to weaken.
949. See Vol. 2, pg. 349.
950. The literal meaning is to put down a load, golietál is the resting place for loads, for wounded men, etc.
951. See above, pg. 298 oráel.
952. From omés to see, see Vol. 2, pg. 356.
953. Similar structure as dikamko, Story 194, note, omák to eat (omakáng “to feed”) ak úmak arungúk I eat a little as my heart desires.
954. See Vol. 2, pg. 352.
955. From omūs to order, to command.
956. See above, pg. 295.
957. remurt to run, WALL.: merúrt.
958. //p. 302//melëgolp “to wash off,” Gongěl mädëg blood spirit that is in everyone and that goes out of everyone and does damage, he who died in a bloody fashion (WALL.).
959. //p. 303//KUB. Honglil.
960. The Armeng mentioned there is doubtless the Reméng in Vol. 2, pg. 227.
961. KUB. Kossols, see below, pg. 319.
962. That is KUB.’s interpretation; but temétëmengéd is the word for ornamentation made of coconut fronds and turmeric, from reménged to tie, to bind (WALL.).
963. gëkil rope, matáng “forked”; for details about these very interesting parallels of the “people catcher,” see the discussion on cultural comparisons.

964. KUB., Vol. IV, pg. 81, talks of the Mesukut, the pinching of the adam's apple. Using this method, an unarmed man can capture a prisoner for killing, who willingly follows in flight (WALL.: mesúched to kill someone or make them a cripple using a special grip).
965. //p. 304//KUB., Vol. II, pg. 135, merül a rael "to clear the way," see pg. 295.
966. //p. 305//omadáog to punish on the spot.
967. See pgs. 1 and 296, also meāi, pg. 335 gēdāol, mekul'l "illegal" Story 197.
968. //p. 306//Pronounced murr, see pgs. 285 and 307. A woman on whose behalf no mur is arranged does not have a lot of standing. In Naardolólók, there is a táog for women who have not been honored with a mur; it is called tklbēdir ra mekerior rock of the unhappy ones, poss. of tkulabad "rock."
969. //p. 307//plkul a tokói "proverb" (WALL.: plgul "sense, meaning"); in this case, "section, part."
970. WALL.: melóik to dance, KUB., Vol. V, pg. 44: molóik; see also above, pg. 283, mlóik.
971. //p. 308//See Story 143b; oategútüm.
972. See above, pg. 281.
973. pu = omu "to break," see above, pg. 267.
974. See pg. 319.
975. //p. 309//See pg. 69.
976. Poss. tiklél, see Stories 195 and 6; see also pgs. 71, 119, etc.
977. //p. 310//On the illustration in P. RAYM., pg. 40, the taro benches are empty; the fruits lie in front of the dancers on the open stage, in mats and baskets.
978. They said the goddess was the Galíd of Blai Nr. II, while the kingfisher represented the Galíd of the neighboring Blai Nr. 14 Ngěungěl; the women keep them in the little ornamental hut of Blai Nr. II (see pgs. 193 and 340).
979. In New Mecklenburg, two trees that are taboo are planted on the beach after the celebration, to "wash the malanggane." In former times on Palau, when high-ranking people fell ill, seven dances were held in a period of about five months; in more recent times, these have been condensed into 1-2 weeks. After the 7th dance, branches of sis, gerdéu, and coconut fronds were tied together, and a man in the saltwater held them up as a sign that the celebration was over.
980. //p. 311//In contrast to the Malayans, whom he describes on pg. 366 as singing in a nasal tone, in the highest falsetto.
981. See Plate 18, bottom right.
982. //p. 312//From mengesiměr "to lock up." WALL.: gasiměr "door," like túangěl, see pg. 206. The reason for the seclusion is so that the skin may become light, and the dancers may become as beautiful as possible through special care.
983. //p. 313//mēáng or meāi, as in Polynesian = Tabú. Pg. 305. The wooden dance club may also represent a bird, but then it is called gorovíděl instead.
984. Named after the sardine tebér, see below, pg. 315.

985. This is also the word for the servants who, together with the mongol, cook for those who are sequestered.
986. Noun form of melátăg “to wash off,” táiu the coconut shavings, see above, pg. 41.
987. //p. 314//SEMP., Vol. II, pg. 329, reported already: no shellfish and no fish, nothing from the sea, also no salt. Transgression punishable by god, see Story 10.
988. According to WALL.: “the head dress, head covering,” see above, pgs. 29, 71, 145, 214, and 297. Pictured in KUB., Vol. VIII, Plate XVII5, a stick with three fronds, whose tips protrude at the top like a trident; it. pg. 130 peldhebuth, it. pg. 295 Peldebuth, II, pg. 106 Peldebud; see below, offerings.
989. In an emergency, a kleángěl frame will also do (see Plate 19 and below, pg. 344), into which a piece of turtle breast is placed for the arbláděk, the souls of the deceased high chiefs. The bláděk are supposed to watch.
990. WALL.: ouetgėu to greet (see Story 211), chomeráech morning star.
991. From omedíkl to set up. For information about this and the a inging stage in Melekėiok, see Vol. 2, pg. 101 (pg. 272).
992. //p. 315//KUB., Vol. II, pg. 108, calls the basket rau, which literally means “container.” When the ruk is over, they are hung up on a long rope that encircles the rocks of the island Ngurutói (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 112), see Vol. 2, pg. 86.
993. According to M.-M., these are painted red, see above, pg. 313.
994. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 108, homarak et horuidel “to cook the H. The first day of the celebration is called beregél a gorovíděl, after the omárėg.
995. //p. 316//Already told to HANS DAMM “The Gymnastic Games of the Indonesians and South Seas Peoples” Part I, 1922, pg. 85.
996. See above, pg. 171.
997. See above, pg. 1017.
998. See above, pgs. 2924 and 296.
999. //p. 319//A buzzing leaf, gab r dóröd, made of coconut fronds, that makes a sound like a beetle flying into the fire, is considered more of a toy, so too the bluebottle túmetum, as well as the rare Jew’s harp (Fig. 112). The conch shell debúsög (poss. debsėsél) is a signaling horn. SEMP., Vol. II, pg. 366, speaks of a flute that only the girls in the Bai may blow. It is called ngáok, poss. ngókél. I was not able to learn any details about it. It probably resembles the Central Carolinian one, which is played by blowing through the nose.
1000. Verb melál.
1001. Verb mongosóls; mengesólls WALL.
1002. Verb mangitákl, see galitük (pg. 317).
1003. //p. 320//WALL.: lead singing mamengitákl and mengéseb, more correctly spelled mangésepe, which means “to cut off.” WALL. says about this: “the monotonous singing is broken up by the precantor, who interrupts the monotony with various notes or yodels.”
1004. The noun rseî is rarely used, see Blai, pg. 211.
1005. golekáng a pot, also a circle, etc.

1006. KUB., Vol. II, pg. 104 Kaldolan, Vol. III, pg. 6, Kalloy and Kaldólom, pg. 5 describes it in more detail.
1007. ked ra sólrau “captain.”
1008. //p. 321//Further down, KUB. says that younger clubs do not mix with the players when they come with Bai girls, but instead keep to themselves.
1009. Verb mongúrs to pull. Note the analogous prefixes: klai or klau noun, kai or kau verb.
1010. WALL.: kaititegängel.
1011. //p. 322//From omlútěk, see the section on religion, pg. 340.
1012. baol, from blebáol, like the word for a chopped-off head; when wrapped galiseksíkt.
1013. //p. 323//WALL.: sngesúngěl to chop finely.
1014. WALL.: kremérem dark.
1015. //p. 324//WALL.: tuab, tab el buiel, when the moon first becomes visible at night on the western horizon; new moon lóched búiel.
1016. WALL. distinguishes chéseb erngós (in the East) and cheseb a ngobárd (in the West), i.e. waning and waxing.
1017. WALL.: tngmút “to suck.”
1018. The evening star is simply called “star of the West” pdug a ngabárd.
1019. In Story 10, this is mentioned as úgul a guíět.
1020. //p. 325//In August, the sun reaches its zenith over Palau on its way South, sím good time, for example sím l kál’l time to eat in Story 197.
1021. //p. 326//Sick smэггër, mărákt, nouns sэггër, rakt.
1022. olengásăg a iáběd.
1023. dep are little ornamental huts (see pg. 229), melángěs to look up WALL.
1024. //p. 328//From olekér to ask.
1025. From óbáng to bring.
1026. ungil ä rěngúk at peace in my heart.
1027. See below, pg. 340.
1028. The following were added later: Goikúl, Ngasagáng, Ngatkip, Gámliangěl, Ngrīl, Nggeīangěl, etc. In Gámliangel, the god arrived late and brought his galid servants along, whom he set in the Túlau, where there is also a tungěl grove.
1029. //p. 329//Limestone stick of the Galid, see Story 195.
1030. a Regúgër told me that all villages that took part in the great sailing races and lost their canoes are not allowed to make a kěóngěl.
1031. dóueī satisfied, see Story 194, approx. line 75.
1032. dméu, from meléu WALL. to bend.
1033. melúbět to cleanse, to free.

1034. At the bottom of the board is usually a sun, pictured in Fig. 215 with three heads, whose spouse is Turang, see pg. 340.
1035. //p. 330//WALL.: to administer, dispense omgar.
1036. See MAC CLUER, pg. 106, Kuss-ebe-booe.
1037. From móudăg to hurt oneself, break something.
1038. Perhaps from melechúdech to shrink WALL., dechedúchel shrunk.
1039. Young leaves of gabelúdēs (Allophilus sp.) used as a mustard poultice in case of infection.
1040. //p. 331//See the magical herb goliúl a krasus.
1041. See Story 107 for the heavenly origin; it is rubbed with turmeric yellow reng, but it is even better to treat it in the beginning with milk of tónget, see there (WALL. besochel suffering from ringworm).
1042. From melapkap to scratch vigorously. Out there, itchy skin (often caused by mites) is called cascás.
1043. WALL.: cheséches or gomgom “large sore.”
1044. In Galibosáng Story 43, one might think so.
1045. WALL. klgat, gash delauch, puncture wound berúchel.
1046. //p. 332//MAC CLUER umkarr a lills (lild = spear).
1047. MAC CLUER, pg. 99, Thoo.
1048. In relation to the many, many logúkl, there are very few of them.
1049. //p. 333//This is substantiated by the fact that the figure posts of the Rubak Bai in Ngabiúl, Goréör and Bai 145 in Ngaregól have something to do with fertility magic, as the Palauans themselves admit. In Bai 145, see also the figure of a man with a kirs as a head (see Fig. 216b) and the row of vuk.
1050. Undesired animal attraction (ray) see Bai 126 I, then telikak sleeping with legs spread wide (see Story 43).
1051. melam to wipe off WALL.
1052. //p. 334//Pronounced ngell, see Story 6.
1053. //p. 335//See the word in Vol. 2, pg. 135. The possessive sounds occasionally like gdidúl; the Austronesian words aitu, anitu, anidj, hantu, ..., etc. are the same. Maybe the Arabic Kalid sword of god, the Babylonian anu, and the Indian manitu, which all mean “spirit,” have the same origin. I should also mention that galíd also means “round” (WALL.: cheliduid “make round,” chalíd “middle”).
1054. The word for shadow lag (poss. logúl) is rarely used (pg. 347); a soul in an animal such as an insect gamais (see Kamais, pg. 299).
1055. outangangói “to make a face.”
1056. //p. 336//The Palauans asked me if there really were such beings.
1057. goderúgël, see pg. 294 and Vol. 2, pg. 321.
1058. //p. 337//For a description of the underworld, see Bai 133, Eastern gable.
1059. See T. I. BEZEMER. Folk Literature from Indonesia. Haag 1904. Pg. 192.

1060. Also called Galíd ě gád, he is important for Pelíliou, see Story 161; also worshiped in Ngarekesauáol, Ngurusár, Ngarengasáng, Ngëbúrěg (Vol. 2, pgs. 129 and 114).
1061. //p. 338// The term del'lúl is derived from this; omolúl means to roast taro as a plea for blessing, see pg. 101.
1062. //p. 339// The structure often looks like a square box swing, constructed of bamboo poles, approximately 1 ½ m square. It is intended for the souls of village chiefs during the illness of a family member (Ngivál), see Fig. 184, pg. 205; see pg. 344.
1063. The Janus head can also be traced back to the olép la galid, pg. 336. When these were in a Iraî, they were also kept in the place of worship. Temdókl (see Plate 18), who came here from Pelíliou due to illness, was also there. Several images were also sent to Madál a Bai, as mentioned in the discussion of that Bai. Refer also to Vol. 2, pg. 178, Ngaraklemáděl. The place there called omrót l delásěg may have derived its name from rót “pounded into pieces,” perhaps because the images there were destroyed.
1064. //p. 340//On pg. 328 she is the wife of Kumerëu.
1065. The image of this bird is said to have been made by the Galid a Nggeî (Story 197), see also Story 19.
1066. On the Banks Islands, the kingfisher is considered to be a messenger of the sun; the golden-yellow mullet is also called turang l bang.
1067. //p. 341//The natives believe the plagéos tree becomes hollow inside.
1068. See also Story 170, about a Iluógěl.
1069. See B.: Bai 124 IVb WALL.: chor(e)gim rainbow; KUB., Vol. II, pgs. 121 and 128, Vol. III, pg. 6, Vol. V, pg. 48, Vol. VIII, pg. 168 Horgim.
1070. //p. 342//godóngěl from ódong, according to WALL. the long, drawn-out cry of a Galid, as well as the tool with which he expresses himself (see below here).
1071. To carry on one's head.
1072. WALL.: olekérđ to unload, but see the section on canoe building, pg. 1864.
1073. //p. 343//Medegeî, Fig. 218.
1074. Temdókl, Plate 18.
1075. Gamasiógěl, see Plate 19.
1076. //p. 344//WALL. melengét to make an offering.
1077. Verb.: ouelai, melebál to damage through magic, WALL.; malápal v. M. M. producer of the goleî.
1078. WALL. melengesákl to curse while calling on the Galid.
1079. To wash off melogól, WALL.
1080. //p. 346//See FRITZ SCHULZE: Fetishism, Leipzig 1871, pg. 293.
1081. //p. 347//WALL.: tiil, KUB.: pg. 349.
1082. In Malayan, the egg itself is telur or telur; in Palau telúl = ring.
1083. //p. 348//See ANKERMAN Z. f. E. 1918, Year 50, pg. 128, see also above, pg. 335.

1084. See A. BASTIAN, *Miscellaneous from Anthropology*, pg. 80-92.
1085. KUB. reports that a man wanted to have his dead wife back and went to a man who knows about such things. He recovered the soul, but it changed into a starling. In the end, the starling escaped, after losing one leg.
1086. P. RAYM., pg. 49: in Ngeour, the soul leads a good life, but it must die and become eidedelép.
1087. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 7 says, Ngadalók is on Pililu, which is incorrect. I mentioned in Vol. 2, pg. 284, that Ngamrúr was another name; however, it is possible that Ngamrúr or Ngumerúr is the name of a sand beach near Pkulapelú on Pelíliou, where the spirits also dance (see Story 173d).
1088. KUB., Vol. V, pg. 7 says that in Yap there is a judge who, after death, pushes those souls that are not worthy of heaven off the trunk of a coconut tree into an abyss; but he believes this to be a reflection of Catholic influence, which is contrary to the religious history. v. M. M., Note 10, mentions the fall from the bridge when one does not have a nose hole, as well as falling into the abyss kim.
1089. //p. 349//KUB., Vol. V, pg. 8: those who have fallen in battle are mocked as speared fish: see Story 173a-d, as well as the logukl recorded there.
1090. matusáng to split into two parts.
1091. okrókěr thick, wide.
1092. melilívět thin.
1093. Poss. of gosárăg “compressed load.”
1094. See pg. 347, oltirákl to follow.
1095. olekérđ to unload WALL.
1096. rebótěl see the section on plants.
1097. Probably from oltóběđ, tuóběđ to go away.
1098. See pg. 17, Note 1.
1099. //p. 350//See Story 44
1100. bungungâu and ririaměl, pg. 6.
1101. As a privilege (see above, pg. 6), high-ranking women also wear a black skirt, and the house in which they died is hung with coconut fronds (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 70).
1102. Description of the celebration according to my observations upon the death of the Rubak Gadlbai of the Ngaremétrekang Blai in Ngarmid on July 1, 1909.
1103. KUB., Vol. III, pg. 5 calls the displaying Omesoékel and the bier dusál (WALL.: dusáll the bed site, see also Vol. 1, pg. 114).
1104. In Bai 29 IVa, the owls keep watch over the dead body.
1105. //p. 352//According to KUB., Vol. III, pg. 58, Pisek is wild taro, while the Dyákas are true taro that are used for planting at the grave. This sometimes occurs (see Story 204).
1106. //p. 353//WALL.: bádek (poss. bedekél) wrapped corpse, but KUB., Vol. III, pg. 7, gift of mats from relatives and from the “friend” given to the dead person.
1107. WALL.: ngomiákl, from melemiákl “to climb” to ascend.

1108. //p. 354//From meliákl, see above, pg. 2953.
1109. According to KUB., Pisek wild taro is brushed against the head of the dead person three times.
1110. See pg. 335.
1111. See pg. 295.
1112. That is, a small celebration; he was poor, you see; that is the reason for the accusation, as KUB. emphasizes in Vol. III, pg. 8.
1113. See Vol. 2, pg. 354; 'ka = diak a, see Vol. 2, pg. 339.
1114. mogúng about to, mogáng completed; tuóběd to go out (see Vol. 2, pg. 349).
1115. He has no cares, because he leaves nothing behind.
1116. a imák is supposed to be the same as Rubak; WALL. imákl "to depart"; so it could also be spelled imakl a gad: departing man.
1117. //p. 355//According to KUB., they let the corpse slide down, so that it comes to rest on one side (it must be the right side), with the face turned away from the blai. So it would face North. This is certainly not the rule.
1118. From melépēs to cut off (see Story 169).
1119. //p. 356//I witnessed one of these closing ceremonies in Goréör on July 7, 1909, held by the new Rubásäg of Blai Nr. VII a Ingeáol, rather for his brother-in-law Ngira meketí, Rubak Nr. II in a Gol. The first row, consisting of six benches of raw taro, were delivered by the relatives of Rubasäg to Nr. I Ibědul. Once it is taken away, it is reconstructed by Rubásag himself for Ibědul. The second row of 14 benches is for the remaining 9 Rubak. To the left there is a round bench for the village god Ugérérák, which NgiraiKelau Nr. II accepts, whose Blai provided the priest. 10 men and 10 women wandered to Meketí five times, walking single file, with numerous dishes for the Rubak who had gathered there. Approximately 150 dishes were brought there, which Nr. II distributed, speaking softly. There was also fish and pork in large bowls. Then an unusual incident occurred: some taro had been brought into the Rubak Bai in a freshly made basket that was still green, which is against custom. So 2 Rubak came into the host's Blai as government officials and demanded half a kluk as a fine, which Rubásäg had to pay. In the large upright container was golugâu, that is, syrup water; but as is custom, it was not filled to the brim. The distribution of money and taro took place the next day. During this, the 13 Rubak sat on the outer edge of the gólběd, while Rubásäg sat alone at one edge near the Blai. I.e., the a tkul a bád, which was mentioned and described in Vol. 2, pg. 214. Rekesivang Nr. VIII stood up 10 times, to hand Rubásäg the money from his relatives, small pieces of money in return for the large one that he had paid his brother-in-law for arranging the celebration. During this the amusing event described above on pg. 160 took place.
1120. maráud "to bind" is probably meant, see pg. 139; KUB., Vol. V, pg. 9, says maráder a sis, which is probably supposed to be marád ra sis, because meráděr means "to accompany" (WALL.).
1121. KUB., Vol. III, pg. 9 says that the feet of the woman are covered with a mat. The woman takes the sis in both hands, so that they do not touch it, sticks the bouquet into a wide, round woven sheath that is about three inches wide and is afterwards wrapped with cloth. The main mourning woman calls the spirit to climb into the sis and specify the cause of death. The woman holding the bouquet changes if it does not work.

1122. //p. 357//On Pelíliou, they say: gorengí, a ngoikóng, on Nggeĩangěł, they say sěingí a ngoikáu.
1123. //p. 358//KUB., Vol. V, pg. 9: “Furthermore, the first 4 days after the death, the Ngorárd is performed, which consists of burning an oil lamp on the grave at night and setting up dishes of food on it, as well as pouring drinks over it. If the weather is rainy, a little hut is built, which in the case of the death of a great chief becomes a more substantial structure, regardless of the weather, in which the family spends the time of mongejú.”
1124. See Vol. 1, pgs. 184-186.
1125. //p. 359//See all of the governments of the larger villages.
1126. Regúgěr was identified as belonging to Side II (see Vol. 2, pgs. 216 and 228), which always seemed odd to me as he is the successor to the throne; now WILL. changed III to I and IV to II, of which I should make a note on pg. 216.
1127. The keblíl Dmiu is also present in Ngurusár, Goikúl, Ngarengasáng, etc.
1128. //p. 360//On pg. 216, Ugeliou is VIII, and Guóděł’lagád is IX, which must be switched.
1129. Correct instead of Psis (193) pg. 14 Ngardims.
1130. //p. 361//Blai Gěbūł is bab I Ugeliou “above,” Blai Bersóiog VIII eóu I Ugélióu “below.”
1131. On pg. 114 also the name of Rub. II; Blai I is called Ngaragáděs there.
1132. My suspicion (pg. 66) that Keklau once originated in two villages was confirmed by WILL.: in the North Ngótěł, klobak: Ngaraleĩ, Rubakbai A. Bairalei, in the South a Irágěł klobak and Bai B. Ngaramesikt. The 10 Rubak named on pg. 68 belong to Irágěł, but the clubs belong to the village of Ngotel. Irágěł had 4 club Bai: Upid, Kles (this is also the name of the Metéu I diong (bath) of Ngotel), Ngetitóng and Ipedel; they have long since disappeared.
1133. On pg. 60, Rubak VII is called Ruáng, for which Ruaug should be replaced as VIII, Godáol VII; for Blai VII Geióel should be replaced: Ngaruaug VIII.
1134. WILL. a Lbong; pg. 31 listed for IV kebl: Uriúlugelióu (WILL. bab I’ Ugelióu), for II Ugelióu (WILL.: eóu I U.).
1135. Instead of Tkědám (31).
1136. Instead of a Sop (166); Ugelióu is named as kebl. for III.
1137. //p. 362//268 Matulíkl’l.