

Palau

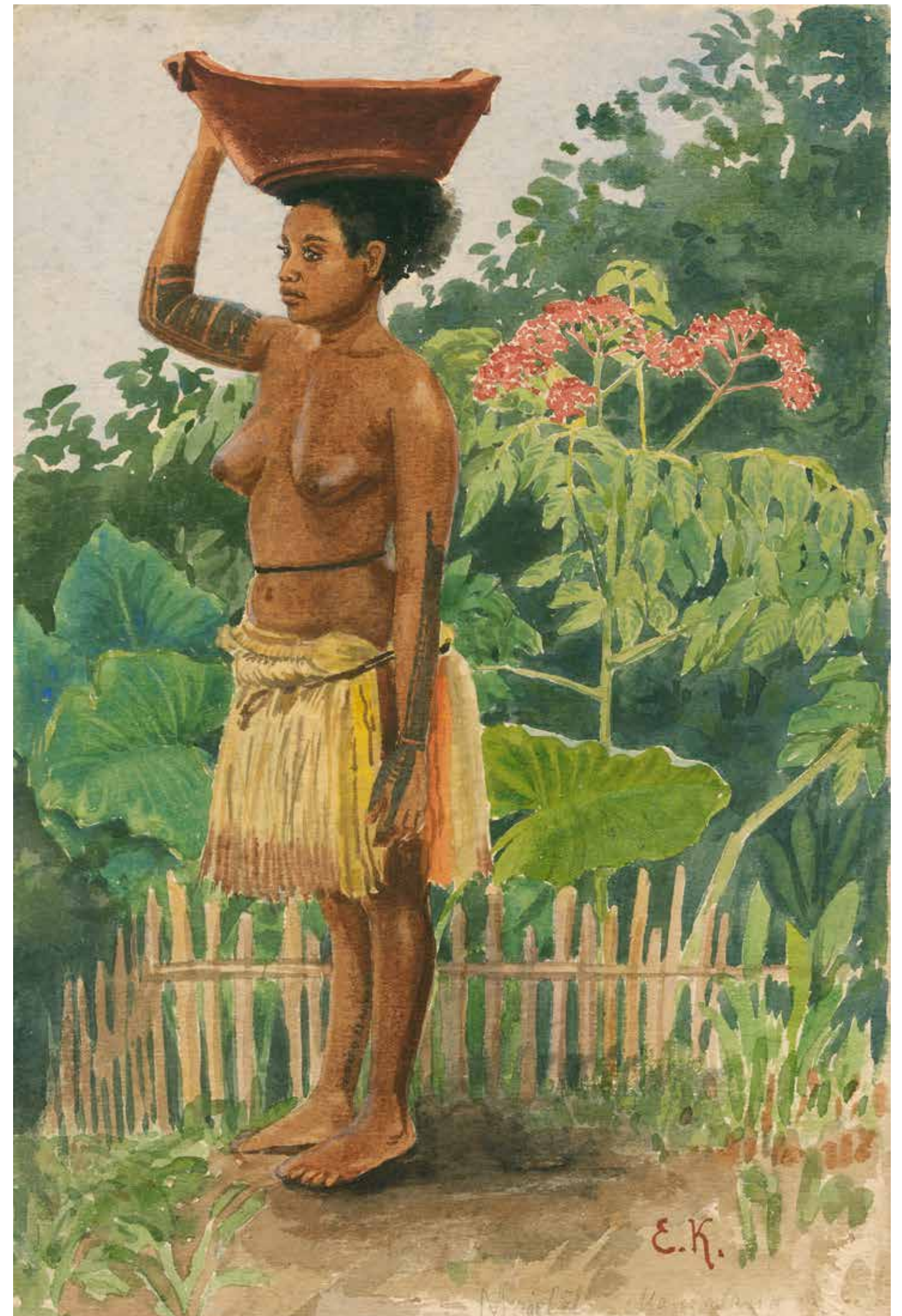


Volume 3
Material Culture
Intellectual Culture

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Unpublished Elisabeth Krämer aquarelle. Scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

HAMBURG SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATION

**RESULTS
OF THE
SOUTH SEAS EXPEDITION
1908-1910**

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**AUGUSTIN KRÄMER: PALAU
VOLUME 3**

**Translated by
Audrey Weinland for the Etpison Museum**
Donated by Shallum and Mandy Etpison

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PALAU

BY

PROF. DR. AUGUSTIN KRÄMER

VOLUME 3

**SECTION V.
MATERIAL CULTURE**

**SECTION VI.
INTELLECTUAL CULTURE**

HAMBURG
FRIEDRICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & Co. m. b. H
1926

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Abbreviations and Definitions			
Fig.	=	Figure	
bl.	=	blai residential house	
E. K.	=	Elisabeth Krämer, member of the expedition	
gald.	=	gáldebegēl club	
Gor.	=	Goréör Vol. 2.	
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.	
KUB.	=	Kubary, Bibliography Vol. 2.	
loc. leg.	=	loco legit collected on site	
log.	=	logúkl pictorial stories, see Bai	
M. Cl.	=	MacCluer Vol. 1.	
v. M. M.	=	v. Miklucho-Machay, Bibliography Vol. 2.	
Mel.	=	Melekéiok Vol. 2.	
Mus.	=	Museum	
Rub.	=	rúbak chief	
Stgrt.	=	Linden Museum in Stuttgart	
Wall.	=	Walleser, Bibliography Vol. 2.	
Will.	=	William Gibbon (see preface)	
Wils.	=	H. Wilson Vol. 1.	
armeāu	=	Village people	
bai	=	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.	
blsebúd	=	Magic	
blebáol	=	Trophy head	
blekátēl	=	Payment of sisters	klepkal’l = Privilege
bloIÓbol	=	Love excursion	kleblīl (singular keblīl) = Clans
bítang	=	Side	klegadáol = Chief excursions
delép	=	Soul	mangalil = Predictions
delásēg	=	Totem	mlagél = Priestess
diong, metéu l diong	=	Bathing place	móngol = Paramour
Galid	=	Forest Spirit, priest	pelú = Village
gamágēl	=	Quid and club members	sagaleī = Friend
gólei	=	Magic	tangadik = Kingfisher
gosóls	=	Singing	táog = Channel, entrance
gosisál	=	Messenger sign	tiakl = Payment for fisherman
kemedángēl	=	Messenger	ulogóug = Rosted copra

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Front cover: girl Ngatagasong. Above: Unidentified girl adorned for dance celebration, Goréör. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.

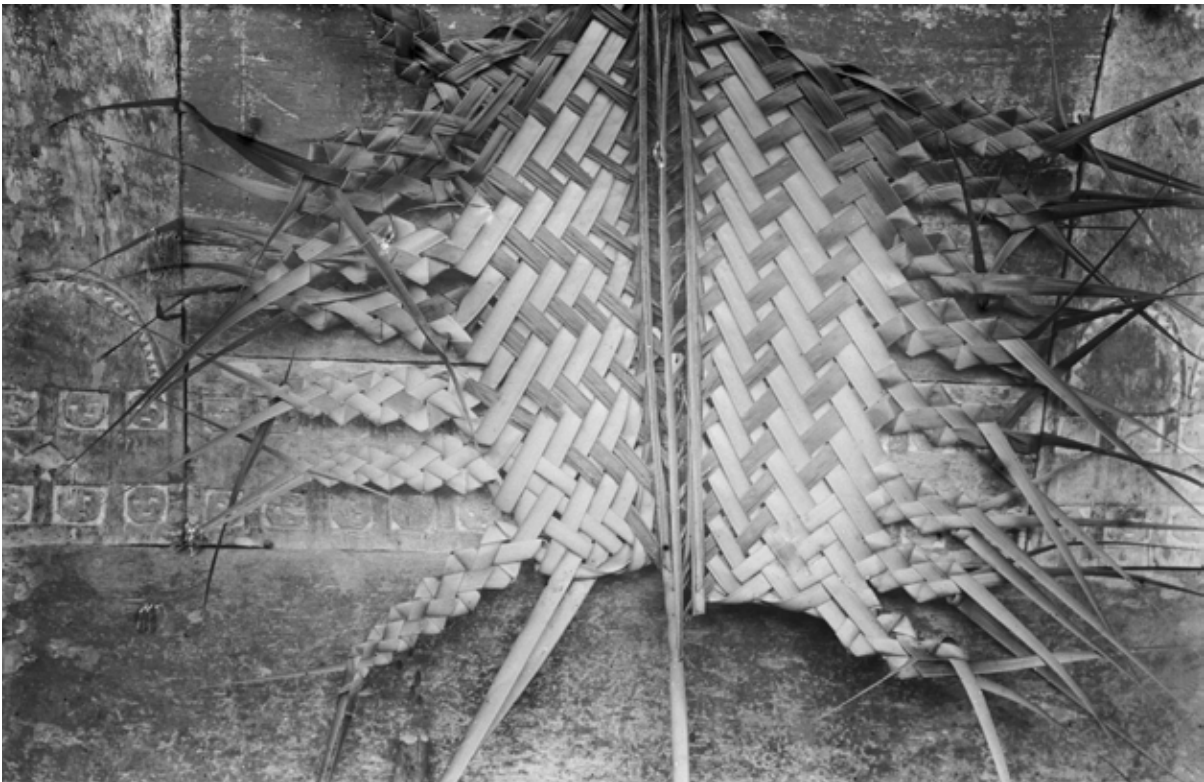
Foreword.

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 the unfavorable circumstances and 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 Elisabeth Krämer, others were created at the Hamburg museum.

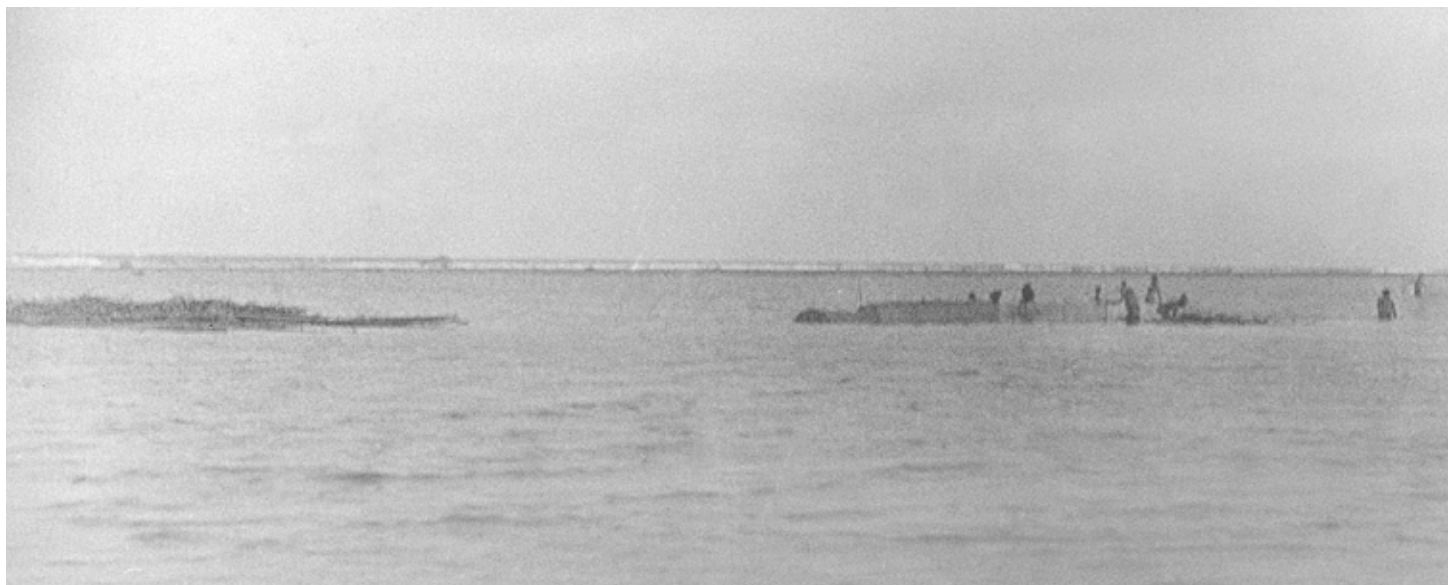
Stuttgart, August 27, 1926.
Augustin Krämer



Telutau “Holy mat”, glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Kesokes fishing on the reef flat in Kekleu. From severely damaged glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.



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. **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. The Galid of Ngaraus, for example, appears with his head covered (Plate 18). Only title-bearing high chiefs, who were considered *měāng* "sacred" as in Polynesia¹, were allowed to cover their heads, not with a hat, but with a *telutāu* mat, so that unholy things could not touch them; this fact was previously reported about the Ibēdul on his visit to Ngasiás (see Vol. 2).

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, 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.

It is difficult to establish positively whether the loincloth, the *úsakěř*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 *úsakěř*, while the common people (*armeāu*) 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). In earlier times, breadfruit tree bark was probably used for the loincloth, as KUB. states in Vol. VIII. Today, imported cotton is used to make the *úsakěř*, 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 Vol. 2, and in Fig. 1.

¹ Samoan Islands, Vol. I., under pa'ia.

² phallus.

³ From omsáker to tie around; musekerák tie me, musekerí tie it! sákěř choker, see also KUB.

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.

As I have explained previously¹, 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** *tāgúl*² (poss. *tāgēlél*) consisted mostly of dugong skin and was called *tāgúl l mesekiú* (Fig. 2), or it was simply a cord with little slices of coconut shell (*galevēs* or *galeús*)³ (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*.

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 shell⁴ *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*⁵, 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 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 Yap⁶, 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 blubēu*⁷ and commonly has a black diamond pattern (Fig. 8).

1 Hawaii, Eastern Micronesia and Samoa, Stuttgart 1906, pg. 339.

2 WALL. tachull, tachellél “belt,” KUB. thogúl.

3 Apparently, this word is derived from *lius* coconut.

4 According to P. SALESIOUS in Yap, this is the Chama pacifica, see MÜLLER Yap I, pg. 27.

5 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.

6 Called *gāu* 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.

7 blubēu indicates the whip-like weaving.

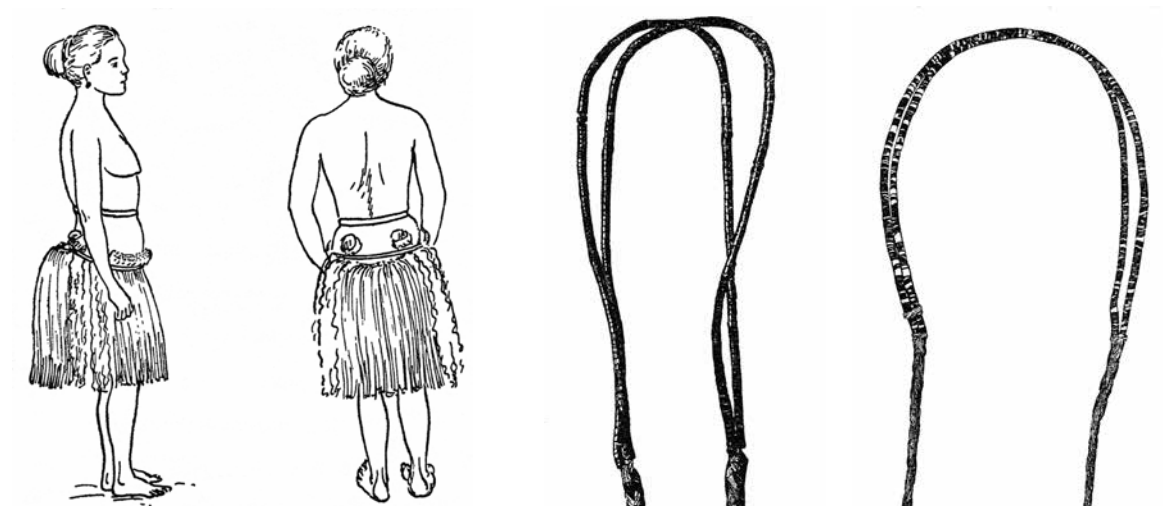


Fig. 1. Women's dress.



Fig. 4.
Turtleshell hip cord
K. 39 (Hamburg 2828^{II}).

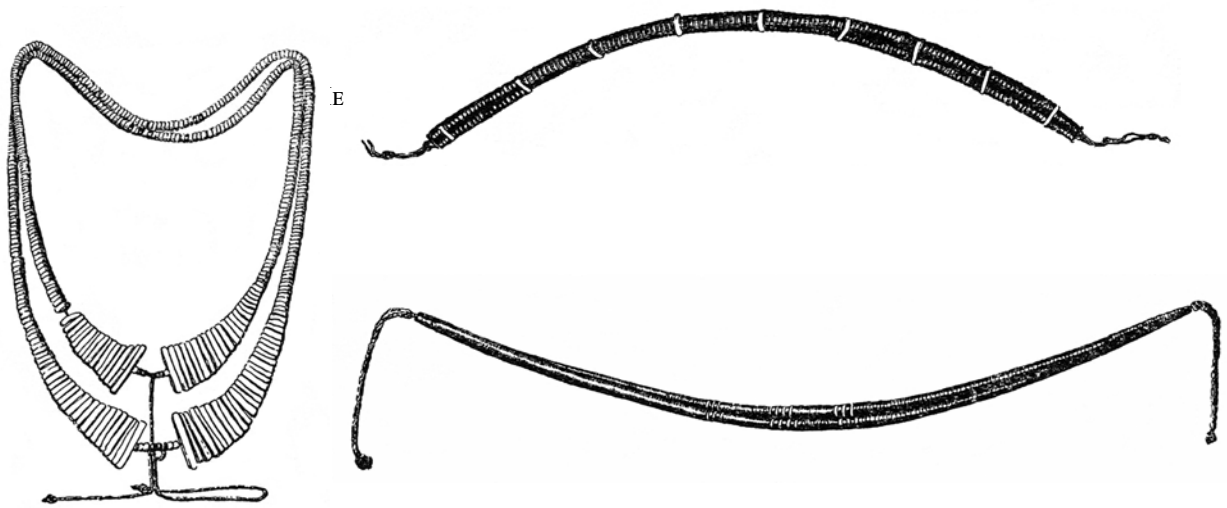


Fig. 6.
Hip cord with clasps, Leipzig.

Fig. 7. *kau* hip cord.

Women’s skirts

- 1. back apron
- 2. & 3. *ririámě̀l* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 4964^{II})
- 4. & 5. *gorě̀dákł* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 2837^{II})
- 6. & 7. *kě̀rdíkě̀s* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 3793^{II})
- 8. & 9. *ulálek* (Museum of Anthropology collection, Hamburg 4970)
- 10. & 11. *telngúdě̀l 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 mesekiu*. The grass skirt *gerě̀vut* 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 *gerě̀vut*, but *kelkál*; the natives put them on at home and wear them to work. Two types are most common:

- 1. *mě̀olt* (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*.
- 2. *vang* (Hamburg (Kr.) 3728^{II}, Plate 2^{12 & 13} “dried Pandanus leaves,” split into wide strips in the manner of the *ter’roi pelú*.

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 *gongoátě̀l* ¹. If banana leaves are used, for example, the skirt is simply called *lél a tu*, etc. Other types that are still considered *gerě̀vut* 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. *ě̀ámě̀l*, 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 *marádě̀l* orange tree and *keskús* lemon grass are crushed and sprinkled over the little *ě̀ámě̀l* 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. *tě̀vě̀gě̀l* (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.

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



1 KUB.: “Hoñowatel” is the term for the other known types of women’s skirts, which are less important.

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 tógëd comb. Following this, red earth (gorīg) is mixed with expressed coconut milk and some water in a wooden bowl of about arm’s length, called gomlútël. 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 Tëgëkí on Goréör. 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), 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 Udës in Melekéiok and a Idid on Goréör.

7. *ririámël* (Hamburg 2835II, 3729II, and 4964-65II), 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)¹ leaf of the riámël 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 galsau 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 delíl (see below). A special type is the ririámëlblsúkl, 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 Ngaraikelau in Goréör and Nr. III Jóulidíd.

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 Ngaruseblūk on Goréör.

9. *ulekláoëk* (Kub.: *Aulokláoök*), the color is a mixture of red *gorīg* earth, yellow turmeric *reng*, and oil, with which the leaves of *sug*, *vang*, or *gorädákl* 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 lváng* (Kub.: *Tolgólhok*) Hamburg 4969^{II}, dried Pandanus leaves dyed with turmeric oil, split into narrow strips. They are also suitable for *goubesós* slitting, however, 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. *kërdíkës* (KUB.: *Grdikes*, HE. *krrdïkes*); Hamburg 3725^{II}, 3793^{II}, and 4968^{II}; club rushes are used with reddish ² or blackish stalks. (Vol. 2). The hard stalks are cut off with knives (*klebédëp* from *mangedëp* “to cut off”). The fringes are often dyed (*galíiot*) ³ with yellowish red *reng*; frequently, the rushes are split all the way using the *tógëd* comb, an action known as *telógëd l kerdíkës*. These skirts are very popular and are made often.

¹ From melíl “to wander,” therefore sometimes also melíl riamël.

² 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.

³ KUB. uses the term kaltioth for a special type of skirt made of sug leaves. Affixed to it: lap dyed with turmeric.

13. *sosól* (Hamburg 3724^{II} and 4967^{II}); the leaves of this zinzeberacea are processed in various ways:

a) gathered when green, pulled off the ribs (meltekákl), and split into narrow strips (telngúdël); 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 gëlílekélek (verb mangilekélek), split into wide strips like the *ter’roipelú*, 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 *tógëd* comb before drying or are cut with a shell like the *ter’róipelú*. 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 *gorëdákl* (Hamburg 2837^{II}, 3726^{II}, and 4966^{II}) “grass tree.” Leaves are gathered while still green, boiled, combed very finely using the *tógëd*, 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 *delíl* in front, 14 in the back; *gorädákl* is suitable for *goubesós* slitting too, however (see skirt 10). KUB. mentions a skirt by the name of *Horodákl-Ougoltigay*, Dracaena leaves, blackened in the taro patch; *ougoltikáik* means “with something behind me.” Purchased for about 2 Marks.

17. *gongol ngabárd* ¹; recently, pineapple was also used. The leaves are boiled while still green, combed with the *tógëd*, 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. *klepelël*), some of which originated in Ngáruangël, according to KUB., Vol. II, pg. 119. Indeed, privileges apply to some types of skirts, at least for celebrations. For instance, in Goréör, 7 families have the *klepkál’l* of wearing colored skirts when dancing in the dance house:

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

¹ See materials below.



Fig. 8 Belt K43
Length 78 cm

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 plants ¹ 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. *galsau*, *Trichospermum Richii* Seem, see skirt 7.
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. *gúgap*, a forest tree with sulfur yellow blossoms, see skirt 7.
10. *gúgap*, a forest tree with sulfur yellow blossoms, see skirt 7.
11. *gorědákł*, grass tree, see skirt 16.
12. *kěrdíkěs*, a hollow, rush-like grass, particularly abundant in Ngaregobatáng (Hamburg 2872^{II}), skirt 12.
13. *ěáměł*, a plant in the taro field, candelabrum-like, aromatic, see skirt 2.
14. *sósol*, like *kesól* the turmeric plant, a zinziberacea, see skirt 13.
15. *lius*, coconut palm.
16. *tővěgěł*, Nipa palm, see skirt 3.
17. *tu*, banana, see skirt 15.
18. taro (*Arum*).

KUB., in Vol. VIII, pg. 209, also mentions *galido* (*gar*, see Fishing Nets), *uósög* fig, *bědęgál*, *gosúgěd* *gui* Urena, *gartókět giuěł* types of Freycinetia, *karángěł* vine, *ngiděg* fern, *aului* 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, *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* Nr. 3, 5, 11, 15, 16; (*bilangīs ra sils* to bleach in the sun); dried in the shade Nr. 5 and 15.

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

To split into wide strips is called *ter'rói pelú* (compare gable board in a Bai); this is applicable to *vang* leaves; to split into narrow strips *telngúděl* (1, 3): split all the way down *ultoběd*; split with 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.

¹ KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 210, says: The gathering of suk leaves, omús a Suk, usually takes place in the dry season.

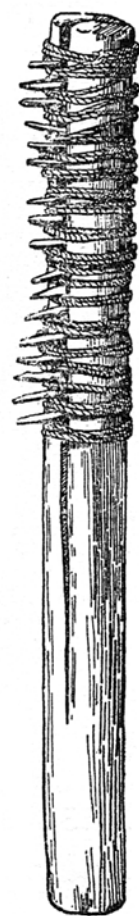


Fig. 9.
Strand comb.

Two women's skirts

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

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



Tools. As mentioned, fibers are split by hand or using shell pieces *gonglut* (from *manglut*) or whole mother-of-pearl shells *gasívõg*. 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 *omúrūk* (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. A mixture of *reng* and coconut oil (*samk* 4, 10, and 11) is called *telegótõg*. (KUB.: *melgõttok* 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*¹ 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 *delīl*, 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 *delīl* themselves are created by weaving together *lél* – leaves into a triple-stranded *golīl* – “cord.” The leaves are split into *telbéngěd* – strands by hand or with combs (*togěd*). When the *delīl* are finished, they are, as already mentioned, laid on top of one another, and then comes the *melúĩěs* – sewing, opening up paths through the loop-holes of a double-stranded string² using the *golúĩěs* – needle. Every stitch causes a *bled*³ – 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 *klováĩěs* – bulge, where the *goloáděl*⁴ – 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. *Gõr’rtógot*⁵ (poss. *gār’rtagatéł*) seam on a woman’s dress.

¹ gotógěl miěg are the seeds of the miěg almond tree; so miěg should have been used.

² If this string is black, a type of pattern emerges, which is called madamadál (KUB. matamatál) in front.

³ KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 214, erroneously calls them ruklél.

⁴ Poss. golodelél.

⁵ WALL.: chertechetál v. mengertóchet to finalize the edge.

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 hips¹. 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. Vol. 2 shows this very clearly on the standing girl and 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 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. Nearly every woman has in her front apron a small, woven bag *gotúngěl*, containing betel leaves, Areca nuts, and similar things. You can see the upper edges of these bags clearly on some photos (see Vol. 2). 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 support².

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 (*telbéngěd*), about 3-4 of them, and are then woven with a thread (*golīl*) of hibiscus fiber (*garamál*) or strips of the Areca sheath (*būg*). This *golīl* 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 *golīl* 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

¹ manga bageĭep the swinging of the skirts when walking.

² Something similar has been reported from Melanesia, for example in southeastern New Guinea.

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).

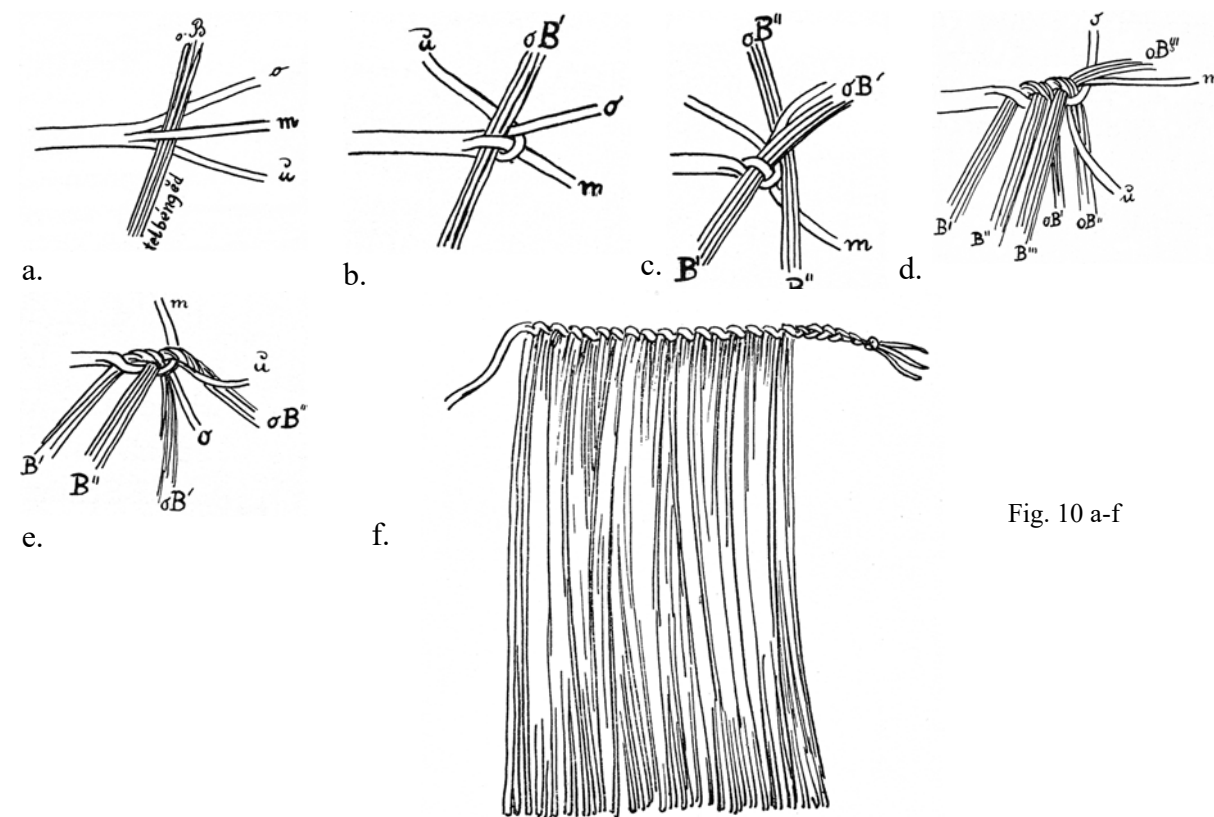


Fig. 10 a-f

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 (*dēlidāi*) and secured with a knot to prevent the braid from coming apart. And so one unit *delīl* equal to one layer (fringe) of the skirt is now finished (Fig. 10f).

One skirt half consists of approximately 5-15 such *delīl* 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 bugōbug*. Also needed are two black strings to sew through; these are laid against both sides of the *delīl* pieces that are being joined. Two thin strips of *garamāl* 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 *geiūiūs*¹ (Fig. g, Hamburg 2847^{II} and 4941^{II}) is first passed through the eye of the one *ulālek* cord, which is held open, then through the first weaving stitch of all 8-15 pieces, then finally through the eye of the second *ulālek* cord, and this path is widened out considerably. Then the pin is pulled out and the strong cord *koreól*, 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 *ulālek* string, through the second stitch of every piece, and through the eye of the first *ulālek* 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 *goloádēl* is added, the thick, fluffy tail mentioned earlier made of frayed hibiscus fiber *garamāl* 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 *delīl* 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. *gēsngelēl*) = 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 *dilibuk*. This knot, as previously mentioned, serves to hold the apron in place with the hip cord (Fig. 10h).

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 *ulālek* cord into a tight braid *delidāi*, 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 *goloádēl*. 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).

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.

¹ I recorded *golūiēs*, from *melūiēs* “to sew”; also called *rásm* a *gerevut* “needle for gerevut”, usually fashioned out of dort wood (*Afzelia*).

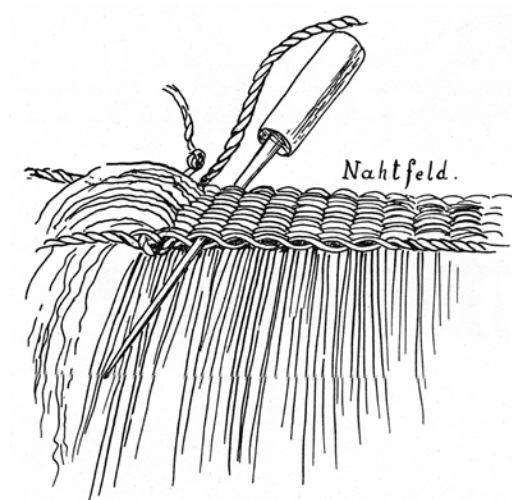


Fig. 10 g.

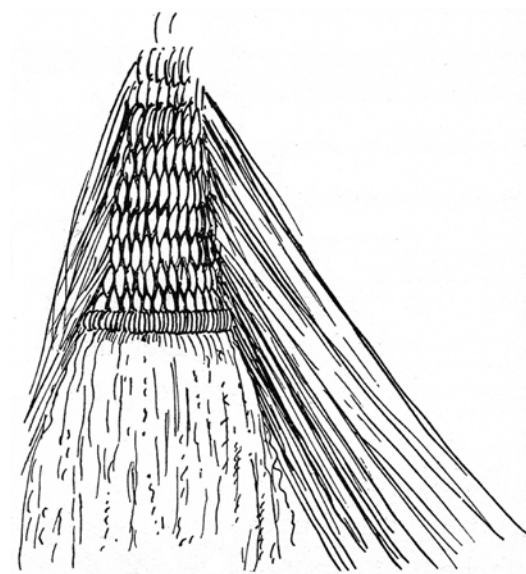
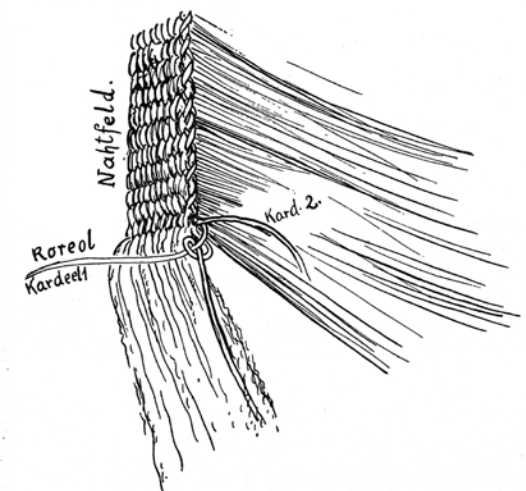
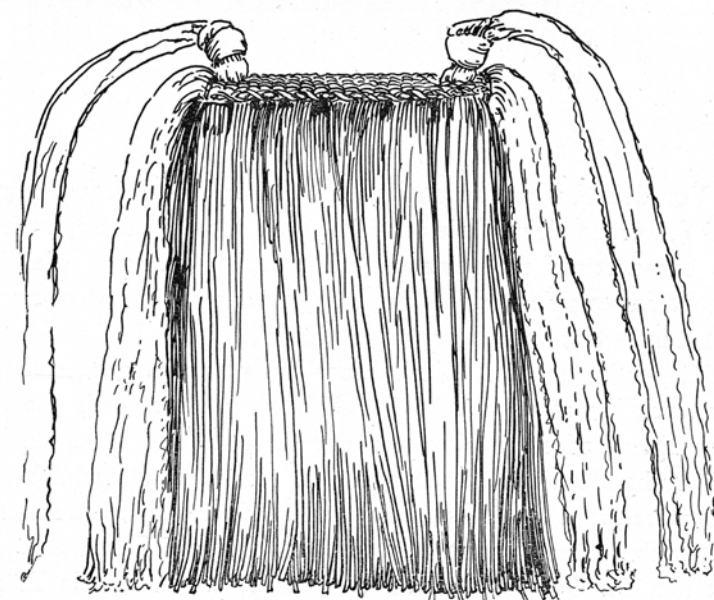


Fig. 10 i,k.

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 l. Left: sketch used in the original book. Below the original EK drawing, scanned from the Hamburg Museum collection.



This knotting technique is called *meloáiës*, and the ridge that it creates is called *klováiës* (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 (*melógöd*) and frayed using a comb-like instrument called *tógëd* (Fig. 10l), until they spread out nice and fluffy¹. 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.

¹ The rest left over when the lap fibers are combed out is called *ngamngam* (KUB. *ñamñamk*), see Section VI. 5.





Girls from Peliliou on Goreor, wearing various types of Palauan skirts. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.

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 (*ongoril*, 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, 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).

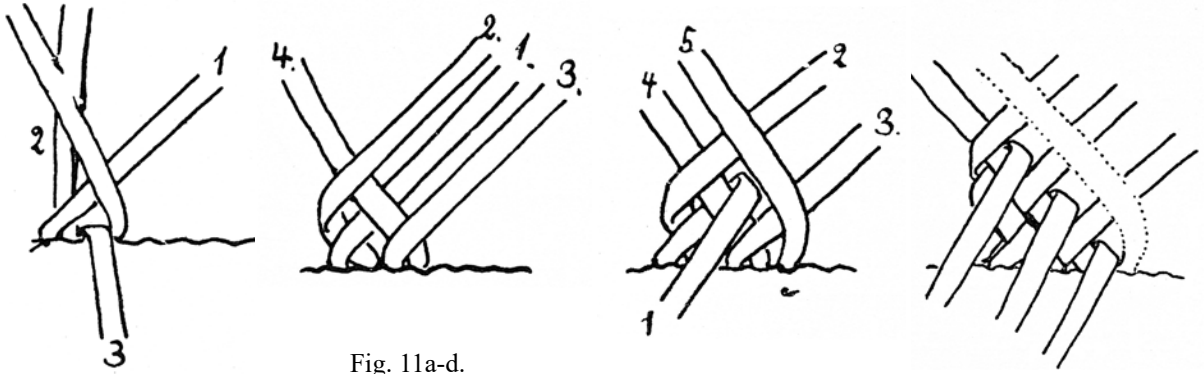


Fig. 11a-d.

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).

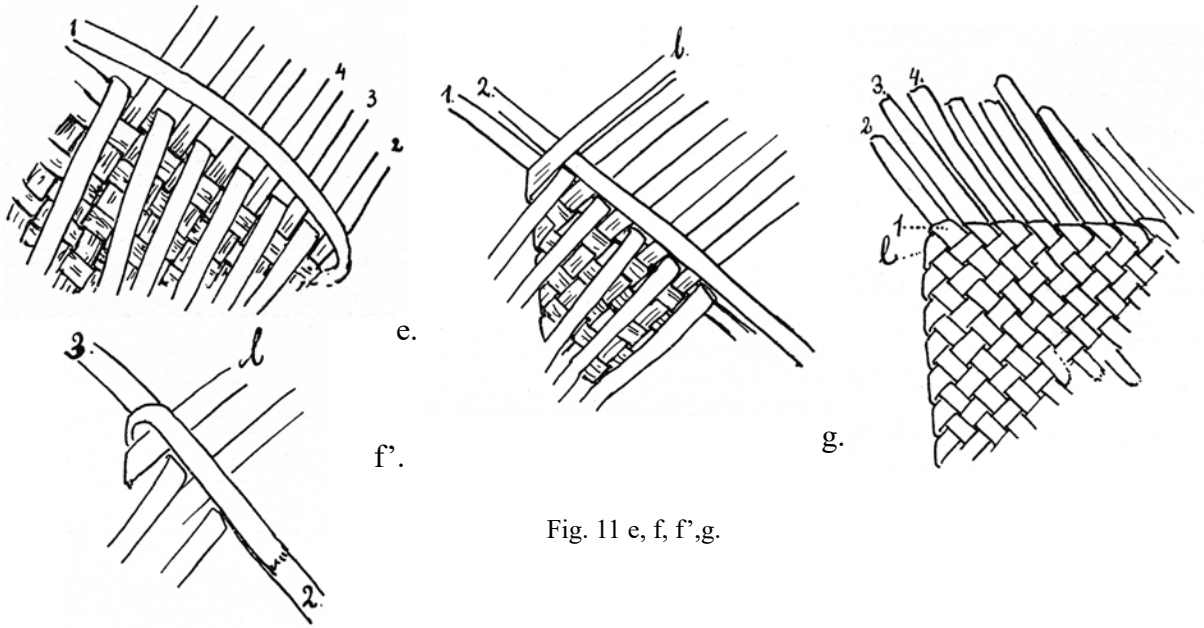


Fig. 11 e, f, f',g.

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 the right side, *utkul*. The weaving continues until it is as long as a hand span, then the finishing edge *aulisul* 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 *aulisul* to the right, until it is completed, and the ends of the rushes hanging out can be trimmed.

Words associated with *gerévut* making

<i>mangabageiēp</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 been combed out like the upper strips.
<i>kērdikēs</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 delīl = piece of a skirt, a fringe layer, so to speak
<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>golūiēs or geiūiūs</i>	awl, stick made of bone or wood, used to poke holes for the sewing thread (women's skirt).
<i>goloádēl (poss. golodelēl)</i>	side closure of the skirt
<i>golebangkil</i>	knotted tail of the rear apron
<i>dilibuk</i>	knot on the tail of the rear apron
<i>deliákl</i>	knot in the sewing thread
<i>dēlidai</i>	braid
<i>gēsíngēl</i>	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>klováiës</i>	row of slip knots, cross ridges on the goloádêl
<i>tógěd</i>	comb-like instrument for fraying the Hibiscus fibers or the rushes on the skirt
<i>melógöd</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: “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.

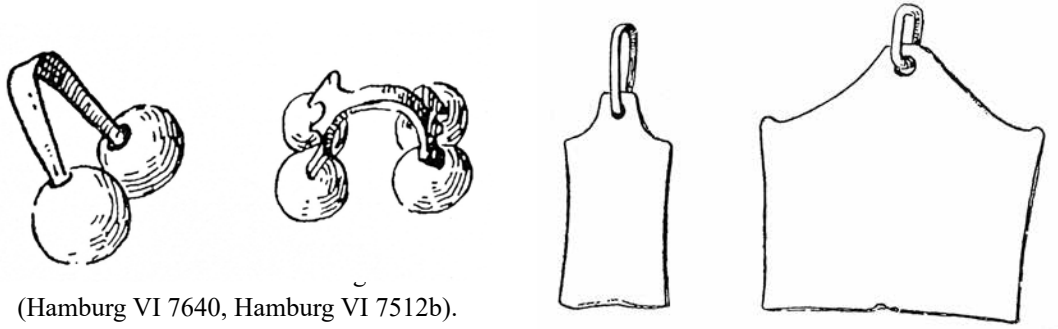
b) Ornamentation

This plays only a minor role. First there is the necklace, called *lebú* ¹ (poss. lebungél). Usually this is a string gomogáiol with a pendant golbiúngěl. 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. It shows Bilung this way, and the women 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 móngongâu 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 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. There is more on the *kau* chain above, in the discussion on the hip cord. Vol. 2 shows a girl with an **earring** on the right, which is generally called *telâu* (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

¹ KUB. II, pg. 105, golobún.

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 plate ¹ 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 earrings made of thick turtleshell, whose shape resembles that of the Géro, but which are usually smaller and have at their tip a square or round 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 ²” (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 Rāklai* in Vol. 2, 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.

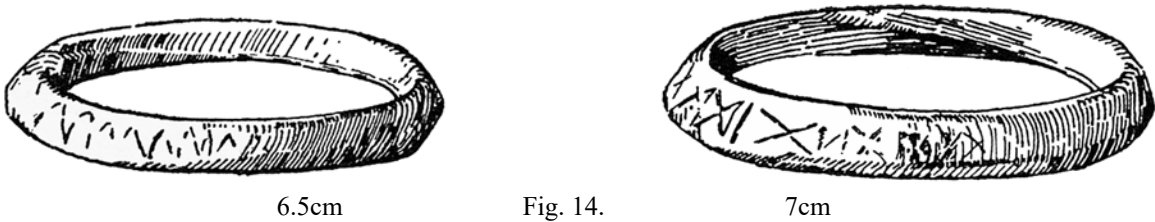
The women also wore another type of earring, which is shown in the picture above.¹ On this photograph, the hole in the earlobe is also visible, into which they would often put an aromatic bundle of leaves or something similar during dances. Occasionally, of course, a flower is worn behind the ear, but 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 (*měółt*), 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.

¹ a telâu 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.

From old stories I learned something that was previously unknown, namely that in former times *Tridacna* bracelets (*klilt l kim*) were made in Ngarabesül, near Ngariáp on Pelíliou. No details are known about the shape of these bracelets, but the picture in Vol. 2 shows the bracelet of Semdíu. Perhaps the *Tridacna* bracelet in Leipzig that Weber collected represents the old shape. In Keate, Plate 3, there is a bracelet made of 32 cornelian beads, i.e. of *kau* shell pieces like the hip band, and Plate 6 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}).

The cone snail *gotórel* 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.



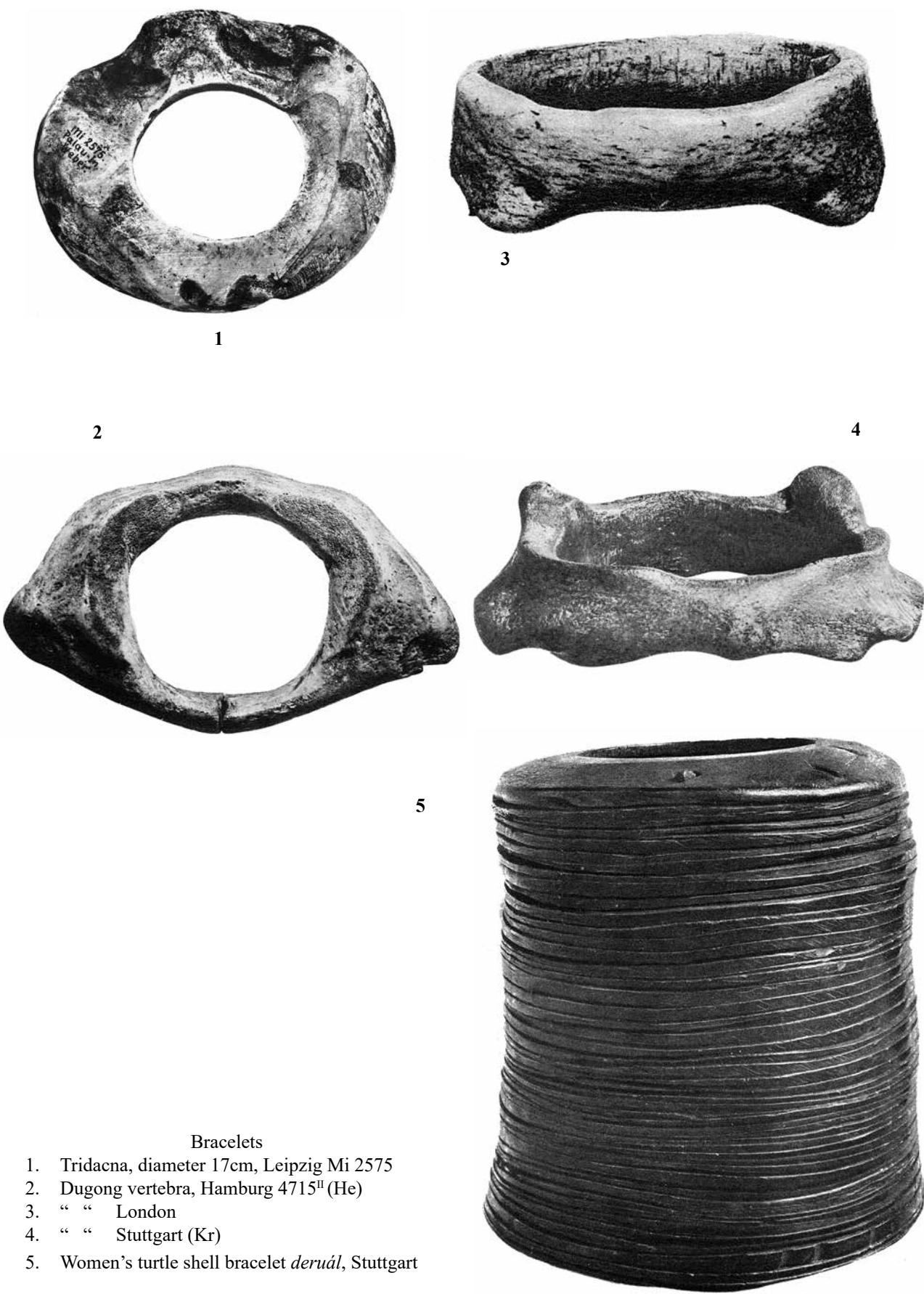
The most important bracelet, which is only worn by men, is the dugong neck vertebra, called *gologólt*, which was in the past erroneously called *klilt*, which is the generic word for bracelet.

As early as 1783, Wilson (see Vol. I) 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 it the Klilt was still there. Hockin, pg. 56, mentions that in 1791 they disturbed a musague (*mesekiu*). 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. Arakalulk 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 (*mesekiu*), 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. When Ajbatul in Angarard was on the Moloik, a warriors’ club from



Ngarbukut 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 Megety; 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 Ajdit house; in front of the house, Mat, Karaj, and other chiefs of Ngaruau were sitting on the Golbet. Ajbatul had the money sitting in front of him, and he gave each piece individually to the chief Kleknuur Irmeriil, 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 for, which brought the total to three Kalebukubs, several Kluks and Adoloboks. 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 Kaldebekls. The Irajkalau 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* Ililau, who appears in Vol. I, 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 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 Vol. 2, for example. Occasionally, in fact, a high chief will wear two, as Wilson reported (Vol. I), 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.

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 Peliliou	District IX	---	Peliliou
Goréor	District VIII	Goréör	Goréör
Melekéiok	District IV	Melekéiok	Melekéiok
a Iméungs	District V	a Iméungs	a Iméungs
---	District V	---	Roispelú
Ngabúkēd	District II	Ngabúkēd	Ngabúkēd
Galáp	District II	Galáp	Galáp
Keklau	District II	Keklau	Keklau
Ngarekeai	District VI	Ngarekeai	Ngarekeai
---	District VI	---	a Imül, Gámliangēl
---	District IV	Nggēsár	Nggēsár

I should add that in all of the villages sacred to the Galíd Medegeîpélau, such as *a* Iraî, 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. According to KUB., 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. 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 Palau, 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*, *niordimmel*, *oñobánel*, and *holhul*. I myself heard of only three: *gologólt*, *gordimēl*, 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 48 mm, axis 35 mm, third vertebra same as atlas, then gradually increasing in size up to the seventh vertebra, which was 60 mm wide and 50 mm high. Although the walls of the atlas measured 28 mm 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 4, 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	
	length mm	diameter mm	length mm	diameter mm
Hamburg (4715 ^u)	100	61	45	42
Stuttgart (Kr.)	100	70	65	50

Berlin (VI 7600)	98	62	69	54
London (WILSON's)	91	66	71	52

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, *därüál*, 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 rings, 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 *omesig* is necessary. For the most part, coconut fronds wrapped around arms and legs, commonly called *klilt* arm band, are worn, as shown and in Vol. 2. Neck adornment generally consists of leaf ornaments around the neck, called *lebú*, as mentioned above. The *temétémengéd* = “our ornament” is made of fronds and *reng* (see Section VI, 3a). The adornment worn on the forehead is called *belótél 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.

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.

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*, 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* leaves, see Fig. VI.

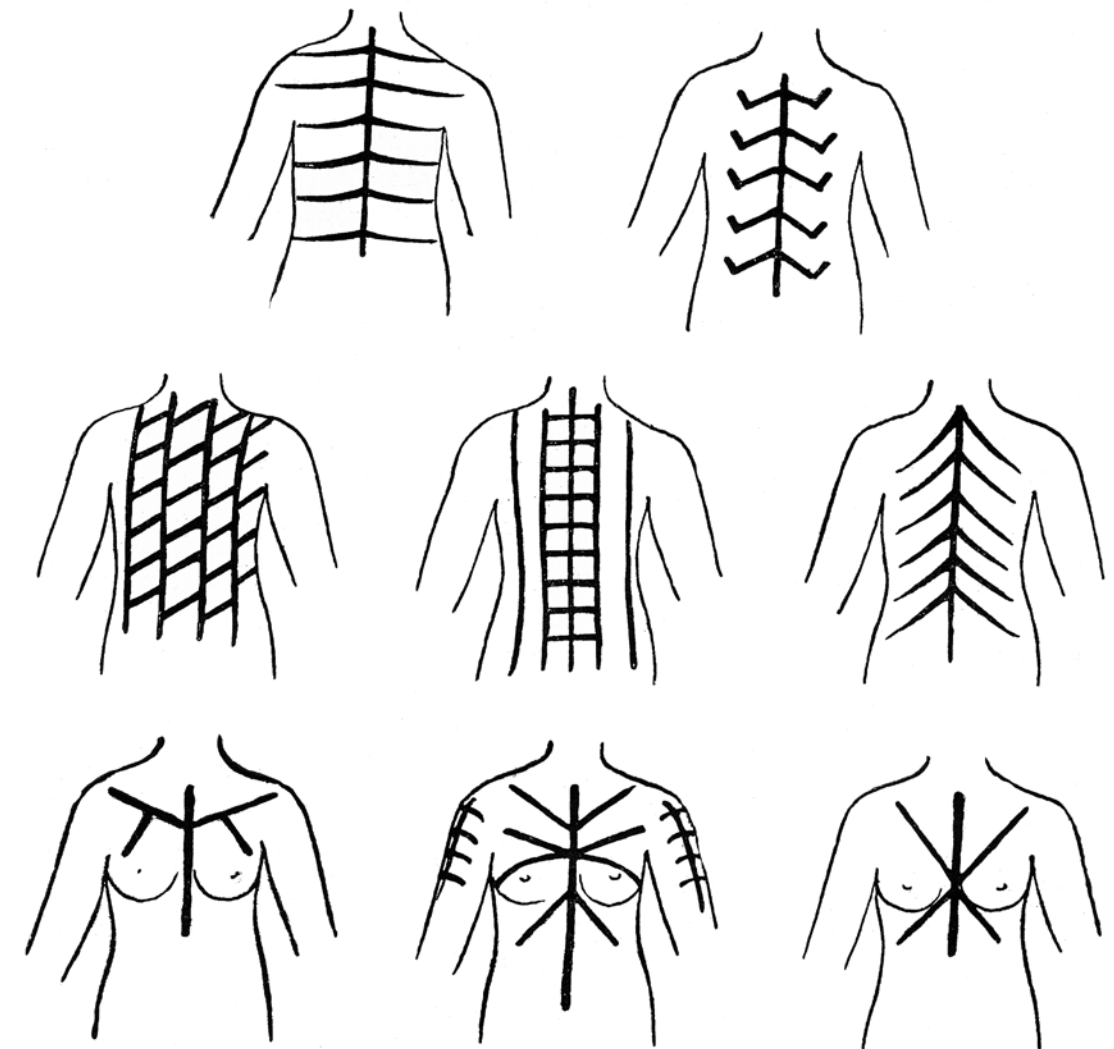


Fig. 15. Women's painted decoration, top: back, bottom: chest.

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 24 cm 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 *Galid* Medegeipélau fashioned a comb out of the spine of the *rái* = flounder, which is said to be the origin of the name *a* Irai. 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.

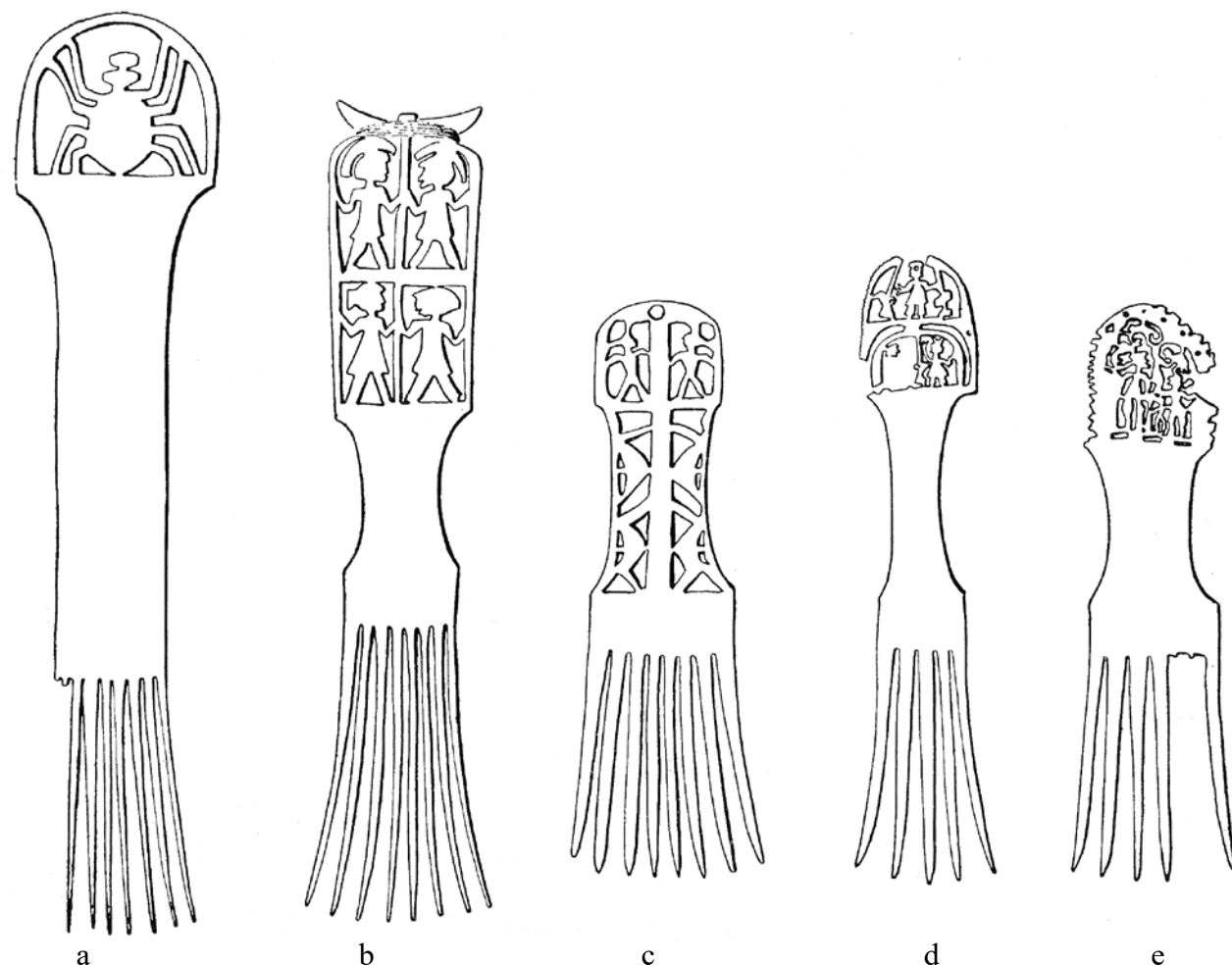


Fig. 16. Turtlesell combs, Berlin.

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 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*¹ and *kareal* for other types.

In Figs. 30, he depicts a *teleól* comb consisting of 10 little wooden slabs that are laid together. Hamburg 3768^{II}, Fig. 17a, which we collected, is made of the *tebégēl*² mangrove, as is Hamburg 3685^{II}, Fig. 17b; to be more specific, it is made out of the *ráod* stilts. 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 *dēl*. The “louse comb” *gosónd rakud* is similar (Kub., Plate XXIV, Fig. 1), see Vol. 2. The *gasēgēs* combs were somewhat more delicate and ornamental (Kub., Vol. VII, pg. 195, *Kalsēkes*, 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.

1 On Yap *rauui*= *Rhizophora mucronata*, and the common name for comb.

2 *Rhizophora conjugata*, *debege*= the wild lime *tovege*= the Nipa palm.

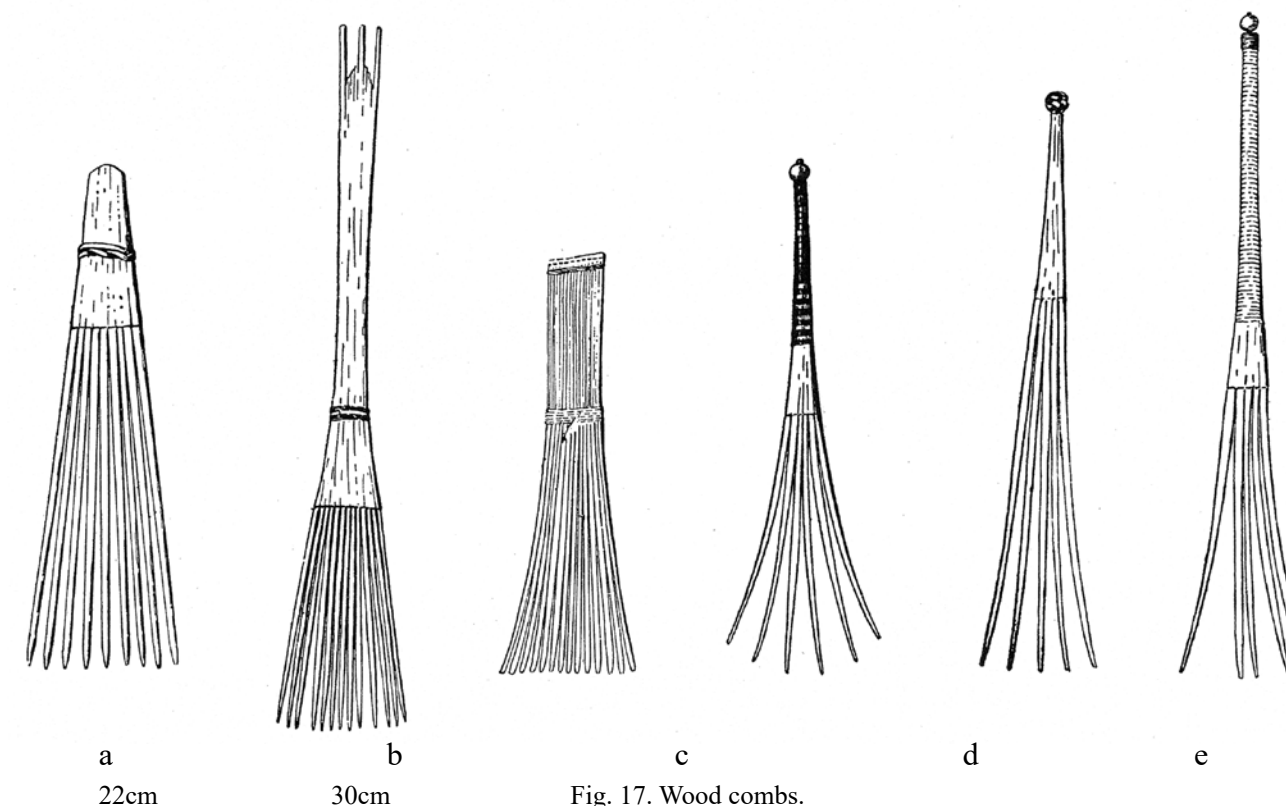


Fig. 17. Wood combs.

But around the year 1870 they seem to have been very popular on Palau, according to Kubary¹. 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). 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 *gosendēl a* Gorágēl mentioned in Story 13, in which Gorágēl stuck a drooping blade of grass into his hair, casting a spell on the people (see also the magic *gomógēl* 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).

Little can be said about the **hairedress**. Apparently, the men formerly wore their head hair long, hanging down, as shown in Fig. 4 in Vol. I. 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 long¹, tying it into a bun *blengtēlēl* 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) are considered “devourers of hair” *mangagūi*, i.e., they were believed to cause hair to fall out if one passed by them with unkempt hair.

1 Two are described in SZ.-K., pg. 143.

In Gámliangēl (Vol. 2), next to the bai Tulau there is such a stone, as shown. 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. Vol. 2 shows the outline of such heads; on the same plate, at the top, are also two rubak with beards. During our stay, *a* Regúgēr was known as having a full beard, as was the *a* Ibēdul at the time. 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, for information about the women’s hair dress *telók* after the first child is born. The Rungūlbai (see Vol. 2) 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, 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 betel nut 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 betel nut 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*. 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 (*melátōg 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 Ngát pang (see Vol. 1), 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 tangadik*, grinds everything together, puts the whole concoction into a leaf sheath of the coconut palm, called *tagēiēr*, 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 *galauosăgal*; 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.

¹ In general, only the children of marriages between priests and priestesses (KUB.) did this; see Galid carvings of Ngatpang, Section VI4.

c) Tattooing *delngód* (verb. *melngód*)

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.

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**:

The tattooing prick *dngód* (Kub.: *tngot*, v. M. M.: *ntnut*, Wall.: *dugód*) has a familiar shape; the handle (*gordóměl*) is passed through a hole in the little slab (*madál*), which is made from the bone of a fruitbat or a *kedâm* bird, and is held in its horizontal position with string (Fig. 18^a Berlin 7742 and 18^b Hamburg 2826¹). Kub., Vol. VI, pg. 79, shows a prick from the side, though rather incomplete, and over it two small slabs called *tibek*¹, one with two teeth, the other with seven teeth, *greel*, or more accurately *ker’rēl* = string, line. KUB. earlier mentions that the teeth are sharpened on a whetstone or on the hard skin of a type of bamboo. W. Müller reports the same in Yap; 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*. A piece of the green stalk of the *Zingiberacea sui* or *geisăpsăp* (*Costus* sp.), as long as a hand span and as thick as a finger, serves as a mallet *besópēs*, as reported in Story 203.

Two of these instruments are needed, one for the tattooer and one for the person being tattooed. For dye *vuiēd*, 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 *dăgălbai*. 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,

¹ This name applies to all of the small patterns that are made with this little instrument.

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 band 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 *ouderódög* fruit is applied (see the discussion in that section).

Fig. 24.

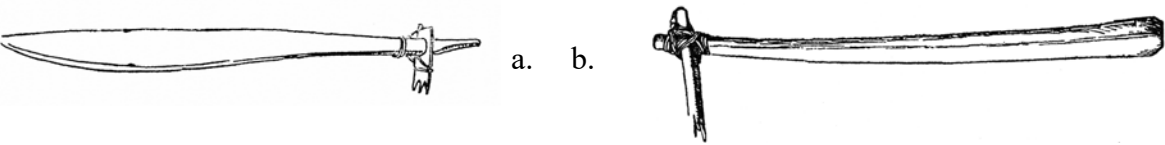


Fig. 18. Tattooing pricks.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.

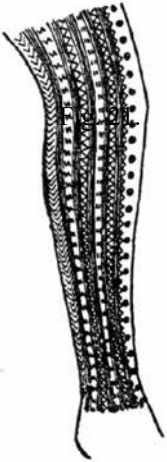


Fig. 24.

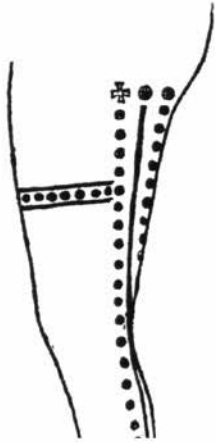


Fig. 22.

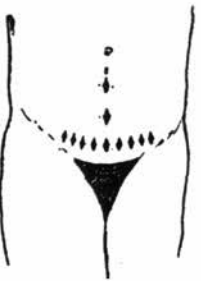


Fig. 23.

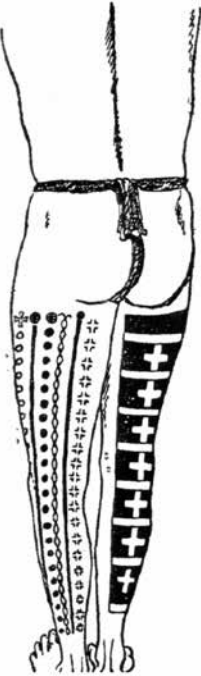
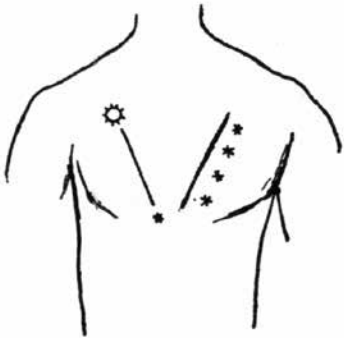


Fig. 25.



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

1. For women, the arm (Figs. 19 and 20); most certainly the outside *lag aīkr* or *i krél a pelú*; for this reason, this term is often used for the tattooing of the entire arm, although a distinction is made between the outer and the inner *lag 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” *delāgór* and is therefore called *delāgērúl* (poss.). The cuff is called *oulkóu*. The decoration on the fingers (*galdingēl*, also *kloṃ*) is called *lag a galdingēl*, the hand that appears as though it were covered with a black glove is called *klemingēl*. 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 *delepēsákl* (Wall. *delbesákl*) signifies that this one-sided ornamentation divides the person into two parts, a rear section and a front section. 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 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 *golútūṃ gógil* in Story 206 (*gútum* the dark “earth”).

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*.

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 shows.

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

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*¹ “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.

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.¹ 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, 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 *obúrēk*, 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.

¹ Kub.: “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.

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 *dágālbai* are well paid for their work. Their pay *goródēl* for the *góngotul a vúiēd*, “the smoking of the soot,” is one *geimól a kíkau*, for the arm one *góngiaki*, 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 *tibēk*; 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 *goálek* and each side of the chest with one *patáok* 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 *tibēk*, and let me repeat that the black areas are called *gūtūm* or *golūtūm* “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. Kub., on pg. 81, mentions “burn scars” *kalidúdüs*, 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.

1 KUB.: “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.


























	a.	Kub.	Kr.	Meaning
	b.	Gréel	ker’rél	“string, line”
	c.	Blásak	blásäg	“zigzag”, from omásäg “to cross”
	d.	Tíbek	delebégěl	tibek means “pattern” in general, delebégěl means “plumb line,” incision
	d’	Kibelgúyus	guklāgarm geibēlgúiēs	“bird claw”; Kub. illegible, meaning perhaps connected to ngúiēs “snake.” Usually tattooed on the ankle.
	e.	Kliok	blásäg s. B.	Kub. means klívuk, which is the word for the opened Tridacna clam, but this is depicted differently.
	f.	Bedok	tíběk palatóng	Kub.: ? Kr.: Pattern on the Chinese “plates”
	g.	Deloékel	delebégěl	“incision” (see Vol. 2) and above.
	h.	Pilsisk	blsisk	“ants”
	i.	Klemókum	klemóköm	kemóköm Derris uliginosa with alternating leaves
	k.	Ngíaes	eáiēs	“flies”
	l.	Klikoi	klikói	kikoi Cardium shell with serrated edge
	m.	Semoluk	bōdēsagár	blossom of the gár seaweed. Kub.: ?
	n.	Bombátel	bombátěl	“chain”
	o.	Tangatáng	tángātang gasísualík	“starfish” “bat”
	p.	Uródok	uródok	inlay in wooden bowls, etc.
	q.	Patáok	badáog	“tern”, also interpreted as galemūlgosepekél la gasísualík broken wing of a bat
	r.	Butangteléu	blútal teléu	“open cross” (blútang cross)
	s.	But. Klewídel	blútal klevíděl	“closed cross”; klevíděl = galsíměr
	t.	Goálek	goáläg	sea urchin; also klerdéu a small fish
	u.	Kalebúkub	galebúgēp	piece of money (see discussion on money)
	v.	Deliáes	kelidásap	(Kub.: flies?) Hanging of sap fish nets? or plumb line hanging down
	w.	---	mesíkt	Pleiades: a more recent addition
	x.	---	besepeséla Ngorót	vine of Ngorót (from besépēs)
	y.		kldárm a lkul	“notched edge” (see breadfruit)

Fig.26



Dimselegu (with money beads), Diraisaul, Dirabes Ngaregemagei, Dirairisong Aiketa

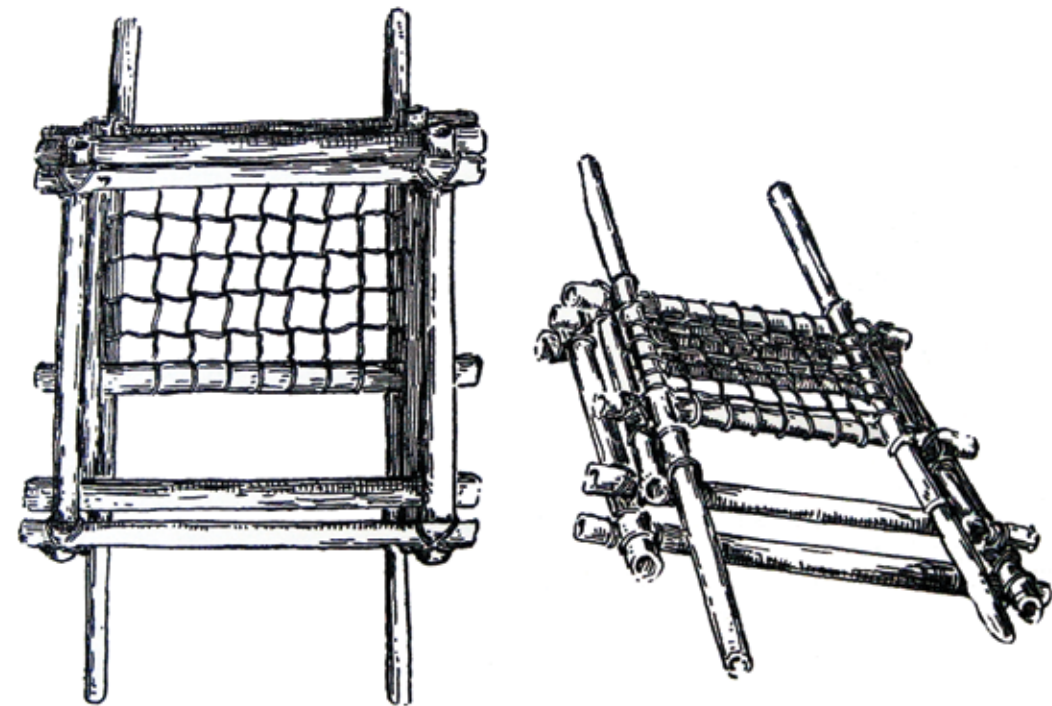


Agarang with son Kloulupak, daughters Thiriai (6 yrs old), and Diramong (4 yrs old).

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. Ornamental painting with turmeric yellow *réng* (Vol. 2), or a mixture with oil *telégótōg*, 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 above. In former times, rubbing the skin with *reng* was more common on Palau; 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* Irai 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. The rubbing fluid *gilt* (from *mengilt* “to rub in”) is kept in hanging coconut shells, which are called *gongilótēl* when used this way.

The most common salve at celebrations, especially the celebration for a woman who has recently given birth *ngásāg* (see Section VI) is *biúmk*, 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) 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.



from above

from below

Fig. 27. Sieve for obtaining turmeric yellow.

2. Economy

Acquisition and Use of Food Stuffs

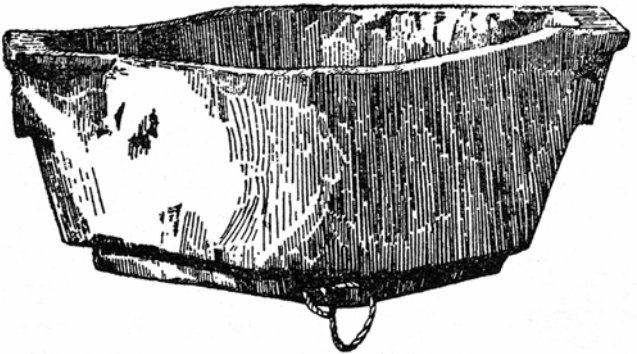


Fig. 28.

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

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*), *goléngēl* (poss. *golengelél*) midday meal (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 106: *oléngel*), *blsól* (poss. *blsílél*) evening meal (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 106: *Huus* = *gúēs*, and Vol. VIII, pg. 166: *omosoil*).

Eating customs: eating with the fingers (*omódōg*) 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 *goliēg*, and *ouliēg* is the term used for eating with utensils. 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.

The rubak are given the best; high chiefs, e.g. *a* Rāklāi in Melekéiok and Rekamesíkt from Ngátpang, have their own cooks. *a* Ibēdul also has one during title conferral. See below for details about the prime pieces they are given from the pig, shark, turtle, *mámēl* fish, dugong, etc. The “almond fish” *mesekiu 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 *orogērtól* (poss. *orogērtelél*); defecating is called *moróurēbai*, the wiping-off material is called *ologúi*; men are not ashamed to leave with some under their arm (it consists of coconut fibers).

a) Food from Plants.

For more detailed classification see Section VIII. Most important are the coconut palm, and, taro.

Coconut palms *lius* (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 Nggeiangēl. 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 Ngeaúr*. I have previously mentioned in Vol. 1, 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, they determined that 32,000 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 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. *gaspad* size of a walnut (Wall.), *gobubaremad* size of a betel nut (Wall.)
2. *gosbógõp armád* size of a fist (Wall.)
3. *kléu* a little larger, but still without a kernel
4. *ngebengebógēl* small kernel (Wall.)
5. *múngur* (Wall. *mengúr*) poss. *mǎngǎrengél*, 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, 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 lius*.

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 *gongëgád* 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 *gongés* who scrapes. Then comes
6. *tagēiēr* who squeezes with the “blossom sheath,”
7. *gósaur* who binds together the *tagēiēr*, and finally
8. *melegóng* washing
9. at the water hole *brór*.

For details about “coconut milk,” “expressed milk” *dīsëg*, which is squeezed out of the *táiu* shavings after they have been wrapped in the *tagēiēr* 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 Nggeiangēl, it is usually drawn from these with a pump (ship’s model) made of cane sealed with *Calophyllum* sap; Hellwig calls the instrument *métmelásäg*. For information about the *beúmk*, see above. The use of pieces of the shell for ornamentation was previously discussed. 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; 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 *melebútēl*) is a daily occurrence (see story 108). As long as the coconut cluster *ridm* is still a blossom (*bung*), enclosed in the spathe *gosëgósú*, it is full of juice. A cross-wise cut is made into it after a band *uūr*, 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*), which is why noon is called *gosbádēl*.

Similarly, the evening hour between 5 and 6 o’clock is named *golongosóngēl a sils*, after the *songosóngēl* 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 *gamádäg*, or *kēib* (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 *a iláot*, as already mentioned, and is stored and traded in large earthen containers, called *bakaî*. 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 VI¹; 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*; at celebrations it is prepared in the large *a iléngēl* containers (see Section 3 in the discussion on wooden containers), large wooden cylinders on four legs. Served



Fig. 29.
Preserving syrup, according to E. K.

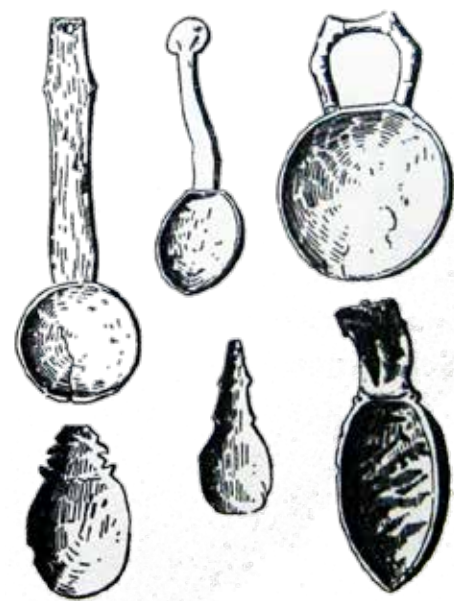


Fig. 30. Spoons.

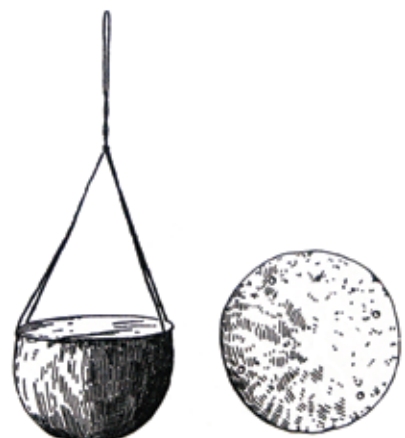


Fig. 31 a and b. Coconut
shell with lid.



Fig. 33.



Fig. 34.

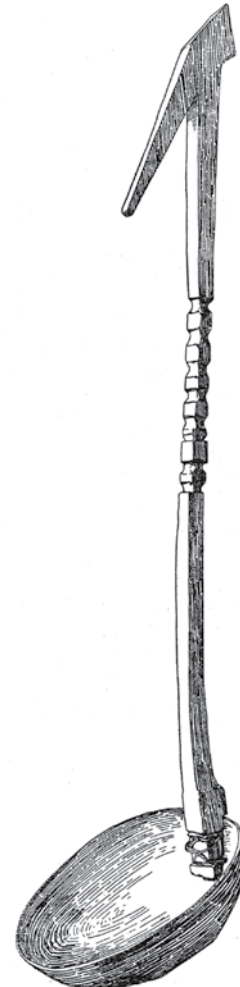


Fig. 35.



Fig. 36.

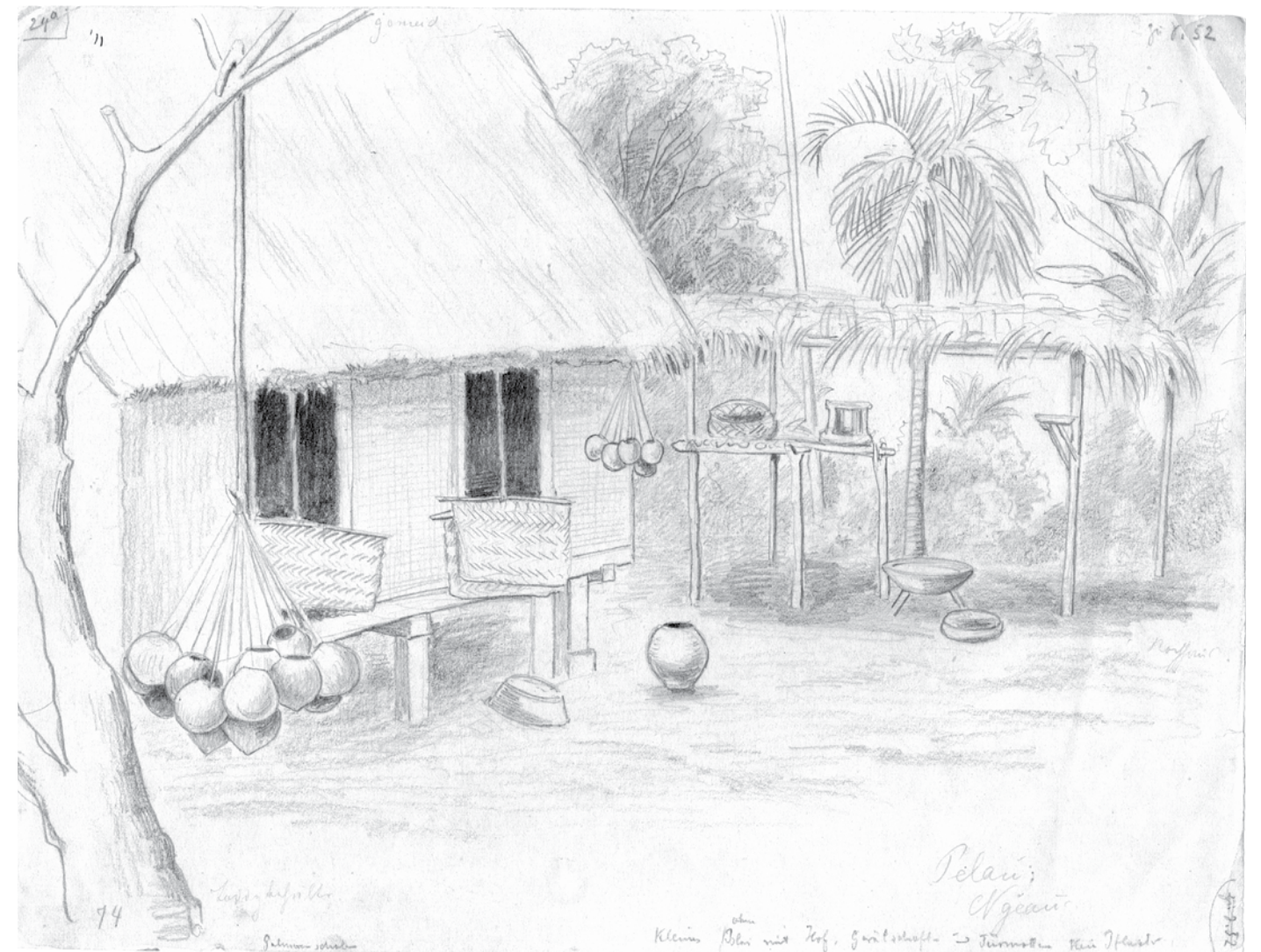


Fig. 32. Palm wine cutter's compound. EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum

as *golugāu*, it is passed out in halved coconut shells, called *kvál*, *galebingēl* or *biül*, 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 *dángēp* (Mi. 3369, 1932 and 1631) made of turtleshell or wood, which have holes in them through which the strings pass (Fig. 31). 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 *gatívt*. 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 *gasívōg* shells sharpened on the *kim* shells lying in front of the Blai, is a 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 Tēlámēs, 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* 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), 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 brew, and the more elaborate ones are for ladling the *a iláot* 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 lizard, and finally a rat, the animals that nibble on the juice. In Fig. 36 there are three women. The ladles made of nautilus shell *kedárm* and *ruděl* 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.
- leī* poetic for *líus*.
- 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).
- melengés* cutting blossoms.
- uīr* bundle
- omīr* to bind.
- búng* (poss. *bkgál*) blossom.
- gamádăg, keīb* nectar.
- blóděs* juice that has been boiled once.
- a iláot* or *a iláng* boiled palm juice = syrup.
- blúlōg* syrup with water (a drink).
- kar* warm, diluted syrup drink (“medicine”) in lidded containers.
- golugău*¹ diluted cold drink in *ailéngěl* containers (lemonade).
- merémăg* to stir.
- klăuasák* palm wine cutters’ collective.
- gosebáděl* noon of the cutters.
- gosológěl 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.).
- ¹ Also the skull cap, which was sometimes used for drinking.
- ríuel* (poss. *lél*) leaf.

- kval, biúl, gomáil, galebingěl* half shell, cup.
- gativűt* 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, gongirt* ladle
- găsăgel alius* fruit water (this is also what the foreigners in a village are called).
- súbōg* sponge.
- disěg* expressed milk.
- táiu, kless, delepdép* grated nut.
- mangés* to grate.
- uliógōl* the rest.
- měōlt, telotáod* fronds.
- ngabongabókl* rich meat.
- dúi* (poss. *diál*) coconut frond, therefore also title and torch.
- gokál* (poss. *gokelil*) burning torch.
- gogerdúi* uppermost leaf.
- úlag* frond stalk.
- galings* skin of the groove in the *úlag* .
- ridm* fruits or blossom cluster (*goeáng* Wall.).
- tageīěr* leaf sheath (Wall. *techiir*).
- gosěgósu* (poss. *găseğěsuél*) 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.
- ulogóug* burned nut.
- korúms* (Kub.) burned piece of shell.
- delú siáog* 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 Gorěōr in Vol. 2, 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*; this is also the name of a species on Nggeiangěl that has enormous leaves. One very small type of taro is called *br’rak a ngél a béap* (*brekăngél 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, *nglkódēl* “to the height of the navel,” or *galdáiēl* 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*), see Figs. 37 and 38

by Elisabeth 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.

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 *gomoklógēl*, 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 *gomoklógēl* 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, 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 meters. Using her hands, the woman digs out the sticky mud and piles it on another spot. Hard bits of earth *ngéásēk*¹ are set aside, and green leaves and grass are put into the swamp as fertilizer (*rámāk* or *tólóug*), where they constitute the lowest layer. On top of this come the following plants, in order: *sui*, *bedél*, *ngasíl*, *ngél*, *bóbai*, *delebesépēs*, 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



Women at work in the taro patch. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

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 grass and reeds; the latter provide the highly valued material for the most common skirts. 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* 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, depending on the type of taro being planted. I was told of the following types:

1. *a kardei* large fruit
2. *a idelúii* 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. *garakauíkl* 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*.

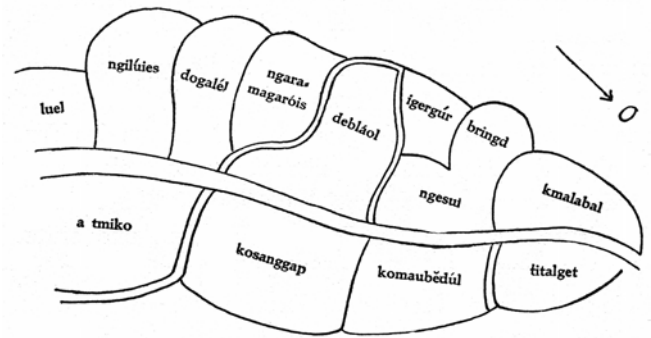


Fig. 38

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 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

1 WALL.: ngeásek young, little; HE.: ngeiássek white clay (see the section on pottery)

Continuing:



Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum collection.



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

The gomoklógêl of Goréör has the following patches:

1. a Ikesīl on Map 26*, to the west of the taóg Săgămús
2. Ngablúgêl to the west of 1.
3. Ngërubúl to the west of 2.
4. Ngeriltóiêl south coast near Madalái (see Vol. 1, Map 2). Belongs to Ngarbagéd. Some Goréör women have a part in it
5. Ngaramesekiú 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. Ngesêkês 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):

1. in a Ikesīl: Ngardókou Blai 24, a Gamngél Blai 32, Dirangél a Iegáng Blai 47
2. in Ngablúgêl: Diraingeáol Blai VII, a Súmog Blai VIII, Diuk Blai 44, Losí Blai 33, Rois Miráir Diragolngabáng Blai 36, Jegáng Dirangél Blai47, Kúkong Blai IX. Diragamaimelēi Mogóng Blai 46
3. in Ngërubúl: a Ibêdul Blai 13, Diratamarikél Blai 13, a Ngaseíar Blai (31) 17, a Ngabád Blai 42, Dirateliál mekêsóng (see Vol. 2) and other women of Ngarbagéd.
7. in Ngesékês: Diraingeáol Blai VII, Délilau Blai 25, Laisang Blai 24. (Blai IV in Ngarbagéd) Ngatuái Blai IX, Diragomrekóngêl Blai I Ngarekobasáng, Taldil Blai 39, Díuk Blai 44.
8. in Ngurugeál, the main patch: Ngardókou Blai 24, Gopkál Blai 40, Dira tēgēkí Blai IV (see Vol. 2: main patch Ngilúíēs, not Nglilúíēs), Diraidíd and Nggeīangêl daughter of the Ibêdul 11Blai I Ngarabilo- báog. Dirakeklau *a* Isíkl *Blai* 21, Gongelípêl (*Blai* VI), belonging to *Blai* VII in *a* Iebúkúl, Ngatageiár *Blai* 28 (*Blai* 39), Diraitúngêlbai *Blai* 37, Diragētēt *Blai* VI, Ngasagadíl and Kubári *Blai* 25, Rois Mirair *Blai* 36.

These are joined by patches in Ngarebódêl, where, for example, Diragamaimelēi¹*Blai* 46 has ownership, further in Ngarekesauáol, where the following women still plant taro:

Ngardókou *Blai* 24, Diraingeáol *Blai* VII,
Gopkal *Blai* 40, Dirasmangêsóng (see Vol. 2),
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 *kebêás* vine, with its leaves the size of plates, is also used, as are numerous other vines, such as *bungaruáu*. They also use the foliage of *riámêl*, *kesiámêl*, of *garamál* and *lass*, as well as the grasses *gúdêl* and *desúm*, the

uósôg fig, *gabagáp*, *kemím*, *kesíl*, etc., (see also the Pandanus blossoms *bagēiei* 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 *dêkódêk*, 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 1925.

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

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 patches, and as they cannot explain their origin, they believe it must be supernatural. These new types of taro are called *dung* (poss. *dngil*)¹. 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 Iluógêl*, the mother of the *Galid Golungīs* (Story 170). These include, for the most part, the species *gongēsímēr*², *gingarengárek*, *blsáps*, *kesernngerél*, *delagêsăg*, *tululásăg* (*telēiulásag*), *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 *takebesengil* 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 Ngërupesáng, where once in the past taro disease was danced out of the land.

1 My source claimed to have experienced 100 dung.
2 See also Story 194, around Verse 100; băngkúr bad taro; KUB., Vol. VIII, pg. 130, names one type Kalsáko as provisions for fishermen.

	Words Related to Taro
<i>melálem</i> or <i>mel'lálem</i>	to plant
<i>mangesép</i>	to cut off, to snip (imp. <i>gosepi</i> ; <i>sopngi</i> to lift out with the hand underneath)
<i>kelól</i>	mature taro
<i>merúog</i>	to till (the soil)
<i>mesálou</i>	to dig up (the mud)
<i>smálou</i>	dug-up piece
<i>a nglás</i> (poss. <i>gelsúl</i>)	dug-up field
<i>ngeás</i>	hard soil under the mud
<i>ngeāsěk</i>	light-colored soil under the mud
<i>deágěl</i>	field laying fallow
<i>mesusúəd</i>	to break shoots in the middle
<i>ngamáel</i> , <i>ngálek</i> , <i>dáit</i>	(poss. <i>ditél</i>) shoot
<i>ulengĩl</i>	the rest
<i>ulengāl</i>	taro peel waste
<i>melóug</i>	to fertilize
<i>telóug</i> , <i>rámak</i>	fertilizer
<i>golouĩkl</i> or <i>gológul</i>	(poss. <i>gologělél</i>) basket for fertilizer
<i>mesúrěg</i>	to create order, to fix
<i>galiuiəs</i>	dam, edge (Story 211)
<i>dúdul</i>	work skirt
<i>uórok</i>	dry taro leaf stems (for skirts)
<i>galdáel</i>	pile of taro
<i>rongór</i>	(poss. <i>rengerengél</i>) mat for protecting the back
<i>galáběd</i>	(poss. <i>galabědéł</i>) taro leaf stem
<i>klap</i>	raw taro
<i>kúkau</i>	boiled taro
<i>br'rak</i>	large type of taro
<i>pisěg</i>	wild taro
<i>samk</i>	root, tuber
<i>góbei</i> , <i>děkódek</i>	taro disease
<i>dung</i>	(poss. <i>dngil</i>) new type of taro
<i>mesěi</i>	(poss. <i>meklegél</i>) taro patch
<i>ulebóiěl</i>	area reserved for celebrations
<i>ulegáro</i>	patch for daily harvest
<i>blu</i> , <i>uárs</i>	next larger piece
<i>gomoklógěl</i>	village taro patch

<i>maláměł</i>	to pull weeds
<i>ěáměł</i>	<i>Gratiola</i> , pretty, aromatic weed, women like to wear it in their ears
<i>mékngit l mul</i>	weed
<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 Peliliou. There, in Ngasiás, next to the rubak bai, stood a trunk that was several meters thick (see Vol. 2), its mighty palisade-like roots measuring over 10m in diameter. It was a subspecies of *Artocarpus incisa*. The breadfruit tree of Ngiptál, too, which is mentioned in Story 19 and is depicted on the bai *a* Dngoróngěr in Goréör must have been very large, as fish and sea turtles were able to swim inside it. Of course, Ngiptál was a little island of coral rubble. Nevertheless, breadfruit trees can thrive on volcanic soil, as well. I saw a trunk that was 60cm thick 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 *khabákhhab* (M. C.: Cup-a-lap) with elongated, rough-skinned fruit; related to this: *khorúth*, *kothululóuk*, *thmathm*, and *kasúluk*.

The **banana** *tu* 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. (See the karásäg species in Story 16 of Ugělsúng; it supposedly turns red in water, see also in the section on canoes). 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, *omuĩt pesengél*, which Tměłógod fished from the deep and planted in Galáp, where it can still be found (Story 14). One small species *basói kěam* owes its existence to a women’s club that turned into bananas on Peliliou (Story 169). A small, roundish species reminiscent of a peach (see there) is called *kěřěkúr ra iderúrt* (lemon). Bananas are usually eaten cooked (before they are ripe) and mashed. For details on eating bananas *udóim tu*, see Vol. 2. Other less-important flora that are planted include:

Yams *telngót*, 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* (*běłói*) is consumed only during famine. A third wild species is called *geibárs*.

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

Starch *sěbósöp* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) hardly used, see also Kub. *rínyáng* palms.

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

Citrus species; *maráděl* the common name for oranges, large species *golúgâu*, small *kerekúr*, sour *bekerséu*, other species *garitěl*. Lemon *meduk gangarél*; the wild lemons are called *deběgěl*, the large, possibly introduced ones are *tětáěl* or *deběger a ngabárd*, the wild round shaped ones *merés*, the small, round limes *malageiángěd* (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 *milu*, *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* (Hockin: Commuyee). Also, a gooseberry-like fruit *kāmíns 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 *miëg* and the edible fibrous fruit *kéam* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) are occasionally planted near dwellings, possibly also the species of ficus called *uósög*, which is strung neatly on cords when gathered. In addition to this, the wild ficus species *gosékéd* 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 Ngatanggâu (Vol. 2). Similarly, the red nuts of the *gerságél* tree, also known as *gamaklágél*, a type of nutmeg, are eaten during famine, as the song of Súrëg reveals in Story 59. Occasionally, the small Crataeva tree *gëdëpsúngél* 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 *riámél* 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 *goléngél* (Kub., VIII, pg. 173). The Spondia species *a édél* and *titímél*, the Jambose *rebótél*, the small white fruit of the Eugenie *gasabëságal*, which are sour but tasty, and the Eugenie *kesíl* 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 (*kësól*) or the root of the Morinda *ngél*; the starchy root *sëbósöp* 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.

The Areca palm tree *búög* (poss. *bugél*, In the Philippines *bugo*) is given special care, because the nuts are indispensable for betel chewing. Although the pods of the *riu* 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 *goremáél*, 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)

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, 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. Especially for celebrations, the entire cluster is taken down, hung up for decoration (see *log*), and then later the nuts are distributed. Betel nut 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 trunk, 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 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 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).

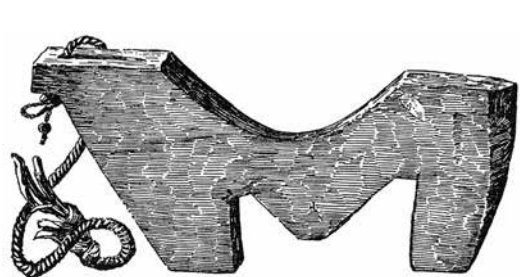


Fig. 39a. Cleaning seat for betel palms.

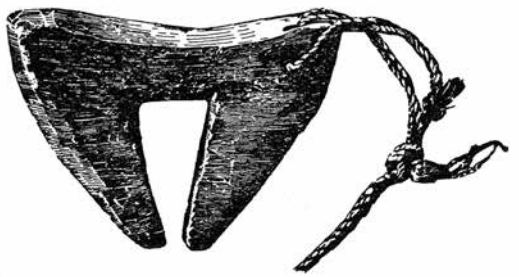


Fig. 39b.

The betel pepper *këbúi* (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. 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, or *riu*. According to Kub., tobacco *degóul* (poss. *degolél*) was once cultivated on the *ked*. Magic was first cast on the land (*mesúbëd 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.

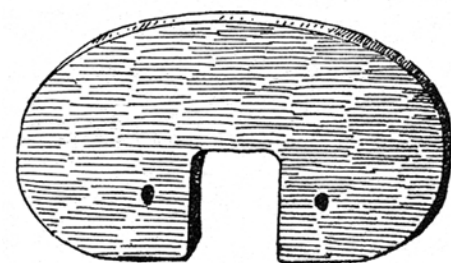


Fig. 39c.



Fig. 40. Leaf bag

Tobacco is used primarily to make a strong quid, a *meringēl a gamalēl*, as it is called in Story 209. It is kept in little bamboo containers (Fig. 41).

A quid *gamágēl* (poss. *gamalēl*) is prepared thusly: An Areca nut is split with an adze or with a turtleshell knife *gosisál*; 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 *gamágēl* 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 *gamágēl* 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 *gamágēl* 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).

The **utensils** used in betel chewing are the mortar and pestle, *gorúsōg* (poss. *gorsēgēl*), from *merúsōg* “to pound”; like the German terms for “nut” and “bolt”, they are distinguished as being “feminine” and “masculine,” *dil'lorúsōg* and *sagál'lorúsōg*. They are the symbol of the old Rubak, because on the *logúkl* one very often sees them sitting on the *íliud* 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, 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,



Fig. 41.

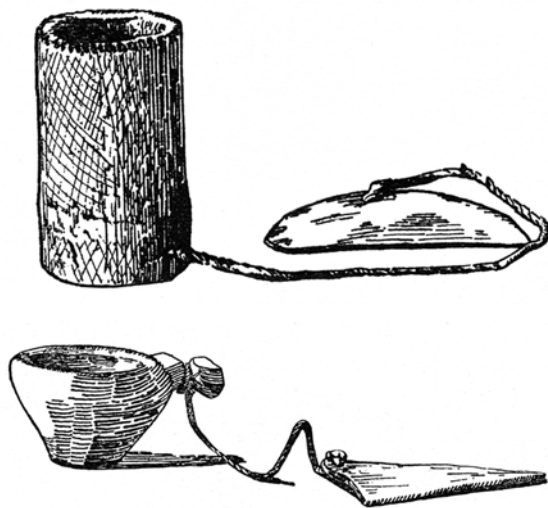


Fig. 42a.

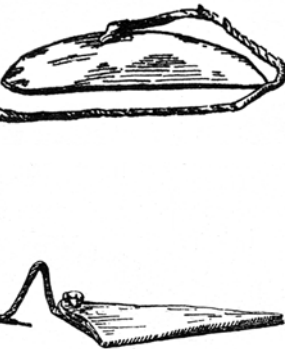


Fig. 42b.

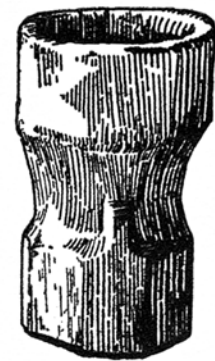


Fig. 43a.



Fig. 43b.

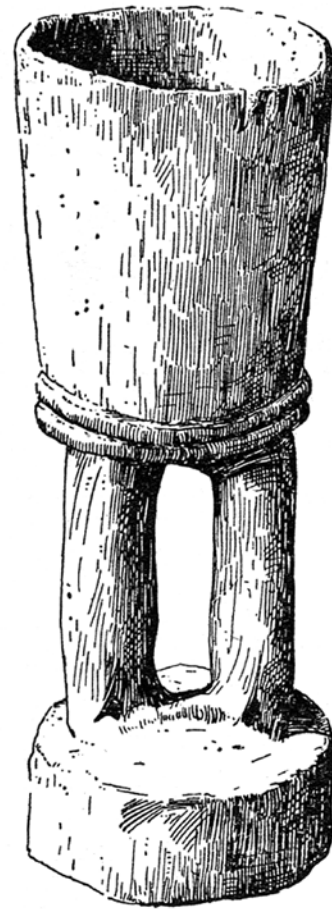


Fig. 44.

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 *kisēm*: 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 Rubásāg 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. 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 ¾ cm (Fig. 45). In addition to the mortar and pestle, there is the lime box, usually called *gáus* (poss. *gusēl*), 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) 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 stopper at the tip, with 10-15 yellow turtleshell rings on it. This turtleshell decoration is called *tangēt* (poss. *tangetengēl*). 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*; 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. It should be mentioned that in the olden days this basket was often very small, easily fitting into one hand (see Story 152).

b) Food from Animals.

(animal: *garm*, poss. *garmēl*)

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 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. Lütke 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 shows that they had no inhibitions when it came to the parts of dead bodies. Domestic Animals: The pig (*babi*, poss. *babingēl*) 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 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. 47.
Lime stick



Fig. 46a.
Fig. 45.



Fig. 46b
Coconut flasks

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, as one does at a bai. I saw the same kind of structure in Keklāu 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>gogil</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>goldáēl</i>)
No. VII	the lower back (<i>búik singg</i>)
No. VIII IX X	parts of the spine (<i>degóēl</i>)

The *uriúl rubak* are given the ribs (*kak*) and the stomach (*diēl*).

If the high chiefs of Palau, the *rubukúl pélau*, are gathered, a Guóng from Mangal'láng (District I) is given the head of the pig because of his capture of the head of the Galid *Mád a tumlógēt*, the turtle (see Story 148); see below for details on catch and distribution. The *mámēl*, Napoleon wrasse, 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 Jóulidíd 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!



Original EK drawing scans, Hamburg Museum collection.

Fig. 48. Pig stalls.



Wild Animals of the Land

Instead of chicken, the eggs of the Megapode (incubator bird) *bakāi*, 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 (<i>Carpophaga</i>)	<i>belógěł, gaiép</i>
the Nicobar pigeon (<i>Calōnas</i>)	<i>laib</i>
the wild duck (<i>Anas</i>)	<i>tabár</i>
the purple swamp hen (<i>Porphyrio</i>)	<i>vek</i>
the Audobon shearwater (<i>Puffinus</i>)	<i>gogáio</i>
the black noddy (<i>Anous</i>)	<i>badáog</i>
the little pied cormorant (<i>Graculus</i>)	<i>deróiög</i>
the tropic bird (<i>Phaeton</i>)	<i>dudúk</i>

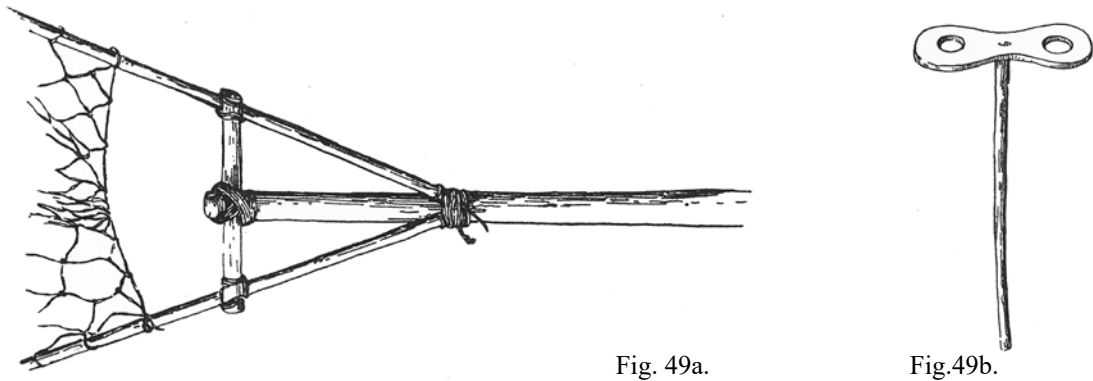
Hunting.

In addition to the birds, there is the flying fox *gólik*. It is caught with the *sigéro* nets as mentioned in Vol. 2, *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.

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.

The Galid *a* *Tpalapálag* (*Balabalak*, Kub.) 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* and *tebegel* mangrove. 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*, 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, *tepelik*. These tame ones are taken from the nest at an early age (see KE-ATE, 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 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, as *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 fresh, leafy branches. Usually, one places a decoy pigeon (tied, of course) on the fork at each corner. A small tree, called klungüděl, 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, 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 klungüděl 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* Irai usually invite Ngarameketí, as mentioned in Vol. 2.

Let me briefly discuss the bow, *úkar* (poss. *ukürúl*), and the arrow, *balág* (poss. *balagéł*), 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 carries the following markings: convex side *ulkěl* “its back,” concave side *delěl* “its stomach;” on this side there are two raised places, called *tul*, each with a lengthwise groove, in which the slackened bowstring rests. Kub. says: “on the inner side of the bow, 35 mm from each end, is an elevated groove in which the string rests when not tightened”, and: “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.”.

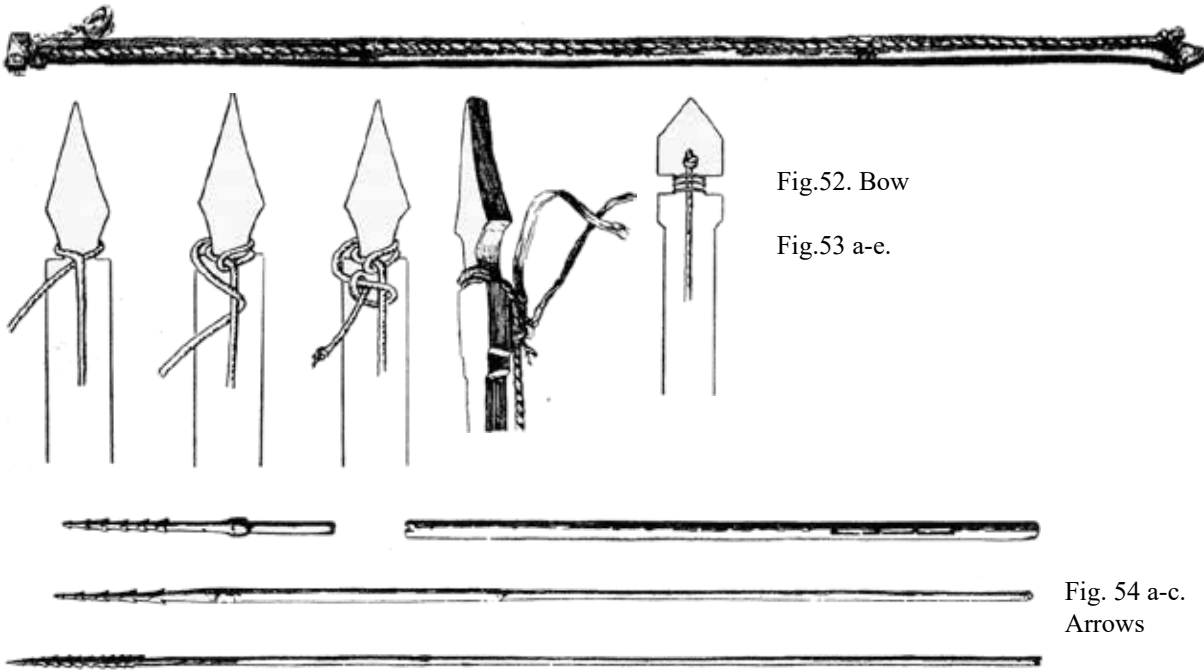
The bowstring, *uturok* (Kub.), *uturog* (Wall.), *uteregel* (Ham.) is usually made of fibers from the *gáramal* hibiscus or the *lulk* ficus and is twisted. The string consists of three strands; it is tied around the “ends,” *rsěl*, of the bow, also called *ungelěl*, “its tooth,” and knotted. These 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 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.

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*, 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 *pedikl* 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.

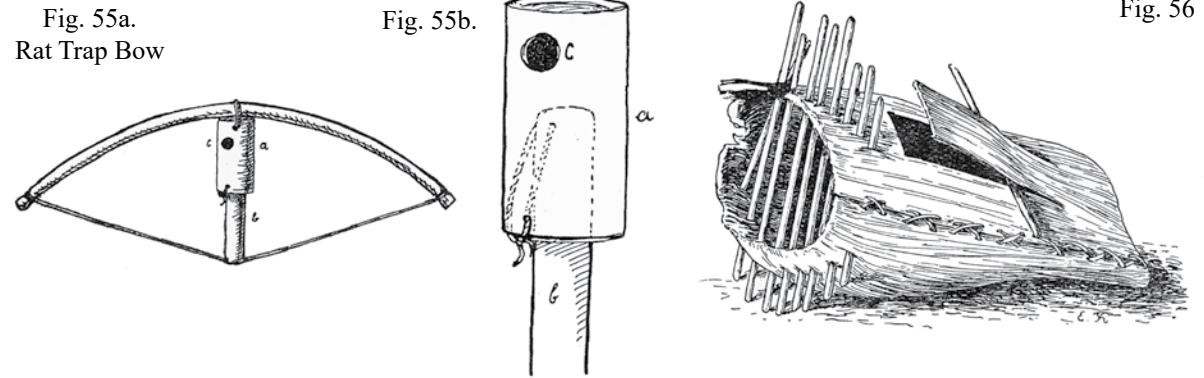


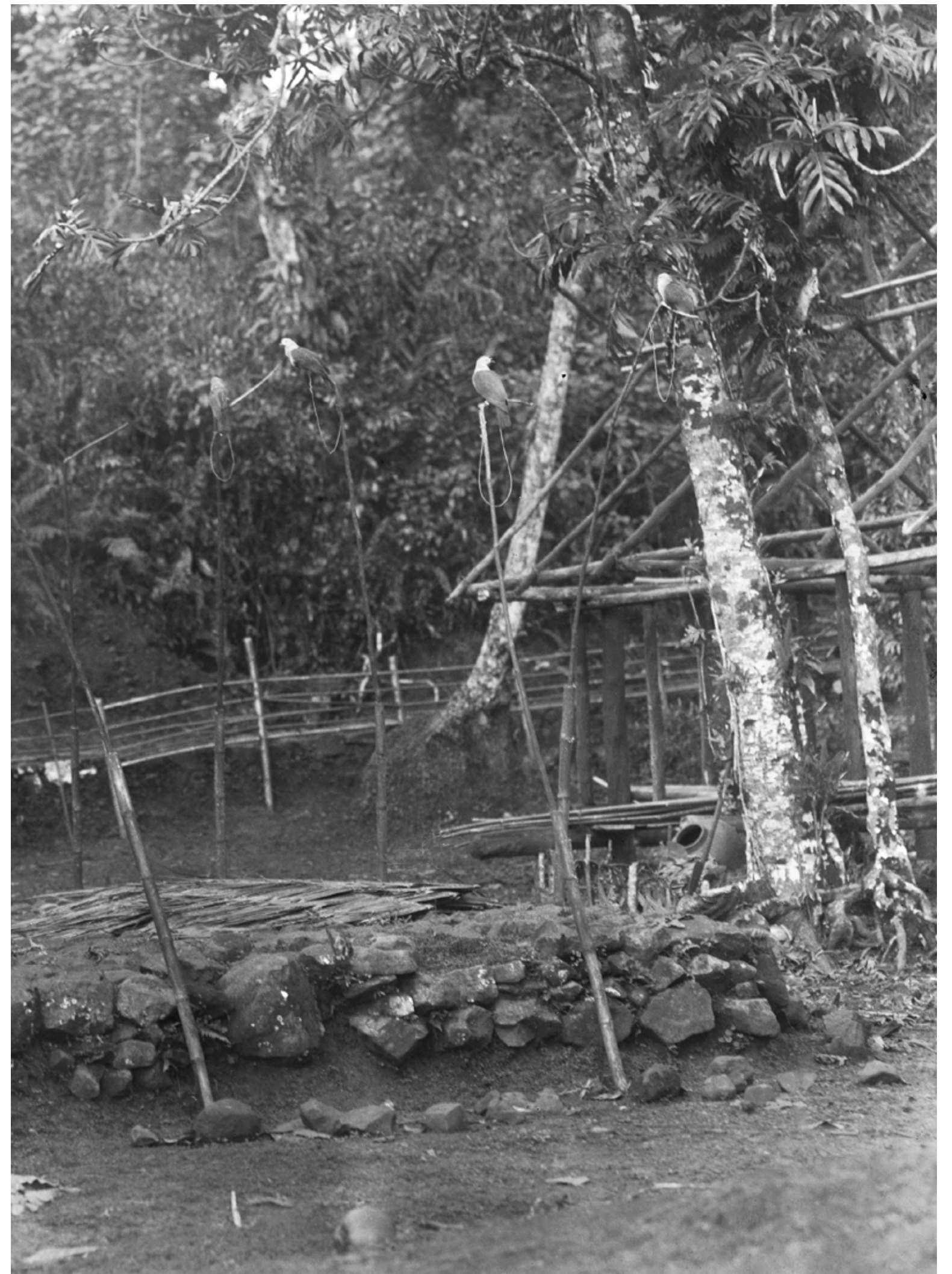
Fig. 51. Pigeon-hunting blind.



Fig. 50. Pigeon stall. Original EK drawing scans, Hamburg Museum collection.



Melilit blai with tame pigeons. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Fishing (omngíkĕl)¹

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 time. The *gongéd* celebration, which is discussed further below, and the fishing canoe *gongēdīl* have both taken their names from fishing, as *gomangéd* means “to go fishing,” and *géd* or *gēi* 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* (*galderir a rungéd* “their catch of the fishermen’s guild”).

Tĕlámĕs is considered to be the founder of the *gongéd* celebration; he was the first to bring many fish together in Ngaregolóng. Story 193 shows the chant and the magic of the *omngélalēi*, 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 Tĕlámĕs to ask him to show the fishermen favor. The guild must follow many rules. They must all eat together in the bai; there must not be any noise in the house when they enter. Instead of betel nut leaves, they use *desúm* grass 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*), with its bow pointing towards the sea. Here, at the end pointed inland, he offers some taro to the god Obagáth and at the opposite end, he offers some to the god Metimrásak, 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*. 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, *goungövävéĭ*, which was practiced at numerous locations on the east coast, namely in Goikúl, Nggĕsár, Ngĕrupesáng, Melekéiok, Ngivál, and in Kekláu, but no further north. Kub. reported that when he was there only three expert shark fishermen remained, in Goikúl, Ngĕrupesáng, and in Kekláu. One of these was Ngira ngĕtibúgĕl in Ngĕrupesáng, who seems to have died around 1900. He was apparently a son of the *a Rāklai* 6 (see Vol. 2) and should have received the laurels. In more recent times, this type of fishing seems to have been discontinued altogether. The incantation of the canoe sitting on the logs *koi*, thus called *mĕānglkói*, 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 Goubádl’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:

¹ A subsistence fisherman is called kereómĕl, and the same term applies to the Galid; but the word for the one who sends out the fisherman is ker’reómĕl.

Goubádl’lóu tiakid rekid tiakid a udóud.

Goubádl’lóu this here for us this money.

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

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

tagá mēi komokodir, ko ra lĕ 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 ngikĕl 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 (*melĕbál*).

The fisherman then puts his lines in order. Late in the evening, he brings to the *bládĕk* spirits of the dead and to the family god an “offering of finely chopped coconut,” called *ulsárs a delepdep*, which is set down on the *reákl* 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” *mesúbĕd ra toágĕl*. He takes a woven coconut frond mat called *blsebúd*, 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 gĕlagáng a mesúbĕd

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

ra toágĕl, diak a kekerĕi 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’rekim, 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 Delatmikaik, who are thought to stand on both sides of the exit, and also for the Galid Kereómĕl bĕgil and Klúbudsingal 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*, driftwood (small fish congregate around driftwood gotáor, and the sharks try to catch them). Here they beseech *Laladan* and *Asaolan*, to awaken the gods of the various shark species that are found at the bottom of the ocean: *Ayekáth a Madarart*, *Ayekath a Ryūk*, *Kobilteyoúl* and *Ayekath susugíl*, and bring them to the surface. If success is delayed, the gods of the driftwood, *Ayekáth hotáor*, *Komák hotáor*, *Honal ebegébek* are invoked.” – These incantations, which I have taken, as mentioned earlier, 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 Ngërupesáng in 1907 (see Vol. 1). 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 *Kumeréu*, 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 in the canoe, the other is laid down at the foot of the stake with pleas to bless the hunt. The families that have *Kumeréu* as their *Galid* do not eat any *kesebökú* 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 *kumeréu* on Nggeíangel, which was already discussed in Vol. 2. Some other magic I would still like to mention is that of the roasted *ulogóug* nut, which is described in Story 17^c about *Gosilék*. The Pandanu s 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* at low tide, in order to search among the puddles and tide pools of the reef and rocks 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 ē 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 *telebúdél* species (light belly) are edible, it is mainly the *Diodon* fishes; the meat and liver 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. Liver of rays and sharks is eaten raw!

The skin of the black *gaoás* sea cucumber (*Holothuroid*) is also considered poisonous; it is scraped off and used for poisoning fish. 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* (*mangim-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 feet; it tastes superb, especially when cooked with coconut for the dish known as *galiótél*. The *Sipunculus* worm *geiúl*. KUB. VIII, pg. 153, erroneously calls it *mongvúl*, 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*; 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 *ngímēs* 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*, *sekesákēl*, 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 *titímēl* leaves and left standing for a while, after which they are cut up and eaten with lemon juice. Best suited for trepang, dried sea cucumber, are the arm-length *tamatámēlgogáeo*, *babi*, and *badlēgalid*; these provide the best goods at 10 cents per pound; as second class, *melitú*, *bláol*, *gosópēl*, *bibakmadál*, and *rekál* provide the worst goods; other usable species are *gārāmrūm* and *mólog*, which rate only 4 cents per pound. They are usually gathered on the large reef flats west of Babldáob and Goréōr, 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 *aibúgēl* (*Echinometra*) are eaten, as elsewhere. They are pulled out of the holes with the *gogádu* tongs (see cooking utensils and Vol. 2). Of the starfish, the *gaisóis* (Kub. Kayseyos) is edible.

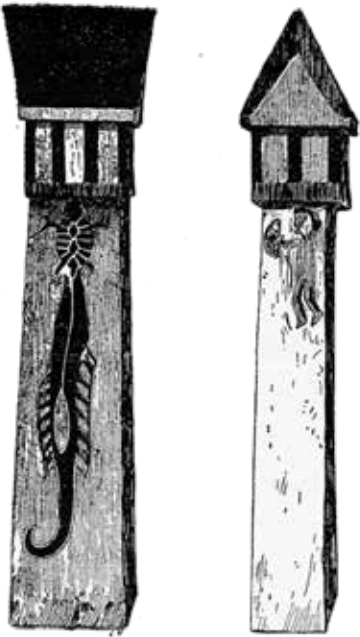


Fig. 57.



Fig. 58.

Of the sea urchins, primarily the *goálag* (*Diadema*) and a *ibúgël* (*Echinometra*) are eaten, as elsewhere. They are pulled out of the holes with the *gogádu* tongs (see cooking utensils and Vol. 2). 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 *garabríkl* and the locust shrimp *galauoságäl*; 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 *kētát*. 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 *melógöd a bad*.

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*, also pronounced *táoëd*, is made with and without barbs (*togëd*) (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 *táoëd ra sekós*.

They throw the smooth-tipped spear at schools of sardines, which is why it is also called *táoëd ra mēkēbúd*. A spear with a forked tip is a *táoëd geraü*, 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 sīkēs* (from *melikes*) 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:

<i>a Júsëg mad ma Súbëd reng</i>	“Sharp eye” and “sharp mind”
<i>a Júsëg mad ke doiderékl ra kutelíng</i>	Júsëg mad, you board at the bow
<i>ma Súbëd reng a doiderékl ruriúl</i>	and Súbëd reng, you board at the back,
<i>ma ngak a doiderékl ra blú</i>	and I, I board in the middle;
<i>ë ked ë melikēs, ë ked ë mo melkelikēs</i>	then we pole, then we pole around
<i>ma detóbëd¹⁶³ ra madál a táog</i>	and drive out to the mouth of the channel;
<i>ë kau l Súbëd reng a medengeli a ngikël</i>	and you, Súbëd reng, you know the fish
<i>më ke di kau lobá mlai l bédúl le ngi</i>	and only you, you keep the head of the canoe towards it
<i>ma Júsëg mad a mesáng më ked ë m regēi mōkódír</i>	and look, Júsëg mad, we spear and kill them,
<i>ë ked orëgëd l te dongëréngër ar ngálek</i>	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 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.



Fig. 60

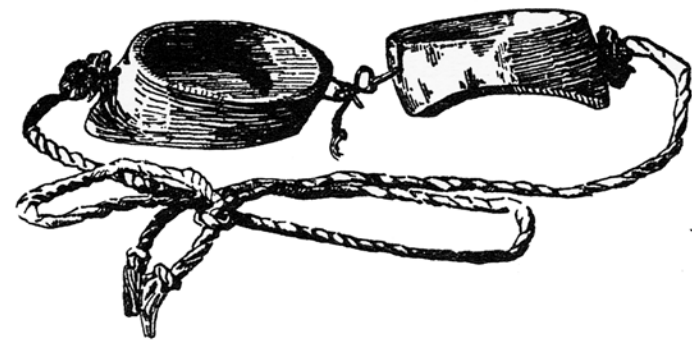


Fig. 61.

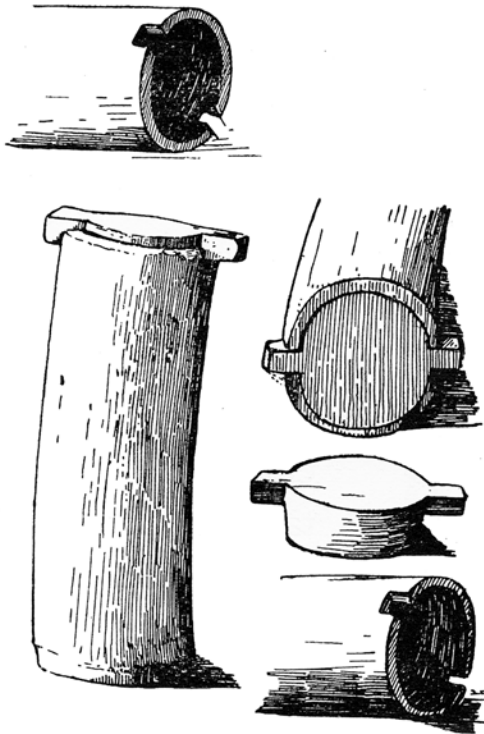


Fig. 59. 38 cm

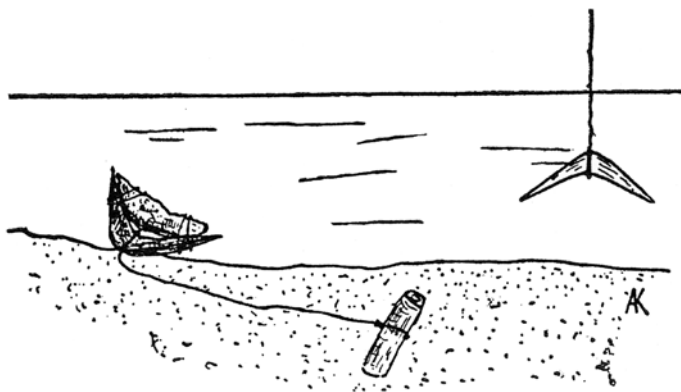


Fig. 62 Cast-and-leave fishing line.

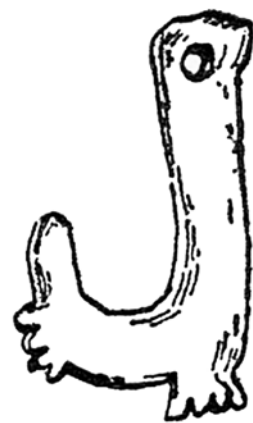


Fig. 63.



Fig. 64.

Angling *manger'rēl*

Angling is done with a line, *ker'rēl*, which is held in the hand. For the fishing pole, *bikēl* yarn, *blad* (poss. *blden-gēl*), made of coconut fiber is used, 2 – 3 strands are twisted together. A small piece of elbow-shaped wood, *gëökl* (Fig. 62), carved from mangrove wood, *ráod*, 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 *gúlád* worm). Another type of fishing with this *gëökl* is called *kitertár* and is only practiced at night. The venus clam (*gësegúr*) is used as bait. The fish caught are *gúdög*, *karamlál*, *besagámēl*, *mogúr*, and others. According to Kub. VIII, pg. 126, the *gëökl*, which he calls *Deléu*, is also used to catch flying fish, which were already mentioned 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 possible, because the only thing that can be used then for trolling hooks are lures. I cannot say whether the *deléu* is different from the *gëökl*. I heard that the *gëökl* 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).

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*, *itótēg*, *koíko*, *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'rēl* line made out of coconut fiber or *garamál* fibers, the fish hook *geirógēr* (poss. *giregerēl*), 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*, *besagámēl*, 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 hook, whose tip is curved sharply inwards, and it has a barb on the inside and on the outside. KUB. depicts a second one “*Al-wal*” (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 Tobi, 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 kersíuk* 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* (*gātákl* = 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!

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 *geirógēr* was preferred. The sacred, shiny hook of a Tmëlógöd, 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*: strong line made from hibiscus fibers with a sinker, used in deep water; the *geirógēr* hook is baited

with octopus. Almost all species of fish will bite, but mostly *tēmakaī*, *kedesāu*, *melangmūd*. Recently, European lines with lead sinkers and several iron hooks have been used (Kub. VIII, Plate XVII, Fig. 1).

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

3. *bidókl*: 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 *tēmakaī*, *mámě́l*, etc. KUB. *bidhokl*, and fishing itself is *ornidhokl*; the canoe is anchored in 10 fathoms of water.

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.

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.

Stationary and Mobile Weir and Fish Trap Fishing, Kanzel and Park.

The stationary fish fences made of wood, called *gabingēl*, are much more prevalent on Yap than on Palau. Here I saw a larger structure only once, in the bay of Gólei, which Fig. 65 portrays; it was a *gabingēl 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.

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 for that Galid and for one other by the name of Rokiēi (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, Map 1^d in Ngarabau shows such an annex; there is also a very impressive one in Goréôr at the Ngarekamais 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.

The portable fish baskets *bub* (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 here. Kub. VIII shows only a few, in Plates XIX–XXI; he calls the *Galid* 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 *kerángēl* or *karángēl*, or the *gogáol*, which is strong, or the coconut string *ker'rél*. (KUB. also mentions *níttek* (ngidēg, a climbing fern) *Risel a Giyul* (risél a giüel, “root of the *Freycinetia*), *gogáol*, a *ulúi*, *Armókol* (remógēl), and *Meliík* (melīk)). The bottom is called *nglávēs* (Kub. *ngláos*, *ngláos* means a small, lower wall board in the Bai; perhaps the two words are identical.). The thicker, crosswise bottom pieces are called *goreál*, those running lengthwise *gomeklevitēl*.

The entrance is called *oumád*, the front *madál a bub*, the top part *klebú*. 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, the following are distinguished:

Kaloálek (*goloálēg* KR.), *Uldárs*, *Paráper Teluoráoth* (*teluó a ráod*), *Oumath el oguith* (*oumád l Uekeuid*), *Mad Engkasár* (*mad l Gēsár*), *Asiul ngáarak* (*a síul ngárek*). I also heard mentioned: *a ilengóiēl*, *delebákl'lóug*, *gousáus*.

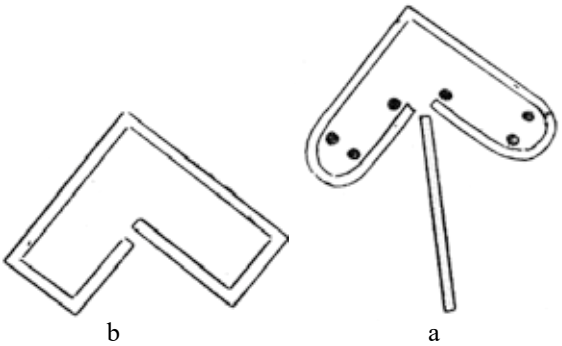


Fig. 66.

Below: Fish trap in Golei at low tide.
Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum



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. 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:

1. *delebóngēl*, vertical front side with no projections, as if “cut off” (from *melep*, “to cut off”). Roof domed, 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 iléngēl*.

2. *gapsádēl*, rounded, asymmetrical, and with protrusions (*ungelēl*, from *uíngēl*, tooth). This type is represented in Fig. 74: *but l lūt*, *telegid ungelēl*, *gotendēl a béap*, *bad*, *autangáol*, *bub l dég*. Adjectives are: *ritēg* low roofed *ksékl*, small, suited only for shallow water to catch small grouper (*Serranus*), surgeon fish (*Acanthurus*), Julis, etc. (Fig. 68); *dǎgál* (Wall.; *decháll*) covered with stones, from *delágēl* “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); *galbitēl* old baskets that can no longer carry stones, used in deep water *berápēr*; round in the back.

The different types of fish baskets are:

a) *delebóngēl*, 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*, *mámēl*, and even turtles to enter.

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 *bangarungúis* 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).



Fig. 68

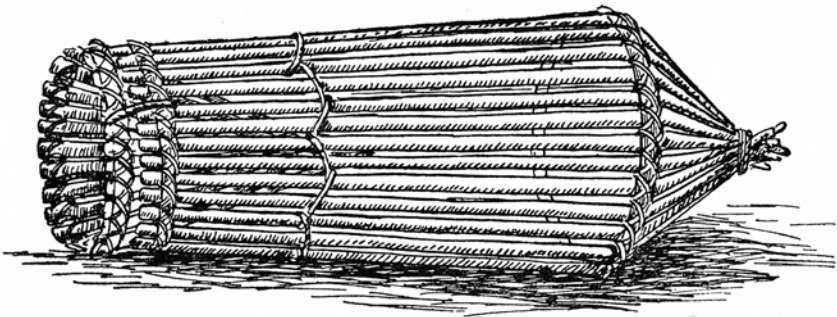


Fig. 67. Fish trap lifter.

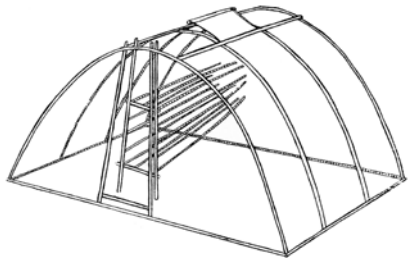


Fig. 70

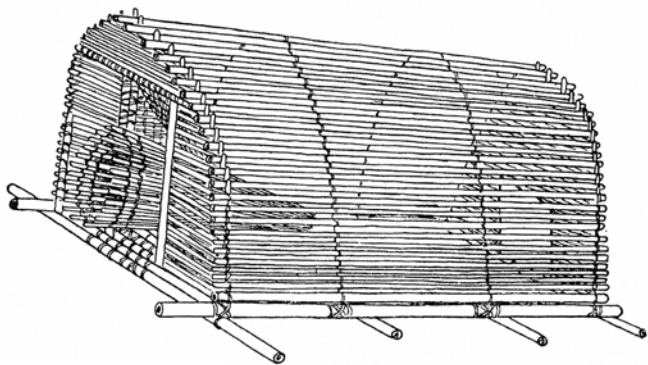


Fig. 69

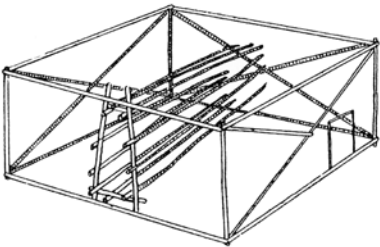


Fig. 71.

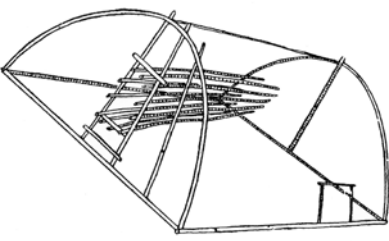


Fig. 72a.

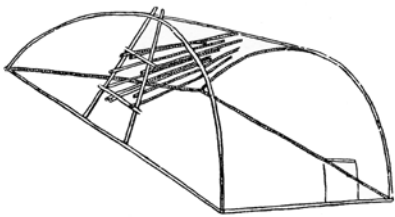


Fig. 72b.

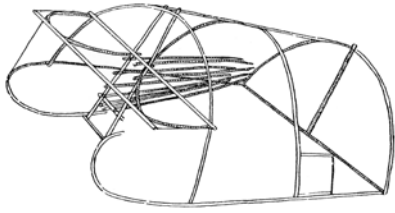


Fig. 74.

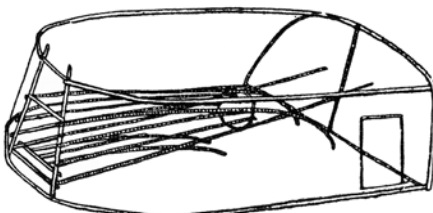


Fig. 73b.

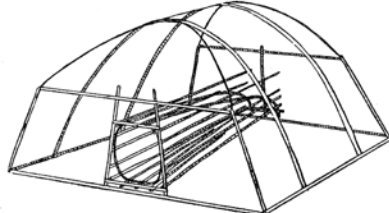


Fig. 73a.

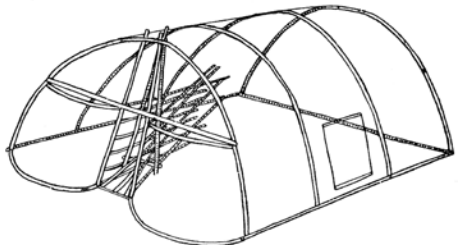


Fig. 78.

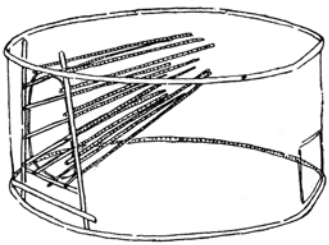


Fig. 77.

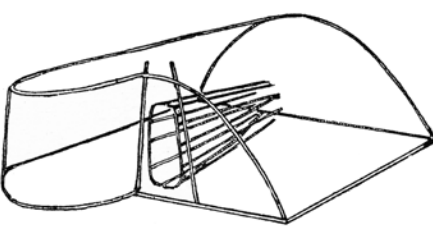
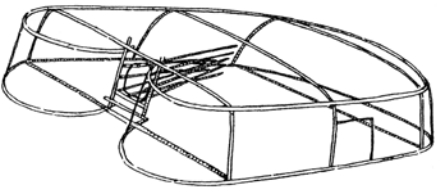


Fig. 75.

Fig. 76.



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) *gotendēl a béap* (3748^{II} Fig. 73 a/ b); *túngd* fish bones or spines, *béap* rat. The opening is called *uldárs* (illustration of the opening Kub. VIII, Plate 19), and the upper two main fish trap sticks are bent down to the floor in the back.

i) *gapsádēl* (Kub. *Kapsádhal*), opening *delebákl'lóug* “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).

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 *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:

Gobilbērēu 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 Sagálagēima Kereómēl

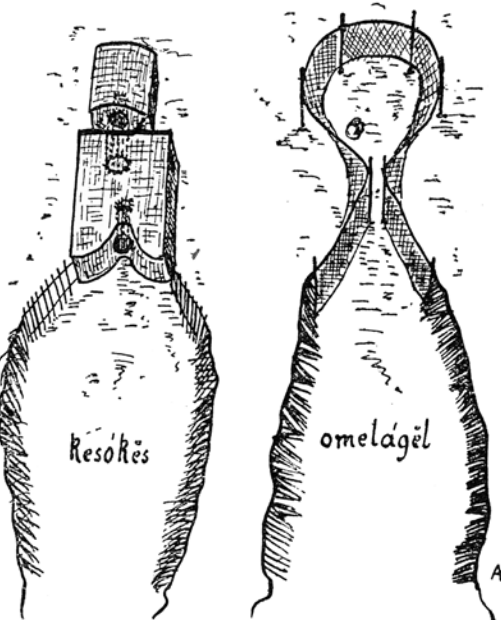
Gobilbērēu, you and Sagálagēi and Kereómēl

tía keliu mē mongáng, ē bo re golegutēl a ked ē mo ra gēi!

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

One of the fish that is caught is laid next to the *ulogóug* nut with the words: *tía keliu* “this your food!” After one or two months, when the fishing season is over, the three Galid are asked to leave again: *ked ē merekól ngara gēi ma ko mo ra sel blimíu l petáot me kom ngarengí ē di merék mo kíkó kuláe, re kemíu ē kom kuk mei!*

we are finished on the fishing grounds and you go after this your house of the ocean floor, and you stay there and only (when I will) maybe one day turn to you, you then come!



a Fig. 80. b

I also participated in a type of fishing called *gomelágēl* on May 26, 1910 in Ngarsúl. In this case, the fronds of the mountain palm *dēmailei* were separated from the center spine in such a way that they were still connected by a thin strip; this was wound around a *kebēas* vine rope in corkscrew fashion. The two *rūl* 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 circle; 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 *gomelágēl* net with *rūl* lines can also be left to work by itself, as can an *oát*, a ring of *rūl* lines that are left standing until low tide; the fish are then speared or scooped out with *deraū* 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. The *rūl* lines are then loaded onto the raft and driven out onto the water.

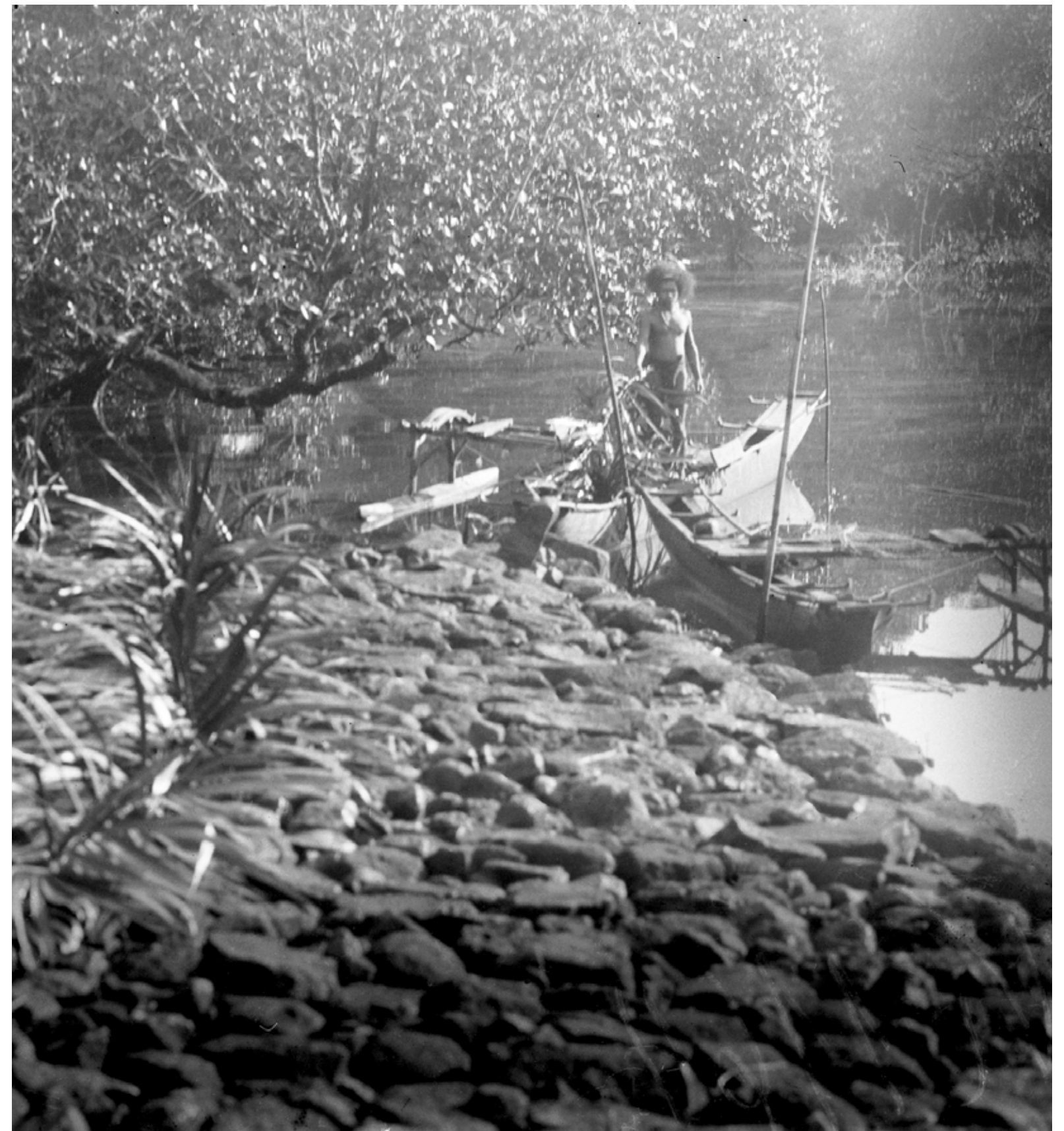
A different raft carries out the two fish baskets (below photo), a larger, square one, mostly called *gabíngēl*, and a smaller, rounded one by the name of *semáel*. They are laid out one behind the other on the reef, so that they are completely covered at mid-tide, and connected with a fish trap tube (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 *tebēgēl* 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 Keklāu. 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*.



Fish traps on a raft in Keklāu. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Fishermen from Ngarsul fixing *rul* fishing lines. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Meant for small species of emperors (*Lethrinus*).” Fishing with the *gosél* (Kub. pg. 137 *Kosel*, 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 *goségéd* fibers. Fishing with the *derék* net (for details, see below) is done using loose nets and *rül*; of course, one must then also use a hand net (see below) or spears. Fishing with *rül* lines is generally called *mangesókēs*. *Rül* 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 *mangesókēs a gum*, or *sebu*. The fish that are driven together this way are either speared or poisoned in the holes in the reef (Kub. VIII, pg. 135).

Net Fishing Without *rul* Lines

The *vúkéd* 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 *tebéǵēl* stakes, or held at the water’s surface with “floats” (see below).

The frame is usually made of the wood of the *gabelúdēs*, *bungaruāu*, *garitm*, etc., accompanied by bamboo sticks. The nets are woven, *melíkēd*, using the netting stick *gósu*. The materials used are the fibers of the *garamál* hibiscus, of the *lulk* and *gosékēd* figs, of the *gar* seaweed, of *kemókōm*, and coconut husk fiber.

The floats, *golúdōg*, are usually made of lightweight *garamál* wood. Sinkers, *gorúm̄k* 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 *derāu* (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 to set out for *derāu* fishing. They form a group for this, which is known as *blēǵēdókl*. 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 *melúǵēs*. 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 *usakěr*; 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 mēl* “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 káu ē ak melái aikál derāu
Gobildēi I beg to you I bring this net
l mo omkáis ē te kmál songeréngěr arngálek
to turn over rocks they are very hungry the children
ma derir rē Gobagádme tuldurēgák l kmu:
and their mother *Gobagád* they send me saying:
bomsbēdí Gobildép ē bo ra geī
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 l klemadáol ke subedí a Sagálageī
Jegád l klemadáol tell him a Sagálageī
tía Ngētepelāu l mo omkáis r tía lē geī
this Ngētepelāu will fish on these fishing grounds,
me ke medengeli me ke mekír a bangg
that you know it and you prevent bites
ma bek l tamál.
and all damage!

Then the fishing begins.

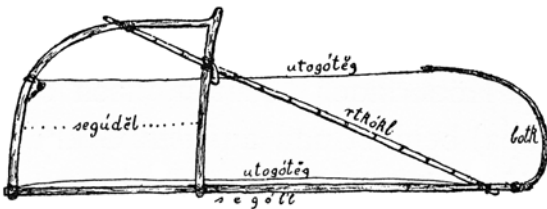


Fig. 82.



Fig. 81. Fisherman with Derau net.
Original EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum collection.

The frame of the net consists of the handle, *segúdĕl*, a forked branch of the *gabelúdĕs* or *bungaruâu* 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*, the lower straight one, which is tied to the ends of the horseshoe, is called *segól’l*. 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*.

Strings called *utogótĕg* run from the base of the *botk* and from its tip, respectively, parallel to the *segól’l*, and back to the outer *segúdĕl*. 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 *geidádĕb*.

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 *derâu a mĕkĕbúd* is also depicted. It is similarly constructed, but has a more rigid shape, because the *utogótĕg* 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).

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

With a non-movable handle: *thĕrákl* (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). *gĕlep* or *golĕdág* (Kub. XVIII, Fig. 8), auxiliary net for catching mullets, made of *gosĕkĕd* fibers (Kub. VIII, pg. 138); opening at the bottom for emptying the fish out into the canoe. *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 ngoáol* “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 *gabelúdĕs* 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 *rekiúg* shrimp, etc. Kr.) above the net, *blil a vávĕl*, “the house of bait.” Only the *tungg a ngoáol*, 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, with 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* (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), i.e. knee-high water, where *mĕás*, *klsebŭl*, *kesú*, *gúdög*, 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. Instead of using the triangular nets to catch mullets as on Samoa, on Palau one uses the rounded *gonigól* mentioned above.

Nets Without Frames.

berdákl (Kub., pg. 136 and Plate XVIII, Fig. 4) was already mentioned in Vol. 2, 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; *gosĕkĕd* 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 *ĕbĕd* (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 *Rŭl*, whose other ends are handled, in turn, by two other fishermen. The fish surrounded by the *Rŭl* crowd up against the *Dhérek* net, 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, *kĕlát*, 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*. These have a diameter of 1–2 m and are made from the sheaths at the base of coconut leaves, *tageiĕr*. The smaller *gĕlep*, 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 Ngrĭl. 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°).

a iluái or *mangidáp*, also known as *a ingerú* 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 *mese kūk* and *Dugong*. The net consists of two halves *tědóbog* (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.”

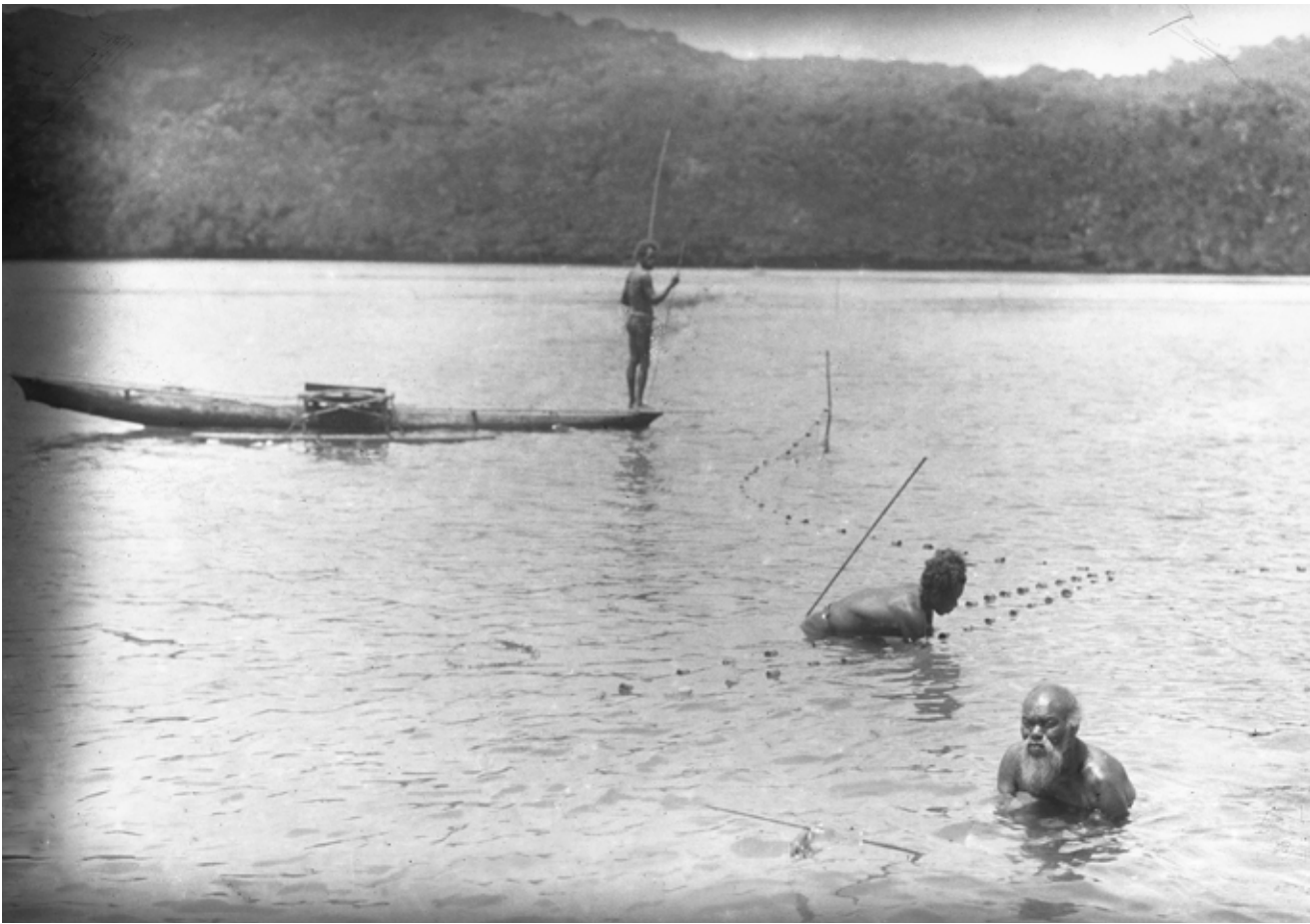
Not many of these nets exist: one in *a Iraĩ*, one in Ngarbagéd, one in Ngarmid, and one in Goréör, where it is stored in the Săgămus canoe house. It is used to catch the *mese kūk*, surgeon fish and the parrot fish *kěmědukl*, which often enter the net in schools of up to 500. On June 26, 1910, I participated 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 *mese kūk*. Kub. also mentions that groups of *rul* are closed off and speared in this way, but I did not hear anything about it myself.

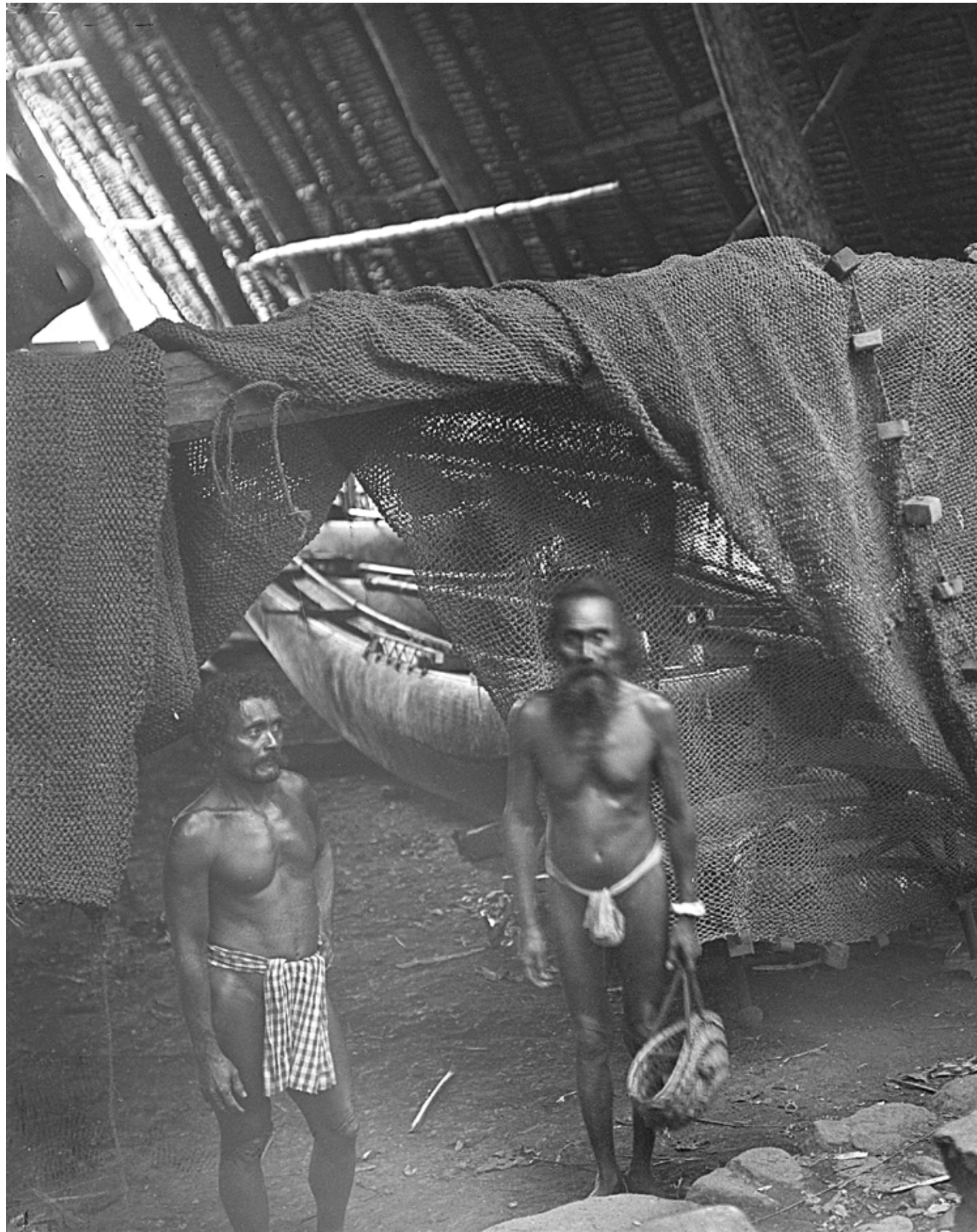
měraměs- (Kub. *Maramas*, net 30–40m long, 4–5 m deep, 25–30 cm mesh, 3 mm strong coconut yarn) for catching turtles *a uél* (see bai 145 III^b). These are highly prized by the chiefs. The chest muscles, *buklemél*, and the hind legs, *omeduátl*, which they like to eat with coconut milk, are distributed. 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. 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).

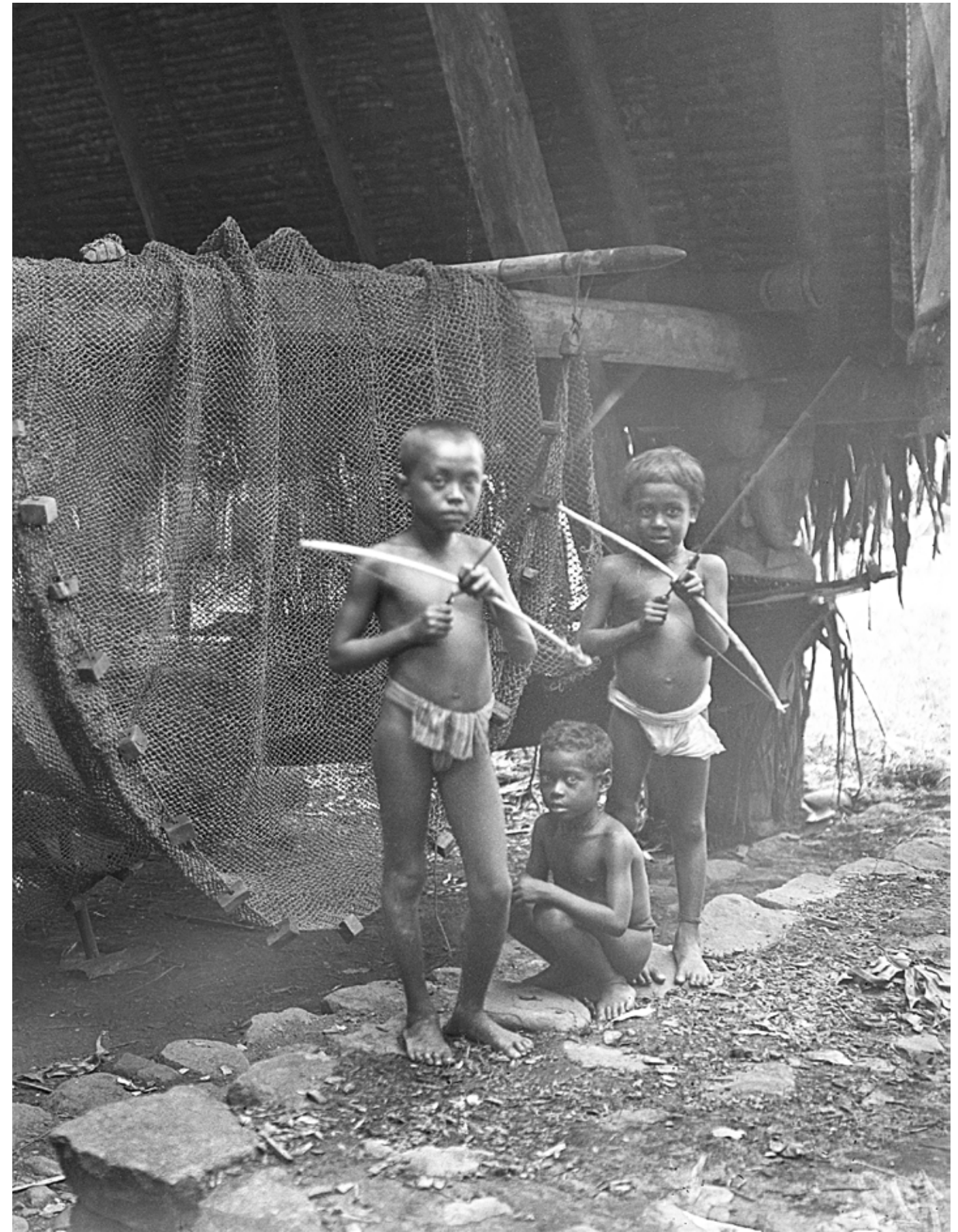
biteptókl- (Kub.: *Biteptákl*), the largest of the nets, used to catch the dugong, *mese kiu*. It has ropes that are thick as fingers, 60 m long, 5 m deep, with large floats and sinkers; usually belongs to a club that is allowed to catch dugong, see privileges in Vol. 2, according to Kub. VIII, pg. 176; 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 mese kiu*, with a stab through the heart. Then it is blown on with betel nut spit, cut up, etc. Much was already mentioned above. Story 39 tells a lovely tale.

Omelagel fishing. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum





The largest fishing net in Sagamus. Left to right; Keukl and Ngirturong with boys Talames, Ngirturong, and Garabedil



Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum

c) Culinary Skills.

The acquisition of fire: Story 17^a tells how Tipētíp akmiēg 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 *galuāis* and *gosékēd*, 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 (*nggóngōg*), 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 firewood *omngár a idúngēl* 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 idúngēl*, otherwise ill fortune will follow, as shown in story 30.

Utensils: Every well-to-do blai has a cook house *vúm* (poss. *umāngél*), usually located to the left of it; formerly they were a privilege of the high chiefs (see Vol. 2). 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. *gēbúl*). 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*). 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 128 cm long and is used to test done-ness 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). 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* 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* are wrapped in a coconut leaf sheath *tageiēr*, then pressed out by hand. The expressed milk *dīsēg* drains into a wooden container called *gologasákl* (from *melegēsēg* 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.

Cutting is done using knives *golés* (poss. *golsengél*) made from bamboo and shells such as the black Pinna *sebiúēs* (see Story 164). Peeling and scraping are done with the *gēsēgúr*, particularly the pearl shells *gasívōg* (Meleagrina) and the *rúdēl* (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 *ngárēk* and are used primarily for scraping raw taro. Boiled taro is mashed using the pestle *gai* and the pounding board *ngot* (see Story 98). Both pestles usually have a cylindrical, bell-like shape or one that is tapered at the top (Fig. 88, see also the section on pottery).

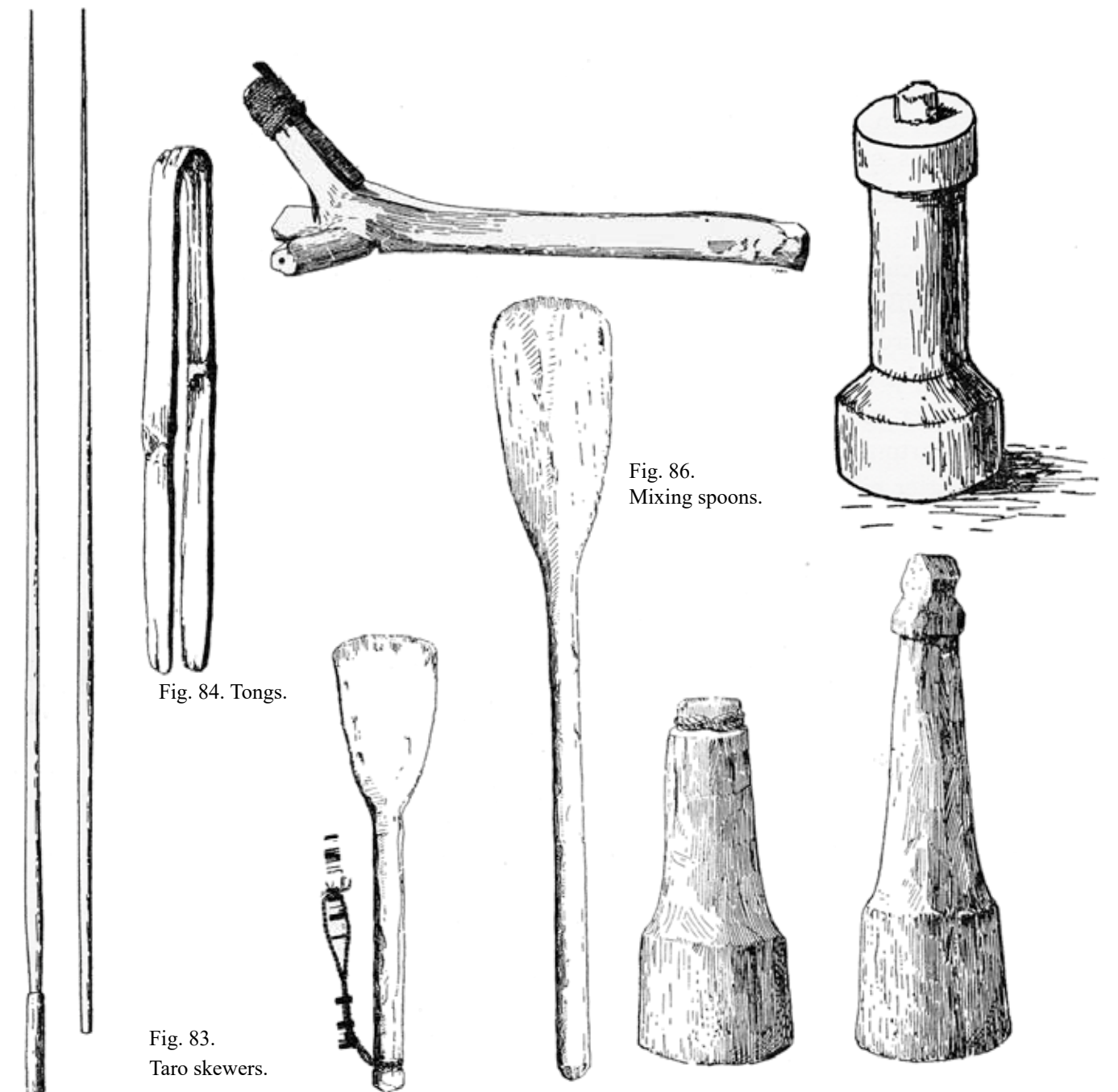


Fig. 84. Tongs.

Fig. 83.
Taro skewers.

Fig. 86.
Mixing spoons.

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

The Cooking

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 *blsakl*, when they are 2-4 weeks old they are called *básáol*. 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 *galuómël* (poss. *galumelél*) or *ulagém*, 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 *uásăg* (poss. *găsăgél*). 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 *uásăg* 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, meat 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* over the hearth fire in the house, on a grate *górangël* 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: *klongóiës l ngikël ë mangüëm* wrap up a pot of fish, *ë solae mo ra ngau a malogúp ë górangël* 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 *gosëkëd* figs. Smelly raw fish are not rejected, not even if they are spoiled *bărăom*. When they are in this condition, they are laid in the sacred groves *túngël* 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. 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 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.

melengóiës mo ra golakáng ma ralm ma dáob
e melongóiës re ngí, a ogobelí,
a mogúiëd re ngí a melengóiës dikesēi,
a gomregórog ë merekóng.

Turtle dish with expressed milk

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

ngulëgém gēiúl
a kid ë melongóiës re ngí ra ralm
l mo badául
a solae ng mai gërëgém
malogúp ng gēdēi
l mo ra kekerél ‘lolakáng, e gamúiëd.

Sand worms with expressed milk

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

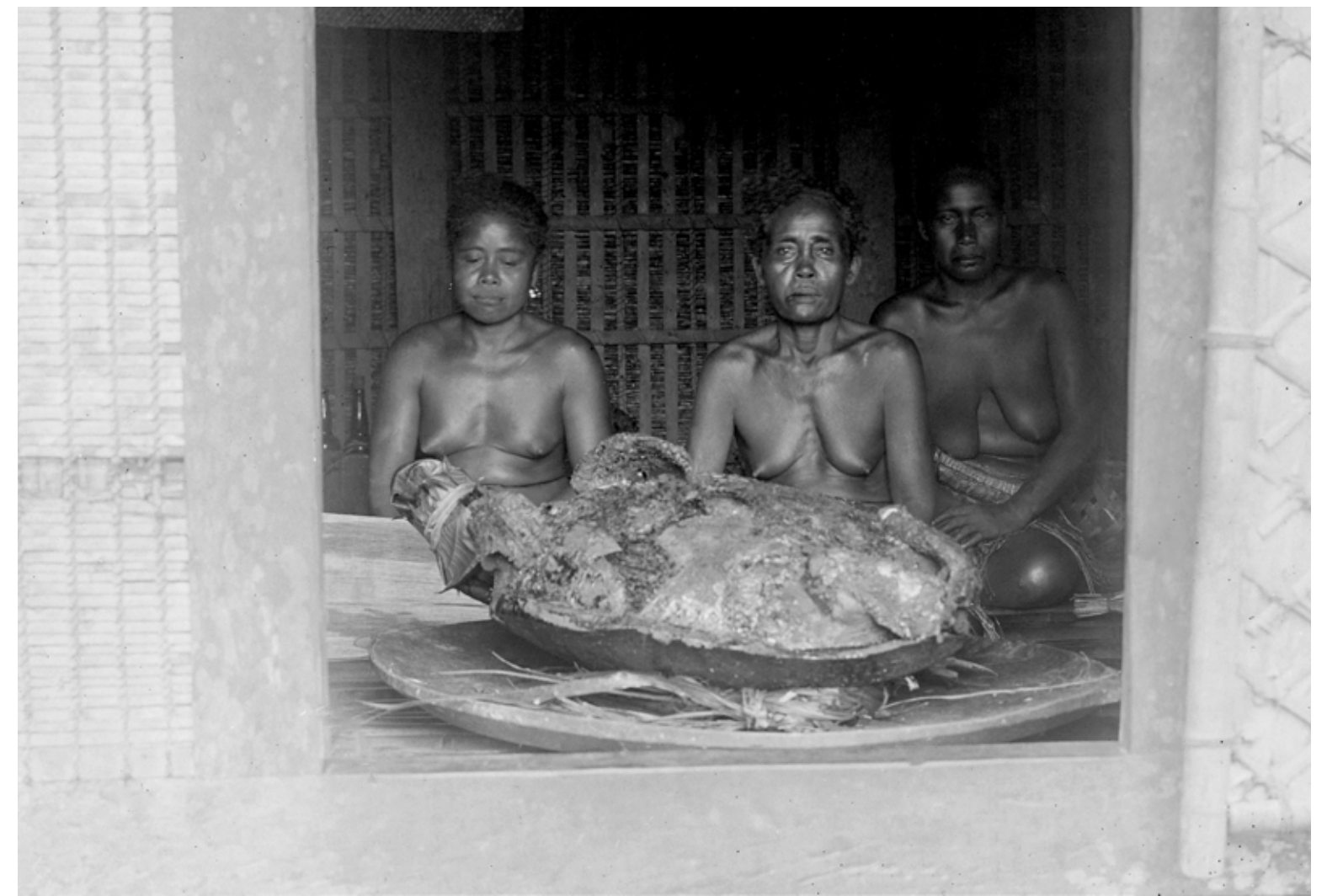
Pieces of pumpkin are cooked with a chicken, with coconut milk added, it is a delicious dish. Fat for eating is derived exclusively from coconuts; animal fat, the fat *láok* of pigs, turtles, pigeons, fish, etc. is just a side dish, and frying in fat *mangere dógöd* is rare, although it does occur (see breadfruit). Anything cooked with coconut is called *galiótl*. Anything cooked with coconut and *ã iláot* is called *blăgákl*. Grated coconut (*táiu*, *kless*, *delepdép*) is used as it is, or it is pressed with the coconut leaf sheath *tagēiër*, which is like sackcloth, to obtain the coconut milk *disëg*. The fruit juice commonly called coconut milk *găsăgél a lius* “juice of the coconut palm” is just used for drinking.

Cooking taro, vegetables, etc. is called *meliókl* (*melióng*), therefore a vegetable pot is called *ngaliókl* (Story 150), in contrast to a meat pot (mash is called *sabāu*). This refers mainly to taro, which is called *kúkau* when cooked (see above). When it is harvested from the swamp, it is cleaned on the spot with the *ngárëk* shell (see above), then cooked in a pot of water until the *súmës* 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 off with the *gasívög* shell, and the taro is served like it is or in slices *blagídël*.

Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 170: “To produce the *Bleyóp*, 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*; when mashed with a pounder made of stone and formed into patties, it becomes *Ulók*; and when freshly boiled oil is mixed with it, it becomes the much beloved *Apelsiyek*. 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. Sweet dishes are called *merekós l kál*, also *goléngël* or *debëgël*. The most important dishes are:



Cooking of a Green sea turtle. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.



del'lúl, 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 dōrūr a del'lúl mong mo mārēk</i>	I roast the thing to be roasted until it is done;
<i>e ak ē kordí ē rusōgí</i>	I scrape it off, mash it,
<i>ē rometí a iláot e mo re ngí a dísēg</i>	and knead it with syrup and add coconut milk;
<i>ak omódog l mo ra buk</i>	I divide it with my fingers in a bowl;
<i>ak merúr a delemédem a geimól buk</i>	I make flat cakes in a bowl,
<i>e a geimó ra buk a bleób</i>	and in the other bowl patties,
<i>ak mangúiēd a dísēg 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, best known as long-lasting food, provisions *gokāu* 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. 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.
galbákl- Preserves made from pounded taro and syrup, hard. Story 16, Vol. 2.
merémēt l br'rak-
ma iláot ma dísēg- Kneaded taro with syrup and coconut milk.

<i>meliókl ra br'rak ē ngokoi</i>	cook the br'rak and peel it;
<i>ē mangéss re ngí</i>	grate it,
<i>ē merusōg re ngí</i>	mash it,
<i>ē merémēt re ngí a iláot</i>	knead it with syrup
<i>ma dísēg ē meób re ngí</i>	and coconut milk; make a ball from it.
<i>kless l br'rak ē galiótl</i>	Taro mash with coconut milk.
<i>ak mangéss ra br'rak l mārēk</i>	I grate br'rak that has been boiled until done,
<i>ak mangivētókl a dísēg re ngí</i>	I add coconut milk to it,
<i>e meób re ngí</i>	make balls from it.

blsīk- 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 *gasivōg* shell; these are rolled in coconut oil, then laid in an orderly row on a plate. The oil must be freshly prepared (see above).
meregāu riamēl- Fruit mash made of *Pangium*
dagíl a gölúg- “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.
klśós (bleób) l kéam- Balls made of *Inocarpus*

Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum collection.



galiótl kless ra bóbai
bóbai mo ra ngau, ē ngak e ngu
e tmudí, diudí, ē mangéss, ē goití a budél

l bagagás ē mungúiēd
galiótlbóbai

bóbai mo ra ngau, a ldí, tmudí, ē dobōgē

sabāu a gabíngēl

ak mo logá ra golakáng
ak melongóiēs re ngí, ē mo re ngí a iláot
ma líus, ak melédēs re ngí

blāgákl a gabíngēl

di a ikél a gabíngēl ē ke di míl
ē dméud ēngmai a geiusēl

Grated papaya with coconut
I put the papaya on the fire,
cut it crosswise, cut it lengthwise, grate it, throw
away the peel,
which is singed, (with coconut milk over it).
Roasted papaya squares with coconut

I put the papaya on the fire, peel it, cut it cross
wise, cut it lengthwise,

Papaya dish

I go (and) lay (it) in the pot,
I cook it, (I) add to it syrup
and coconut, I cut it into little pieces.

Rich papaya dish

These papaya fruit we peel them,
cut them in half, take them and lay them in the
sun,

<i>a melédēs ē mo ra ralm ra diósōg</i> <i>a remīsū ēng mai l mēi mē ke</i> <i>de logá ra golakáng</i> <i>ē guiár a iláot ra ralm</i> <i>a merekáng ē rodelí</i> <i>l mēi ra iluódēl a melái l mo ra</i> <i>gorságēl a mo re ngí a díśēg</i>	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.
<i>billŭm</i>	Old taro boiled up again
<i>a bedngiuk a dildí a diudi</i> <i>a rusegí ē sólang ē ngu a gasívōg</i> <i>melaegáb, omárēg ra geimád</i> <i>ra iláot, a merémēt</i> <i>lodekiár, omēob, omáil ra lél a sis</i> <i>ē sourí ē mo logá a kúkau ma ralm</i> <i>omgalugób, ē mo logá a billŭm</i> <i>bēbŭl sel lă galugób</i> <i>a soláe tē omgalugób tial billŭm</i> <i>e meliókr a rengí marēkél a kúkau</i> <i>ng merekáng a billŭm.</i>	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.
<i>basabasáng</i>	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.).

tórōg. Leaves of *convovulus* are prepared with syrup and coconut milk. The leaves of the small convovulus *tórōg* 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 mīēg. “Almond dish,” or simply called *mīēg*, the important, sweet, hard almond dishes made by cooking the nuts *gotógēl* of the *mīēg* fruit (*Terminalia catappa*) with syrup.

<i>gotógēl mīēg.</i> Almond cake	See Vol. 2, and Story 134.
<i>mesekiú l mīēg</i> in the shape of a dugong	See Vol. 2, and Story 134.

<i>telngót</i> <i>ak mangīs a telngót, ak melild ma mengersóus</i> <i>ak melegésēg, ē gubēlí a lmél</i> <i>a magērél mo medegērégēr</i> <i>togōbi lóia ra keāi</i> <i>e omngīs re ngi ra sils</i> <i>l mo medidirt e meliók re ngi</i> <i>a rungiŭl ma uliókl a diŭl di ngisál.</i>
<i>telngót kseksi, sokesōgi a ralm, lomét re ngí a ralm</i> <i>a ngu mo ra sils, ē mei ked e momilí mo re ngí a golakáng,</i> <i>omét re ngí a díśēg ma a iláot, a meus re ngí.</i>

<i>aklióu l telngót.</i>
<i>mongósu re ngi, l di merék mo l muilēg kung</i> <i>ke klágá re ngi mang diak l magás a go</i> <i>lakáng</i>

<i>kless medú márēk</i>
<i>a medú meliókr 're ngí a budél</i> <i>mŭa mo márēk</i> <i>ē merekóng, kid e ngu ra golakáng</i> <i>melild a búdel, ē diudí</i> <i>merekóng ē mo ra buk, mangéss a líus</i> <i>mungúiēd re ngí bēbul medú</i>
<i>galíotl medú rúsŭk</i>
<i>a) delúl medú gamádăg</i> <i>merekóng, ē ngu, ē ldí, a budél goití,</i> <i>ē diutí, morúsōg, meób re ngí</i> <i>a kekerél bleób ē mo ra buk</i> <i>ē mongúiēd re ngí</i> <i>b) delúl medú gamádăg, morúsōg re ngi,</i> <i>ómēob re ngí</i> <i>melóbōg re ngi, mongúiēd re ngi</i>

Preparation of tapioca
I dig up the cassava root, I peel and grate,
I press it out (onto a leaf spread), pour off its water,
leave it until it is hard,
take it away, lay it on a leaf spread,
dry it in the sun;
when it is dry, boil it,
sediment and residue can both be cooked.

Tapioca mash.

tapioca grated, pour water over it, squeeze from it the water,

place it in the sun, then come and put it into a pot,
squeeze onto it coconut milk and syrup; make mash from it.

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 file, stirred constantly with a spatula or spoon, until the mash is done and quite firm.

<i>mongósu re ngi, l di merék mo l muilēg kung</i> <i>ke klágá re ngi mang diak l magás a go</i> <i>lakáng</i>
--

<i>kless medú márēk</i>
<i>a medú meliókr 're ngí a budél</i> <i>mŭa mo márēk</i> <i>ē merekóng, kid e ngu ra golakáng</i> <i>melild a búdel, ē diudí</i> <i>merekóng ē mo ra buk, mangéss a líus</i> <i>mungúiēd re ngí bēbul medú</i>

<i>galíotl medú rúsŭk</i>
<i>a) delúl medú gamádăg</i> <i>merekóng, ē ngu, ē ldí, a budél goití,</i> <i>ē diutí, morúsōg, meób re ngí</i> <i>a kekerél bleób ē mo ra buk</i> <i>ē mongúiēd re ngí</i> <i>b) delúl medú gamádăg, morúsōg re ngi,</i> <i>ómēob re ngí</i> <i>melóbōg re ngi, mongúiēd re ngi</i>

stir it around, until it is firm.

watch over it, that the pot does not burn.

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.

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 sau sages,
cut little pieces off, pour coconut milk on them.

<i>c) l marĕk l medú</i>	In the case of “ripe breadfruit,” also eaten with out coconut milk.
<i>sabau l medú</i>	Breadfruit mash
<i>medú gamádăg melıld</i>	peel unripe breadfruit,
<i>ĕ meliud, ĕ meliokr’re ngi a ralm</i>	then cut it up, then cook it, in water,
<i>ma dáob ma disĕg</i>	and saltwater and coconut milk,
<i>miūs re ngi, merekóng</i>	stir it until done;
<i>ma mulăg</i>	and mushy.
<i>kardókĕt</i>	Breadfruit fried in fat
<i>melıld ra medú gamádăg</i>	peel unripe breadfruit
<i>kldărm a tkul melebedóbok re ngi</i>	cut into slices with notched edges
<i>ĕ mangere dógod</i>	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 hewing wood is the adze *gĕbăkl* (poss. *gĕbeklél*). It is so useful for all kinds of work, such as splitting betel nuts, cutting off branches, splitting string, etc., that the natives always carry it with them, on their shoulder (see Vol. 2) or in a basket. It is the equivalent of our pocketknife. Since the earliest times, the word *gĕbăkl* 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); Wilson already found it in use there. 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, *gĕbăkl 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 *pĕágĕd*, which is also the name of the monster in Story 167.

The shape of the handle of the *gĕbăkl* adze (for which the best wood is considered to be *gerúmĕs*) 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 *ptágĕs*

a *ked* (Kub.). The other shapes, most of which are crude, usually have the blade placed 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 *kissĕm* (poss. *ksemél*), all adzes carry that name. Otherwise, “hatchet” is called *gotilĕg* (poss. *gotilegél*), a term that Kub. uses for a small hatchet that is traded (Boys-ax) in Vol. VIII (*Kolilek*), 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 *gĕbăkl* 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).

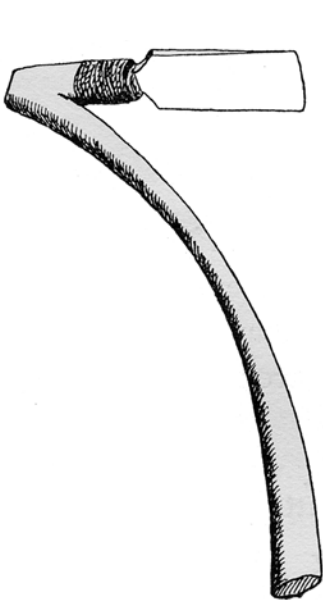


Fig. 90.
The adze *gĕbăkl*.

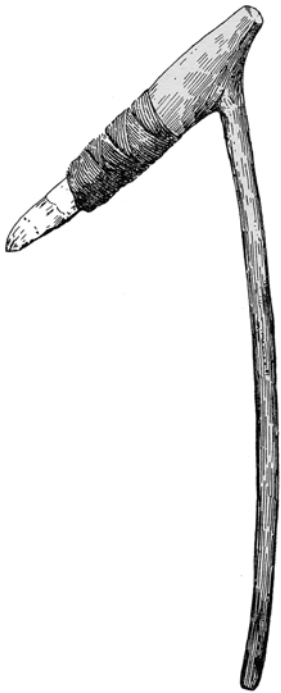


Fig. 91.
Adze used for work.

Fig. 95.
Axe with rotating shaft.

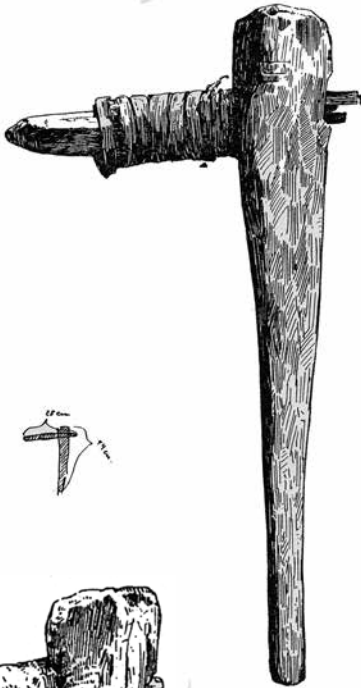


Fig. 94.
Axe.

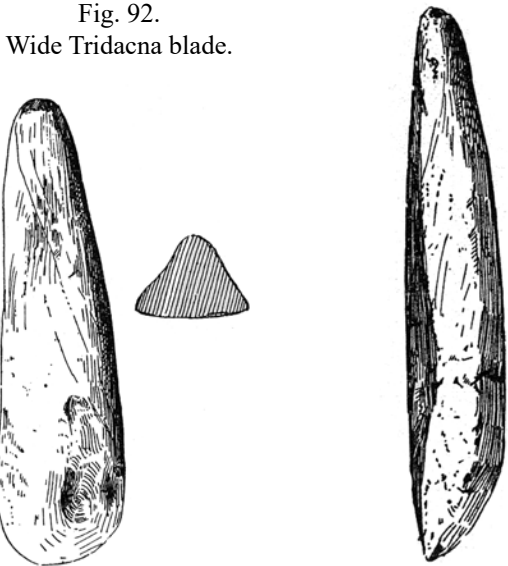


Fig. 92.
Wide *Tridacna* blade.

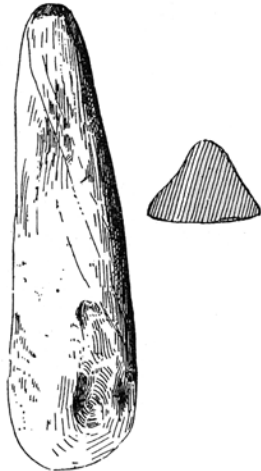


Fig. 93.
Sharp *Tridacna* blade.

Then there are the triangular, pointed ones (Fig. 93), which often resemble chisels 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 *Kasimimiel* axes. Keate, in Plate 2, Fig. 3, 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), (M1 1659 Palau Godeffroy). Another such embedded “hatchet” is also there (Fig. 95) (M1 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 *bēap ruósēd* 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 *gomogosóngēl* (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 *gal-agadál*, and the transverse bar is *utrérél*, the flywheel is *gongopsúl re ngí* (Story 164). Fig. 97 shows two different types of transverse bar.

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

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

Chisel *gotúot* (poss. *gotutél*), which also means “cockspur” (Kub.: *Kotíut*, Wall.: *chotiut*).

Shovel *gongísp* (poss. *gongespél*).

Saw *gologódōg* (Wall.), Kub.: *galgólók*; to saw *mongóiēs*.

Wedge *ditiäg*.

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

medú	breadfruit tree, for houses
ptágēs	<i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i> , used for beams for the framework of houses, etc.
dort	<i>Azelia bijuga</i> , hard timber, used for wooden frames, pounding boards, water piles
ukal’l	<i>Serianthes grandiflora</i> Bth., used for houses and canoes. Sacred tree, see below
ngis	ironwood, a <i>Myrthacee</i>
kelél a garm	<i>Camptosperma brevipetiolata</i> Vlks.
miëg, gotógöl	<i>Terminalia catappa</i> , for building houses
gáramal	<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> , light wood
gosm	<i>Premna</i> sp., for Galid huts (see Story 83)
ríu	<i>Dolichondrone spathácea</i> K. Sch.
rebótēl	Jambosia (<i>Eugenia</i>), used for wooden frames
déngēs	<i>Brugueira gymnorhiza</i> Lam., for wooden frames
gurúr	<i>Sonneratia acida</i> L., for wooden frames
mekëkád	<i>Lumnitzera</i> mangrove, good wood for construction
from pngáol and tebëgēl	<i>Rizophora mucronata</i> and <i>conjugata</i> L., primarily the roots ráód are used
ger’regerói	<i>Mussaenda frondosa</i> , rarely thick enough for use (see Story 49)

Woodwork consists primarily of bowls and plates, commonly called *górsagēl*. A distinction is made between round and oval containers with lids *goromógēl kar*, bowls with flat handles *debí*, round plates *madál a gadéng*, with feet *ouág*, elongated plates with flat handles *gongál*, of arm’s length *gomlútēl*, low-standing flat *tóluk*, high-standing *a iléngēl*. 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. 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 finished, it is polished with ray skin or with the rough surface of the *lild* reed, then painted red.

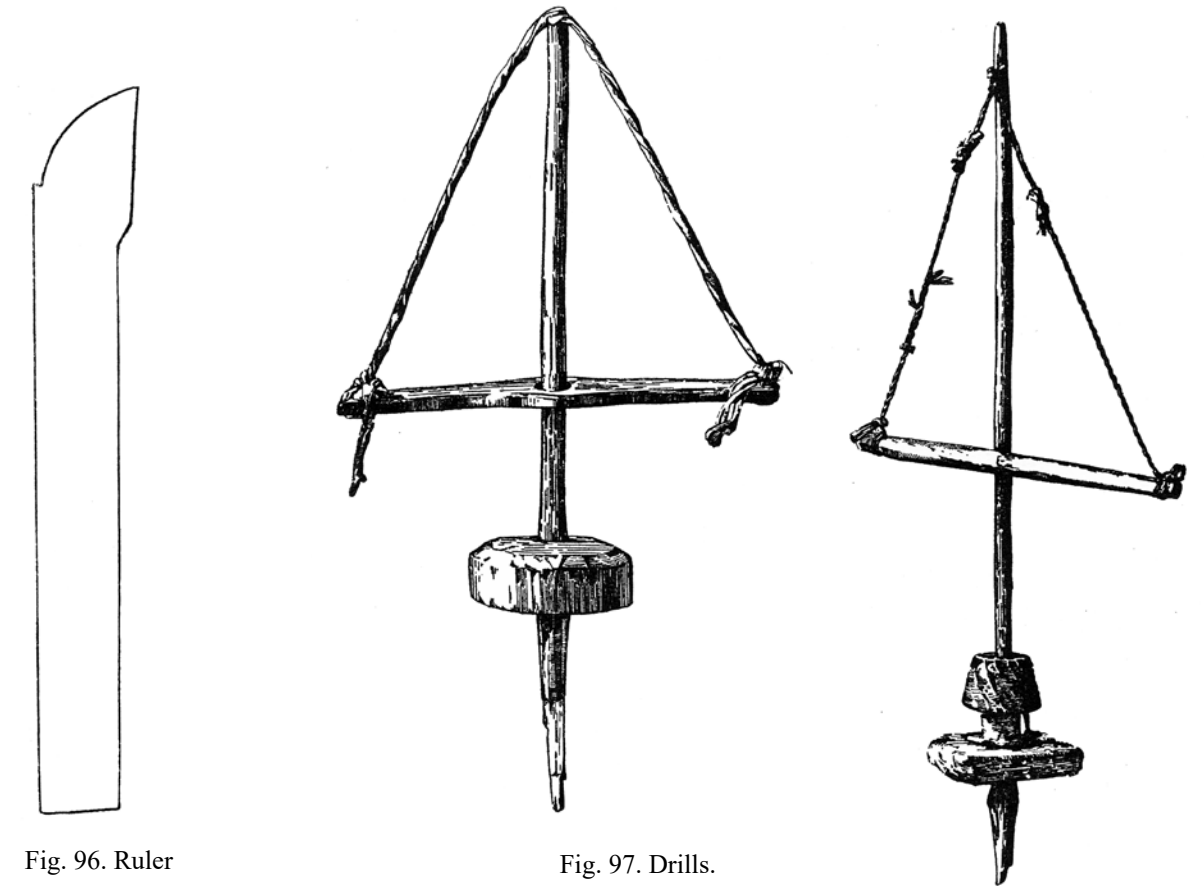


Fig. 96. Ruler

Fig. 97. Drills.

Fig. 98.
plate manufacturing

Painting *omúōk* 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* 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 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 (*mangsóus*), boiled (*melíóng*), and stirred (*omult*) into a thick mash (*měus*). It is wrapped (*omáil*) in a coconut leaf sheath (*tagēĩēr*), laid on a wind beam *gomosoókl*, and squeezed (*omāsěvōs*) with a pole on which 1-3 men sit and that is anchored to a tree root (Fig. 99). The “oil of the nut” *lěkél 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 *derilkeāi* (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 *uródōg* into the wood, using cement *delegúdōg*, 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*- *gotótēl*, mother-of-pearl *gasívōg*, *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). 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. 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 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.

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 them. 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 is 16cm wide and 20cm tall and is decorated with a frieze of warriors carrying heads they have captured.

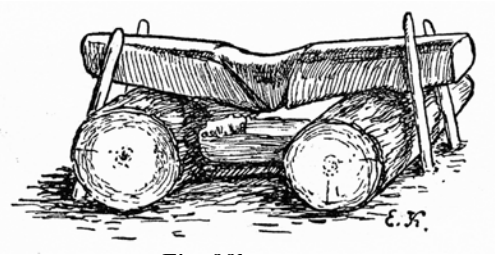


Fig. 99b.
Wind beam setup.

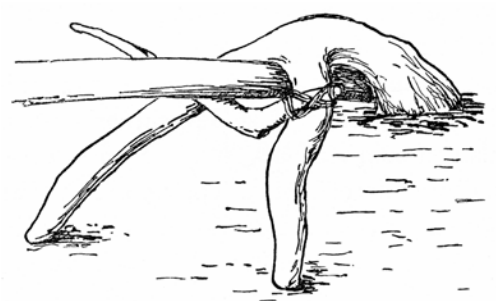


Fig. 100.
Stool for an oil press.

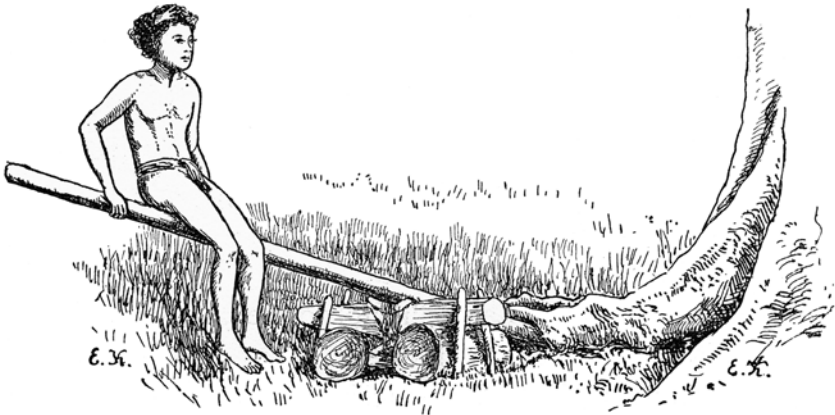


Fig. 99a.
Oil press.
Glass plate scan,
Hamburg Museum.



The other one, which is 18cm wide and tall (Fig. 1), has, in addition to rich decoration of *klívu*k 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, 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 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 ornaments. There are smaller ones related to the ones mentioned: starfish, *Tridacna klívu*k, especially on the flat handles, the triangles or notches *kldarm* (Fig. 102f), the sea grass blossom *bóðēsagár* (Fig. 102e), the zigzag *besepesél a* Ngorót (see Fig. 26y), 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, 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 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 spread throughout almost all of Western Micronesia, as the following section will demonstrate. Underneath the handle on each side, called *debí*, the forehead, “its nose” *isngél* usually juts out 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*, 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. Bowl for dye = *gomlútél*. Ngatpang. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2892, Kr. 111) 1/10 n. Gr.

1. Round food dish, *gongsíl madál a gadéng*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2800^{II}, Kr. 9) 1/10 n. Gr.
2. Fish bowl. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4714^{II}, He 867) 1/10 n. Gr.
3. Bowl for fetching water. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4720^{II}, He 873) 1/10 n. Gr.
4. Cup for *a iláot* (molasses with water). (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 43^{II}, Ham. 43) 1/10 n. Gr.

5. Mixing pot for molasses, *goromógól gár*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2897^{II}, Kr. 116) 1/10 n. Gr.
6. Bowl = *golugaságl*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4712^{II}, He 865) 1/10 n. Gr.
7. Oval bowl, *moterótēr lolúmél*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3696^{II}, Kr. 994) 1/10 n. Gr.
8. Container for molasses, for hanging. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3794^{II}, He 49) 1/10 n. Gr.
9. Bowl for taro celebrations, *toluk ra Rubak*, from Ngáruangél! (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4775^{II}, He 931) 1/10 n. Gr.
10. 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.
11. Wide fish bowl, *gongál*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4671^{II}, He 829) 1/10 n. Gr.
12. Old bowl, *dëbbí (debí)*. Inlay broken out. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 135^{II}, Ham 143) 1/10 n. Gr.
13. Round bowl, *madál a gadéng lolúmél*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3699^{II}, Kr. 997) 1/10 n. Gr.
14. Long bowl, *gongál*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3799^{II}, He 56) 1/10 n. Gr.
15. Taro pounding board, fine type, *ngot*. Ngatpang. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2896^{II}, Kr. 115) 1/10 n. Gr.
16. Wide fish bowl, Ngarmid. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4939^{II}, He 1088) 1/10 n. Gr.
17. Fish bowl, Goréör. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4684^{II}, He 842) 1/10 n. Gr.
18. Fish bowl from Galëgúi, from the side. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4890^{II}, He 1043) 1/10 n. Gr.
19. Oval bowl. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 2813^{II}, Kr. 23) 1/10 n. Gr.
20. Bowl for raw fish, *gongbál*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 3723^{II}, Kr. 1023) 1/10 n. Gr.
21. Set of round plates, *madál a gadéng*.
22. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg 4692^{II} - 4701^{II}, He 853, 1 - 10) 1/10 n. Gr.
23. Taro pounding board, rough type (40:25cm), *ngot*. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Kr. 61) 1/10 n. Gr.
24. Set of ten (*blagalákl*) *debí*= plates.
25. (Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, Kr. 12 - 21) 1/10 n. Gr.

Occasionally, however, human or animal figures are mounted on the lids of syrup containers. In 1907 I found a lid in Ngát pang, which is artistically inclined. On it were two monkeys, 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.

The bowls with lids *dángāb* (poss. *dangēbél*) 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 *goromógēl kar* (from *merémāg* “to stir”). 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.

The sculptor of these specimens is Golegeril (see below and in Vol. 2). 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. These kinds of purely artistic creations are discussed in Section VII; they are commonly called *delásëg* (from *melásäg* 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. 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, barrel-shaped ones Fig. 115. The elongated forms are called *kungël a riamël* “peel of the *riamël* fruit” because of their shape. Elongated standing containers are also not unusual (Kr. 995, Ham. 47, Kr. 994); they are called *golümël moterótër* 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).

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 *górsagël*, 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 iléngël*, in which the drink is called *golugau*. In general, large containers are called *gongsíl*, and small ones are called *blagalákl* “swarm,” because they are sold in sets of 10.



Fig. 101.
Bird container. Dresden. Original EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum collection.

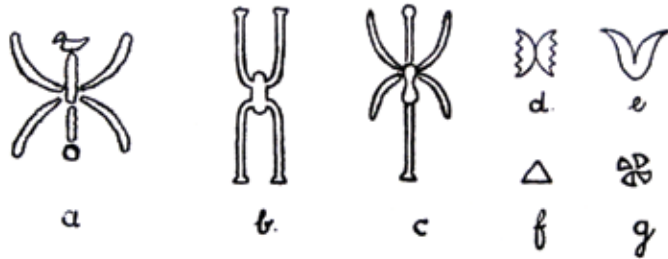
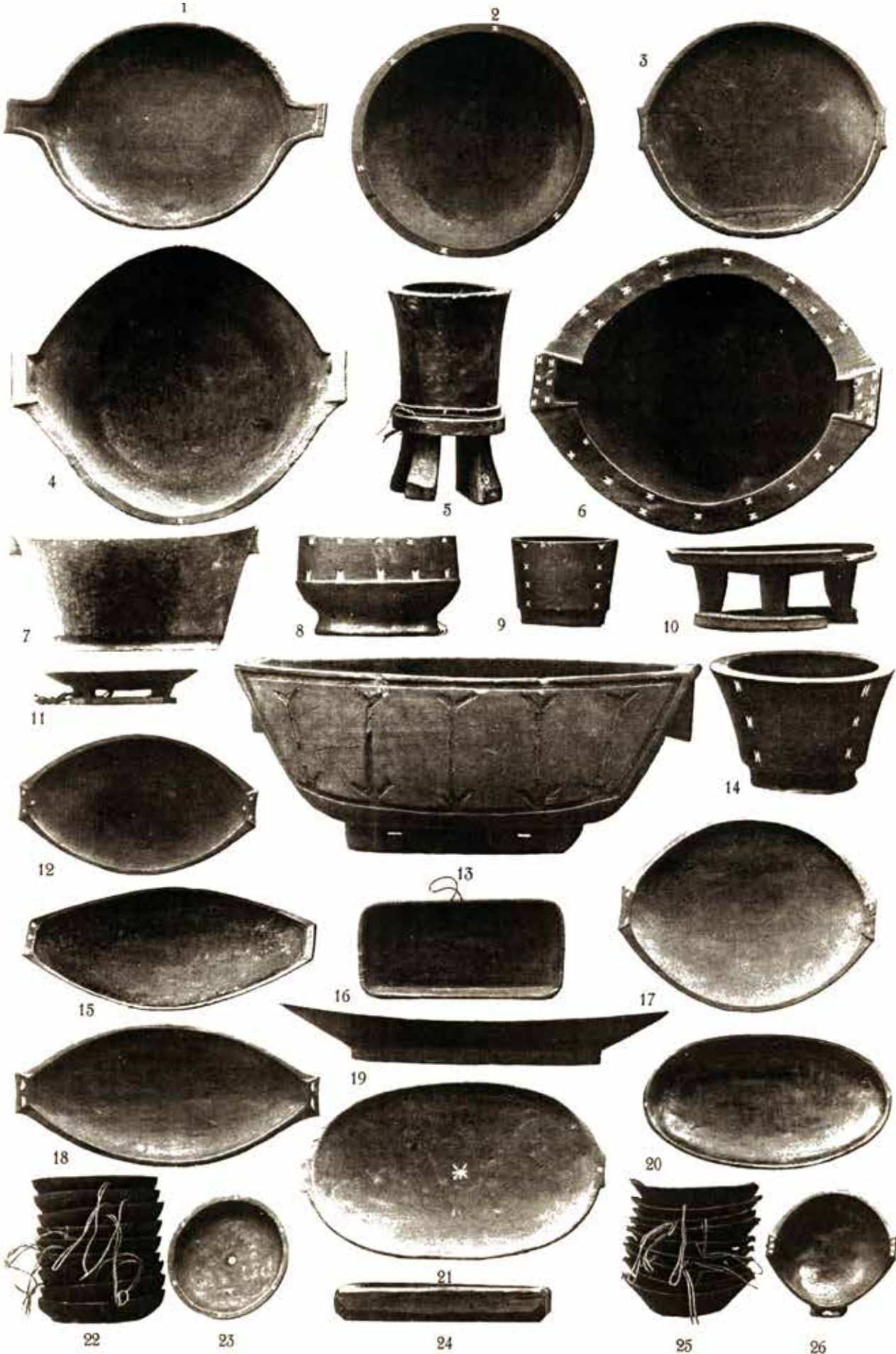


Fig. 102.
Inlay patterns.



A deep bowl, for example, for preparing *reng*, is called *ngolegēságēl*. The *a iléngēl* are usually cylinders that are up to 1 ½ m tall, 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 (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 iléngēl*, but it was not nearly as nice.

There are two kinds of *tóluk* taro benches: round ones and rectangular ones. The round *tóluk galiduid* (from *mageideuid* “round”) have four legs, which are attached at the base to a wooden ring (Fig. 118). Their decoration and use were previously discussed; see also story 164 and the section below on the *ruk* dance (Section VI). HE. collected an old, small, round *tóluk* that was used as an offering table and was said to have come from Ngáruangēl (see Vol.2). It was supposedly damaged by the disastrous typhoon (width 40cm, height 15cm) (Fig. He. 931).

In Ngimis I found a specimen decorated with four faces that was dedicated to the god Medegeipélau (Vol. 2). 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 *audertebótöb*, which can be quite large; they are called *gologotókl* (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 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. Similarly, a taro pounding board, *ngot*, that is more elaborately carved can sometimes be mistaken for a Japanese serving tray. But as I mentioned, this is a rare occurrence. 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 Fig. 3. The latter is a *debí*, as are the two specimens shown, 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 containers. 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).

The pretty, little circular plates are made and sold (*óngiákl*) in sets *blagalákl* of 10; 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 Me-lekeiok; they are called *gongsil madál a gadéng* or *gongklsil*, because they are meant especially for mashed taro. The one shown comes from Peliliou 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 Figs. 12, 15, 17, 18, 19), if they are arm’s length: *gomlútēl* or also *debí*, as in the Central Carolines (Truk: *sābbi*). All plates and bowls with flat handles *debí* (see above) 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 groove. The slab is either elliptical lengthwise, in the case of the long plates, or round, in the case of the round plates with handles, like the circular containers *madál a gadéng*. There are even plates with handles



Fig. 103.
Hanging pot.



Fig. 104.
Lid with two monkeys.

Plate 6. Wood carvings.

Cow, cat, and monkeys, Stuttgart



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 base, is of importance. Of course, 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 Figs. 3 and 4 appear to represent a transition from round plates to elongated ones, i.e. a *madál a gadéng* with *debi*, 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 similarly called *debi blagalákl*. Like 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*. 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 *káēp* 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 *debi*, i.e. with flat handles, such as 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.

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 *gomlútēl* 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 *goromógēl kár* (Kr. 116 Hbg. 2879, 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* (*ngolegēságēl*?) which is used to carry grated coconut or turmeric root (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 out. (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. The bowl in question could perhaps owe its existence to more recent relations with Luf, as discussed in Vol. 1. The shape, however, is Central Carolinian, as is explained in more detail in the culture comparison in Section VIII.

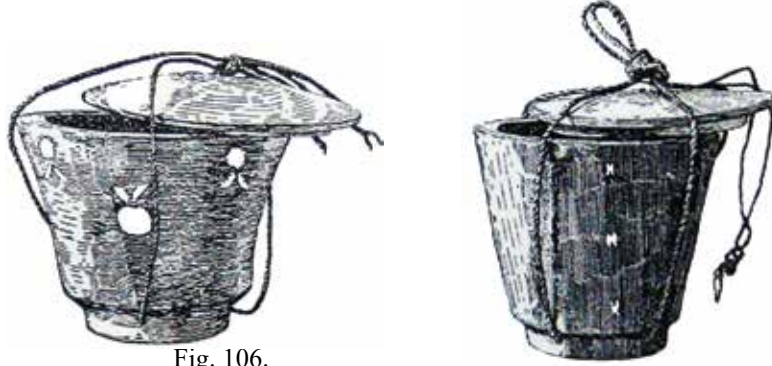


Fig. 106.
Hanging container. Width 21.5cm.

Fig. 107.
Hanging container. Height 17cm.

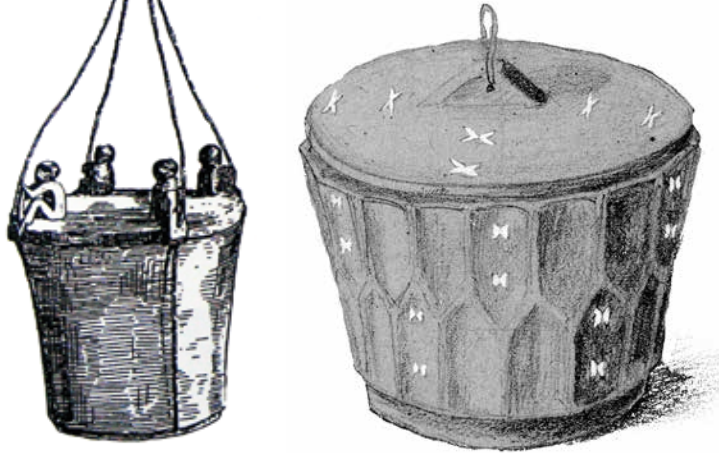


Fig. 105.
Conical hanging container.
Height 17.5cm.

Fig. 108.
Standing container. Width 22.5cm.
EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum collection.



Fig. 110.
Hanging container. Width 19cm.



Fig. 109.
Hanging container. Width 23cm.

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

Fig. 112.
Standing container, lotus shape.
EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum collection.



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. 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 lgolúüüp*, 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.

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

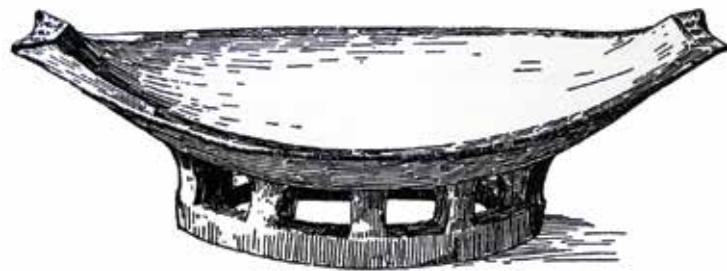


Fig. 124. Fish board from above and side view.

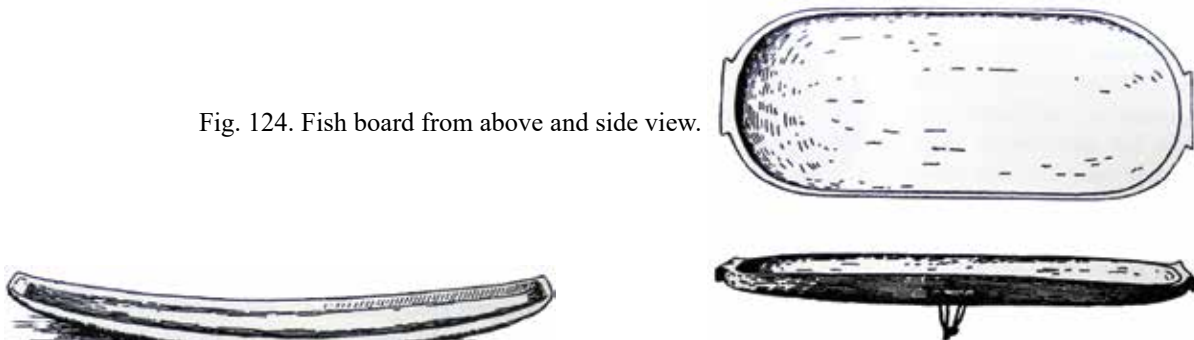


Fig. 125. Fish container.

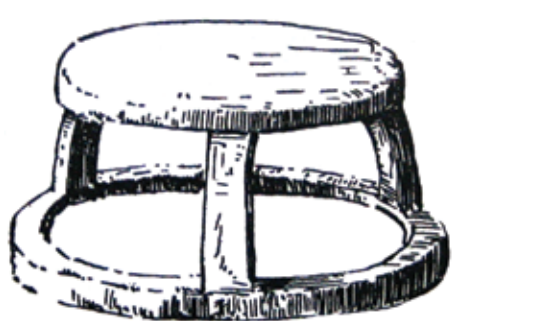
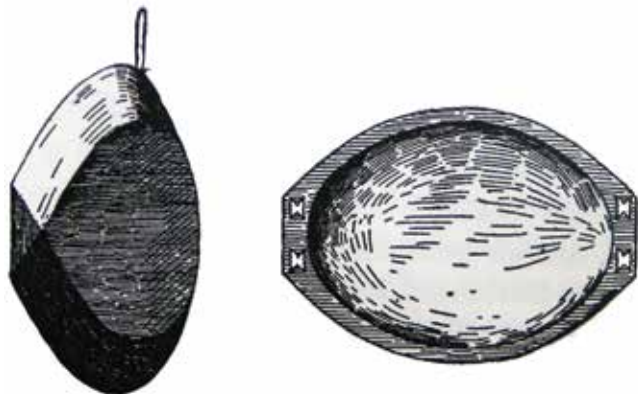


Fig. 121. Three-legged footstool for children.



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



Fig. 113.

Hanging container. Width 21cm.



Fig. 115. Height 7 cm.



Fig. 114a. Standing container. Width 50cm. EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum



Fig. 119. Offering table with partial feet, from Ngatpang. Height approx. 60cm.



Fig. 116. Container for syrup water, approx. 20cm tall. EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum



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



Fig. 114b. Width 28.5 cm.

Fig. 120.

Taro bench. Size 128:38:34cm.

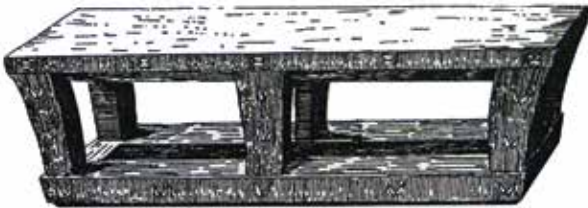


Fig. 118. Round offering table.



Dishes of food on wooden plates for guests in the Bai. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Above;
3 coconut spoons with
wooden handles,
46 and 50cm long.



Interior of blai Nr. I of Melekéiok. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



The Turtleshell Industry

This was already described by Kub. in Vol. VIII, pgs. 188-194. He points out that the natives eat turtle only in case of illness, as an offering to the gods (see above). 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 and the *tan-gét* stopper. 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 *goderógél* (a. open, b. closed) is carved out of hard wood (*rebotél*, *dort*, *gurúr*, *dengës*, 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 *titëg* are driven in with a hammer *gongesuâi* (c). The binding *saûr* consists of strands (Fig. 126d) from the skin of the coconut frond stalk *galings* woven into braids *delidâi*, which are extremely strong. 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 *godugodëg* and then sawn off. This sawing *mongóiës* (see the section on money) is done with the highly silicic “skin of the reed” *budél a lild*. These are stripped off of small sticks from young pieces of reed, after the internodes 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 *omtángët* 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 Gaseûg 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. The next pages show some beautiful old forms.

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



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:

1. *Barak* slender with a wide tip, like a narrow dustpan, long and made from thick turtleshell, perhaps comparable to *bar'rák* “taro, type of money”.
2. *Trir* (*derir*) *ter'rir* poss. *ter'rúl*, 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*) round, hemispherical, with a wide handle.

The spoons are often carried on a string or chain (Next page photo, 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, the women’s bracelets, turtleshell combs, the lime stick, finger rings, and graters for the betel mortar. The *gosisál* rods of messengers, which are discussed in the section on chiefs, are similar to the triangular, long, sharp graters.

Fig. 126. Molding for turtleshell.
Original EK drawing scans, Hamburg Museum collection.

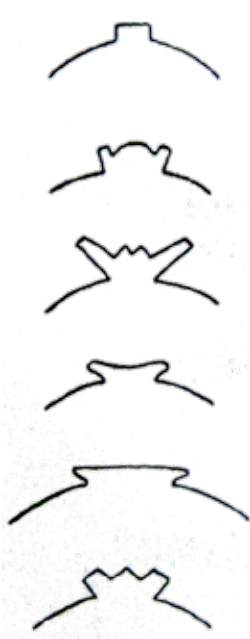
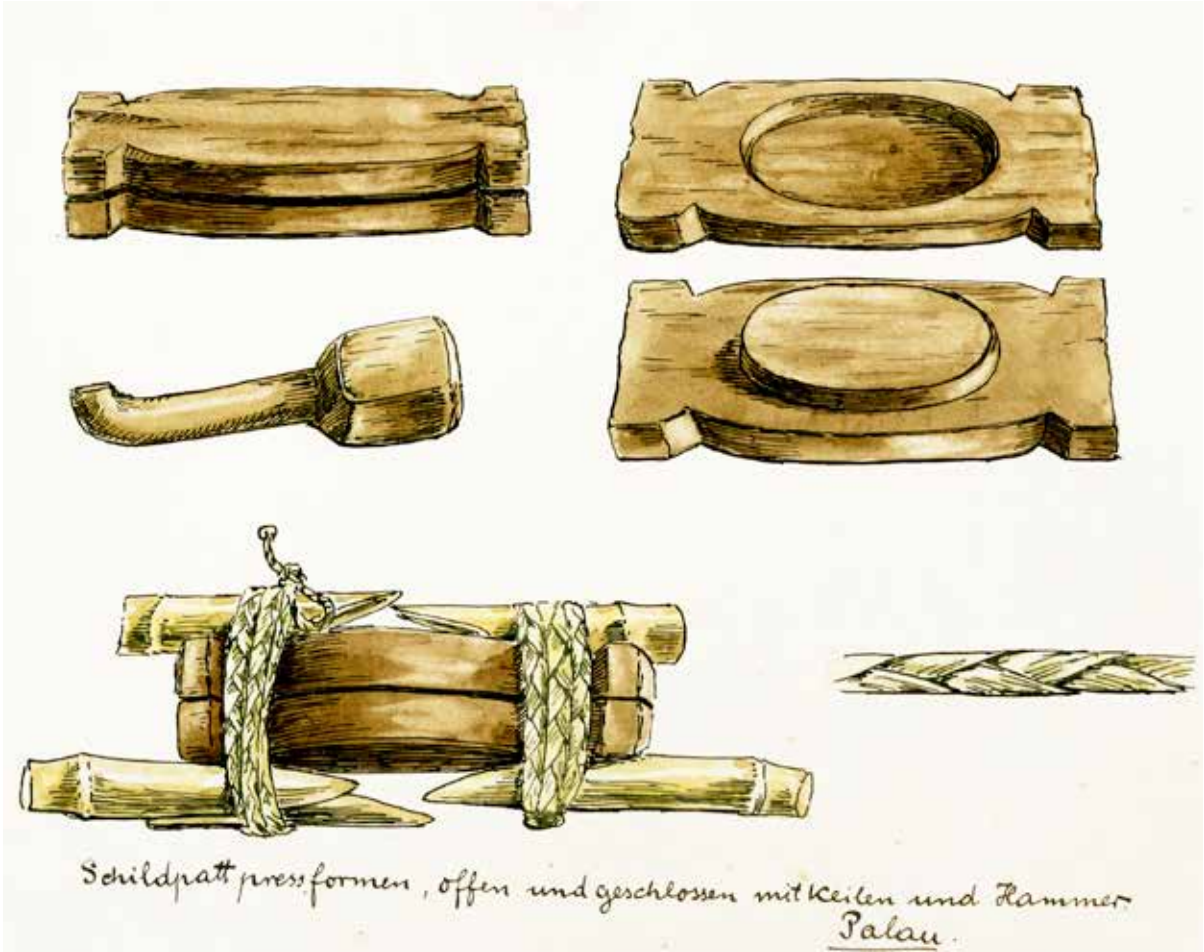
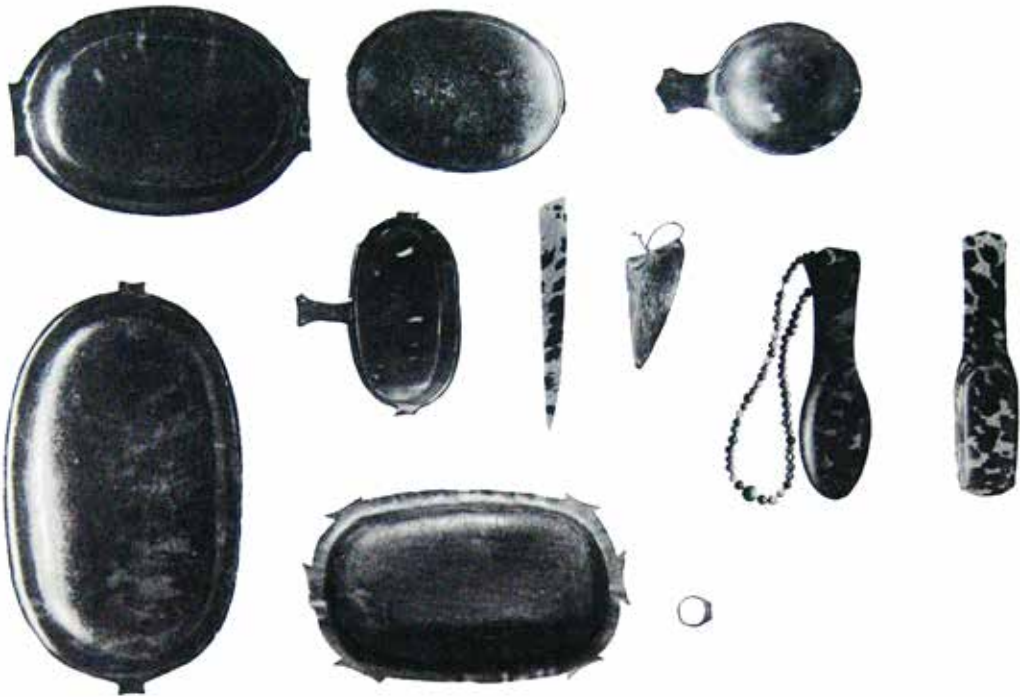


Fig. 127.
Handles on
turtleshell bowls.



Turtleshell crafts
Bowls 10-20cm long, spoons, Areca graters, ring.

Weapons *galëvël* (poss. *galëvelél*)

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 club”). Similar to the club are the short hand clubs *prótög* (Kub.: *prótok*) and the wooden sword, usually known as *galépëd*, of which there is a magnificent specimen in the Wilson collection, see there *Prothotbuck*, McCluer: called *Prothotheek*, already mentioned above in the section on inlay work, and depicted (size 2 feet and 10 inches).

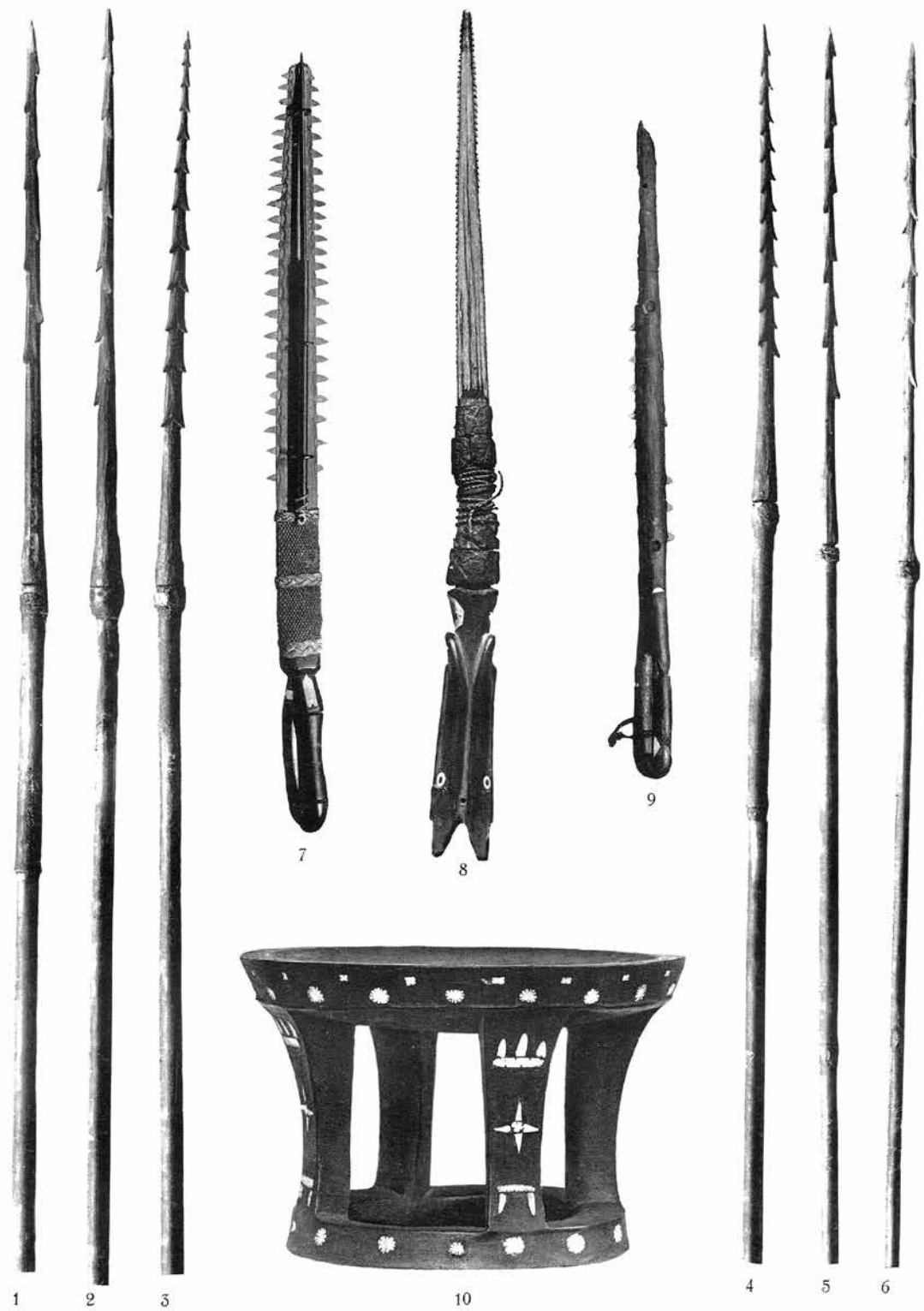
There is also one shown in Kub., Vol. VIII, Plate XXII 9, which he calls *Prótok* on pg. 156; it is 94 cm long. It has only 6 little pieces of inlay on the blade. There is a similar specimen in the Imperial Natural History Museum in Stockholm, and it is portrayed in Dahlgren, pg. 324; it has no decoration 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 *Pëágëdarsai*, 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. 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, 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, and which has two figures standing back-to-back on the hand grip. The same figures are found on a dagger with ray stingers in the British Museum. With it are also two similar weapons armed with teeth (Figs. 7 and 9), each of whose handle has a wide hole.

Fig. 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, were called *gäreál* or *garáel* (He. and Kub.: *kareál*) and were used to cut off heads, as Story 59 were called *gäreál* 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*). *táoëd gerâu*. 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 *nglemóiël* (see *ngëmóiël* fish). Aside from this iron lance, which was imported, there existed ten other types of indigenous spears, all of which sported barbs (*togëd*). According to Kub., they are:



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.

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. This is probably the *nglemóiēl* spear without barbs which I heard of, and for which the class of *kēmēdúkl* fish is named *ngēmóiēl*.
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 *gatkóngēl* was a bamboo pole about 50cm long with a hollow on the side in front of an internode, into which the spear *ulóiōg* (poss.: *ulēgel*) was placed. The term comes from *dmóiōg* to throw (see Story 194, line 14). Ugél re gulsíang was struck by *ulēgél a* Regēvúi as he rose into the air, according to Story 204b, Verse 34. As Vol. 1, 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, 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 Nggeiangēl, where it was apparently called *Klíwok*; this is the term for the open *Tridacna* shell; 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. 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 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.



Fig.130. Sword-like club



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.



Fig. 128.
Wooden sword, according to Kub.

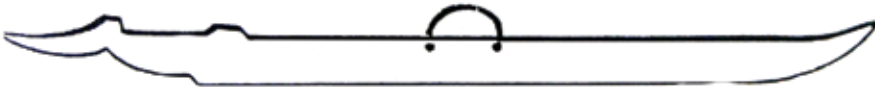


Fig. 129.
Wooden sword, according to Dahlgren.

Pottery making.

The making (*oldák* and *omëób*) of clay pots *gútüm lolákáng* is women’s work and has been performed since ancient times by almost all blai in Goikúl and Ngát pang; also in Galáp and *a* Gól, to which Kub., in Vol. VIII, pg. 199, adds Neó (Ngëóng), Ngarengasáng and Ngarakesóu; the last three are reputed to have produced pots that were particularly sturdy. I already reported about the presence of clay in Vol. 1; white clay is called *ngéiassek*, 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).

by Elisabeth. Krämer.

The woman Gorágël of blai Ngaramesegabóng 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 clay 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 board in piles 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 bowl (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 board, 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 continuation.



Fig. 136.
Original EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum.



EK drawing scans and glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum. Below: Goikul from blai Tebangel making pots.



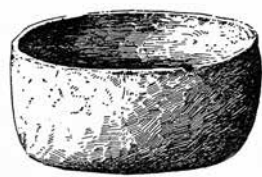


Fig. 137a.
Clay pot. Diameter
3:36cm,
height 17-18cm.

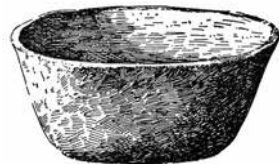


Fig. 137b.
Clay pot. Diameter
36:37cm,
height 16cm.

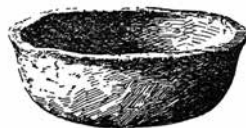


Fig. 138a. Clay pot.
Size 24:16:10.

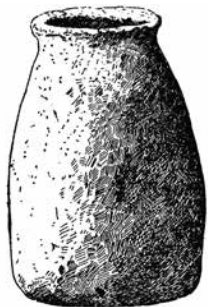


Fig. 139. Syrup pots.
Size 40:19-20cm.
Size 38:22-38cm.



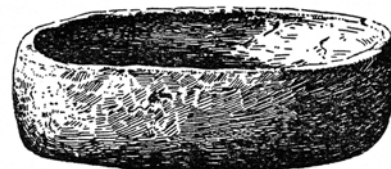
Fig. 138b.
Clay pot. Size 35:24:11.

The woman turns the board in such a way that she is always working on the 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) and the pressing tool or smoothing utensil (Fig. i).

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 smooths the inner walls with the smoothing utensil by 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 smooths the side that is pointing up.

Now the bowl has attained its finished shape and is ready to be fired. This can be done as early as one day later, or the bowl can be stored un-fired 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 ½ m long by ¾ 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 branch (Fig. m) and a long rod with a hook and carried them a little ways away, where he placed them on the ground. The woman came with a bit of cement.



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.: *golísál*), which can hold up to two baskets' worth of taro (Fig. 137), and the flatter, elongated *terótěr* (Fig. 138). Fig. 139 shows the shape of the molasses container *bakái*. Imported earthenware has almost completely replaced it. According to Kub., larger pots over 1m tall are called *karamaliúk*, smaller ones are called *kasapagáy*.

Stands *iluóděl* (poss. *ilodelél*) or *golegúl* (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.

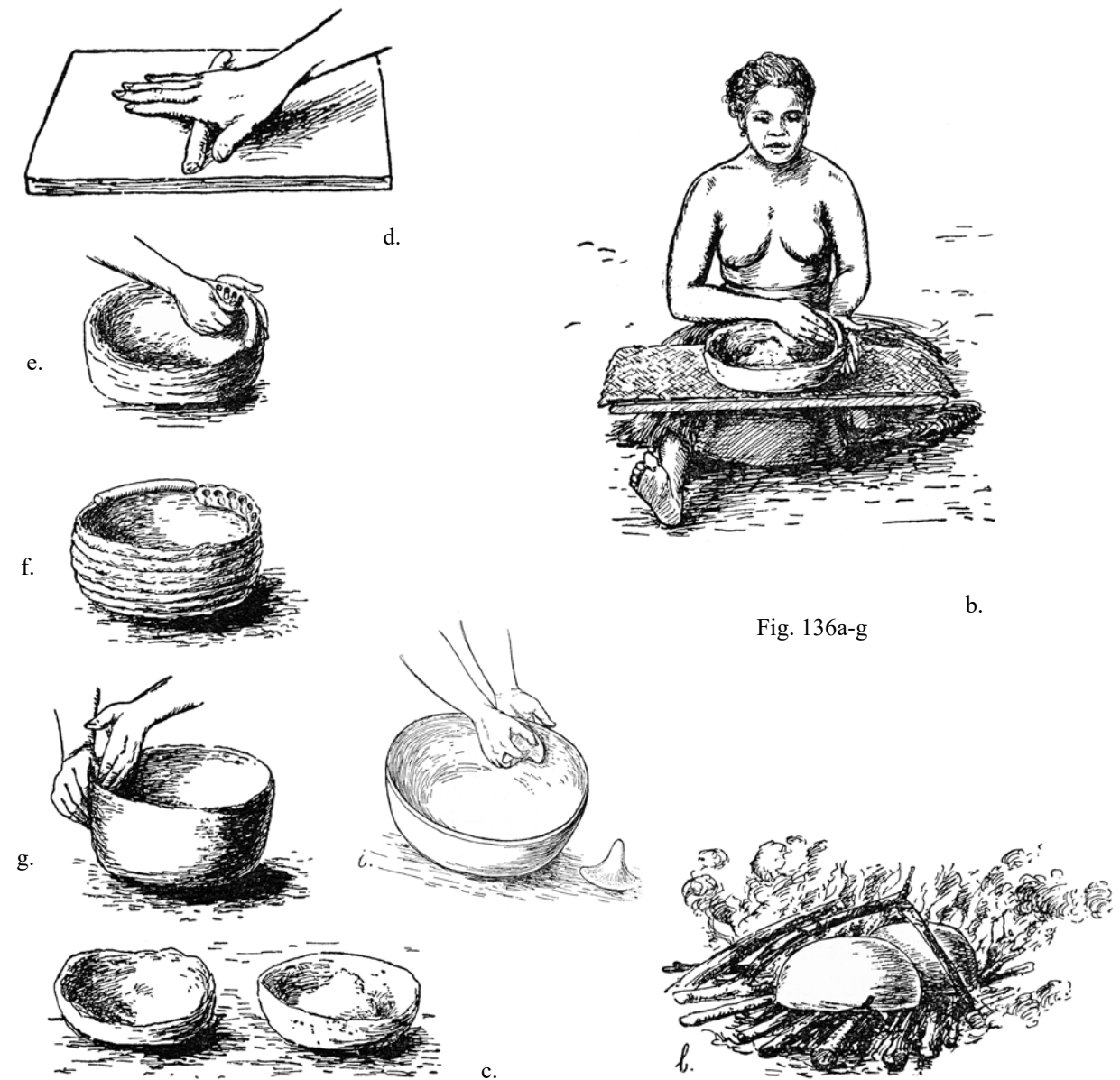


Fig. 136a-g

And finally I must include the clay lamps *gólbidēl*. 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 *pisēg*, 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 as fuel. There can be 2, 3, or 4 wick pipes (*ngëru-*, *ngëdei-*, *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 Ngát pang, which 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, which is a favorite subject; the latter shows 8 people seated in a circle. 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.

Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

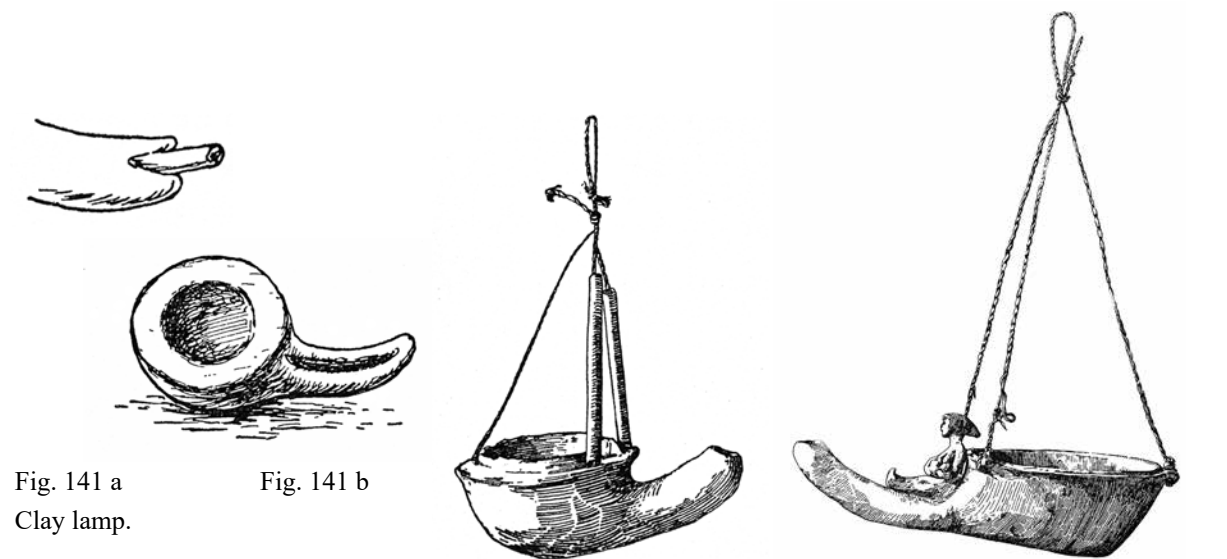
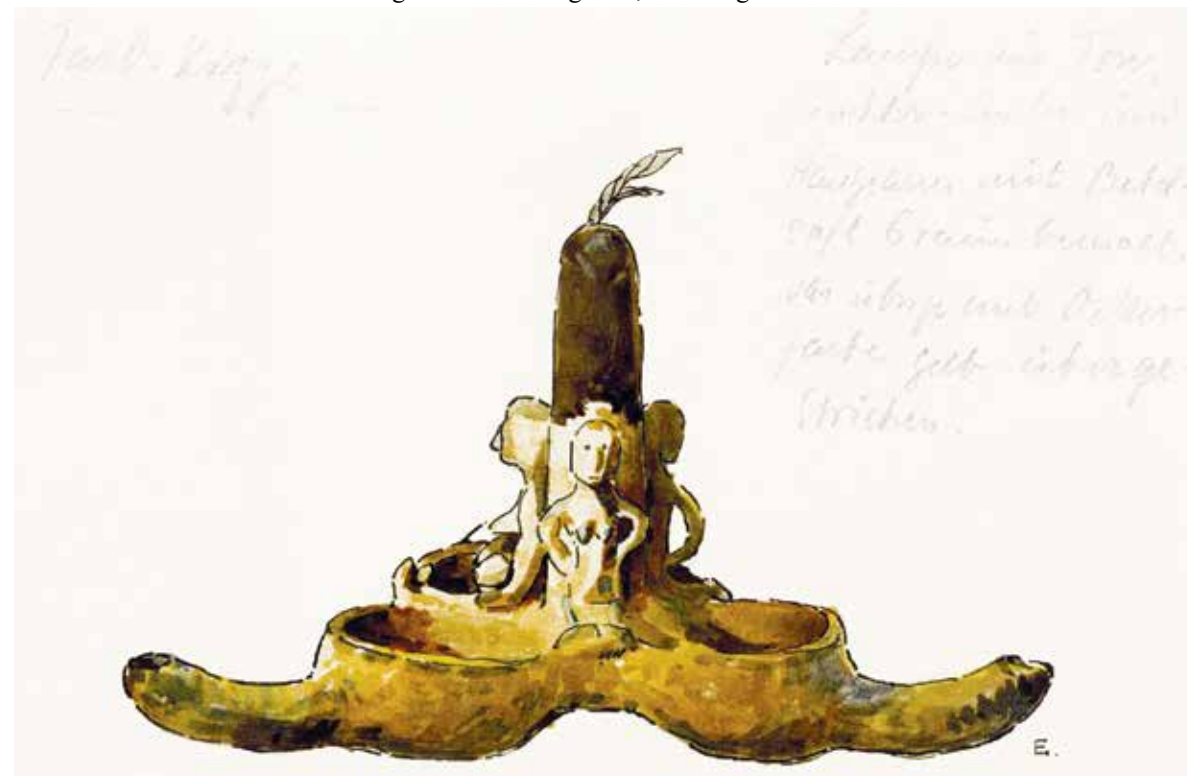


Fig. 141 a
Clay lamp.

Fig. 141 b

Fig. 141c. Length 14cm

Fig. 143. Magnificent lamp. 30cm wide.



76386 (Kr.)

Figure lamps. Linden Museum, Stuttgart.

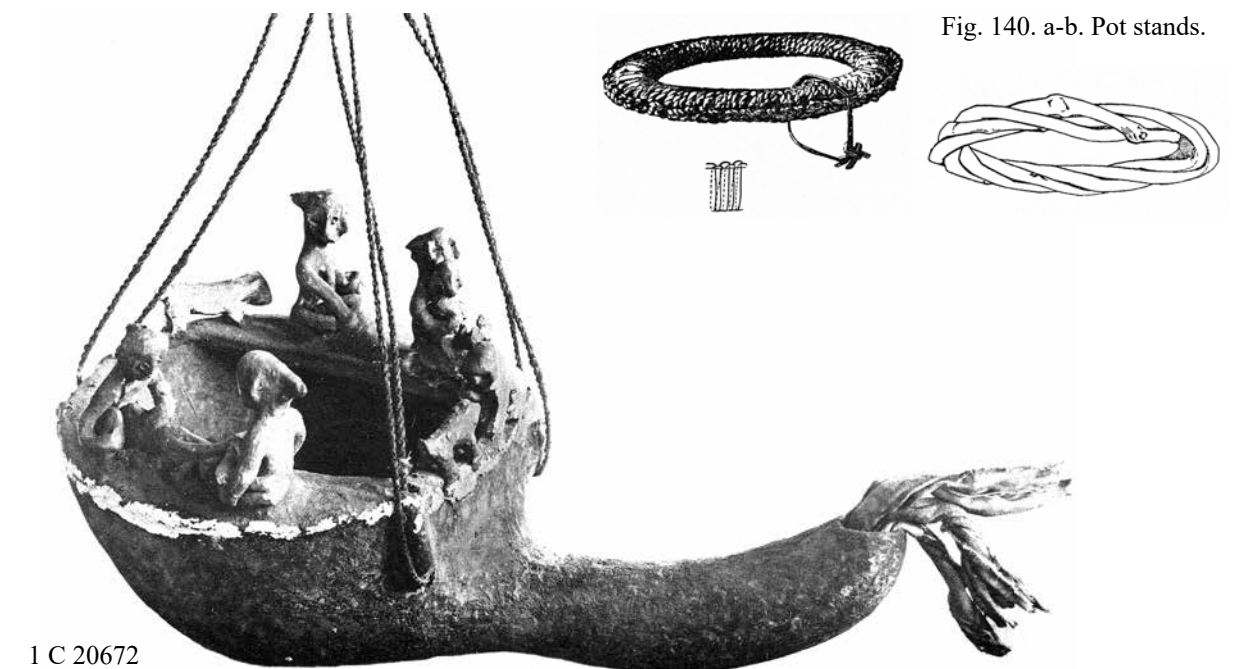


Fig. 140. a-b. Pot stands.

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Thirauldekei with clay water pots and wooden plate.



Ngatuai and Agugong getting water. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.

b) Ropemaking and the art of Weaving

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

Making of coconut cord: The most important fibers are obtained from the coconut husk. 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 sūld* or *temáng* (poss.: *temungūl*, see Story 155a) until the binding substance *dēgīl 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 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 Truk 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 *gotúngēl* bag. Braiding *mangáus* (*omdid* the beginning at the edge) primarily applies to baskets, bags, and mats.

suálo- baskets are made from coconut fronds.

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

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

suálogorovíkl- basket for bringing food.

suálo ulóik- made from young, slit fronds.

gológūl (poss. *gologelél*, Wall.: *chochuóchel*, EK.: *ngoluókl*)- used for taro fertilizer, loosely braided.

gorskūl (Wall.: *choskúul*)- taro basket.

goltátēl- large taro basket.

tet ulóik- usually called *tet* for short, the hand-held basket of the rubak (see 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), a basket made of string is called *séu*. A basket called *gomsángēl* (Kub. *raū*) 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:

melemósōm- 3 strings are tied on separately, one in the middle and one at each side; *klemósōm* tied up; *msemesemi* tie it!

maráud- tied up lengthwise, the way one sews up an opening; *reuídēl* binding; *m rudi* tie it!
gomogūl' l- tied up all around, like a package, *ulugul' l* tied up; *mogulí* tie it!

Tools used for weaving:

gasívōg- the pearl shell used for splitting, *ngarek*- half a pearl shell.

Bags *gotúngēl* (poss. *gotngelél*) are made out of *Pandanus monocolor* strips or with a black hem *ulálēk* (see above, and Section VIb), with or without a handle *kul*. Those with the black patterns are often quite beautiful and effective (see Fig. 144). The kind with handles, the *gotúngēl ulálēk*, are real handbags like those our women carry. They are used to hold quids, money, etc. The former kind, the ones without handles that are tapered at the top are slid under the front apron, as discussed already. 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^u with the *blásāg* pattern; larger elongated bags -a double one He. 38: *sokovidai*) are used to store betel nuts and are called *blil a kebúi* (house of the *kebúi* nuts); larger handbags called *delūs* (Kub., Vol. II, Adolúus), made of *monggóngg* leaf blades 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. There are only two kinds: coarsely woven sleeping mats *gǎdāgól*, and the more finely woven *bar ngoíkl* that are used as under-mats, and mats for the dead *bar a medēi*. The finer mats, *bar*, used as blankets, are usually folded like a sheet of paper.

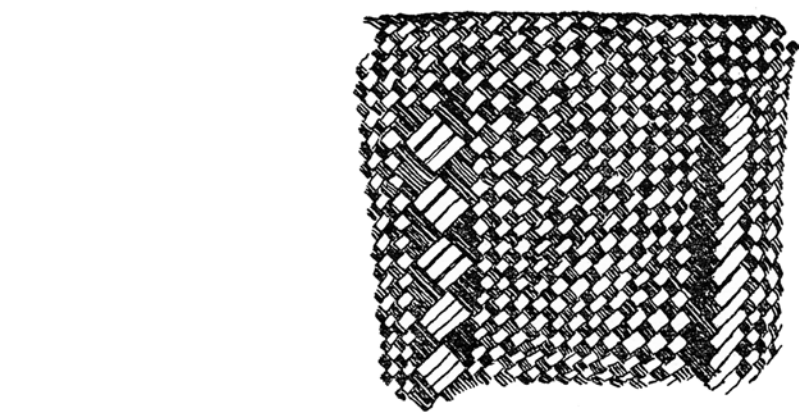
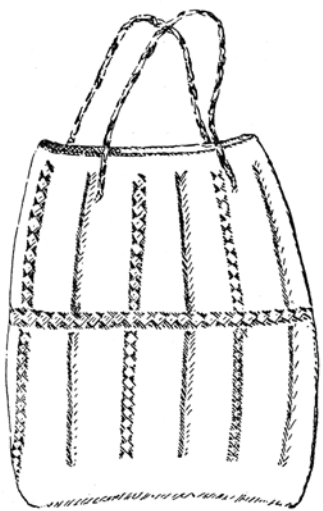


Fig.144.
a. Woman's handbag,
approx. 20cm high.

b. Weaving pattern.

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 *gǎdāgól* 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*. The mats for the dead are also called *bádek* (Kub., Vol. III, pg. 7 *Bádek*), the coarser burial mats are also called *golúbod*. 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* (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 *telngúdēl* (Kub. *Telrindul*); at the top they are usually jagged, like a saw (*kldárm*).

Another type of mat, called *telutau*, and the related mat *kleiāngēl* are sacred mats. Like baskets, they are woven out of coconut fronds (see below). Making them was once a privilege of Semdiu and was passed from him to House Nr. IV in a Irai, as is told in Story 197 of Medegeipélau. Story 161 tells how these *telutau* 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) says that the *telutau 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 *telutau* dance is done with people holding mats in their hands; in this case, the *rongór* mat probably is probably 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 *mōnggong* or *keai*, which were previously mentioned, 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). More common are the bags called *delūs* (poss. *delsél*), of which principally three types are made (see also the cage in Fig. 56):

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).

klevidēl- both ends are sewn up, “dammed” (from *mengáud* to dam) (Fig. 146a).

gouērūl- “wedged” (like a wedge *gorūl*), three pieces are sewn together with a separate bottom. 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.

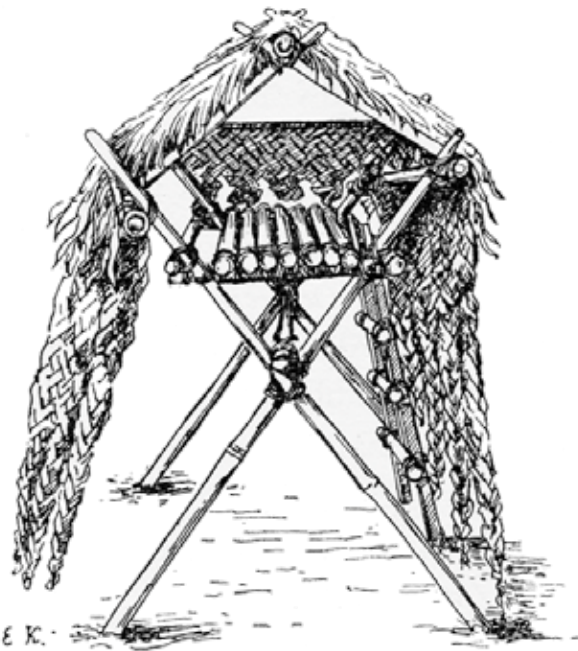
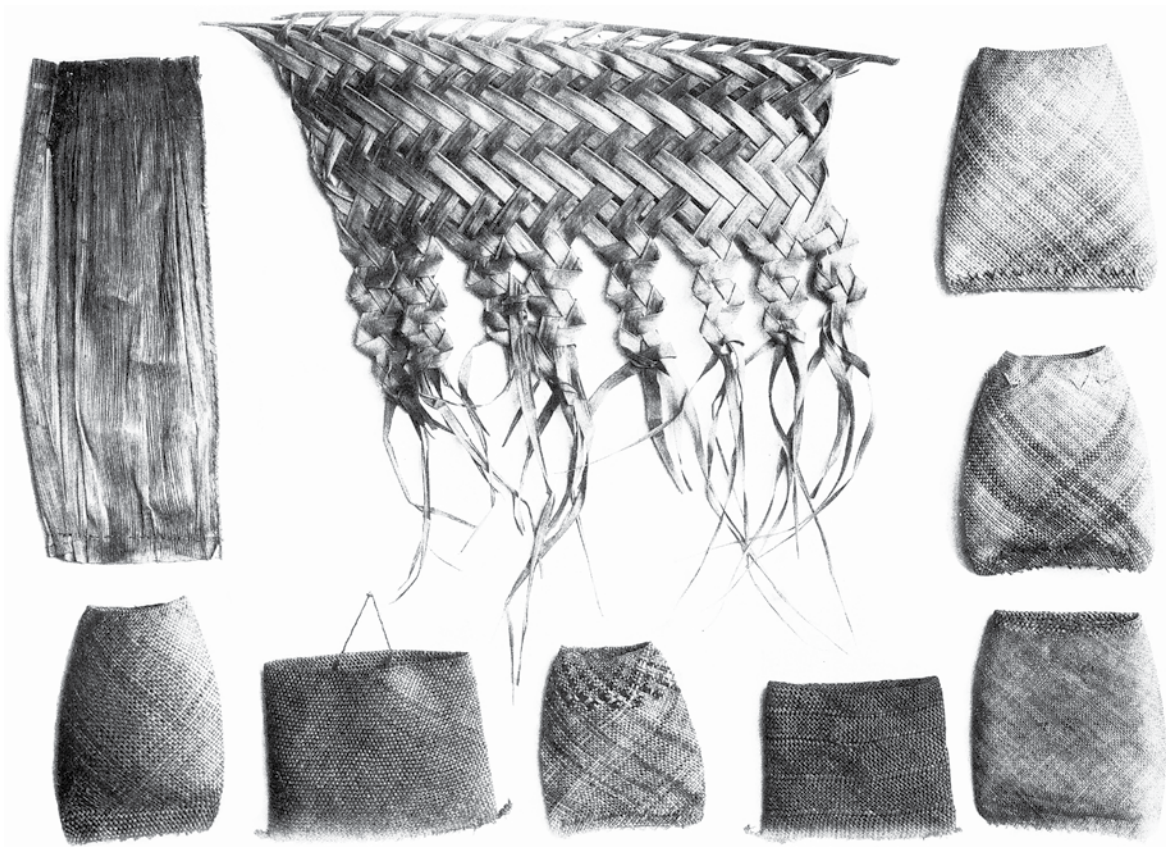
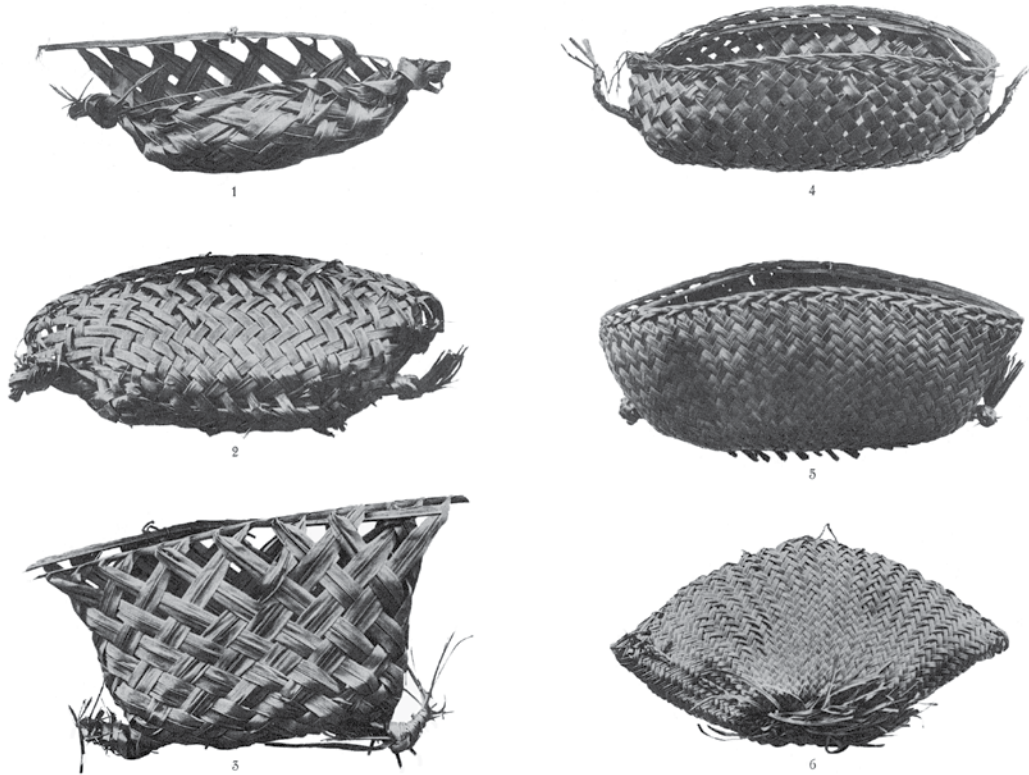


Fig. 145.

Fish observation hut with *telutau* mats, except on the viewing side. Model Stuttgart.



Examples of Weaving work. Left: Bag made from Areca leaf sheath. Center, top: Telutau mat. Right and bottom: Women’s handbags. Baskets made of coconut leaves. 1- tangerik, 2- gorovikl, teliu style, 3- ngoluókl, 4- gorovikl, galusákl style, 5- aulóik (He 941 = 4783 II) 6- tet ulóik, ulagädäger style.



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) *téliu*, (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.



Fig. 146a.
Leaf bag, sewn.

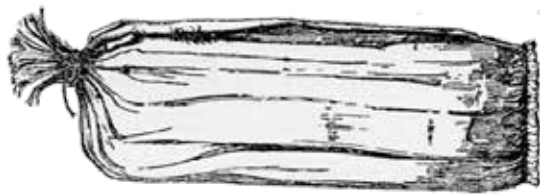


Fig. 146b.
Tied.

But the surface patterns also have a direction, which is discussed below in the description of the making of the *gorovikl* basket. If the “rays of the weave” are horizontal, resembling, for example fish bones or corn ears as in Nr. 1, they are called *téliu*. If, on the other hand, they are upright, perpendicular to the edge, they are called *ule-gadagér*.

In Vol. VIII, pg. 210, Kub. says; “If the units are standing upright, the pattern is called *ulakadurus*, but if they run horizontally, it is called *ulokodager*. The normal *Teliu* pattern is used mainly for sleeping mats, while the *ulokad-ager* 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.

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. 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.

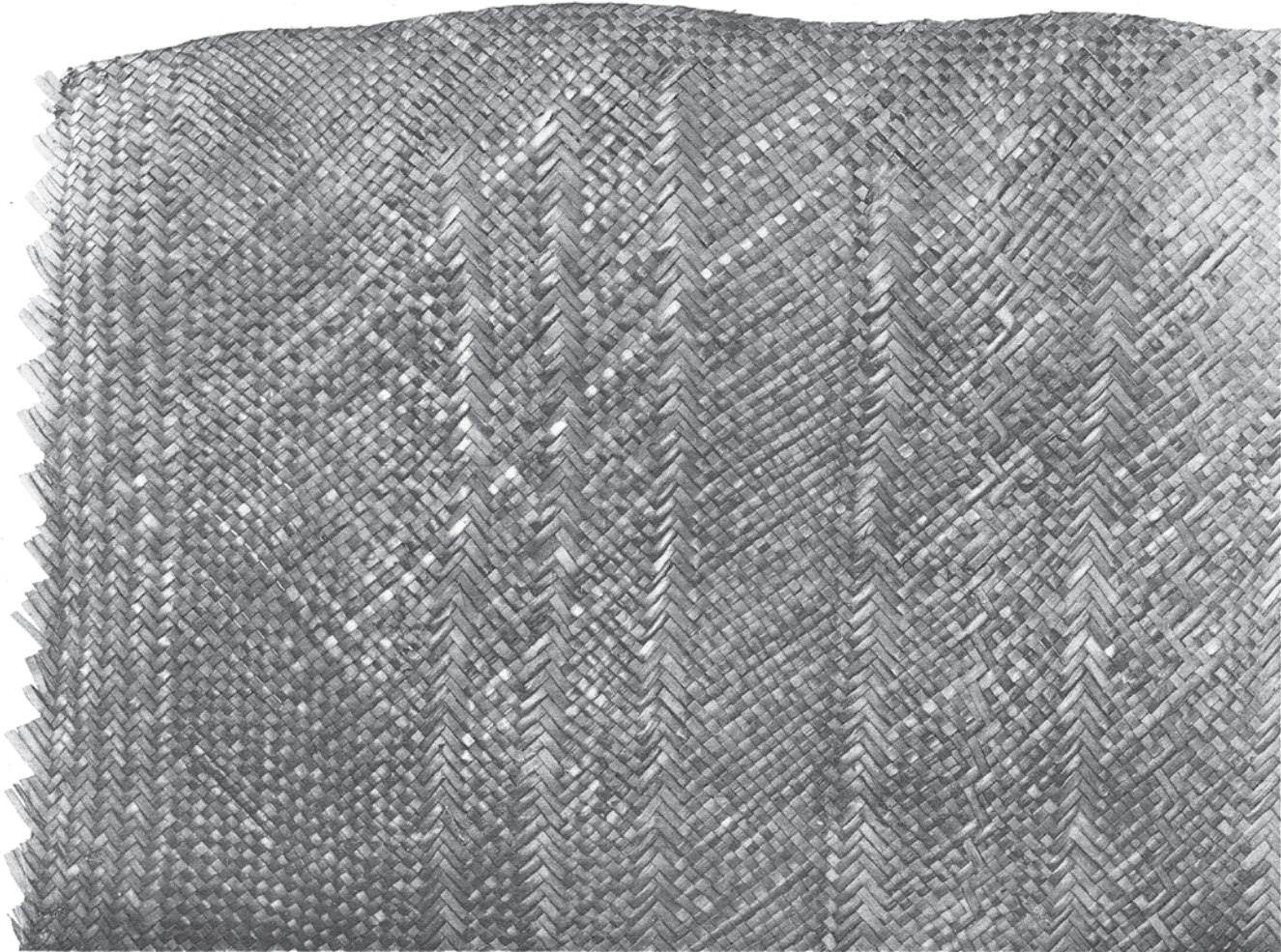
According to KUB., it is used for the gods of the land, while the *tiakl* is dedicated to the gods of the sea (Story 195). Similar objects are the *gúiut* taboo signs (see Story 195). The *klëangël* shrine (KUB., Vol. II, pg. 107, *Kleángl*) is also made out of fronds. E. Krämer’s report on her observations 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.

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.



Death mats.

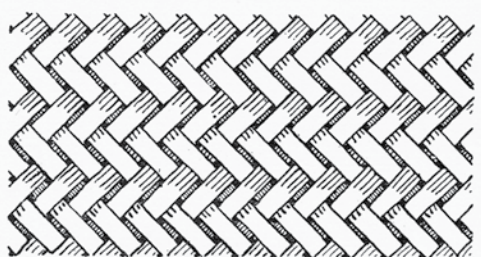
Collection of the Anthropological Museum, Hamburg.



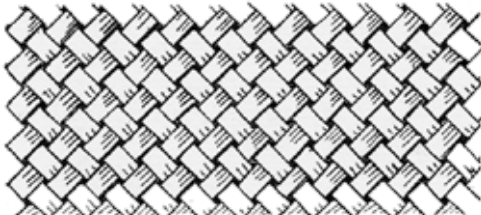
l, is new; a – e are basic patterns, f – l patterns with decorative bands.

Fig. 147. Weave Patterns.

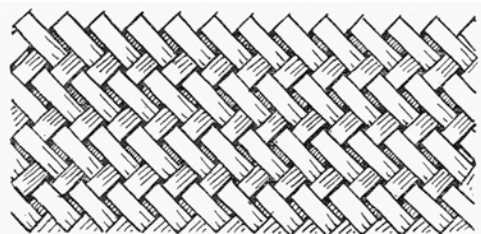
a) *telíu* (Kub.: *telíu*; Wall.: *telíu* to carry over one's arm)
2:2 twill weave



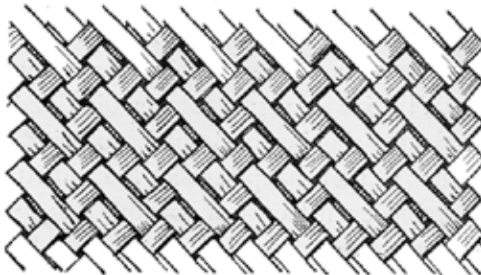
b) *galusákl* (Kub.: *Kaliusákl*) linen weave, simplest type, used for
coarse sleeping mats and mats for dead
bodies *a ikrél a bar*. 1:1



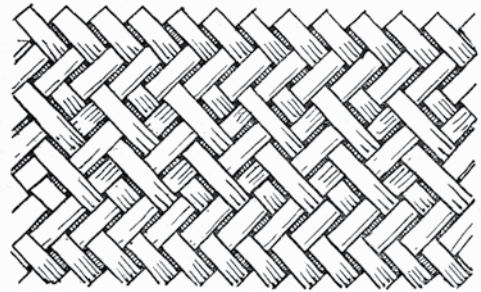
c) *gaus mesóbil* (Kub.: *Gaus mesóbil*) from *mengáus* “to
weave,” i.e. “weave art of single people.”
strip slanted to the right 1:2



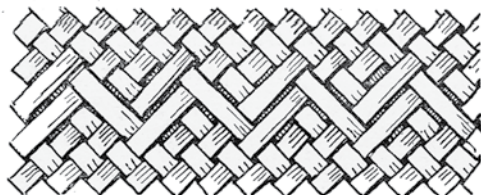
d) *gogíl a delép* (Kub.: *Kohil adhalep*) “leg of the soul”
1. strip slanted to the right 1:3
2. strip slanted to the right 1:1



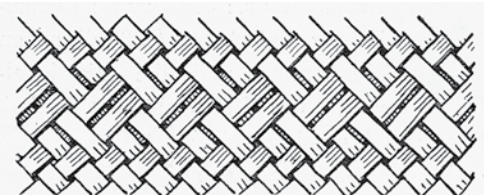
e) *sako ě kúm* (Kub.: *Sako a ginn*) “tracks of the hermit crab”
Band: 1:2:3
Edge: *télíu*



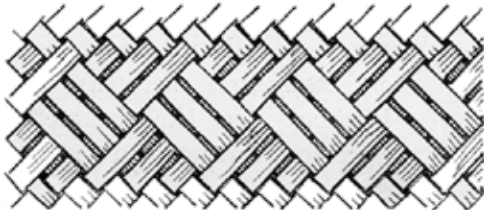
f) *kěkóm* (Kub.: *Gekóm*, Wall.: *kegóm*) “crab claw” zigzag, one
branch doubled



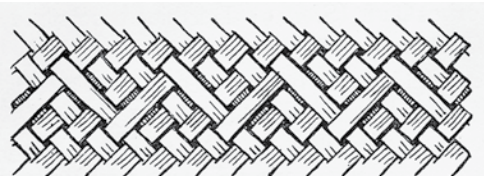
g) *galepdúi* (Kub.: *Kalothuy*) meaning unknown.



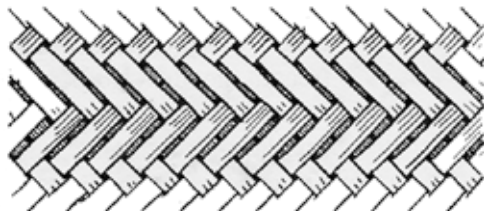
h) *gěludúkl* (Kub.: *Koludúkl*) Perhaps compared to the fish *dukl*,
which is rather square.



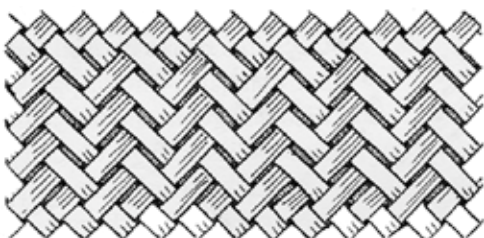
i) *blásăg* (Kub.: *Blásak*) Zigzag; from *omásăg* “to cross,” see
the tattoo patterns on pg. 39.



k) *ger'regerói* (Kub.: *Gargorói*) The shrub *Mussaenda*
frondosa.



l) *ilibugěl* Meaning unknown.



gorovíkl suálo basket.

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), 2. in the *telíu* style (Fig. 147^a), 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. The basket described here is of the last type mentioned (Kr. 216 = Hamburg 2998).

After the young, coconut frond, still yellow, has been rendered durable in the manner described, the two frond halves are torn off of the thick, stiff central rib. 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 edge 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.

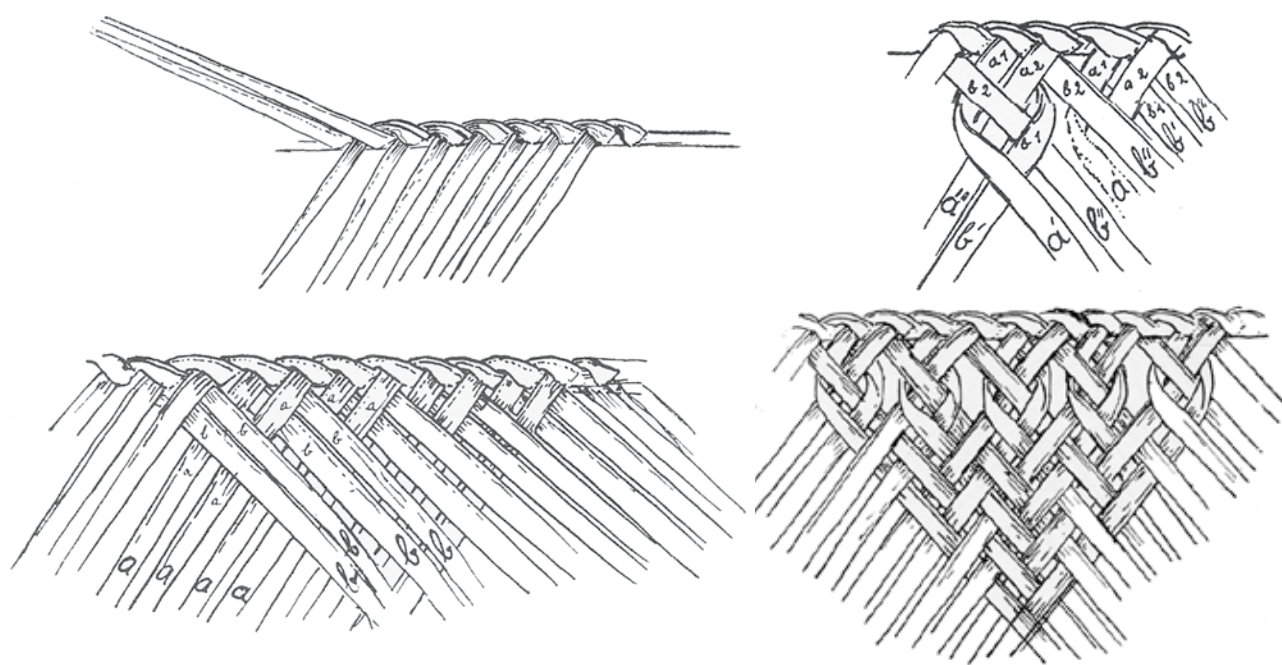


Fig. 148 a-d. Making of the *gorovíkl* basket.

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).

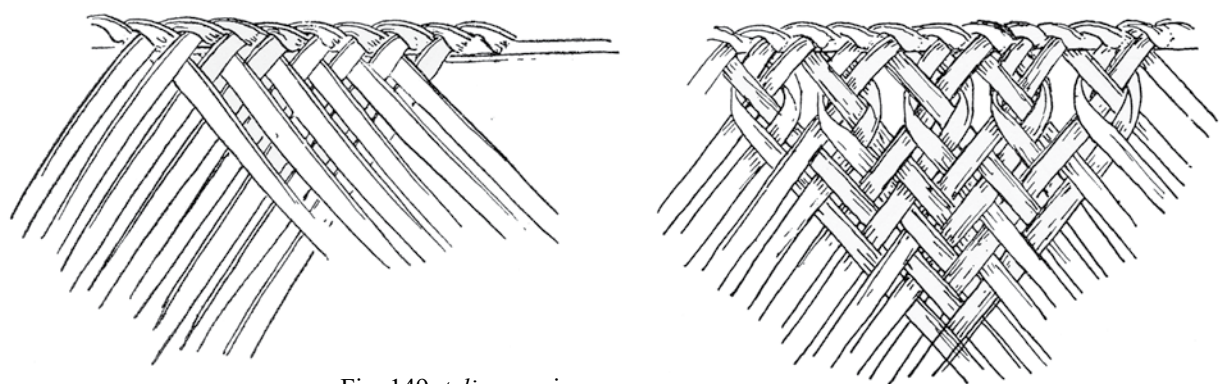


Fig. 149. *telíu* weaving

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 ulegädägér* 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.

The collective name *suálo*, basket for cooked taro, includes the *gorovíkl ulegädägér* previously mentioned, which has vertical rays of weave, as well as the *gorovíkl telíu*, which has horizontal ones (see Fig. 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 ulegädägér* 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 ulegädägér*.

As mentioned, there is a third kind of basket that belongs with the *suálo* baskets, the *galusákl* (Kr. 218), 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 ulegädägér*, being the most common.

tét-hand basket (Kr. 215 = Hamburg 2997¹¹)

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.

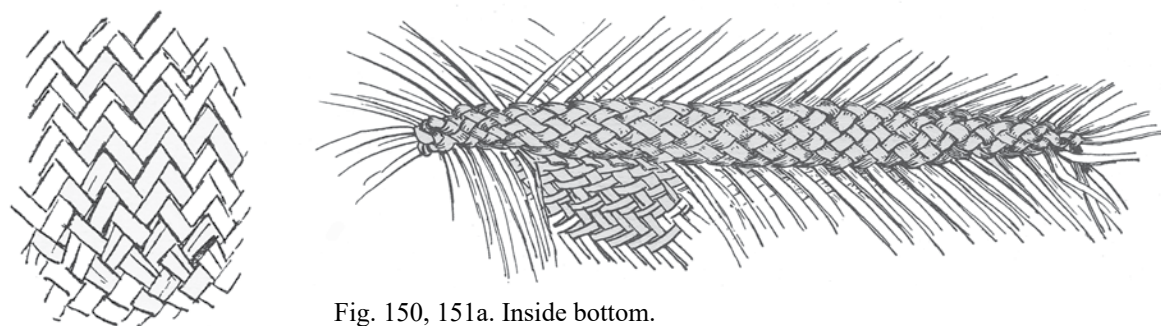


Fig. 150, 151a. Inside bottom.

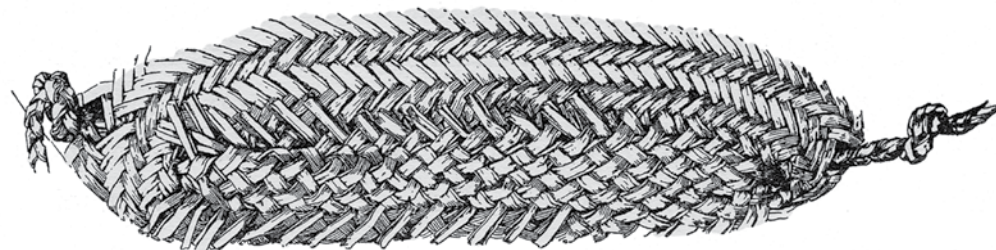


Fig. 151b. Outside bottom.

One sees the *gorovikl ulegädäger* type, with its vertical rays of weave, almost everywhere; this kind is particularly used by men. The *telü* type occurs as a *tet* hand basket (He. 934) on occasion, as well, with its horizontal strips 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 *gorovikl* only in the edge and the bottom. In the case of the taro basket *gorovikl*, 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 (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 *suälo*, whose inner sections remain unbraided.

The making of the eyes and the shirting-like weave after that is identical to that described for the *gorovikl*. After 10-20 rows, 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 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 (Kr. 219 = 3002^{II})

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.

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.

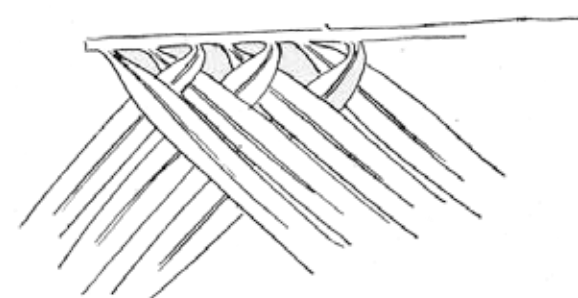


Fig. 152.
ngoluókl basket.

tängärík basket (Kr. 220 = 3003^{II})

Even simpler is the *tängärík* 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 *ulitëg* (poss.: *ultegél*).

Weaving using coconut leaves also includes the mats for closing doors (see Blai in Vol. 2). The most common are the *ulitëg telü*, whose rays run parallel to the upper edge (compare the baskets in Fig. 151b). As in the *gorovikl* 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 *telutäu*. 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 Ngátpang, 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 *telutäu l'bar* as protection for the sacred head of the high chief, as described in Vol. 2, 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 *telutau*: one is *telutau ulegädägér* (Kr. 212), 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 *telutau teliu* (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.

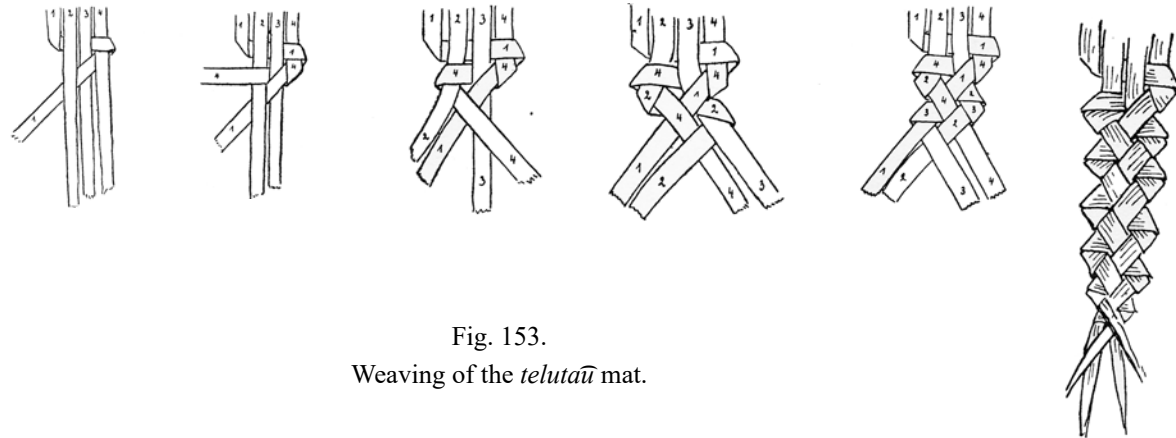


Fig. 153.
Weaving of the *telutau* mat.

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).

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 *gotúngěl*. Fig. 154.

The small bag that women carry in their front apron (see above) is made out of the young leaves *sugomásäg* 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 leaves, then the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. Then they are split into several strips with a sharp shell (*gongiüt*). 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 (*gongükl* 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.

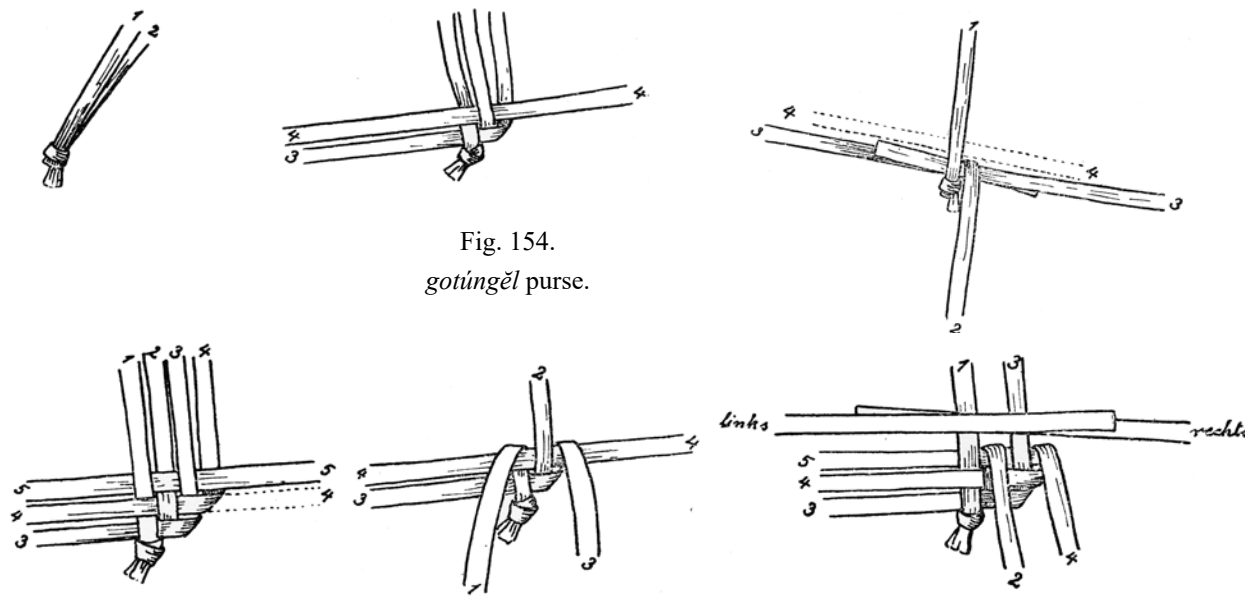


Fig. 154.
gotúngěl purse.

In this case, the weaving path 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 already described the most important aspects of the types of numbering. The only thing left to describe here is the knotted cord *телиákl* (Wall.: *ullikill*, from *meliákl* “to tie in a knot”). It is first mentioned in Hockin, pg. 15, where *a* Ibēdul 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 Steinen 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* (poss. *gosilselél*), which has special importance in Palau. The spoon, 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). As a security *golsirs*, the *gosisál* is also a collateral for money; for instance, a *góngiákl* is a *gosisál* for *galebúgëp*, *klúk*, and *dolóbög*.

Measurements were previously listed in Vol. 2; 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* = *tkuelēmél*, *telechid* “finger width” = *tēlageid*, *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 Nggeiangēl, *a* Ngeaur, Kekláu, and Ngarekekláu 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, Palauans already had. In the description of Peliliou in Vol. 2, the discussion of *Ngarabesil* 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), Vol. 5, 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 McDougall, depicts several specimens from Kajan that closely resemble the *galebúgëp*; 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.

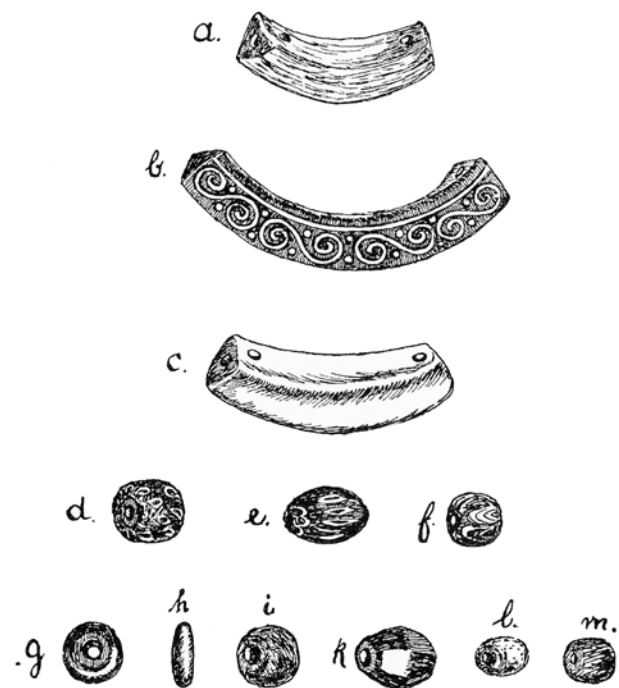


Fig. 155.
Money beads.

Type	Color	Value in Marks
a. <i>bágēl</i>	<i>br'rak</i> light yellow	140
b. <i>bágēl</i>	<i>merimēr</i> dark blue-green (relieved spirals in pink, red, yellow, green. Dots: yellow; lines: pink)	125
c. <i>bágēl</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>góngiaki</i>	blue	5
l. <i>dolóbog</i>	light yellow	10
m. <i>galdóiog</i>	green	1

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 such value. The unusual thing is that the *bágēl* 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 *merimēr* 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” *marēk 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 bai on Palau in former times, and each of these must have owned at least one *bágēl*, 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 *udóud*; 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 and Vol. 1, 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, *meléket* “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 grave, 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 beads 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 betel nuts” (see below). Incidentally, the pearl shells used for peeling taro, etc., the *gasĩvög* (Wall.: *chesíuch*) are used as change by the women; their turtleshell bowls 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 udóud* (from *melekëdëk* to set up, to cover) for this purpose, of which the one from Ngardmâu is depicted in Vol. 2; it is the topic of Story 113.

All special pieces had their own names and stories, for example, the *mongongâu-bagël Melil amiëg* “withered foliage of the almond tree” (Story 134), and Story 80, and *Gomiótël* in Story 85, as well as the glass *Psés* in the same story. Story 20 describes how the *mongongâu* Bulong was carried to *a Iraĩ* on a stretcher. The *br’rak-bágël* Pisëg is the topic of discussion in Vol. 2. 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 plate):

- **Group A: opaque, generally triangular specimens** (Fig. 155a and Vol. 2)

- a) *br’rak* (poss.: *br’rëkengël*) lemon yellow, named after the yellow taro *br’rak* (Kub., Vol. VII, Plate 1).
- b) *móngongâu* (poss: *mongongúl*)³⁷² yellowish-red, named after the yellow earth *bungungâu*.

- **Group B: opaque, rounder beads**, also oval, cylindrical, etc.

- c) *galebúgep*³⁷³ (poss. *galbëgëbé*) special type of larger, colorful beads (Kub., Plate 1).
- d) *kluk* (poss. *klkül* smaller, colorful beads (Kub. Plate 1).
- e) *delóbog* (poss. *delebegël*) from *melóbog*³⁷⁴ to cut, or *l’logólog* from *melogólog* to saw, i.e. pieces of money that have been cut or sawed apart, usually called *delóbog l’logólog* (Kub., Plate 1).

- **Group C: Glass galdóiog or kldáit**, either transparent (*melómës*) or translucent (*mang l dóiog*); transparent specimens in various shapes.

- f) *merímër* greenish-blue, with yellow and red glazed figures (Kub., Plate 1).
- g) *góngiákl* literally “tribute, interest,” used for double pyramids (Kub., Plate 1).
- h) *golbiúngël* ordinary beads worn as “pendants.”

The pieces made of green bottle glass are inferior and are called *klióu* (see the section on Tapioca).

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).

móngongâu yellowish-red fired earth, named after the red earth *búngungâu* (*m̄la mongâu* glowing, *ngâu* fire), otherwise red is called *gorĩg* after the red earth, vermilion is called *bororóu* or *róu* (sunrise), *pekerekárd* (Wall.).

rémëg yellowish, somewhere between the two previous colors.

idëk dirty red *mongongâu*. The word means “dirt.”

klúlul dirty red like a vine fruit.

pkngal a iváiu blossom of the *iváiu* mangrove, which is garnet red.

tamerir blue glass named after the fruit of the *dekamerir* 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.”

bagëlëläu white (Wall. *becheleléu*).

gadëlekëlék black (Wall. *chadelegélek*).

For other colors, see the section on glass below.

The shape of the beads is captured in the following terms:

1. *bagël* (poss. *bagëlél*) 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 (*móngongâu*), dark blue (*merímër*), 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 gasagis*. 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* for Group B (Kub., Plate 1); *derebekēmángěl* for Group C;
 4. *liěg* (Kub. *Liek*) round beads of *br'rak*, *móngongâu*, porcelain and glass, with horizontal grooves;
 5. *magei běóp* round shapes.

The perforation of the beads (see above) 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 *Iraĩ* showed: one can see that the boring was done with pump drills. 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 side (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) 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*, and there are apparently only 4-5 pieces left in the Ngaramlungúi district.

Equally important were the sawing (*melogólog*) and the cutting up using *ngdül* 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 1 and here, Fig. 155g and h).

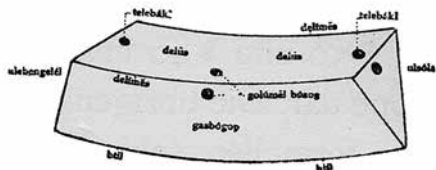


Fig. 155n.
bagěl with holes bored in it.

The Different Categories of Money

- a. b. Bágěl** of *br'rak* and *móngongâu* 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 kasakis* 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 *móngongâu*, 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) 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. *Gargarói* 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 sěrs* “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 *men-sáng*, which is created when a *gongór* bead is cut in half (see *delóbog*).
7. *gal’legúos* fell on the grass tree *gal’legúos* (or *gorědákł*).
8. *mardáol ngaráol* “trepang 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* “trepang 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 a karabrúkl—*Matañatñat*, Fig. 34, with colorful spots.

Narsel a gekemñel a karabrúkl, Fig. 35, with blue spots.

Aradahél a Bars aArnáu, 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: *Únelel a Kadagodúk*, Fig. 37, from *uینگěl* 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 au-taok, Obagat er masak (Gobagád r másag, Atpal a ñugus, Mosaksitk, Tilól, a tree, Misñroáol, Kopokopelel a ñel, Ñel Morinda, Kalemogoñ.

d) Kluk, the small, round beads. Their names 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 *delóbög*, see the following section. For information about the *madál a kluk*, see below.

	dalál a kluk	Klsuk
1.	blěágěd l kluk, named after the white coconut leaf. (Kub. Bleáketel kluk, also called Meringel arakáth; Fig. 44, value \$12.50; white with green, concentric veins) with fine purple veins in between.	—
2.	klerdéu, with red spots, like the red blossoms of the kerdéu shrub (see Story 194).	—
3.	sagál klíkěs “man poling” from melíkěs “to pole,” because the money is said to have done so like a man fleeing from Golei in a boat when (see Story 30, where this is mentioned). (Kub. Klikes arsagál.)	—
4.	redagél a ker’regár “fruit of the tree,” namely of a <i>kelau</i> in Ngáruangěl.	tengét rmedú
5.	mogúd ursél “old lines” from vurs line (Kub. Gudursél, Fig. 46, green with purple stripes).	sagál lě galeúl
6.	běbil klíkěs, the wife of 3. (Kub. Bebil klíkes, Fig. 45, dark blue, concentric stripes on a pale blue, milky, glassy background. Value approx. \$ 7.50).	běbil lě galeúl
7.	uid “seven” leaf or fruit fallen to the ground.	—
8.	palau re gúr “The palau tree of Ngaregúr,” Vol. 2.	Blíkěd
9.	klkut melimět 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 the inhabit-ants of Goreor (see Story 162).	klíemóiom

KUB. also lists the following *kluk* without commentary:

<i>Modólsomákal</i>	<i>Kloruıkl</i>
<i>Radárd</i>	<i>Asmongsóngob</i>
<i>Moláp</i>	<i>Ulogotómmel</i>
<i>Aurongóur</i>	<i>Mardahél a kaláu rióu</i>
<i>Klikóy</i> (see <i>delóbog</i>)	<i>Mardahél a kaláu rbab</i>

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*:

- galeiúsog*, meaning unknown to me, called *klsuk rě Ngeráod* (Vol. 2).
- magaděng*, something that “occupies a whole place,” because, just like a *klsuk re Ngeráod*, it ranks above the following ones.
- uleóps*, striped red and yellow like the spokes of a whirl wheel, colors like the leaves of the Croton (*kesúk*).

- gěděberil*, with three red stripes.
- gěritěl gobildép*, the *gerévūt* apron of Gobildép, a female *Galid*; two red stripes on each side (Kub. as a *delóbög*, called *Karitěl kolidébel*).
- blersóiog*, spiral stripes like a *bersóiog* snake.
- moilibúgěl*, like the *ibugěl* sea urchin.
- 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*, 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).

- blngīs*, from *omngīs* “to dry in the sun” (Kub. *Blingiis a kalebút*).
- klikoi*, like a *kikói* shell (Kub. as a *kluk*, it is called *Klikoy*).
- galebúd oreóměl* “a *galebúd* from the forest.” Its value is the same as that of the previous one (Kub. *Kalebut doriomel*).
- gotemiang* “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.
- delekědókol ra rúel* “covered with leaves” (from *melekédek* to cover, *luel* leaf, poss. *lél*).
- ngaruásăg* black like the fish extract *uăsăg* (see pg. 99) (Kub. *Mongerwăsak*).
- klangál*, like the green fruit of the *sangál* tree. Kub. also lists: *Mokodongúl a kelsúk*, *Adolóbok el kluk*, *Momñesang*, *Kariťel kobidébel* (see above), *Tohoriyek*, *Ordahél a kalau*, *Tangét*, *er medim*, *Ablieb*, *Telebér a ngeráot*, *Blingiis a kalebút* (see above), *Kalebút doroimel* (see above), *Ktlsoprák*, *Makaděng a galáp*, *Makaděng a pelú lugáp*, *Komodulák*, *Mobliket*, *Bebil*, *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 *galebúgěp* 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 Ngulítěl 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 Ngulítěl 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 *meriměr*, a *bágěl*, consisting of dark blue glass that has ~ shaped figures in red, yellow, etc. in the glass. (Kub., Vol. VII, Plate 1, 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:

gubēl white

ulimáol dark blue (*mel’lamāu gadogél* “translucent blue”).

gosm green with light spots (bubbles) like the *gosm* Premna shrub.

The other glass beads are only somewhat translucent:

gáramal l gamádăg “unripe Hibiscus” dense blue or beautiful green.

gáramallmarát “ripe Hibiscus” whitish-green.

ngata gamádăg like fresh (*gamádăg*) palm wine.

mokamím yellow like the arboreal gooseberry *makamím*.

motertīl rods like the pistils of the balsamine *tertīl*, translucent.

galtópt “treetop,” like the fruit at the top of a *ger’regerói* tree in Ngáruangěl; the value is one *góngiaki*l at

most (KUB. *Kaltópt* emerald green).

gogerdúii “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 kesīl “coal from the *kesīl* 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 *telkimd*, 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 trúuŋg* “on ten,” namely 10 spears or 10 baskets of taro, or 1 *rul* fish, this is the expression on Babldaob; on Goréör they say: *mora geimólkúkau* or *góngiaki*l

One basket full of taro is called *kluk 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 *ngelkódēl*, up to head-level *galdáiēl*.) One *delóbog l’logólog* 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 mark on average. In 1910, one *mensang* sold for 18 two-mark pieces, while one *tengét r medú* went for 8 two-mark pieces.

Galebúgēp and *kldait* can represent the highest and the lowest values, depending on the condition of the material and the history, while *kluk* and *delóbōg* 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 (*galebúgēp*) worth up to 5 *kluk*.

Éket a kalbakabíl (galbēgēbél) worth more than 1 *galebúgēp*.

Generally prevailing prices are:

for one *Blai* = 3 *kluk* and 20 *madál a kluk*, in Goréör for ironwood 4 *kluk*,

for one *Bai* = 4 *galebúgēp*, for part of a roof *ulomogóēl* see below, in the section on Bai construction.

Changing money (*merúkum* or *oltebóid*) and lending money (*oméd*) are well-developed business practices. The word *oméd* for lending should not be confused with the word *omád* “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*, *delóbōg*, 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*l “interest” for borrowing money.

Say, for example, one wants to borrow a *delóbōg*, then one gives about half its value as *góngiaki*l and one *galdóiōg* bead, *br’rak* bead, or *móngongāu* bead. The borrower then looks around more or less at his convenience for another *delóbōg* 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 *bágēl*, he must give a more valuable piece as collateral *ulsirs* (verb *olsirs*). This is the security *gosisál* (poss. *gosiselél*), which was previously discussed above (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 *bagēl*, albeit temporary, is already enough of a reward. In the past, when Palau was still heavily populated and unspoiled, one only needed to give a shell or a leaf as collateral, 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*l.

The pawn for one *kluk* is one *madál a kluk*, the interest is one *delóbog*.

The pawn for one *galebúgēp* 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*l = 20 marks, 1 *mora geimóng* = 10 marks, for a total of 100 marks.

For one *galebúgēp* 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 *delóbbög* = 30 marks, 1 *madál a delóbbög* = 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, Golegeríl (Vol. 2) exchanged one *kluk* Nr. 3 (*klikěs*) for Golikóng and gave 1 *klsuk* 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).

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) cut down 150 *dort* trunks in the Gogeál forests for the government and received 1 *móngongau-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>klsuk</i>
III	1 <i>kluk</i>	1 <i>ménsang</i>
IV	1 <i>kluk</i> and 1 <i>klsuk</i>	1 <i>ménsang</i>
V	1 <i>klsuk</i>	1 blue <i>galdóiog</i> (<i>mesél ongiákl</i>)
VI	1 <i>klsuk</i>	1 <i>góngiaki</i> (<i>móngongau</i> bead)
VII	1 <i>ménsang</i>	1 <i>góngiaki</i> (<i>móngongau</i> bead = 15 baskets taro)
VIII	1 <i>góngiaki</i>	1 green <i>galdóiog</i> (= <i>mora geimól kúkau</i>)
IX	1 <i>tengét r medú</i>	1 green <i>galdóiog</i> (= <i>mora geimól kúkau</i>)
X	1 <i>tengét r medú</i>	1 green <i>galdóiog</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, and also to the purchase of the dugong above. The offering of money by the family to the family head (*gokdemáol*) when purchasing a *mesekiú* is called *omeldúgěl*. 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'lél a pelú* (Kub.: *Ngologollel a pelú*) and another for the *oretél a keběás* (Kub.: *Ortél 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, *ongkekláu* he has your name)

gongráol = ½ *goráu*

goráu family contribution for a celebration in the amount of one *kluk*, also paid in the case of a divorce, see *gongráol* and *klevěgél búóg*

klevěgěl búóg a *kldait* contribution to a feast (see *goráu*), Story 136 (from *mesáug* to pick a cluster of betelnuts (*búóg*). 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 (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 *nglálam rarard* in Story 60 shows. I have already mentioned above, that money is often worn as ornamentation, as *gólbiungěl*.

Below: Klouldil and Gebil a Raklai wearing large Bagel money pieces.



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. Raymundus. 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 Nggeiangêl in the North or a Ngeaur in the South; both islands are outside the barrier reef. For this latter voyage, from Pelîlou 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 (*gongekêûl*) 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.

Story 8 of Ugêlkeklaû, Story 10 of Melíp and Gabêlebál, Story 14 of a Tmêlógöd 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 indicates. The Feis islanders who washed up on Guam in 1696 knew “Panloc,” and the Palao Indian of Sonsorol 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. Kadu 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 money. The Carolinians paid for these things with turmeric yellow, woven mats, and shell ornaments, such as the *kau* mentioned above, which were new to Palau.

The fact that the Chinese visited the Palau archipelago before the arrival of white men was previously presented 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, turtle shell, 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 *klekidêl*, to which the rigging is added. The lashing of the outrigger is particularly important and is called *sakt*⁴⁰⁸; the stability of the boat depends on this, so canoes are often counted according to the outriggers:

for example,

sēsákt	1 canoe
arēsákt	2 canoes
a dēisákt	3 canoes.

Fig. 157. Cross-deck beam rail.

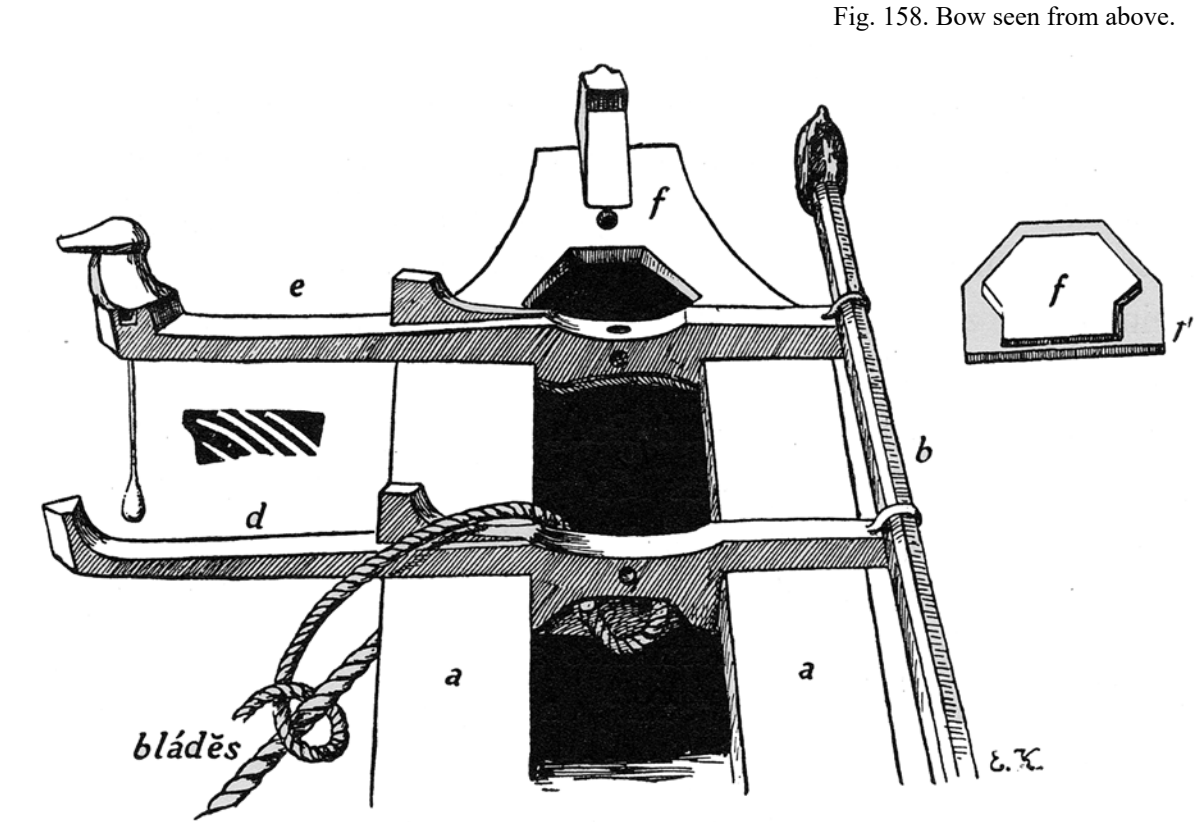


Fig. 158. Bow seen from above.

- a) *ruk* center-deck, b) *goréal* lee stringer, c) *bágād* (Fig. 157) *ulmatél*, c') *golmatél* (innermost opening into hold), d) *bágād gometiél* 'ldeī, d') *gometiél* 'ldeī (central opening into hold), e) *bágād kutiling*, e') *klegásāg* (outer opening into hold), f) *úbid* foredeck, f') *dangāb* hatch cover (Fig. 158), g) *gogil a ulekikt*, g') *gogil a ulekikt*, h) *dangāb a blu*, l) *soáiš* outrigger booms, k) *tekañ* stringers, l) *klsókēs* grating part of outrigger platform, m) *golakasákl* board seat over booms, n) *desómēl* float, o) *torár* crossed or latticed bars between connectives, p) *kematál* yoke r) *goruáol* longitudinal framework, r') (Fig. 159) *tangéi longgétóel* drainage molding, s) *kamagarásāg* transverse framework, t) (172) *bir 'ram* diagonal straight brace (u) (172) *a rikókl* S-shaped side brace v) (161) *gor 'rebakl* hanging yoke, w) (172) *kántai* longitudinal poles on the outrigger side.

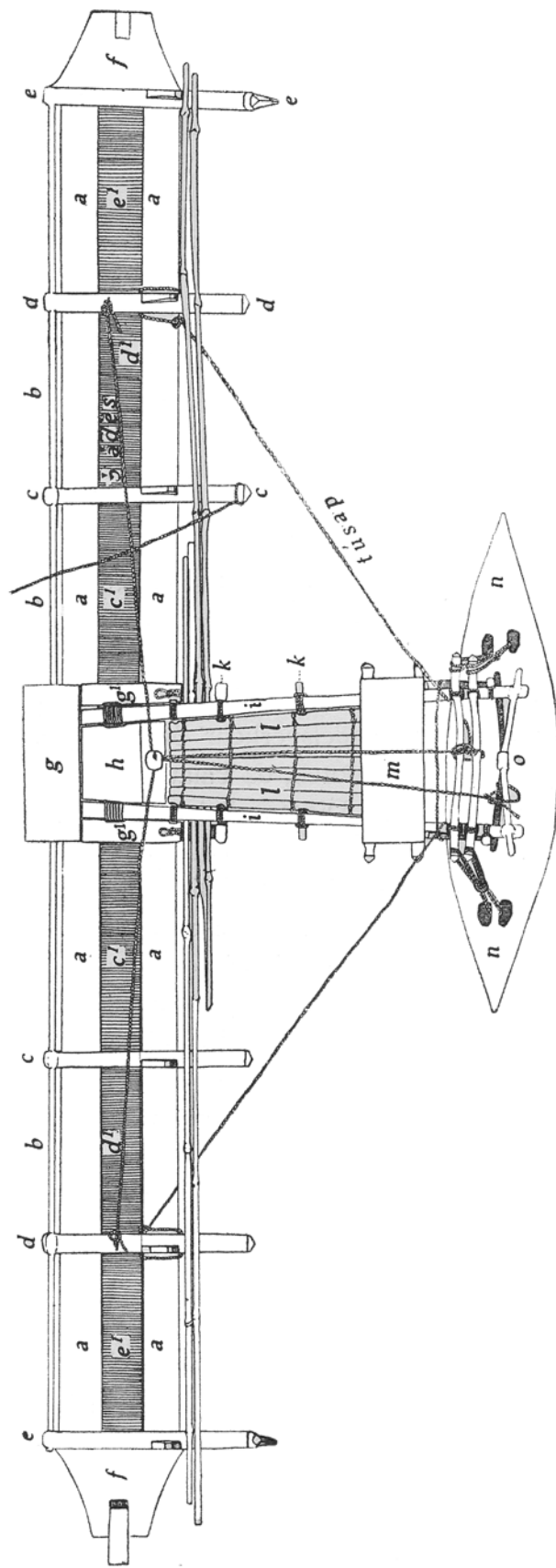


Fig. 156.

Rowing canoe seen from above.

- a) *ruk* center-deck, b) *goréal* lee stringer c) *bágād ulmatél*, c') *golmatél* (innermost opening into hold), d) *bágād gometiél* 'ldeī, d') *gometiél* 'ldeī (central opening into hold), e) *kutiling*, e') *klegásāg* (outer opening into hold), f) *úbid* foredeck, g) *ulekikt*, g') *gogil a ulekikt*, h) *dangāb a blu*, i) *soáiš* outrigger booms, k) *tekañ*, l) *klsókēs*, m) *golakasákl* grating part of outrigger platform, n) *desómēl* float, o) *torár* crossed or latticed bars between connectives, p) *kematál* yoke.

The side of the outrigger (in sailing terms: the luff) is called side The side of the outrigger (in sailing terms: the luff) is called *kedesómēl*, and when two canoes are sitting side by side, alongside each other: *kakedesómēl*; 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 *klsókēs*.

A canoe is constructed as follows: 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” *golingél 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 *dangāb*, under which there is a hold *ilobög* that expands. The deck itself, which is part of the dug-out canoe, is called *ruk*. The hull is divided into several compartments by the two fore decks, the transverse deck planks and the midsection. These three major parts of the deck shall be discussed first:

The two fore decks *úbid* are trapezoidal in shape and have covered hatches, as can be seen in Figs. 156f. and 158f. The bow of the canoe *kutiling* has a hole *rég* for grasping. Under the foredeck is a hold called *klagásāg*. The paddling deck (transverse deck rail) *bágād* (poss.: *bēgēdél*) (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 *bágād* rail usually has a little point towards the interior, called *tul a bágād*, similar to the bow. Together with a similar, blunt one called a *bekelél* 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 *iil a tútau* “hollow (nest) of the morning bird *tútau*” at the luff end, which is bordered on the outside by the tip *l mólm pteíl a bágād* (“head of the *bágād*”). 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 geī*; and only fishing spears may lie in the nest on the left, because then one is going “fishing” *mo ra geī*. It is obvious how important the transverse booms are. In the canoes used for passenger service, the *dékēl* poles lie in the *tútau* nests!

The three *bágād* have different names: the one in front, at the bow *kutiling* is called *bágād kutiling* (Fig. 158°); 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 *bágād* (Fig. 156d, e, and e) is called *klegásāg* (Kub.: *Klagásak*), like the one under the *úbid* (f), with which it is joined. The second (d) is called *bágād rgometiél* 'ldeī “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). There are two more holes here for belaying the *túsap* line, which is stayed on the side using the one from the outrigger.

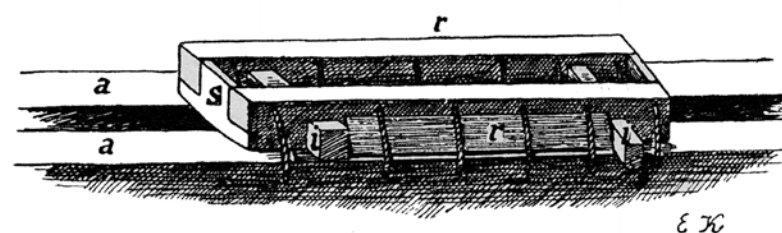


Fig. 159.
Center frame, the lower $r = r'$.

The hold d' , between c and d , is called *gometiél'l dei*. The third transverse beam (c) is called *bágäd ulmátël*, and the hold towards the center (c') is called *golmátel* (Kub.: *Olmátel*), because it usually contains bilge water *mátël* (from *melimet* = “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 *kamagarásäg* (s) (Kub.: *Komakarásak*) and the longitudinal beams *goruáol* (r) (Kub.: *Korñáol*), to which the triangular *tangét longgëáoël* 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 *golísál'l* (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 *goru* (see 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 *soáiës* (Wall.: *soáes*), 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 *goreál'l* sit on their ends and the *kamagarásäg* 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 central plank *dángäb*, is bordered at the edge towards the lee side by a type of gunwale, an angular plank known as *a ulekikt*; 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 *ulekikt*,” which is why they are called *gogil a ulekikt* (g'). 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'l* or *kledidël* consists of the two outrigger booms *soáiës* (Kub.: *soáes*, Wall. *soáes*) just mentioned, the float support, the stanchions or pegs *ulái* (Kub.: *ulay*), and the float *desómël* (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 klsókës* (Kub.: *Tekau kelsokos*, Wall. *klókës*), because *klókës* is the name of the grating-like lattice work, above, on which the captain usually sits, and from whence it gets its name *moklsókës* (Story 204, Verse 16), which is also the name for the space between the hull of the canoe and the float. Hanging down from the outrigger booms is a yoke (Fig. 161v) *gor'rebákl* (Kub.: *Korobákel*, Wall.: *chorrebágel*) for holding objects, especially the ends of the poles stored on the *bágäd*. Towards the outside there may be additional *tekau klsókës*; usually there are little pieces of bamboo here that form a grating-like platform which is also called *klókës* (b). Then, more towards the outside, there is an indentation on the top side, where the sitting board (m) *golakasákl* or *gordál'l* (Kub.: *Ologodákel*) is fastened. When the canoe is sailing, this is where the man sits who holds the line in his hands, whose path will be mentioned shortly.

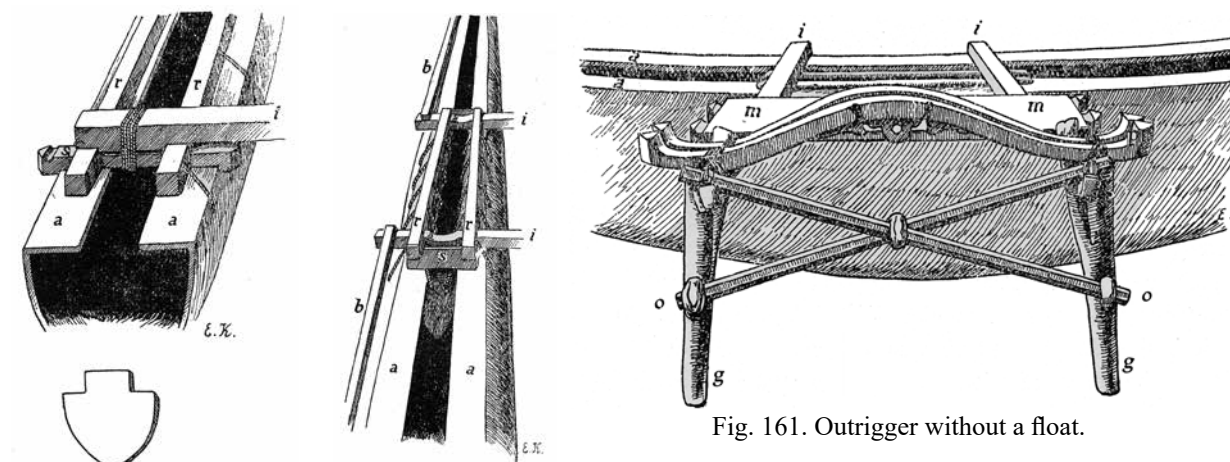
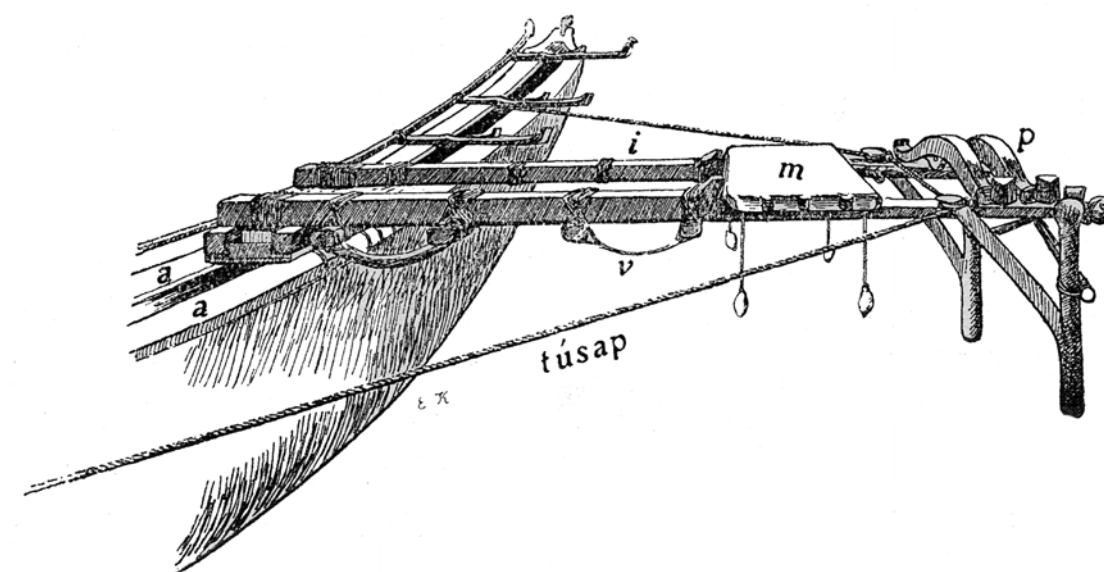


Fig. 160a & b. Frame under and over i .

Fig. 162. Outrigger from the luff side: double yoke (Fig. 161p), supports (g), and cross reinforcements (o).



The plank has projections jutting down, so that it fits tightly between the *soáiës*, 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 *ëmél* 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 *dēi desómël*; 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* 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 *soáiës*, 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 *desómël* through special holes *ultoátël* (Kub.: *ultuátel*). Additional holes, called *golotoángël* (Kub.: *Holotoanl*), are used to pass the line *tótau* (Kub.: *totau*, Wall.: *totáu*) through to lash (*melótáu*) 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 *basag*.

According to legend, the rigging is the invention of the Galid Medegeipélau (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 *gátarebis* (Kub.: *Katerebis*). The fore and aft stays *bládēs* (see above, Fig. 156) are also fastened to the pole, as is the luff stay, *deī desómēl*. The mast stands on the board *gomakarál* with the help of a wooden peg. The sail *ěárs* (poss. *rěsél*) (Kub.: *Yars*, Wall.: *ěárs*), hangs on the halyard. It is fastened to the yard *dengīl* (Kub.: *Deniil*, Wall.: *dengiil*), 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*) that is fastened to the same loop.

The tip of the yard, the neck, is called *sagáklkerikl* and when the canoe is sailing it is fitted into the hole *rég* at the bow, 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. In old times it was called *klugēs*. 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” *golúdēl* (Kub.: *Blubókuk*). Kub. says of this: “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*) 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). Kub. also names Ngaregolóng and Peliliou.

Some canoe accessories worth mentioning include: the paddles *besós* (poss. *bedesil*) (Kub.: *Bosó*, poss. *badasil*), 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); 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 lītēkil*, 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 *melikēs*) are also used for human propulsion. On Palau, they are especially important because of the tides, as can be seen in Vol. 1. 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 *gongēu* and *siuēr* (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 (*melimēt*) is done in the *golmátēl* hold.

The ornamentation on the canoe is simple, but effective (see also bai 28). In particular, the *kabékl* war canoes and the *káep* sailing canoes have numerous embellishments on the woodwork. The bow of the latter bears a kingfisher *tangadik* on the 1st *bagad* and a head, usually the white egg cowry, at the *goreál'l* stern, and a figure head at the prow called *mesép sils* “sun sitter” (see Fig. 158z). From the front, one can see the peg sitting on a crescent-shaped mirror, called *galsívog* (Fig. 167). At the tip of the prow there is often a pendant called *besagēl* (Wilson: *beesakell*, Kub.: *Basákal*), a snowy egg cowry on a string.

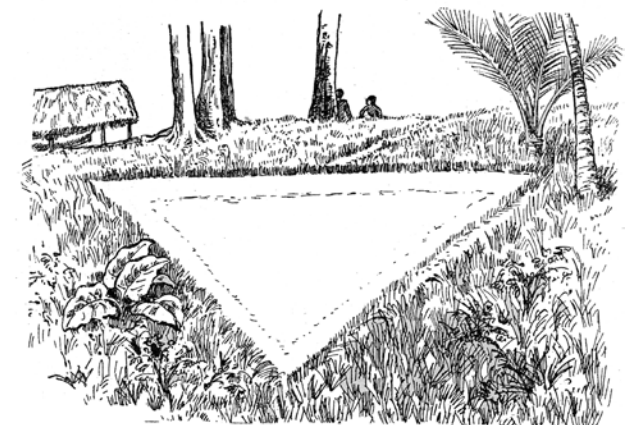


Fig. 163. Sail sewing place, Peliliou. Fig. 164. Paddles

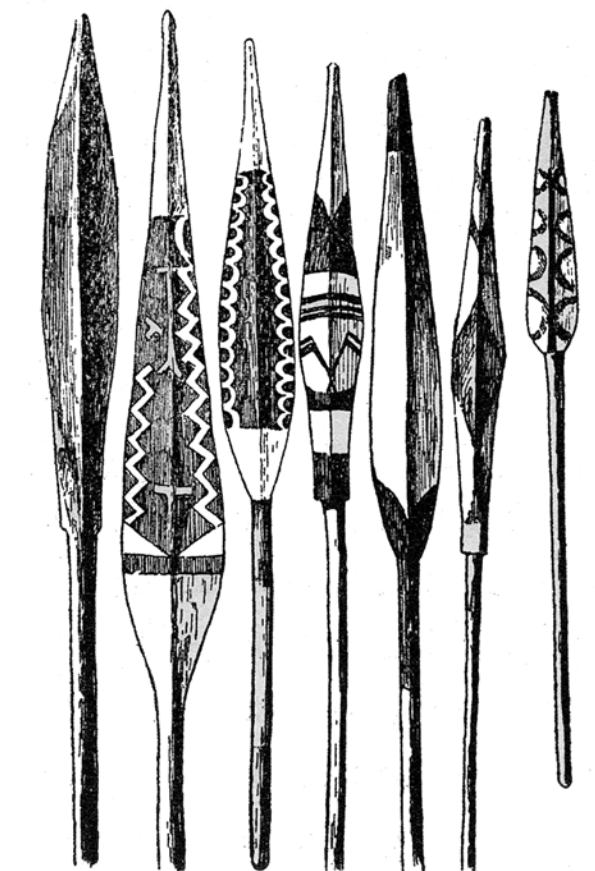


Fig. 166. Bailer

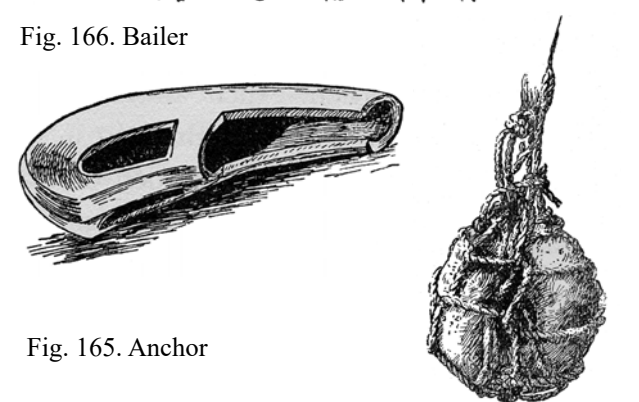


Fig. 165. Anchor

On the prow itself, a hook-like protrusion juts upwards, known as the *tógēd* “thorn,” and in the place where the ramming spur is located on the war canoes, there is a point called *gobagād l tógēd*, which can be translated as “spirit spur.” A molding runs along the two sides of the bow; its acute upper angle is called *komūr bēap* “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 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 snail shells strung on cords, hanging down like braids of hair, which give the whole thing a rather wild look; *gēsegūsem* (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 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 *galebūgēp* 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 *blūtang* crosses below and on the projections in front. There is also inlay work on the mid-section and the outriggers, as well as on the *ulekikt* and the *gogíl a ulekikt* board (g and g’), etc. These are in the shapes of triangles, zigzags, etc., as already mentioned above.

The snowy egg cowries on the *goreal’l* have already been discussed, as have the *beságēl* pendants, which are found on the same boom, on the prow, on the ends of the rowing bench, the outrigger, and especially on the two projections of the *golakasákl* board seat (m), in the middle of the *túsap* line; 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, 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. Kub. says: “The outside is given a double coating of red ocher, which is always covered with the *Laok* varnish. Painting the *Deleboñel* edge, the two seams of the *Ubit*, the *Tanatik*, 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 *diangēl*. They are pushed and pulled there across the short, sloped terrain on round logs (see Vol. 2). Rollers (Wall.: *titái*, verb: *melitái*) seem to have been used since early times. Occasionally, a cart *ngolidēúl* (see also the section on the eating hut, Section VI) 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 kakt* supports in the canoe house (Vol. 2). The canoe itself rests on the *koi* beams; details about the *delépēs* sleepers follow.

According to the natives’ legends, canoes are constructed as follows: the *ukal’l* tree (*Serianthes grandiflora*) is considered the child of Diledēgu of Ngariáp (see Stories 17 and 13, Note 1), which is why a *gotáot* chant must be said before it is felled. 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 *ulogógug* 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:

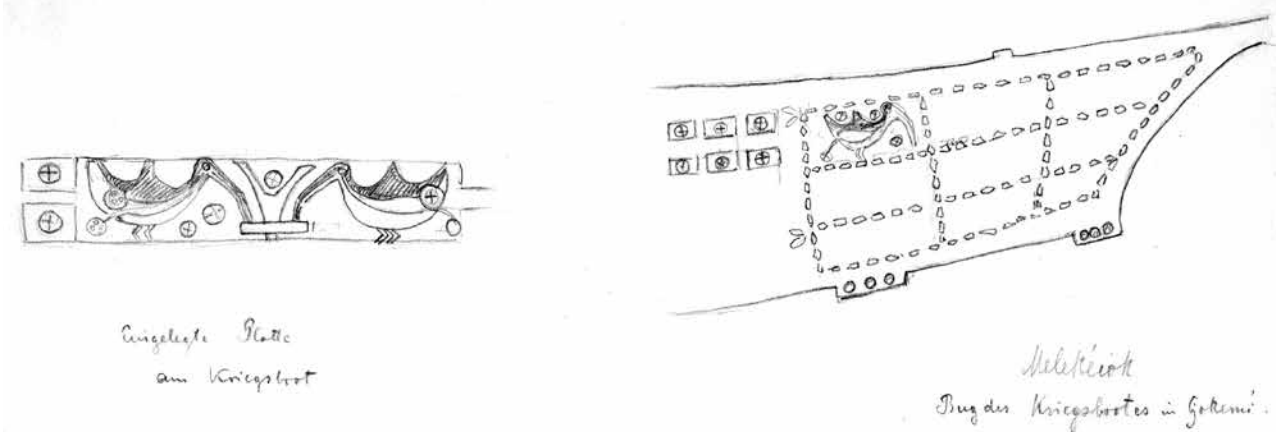


Fig. 168. Decoration on the kabekl war canoe of Melekéiok. EK original drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.

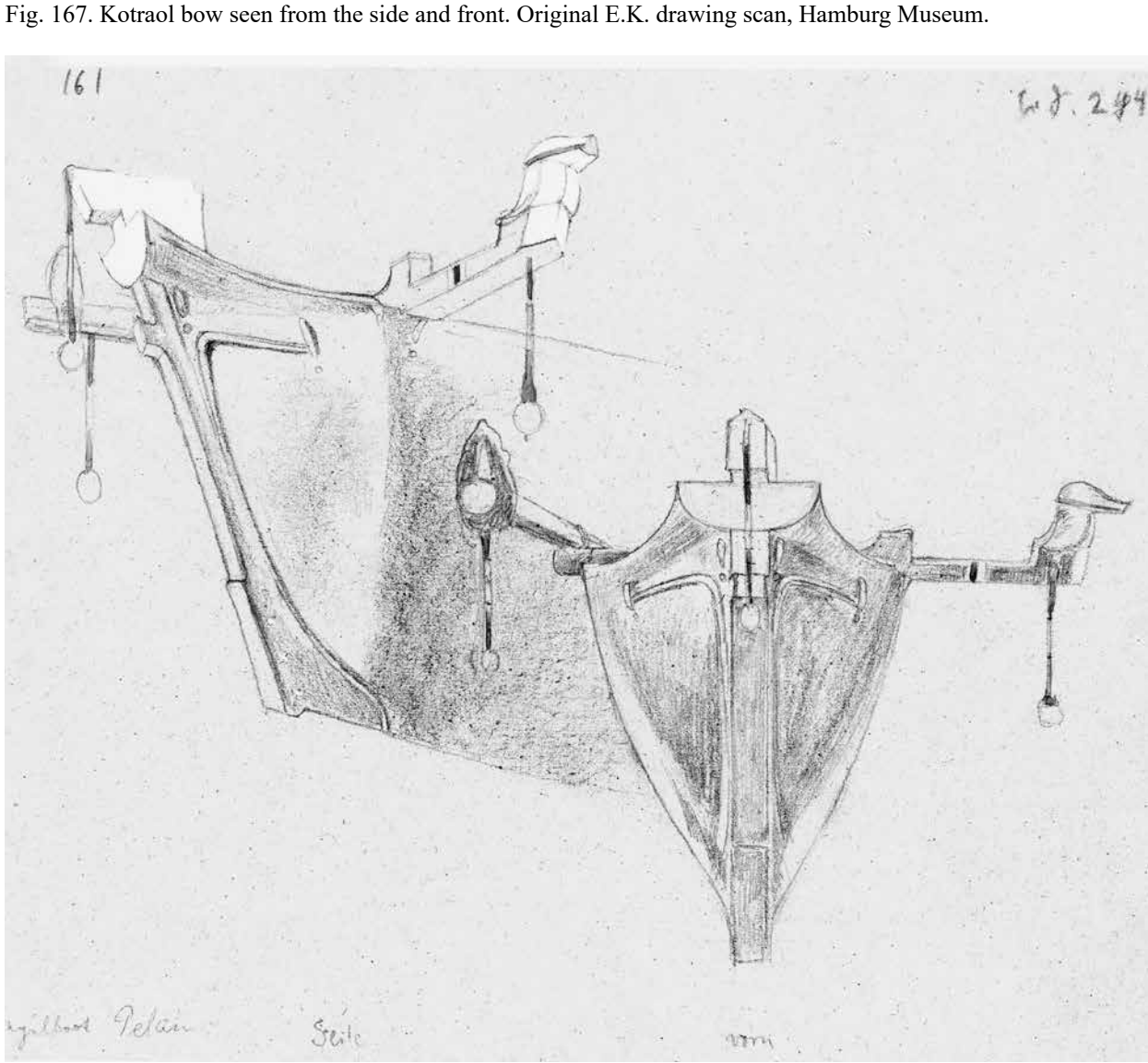


Fig. 167. Kotraol bow seen from the side and front. Original E.K. drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.

<i>a gadil a Dileděgú</i>	Mother Dileděgú
<i>ak mlě mesúběd re kau</i>	I inform you,
<i>ak merúr ra múr mě komangáng</i>	I make a feast that you eat,
<i>ma aika udóud la gerál tial kér'regar</i>	and this money is the price of this tree,
<i>mě ko meriēm l mo sel kér'regar</i>	and you move over to that tree,
<i>mě kom kiě rengí</i>	and live in it,
<i>ě tia mo rengí gotílěg ra tútau</i>	because here will go on it the adze tomorrow morning,
<i>ma kum kokl</i>	and you earlier (should leave),
<i>ma melóbög rengí ra tútau</i>	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.

The first activity of the master builder, the *dágǎlbai*, is to mark (*meláög*) the felled trunk. He makes wedges with the axe (*kisēm*), to indicate the size of the wooden parts to be used for construction. In addition, he sets up two poles as ladder shafts, and he thinks that the spirit Degésěg 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:

<i>ak mogung másăg l mo meláög</i>	I go up to mark
<i>r tial kér'regár</i>	this tree;
<i>ě kolekěrd⁴⁴⁷ a mekngit r tial kér'regar</i>	protect against evil this tree,

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:

<i>a Ugéliángěd, ak ultúruk re kau,</i>	First in heaven, I ask you,
<i>ě meláög r tial kér'regar</i>	I mark this tree,
<i>ma leból degór gěbákl;</i>	and let the axe stand upright;
<i>ě kelém kibetiěkl kung</i>	do not be frightened,
<i>ng diak kumekóuad ra gad</i>	I do not kill any people,
<i>ě ak meláög ra m lai;</i>	rather I mark a canoe,
<i>a kau a ngarbáb peúsög;</i>	you up there can see very far,
<i>a madám ě komés</i>	when your eye sees
<i>ra mangisngul'l</i>	someone avert their gaze,
<i>ma meredóröm a madál</i>	and there is a twinkle in his eye
<i>mě golteměmăg ra ngerél,</i>	and he twists his mouth
<i>ma metetěkói re kid</i>	and he talks about us:
<i>a diak lě gadád,</i>	is it not our relative?
<i>meng mo re ngi a kedóröm</i>	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, lemon-ade, 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 vines 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. At the new work area at the beach, another ceremony is held, the laying down of the sleepers, the *delépěs*, 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:

<i>gadám, Góbak le gěvúl</i>	Father, Góbak le gěvúl,
<i>moríka lěkó dměsēi</i>	move a little to the side;
<i>ăk rekúr tial delépěs</i>	I lay down this sleeper
<i>tiakíd lungiapesúl</i>	here in a good position.
<i>me kě dikíei</i>	You just stay
<i>ě mangkár re ngí</i>	and watch over it!
and further:	
<i>ě gedě kadil Góbil le gěvúl</i>	Mother, wife, Góbil le gěvúl.
<i>mě kom dměsēi</i>	move to the side;

(continued as above) 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 delépěs*). 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 Gobaklegěvúl 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):

1.	<i>aái</i>	first quarter	6.	rsel	its tip
2.	<i>sagál delépěs</i>	male sleeper	7.	ugul	the trunk
3.	<i>galid ě lagád</i>	middle of the tree trunk			
4.	<i>aái</i>	third quarter			
5.	<i>ardil delépěs</i>	female sleeper			

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 imelēm, a gadáng ra Góbaklegëvül</i>	This is your drink, Father G.,
<i>kau ma dalák ma ngalekiu ra Gobildép</i>	you and my mother and your child G.,
<i>më ko melím ë omés ra mlë melamal'l re kid</i>	you drink and see who wants to do us harm,
<i>mo komsa meríngël; ë go bagërei</i>	give him pain; if you let it go,
<i>ng tomëläk⁴⁶¹, ë tomëlimíu</i>	he will ruin me, he will ruin you;
<i>me komsa më komsa⁴⁶² meríngël</i>	take care and give him pain.

Now the lines for the hull are drawn by dunking a piece of coconut blossom sheath in a soot concoction and drawing a line. These lines must be drawn before the hull and the deck *rukł* can be carved. A string blackened with soot *ungámk* is also used by simply snapping it.

In addition, the little pot filled with soot *gomogosóngël* (Wall.) (Kub.: *Kamakosoñol*) 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 chips are left in it for the time being. Next the upper section is carved out and polished, then the bottom section is shaped, to give the canoe the right curvature. Next the chips are cleared out of the inner sections using a stone blade (these days iron) on a handle (Kub.: *Holobisek*), 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, sanding 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 *gorkedël a gútũm*, begins the next day, and the second coat *bũk* is applied soon thereafter. Both times, it is polished with reeds, especially before the varnish *lágog* 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 together, 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 stalks 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 gëvül, kau ma Góbil le gëvül</i>	Góbak le gëvül, you and Góbil le gëvül
<i>kom di ólab aikáng l dingár</i>	take only that one,
<i>tiang ë 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>Kemángël lo gúlád kau</i>	Long sand worm, you
<i>ma kedép lo gúlád,</i>	and short sand worm,
<i>ma nglai,</i>	and butterfly pupa,
<i>ked otobedí tial mlai</i>	we bring it out this canoe,
<i>ma ki melíkës</i>	and we punt
<i>ë kemíu gokíu ugeĩ l mo ra Goréör</i>	and you go first to Goréör

mo kom, tugeli a galbëgëbél a Ibëdul
l ngú l më ra madál golbesábël
meng mo gerál a káep

and carry it on your head the galebúgëp of a Ibëdul
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 buyer 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:

Kemángël lo gúlád kau ma
kedép lo gúlád ma nglai
aika mlimíu⁴⁷⁹, mǎika gokúmíu
më bom di derékl, ë molíkës,
mo komór a madál Nggasagáng
meng te merekerúkũm rëmél
ng kál, ë udóud ë ilúmël,
më komtougákl me ko mangá, l mo mëdingës,
a kuk doiderékl, mo melíkës,
meng díak a merekerúkũm
ë kom di imíu
l mo rë golimtemútl
ra btil Ngeaur

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, 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.



Fig. 170. Canoe making. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.

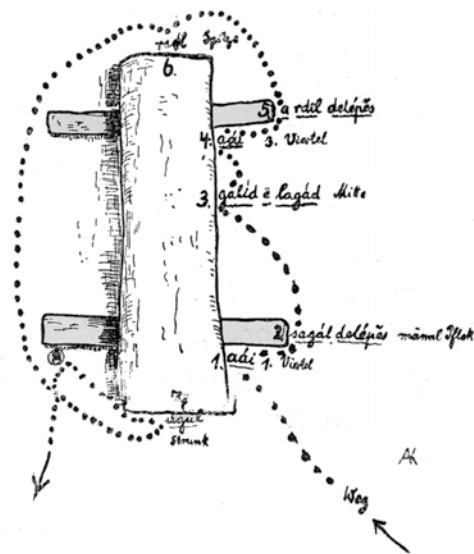


Fig. 169. Tree chant.



Fig. 171. Pupa as Galid seat.

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. *kotról* 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. *kaberitōg* old, Yap-like canoe, no longer used
7. bamboo raft, large *gologútūl*
8. bamboo raft, small *prér*
9. toy canoe *blútēk*
10. votive canoe *kěongēl*

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 shows, the Palauan canoe had an advantage over the Central Carolinian forked-tail canoe. The fact that the Palauans call the Yapese canoe *debi* “bowl” says more than any other words can (see above).

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’ blood. The connection with the Galid Medegeipélau, 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* Irai, the sacred village of Medegeipélau, the inventor of the sail. The course led first westward, then up the coast to Nggeiangēl; from there down the East coast back to *a* Irai. Along the way, the competitors would stay 3 days each in Ngarekeai, *a* Imeúngs, Ngarsmau, Ngabúkēd, Mangal’láng, Keklau, Ngival, and Melekéiok. From *a* Irai, they then sailed back down to nearby Ngaragēbúkl, to pick up the stone idol of Temdókl (Vol. 2), 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 *bagad*, 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 *tangadik*, however, is also the favorite bird of Medegeipélau, 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. Several (usually 4) bamboo poles penetrate the head board (Fig. 172). As longitudinal rails *kámtai*

(Kub.: *Ōnontūl*), they form a platform under the luff ends of the “rowing benches” *bágāđ* (which may number as many as 20), under the spear rack *ill a tūtau* (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.: *nortkokl*). 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.

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.

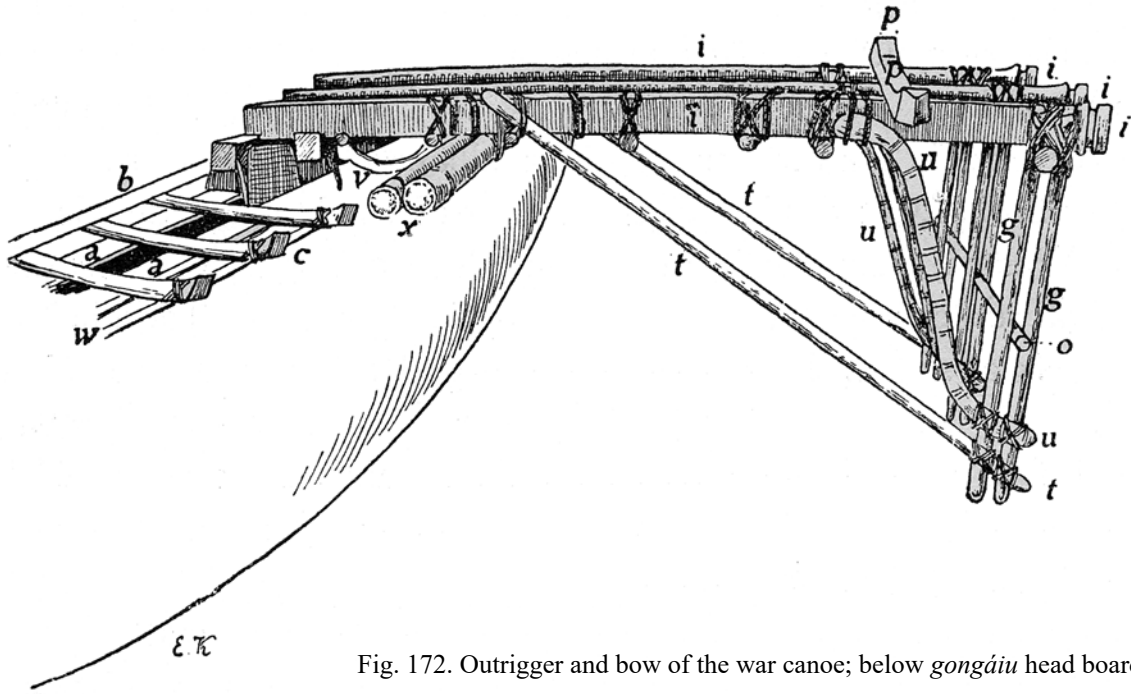


Fig. 172. Outrigger and bow of the war canoe; below *gongáiu* head board.

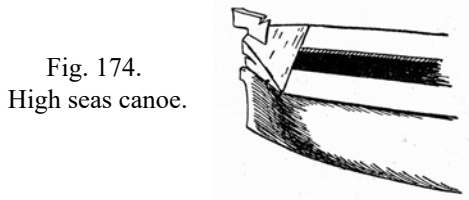


Fig. 174.
High seas canoe.

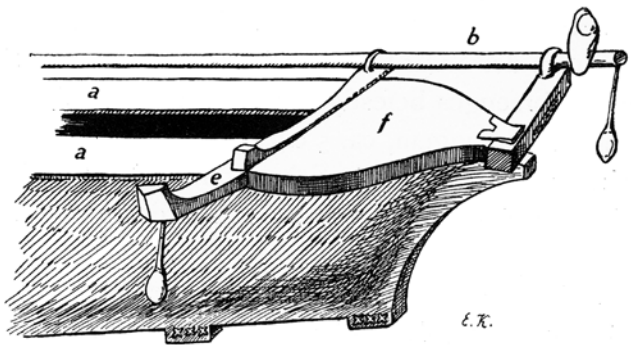


Fig. 173a.
kotráol canoe with *gongáiu*, seen from above.

As Fig. 173^b shows, the lee side protrudes more than the side to luff. The 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; usually, however, the vessel is propelled by rowing or punting.

In Vol. VIII, 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.” 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.

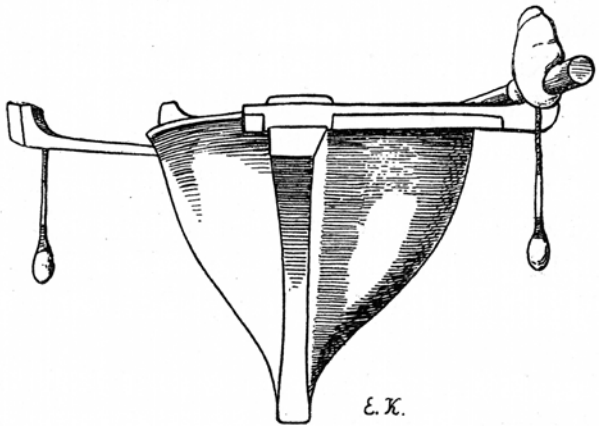


Fig. 173b.
kotráol canoe, seen from the front.

4. The cargo canoe *borótong* (Wall: *brótong*) is of an 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 *dōgú* was shown in Vol. 2; it handles the traffic between Pkulapelú on Pelíliou and *a* Ngeaur; it is also used on the latter island for fishing on the open ocean. For this reason, it is sturdy and heavy, especially the fore deck with its *mesepsils* resembling the *káep* (Fig. 174 and Vol. 2).

6. The sailing canoe of old times, *kaberúōg*, no longer exists, 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 Ngaraberúōg. The natives named Nggeiangēl as the main center of the late *kaberúōg* (see Story 22).

7. and 8. The large raft *gologútúl* (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.

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. 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 *kěóngēl* is really nothing more than a model of a *káep* or a *kotráol*, about 2m long. They were dedicated to the two gods Gomúiek (male) and Mlagēi (female) of Ngaregól (Vol. 2). 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.

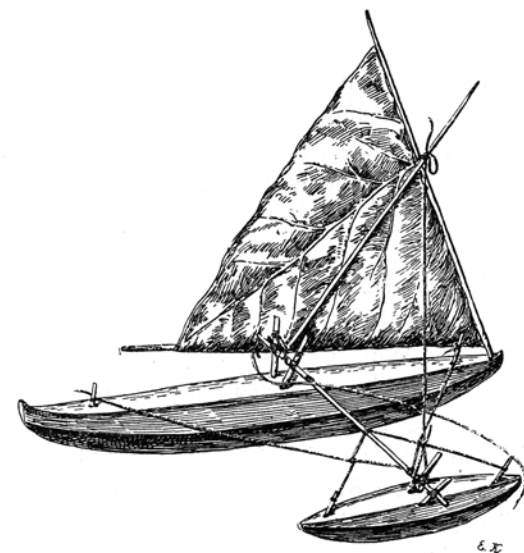


Fig. 175. Toy canoe.



Boys playing with toy canoes on Ngarakebesang, Goreor. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.

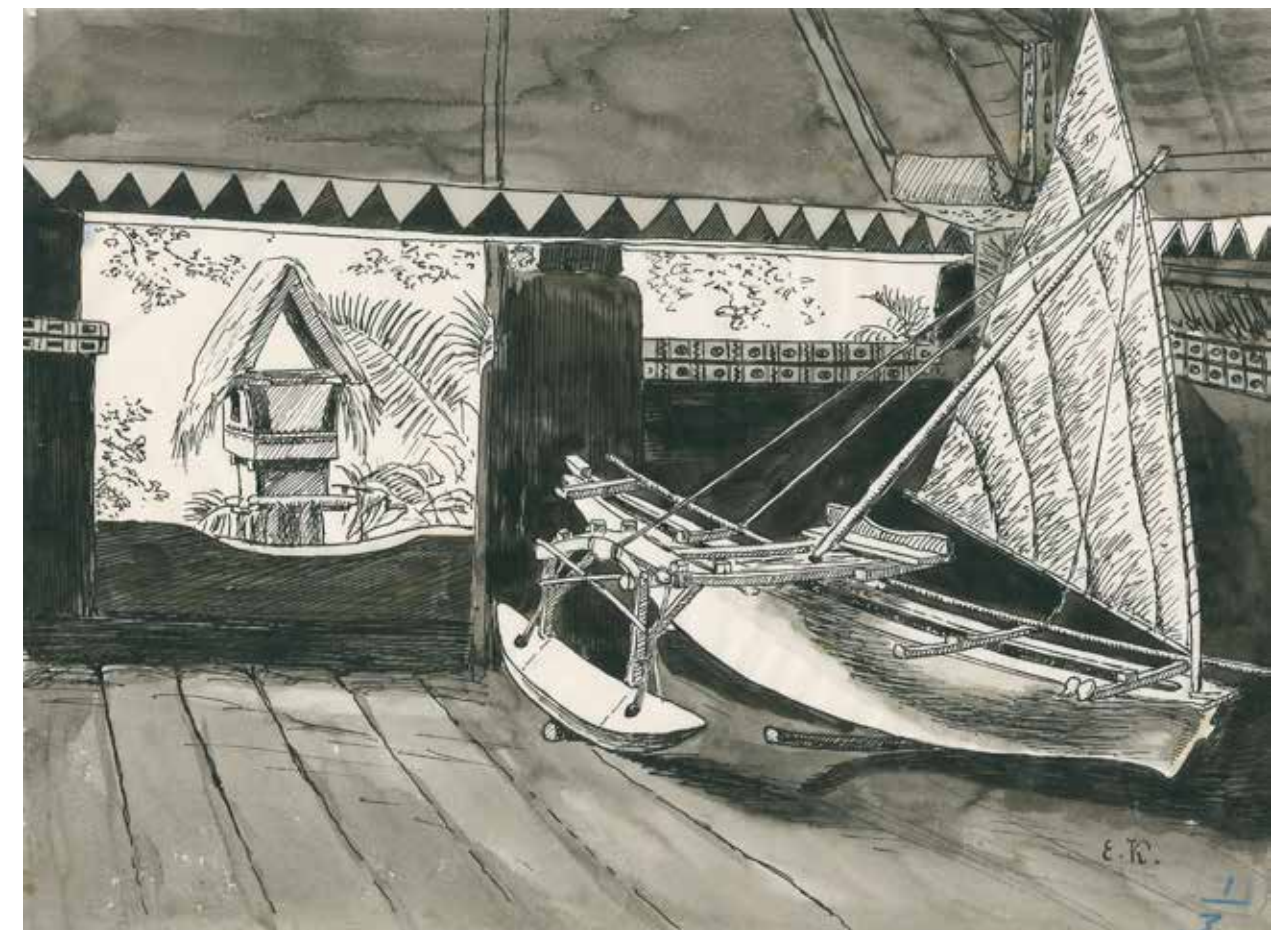


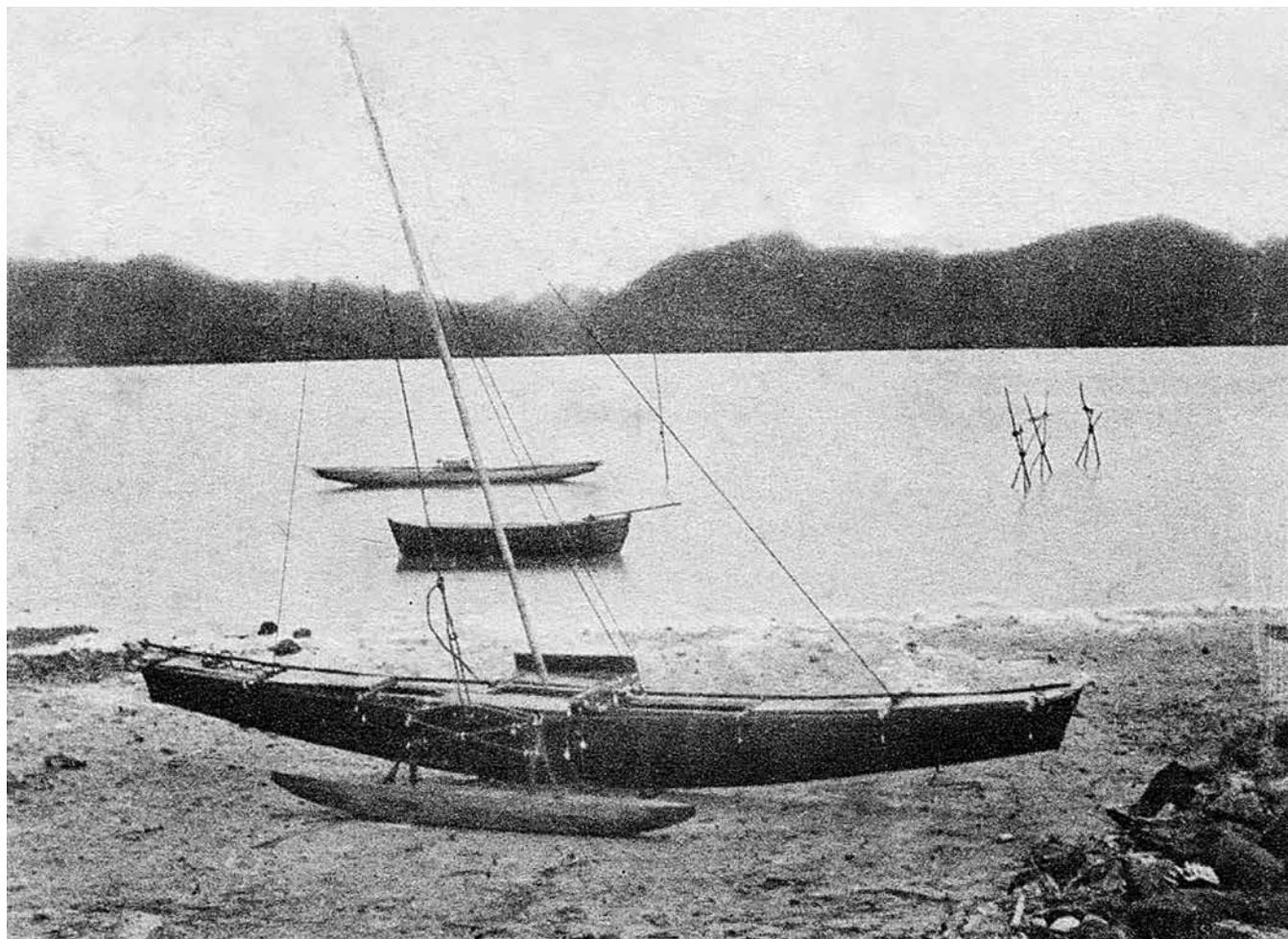
Fig. 176. Votive canoe in the Ngril Bai Gosubulngau. Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.



Canoe house Adelui with a kaeb, kotraol, and kabekl canoe. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Above: Canoe house Sagamus on Goreor. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum. Below: Kotraol canoe on land.



Below: Canoe race between Yapese proa (left) and Palauan Kaeb canoe. Above: Unidentified, Hamburg Museum.



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 Iskímêl cave in Goikúl and Īlmálk, 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 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. Erecting a fence sers (poss. sersél), Wall.: geoátêl (poss. geoatelêl) or a wall galdúkl (poss. galdeklêl) 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).

Made of uncarved wood:

- Huts: wedding hut, burial hut, sleeping hut on the water, pig sty, etc.
- the canoe house diangêl (poss. dingelêl)
- the dance house
- the cookhouse vum (poss. umangêl)

Made of carved wood:

- the dwelling blai (poss. blil), if it has two stories sop
- the Galid houses blil a galid
- 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 kebéas vine, while marking is done with a brush made out of gosêgósu (blossom sheath of the coconut palm). The paint pot gomogosóngêl 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). The ruler gerabái lilut, made of wood or bamboo, is used to draw lines, etc. For more about other tools, etc., see above.

The main section of the house that should be mentioned is the roof godángêb (poss. godangebêl) (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:

- y) square inner rafters rekáu (poss. rekúl), part of the roof truss,
- b’) actual inner rafters sêgês (poss. sêge
- sêl) below with bliúl “its acorn,” because we have here a head with the eave purlin resting on its neck,
- g’) diagonal rafters sêgês a kmêlâod,
- f’) outer double cane rafters gosekidêl (poss. gosekselêl) for tying on the roof leaves, resting on dūs,
- 5. large lower ridge beam buádêl (poss. budelêl), resting on the rekáu, under the fork of the sêgês,
- 6. small upper roof ridge beam ráel (poss. rolêl) on the fork of the sêgês.

Purlins:

- a’) the lower-most inner gorongódêl (poss. gorongodelêl), resting on a rekói (x),
- e’) the next-most inner one above búik urongódêl, resting on a imûl (2.), the two next towards the top omérêk sêgês, resting on gomkūk (4.) and rabarabál,
- c’) lower-most outer (eaves) gonglaigúkl (poss. gonglaikukêlklêl) (Wall.: gonglaigúrs), semásu
- d’) the three outer upper ones dūs (poss. dusel), which poke through the gongiaû gable frame (i) like telâu (“ear-rings”); on these lie the gosekidêl (f’) mentioned above.

- a) gadêng
- b) bagêi
- c) ter’roipelú
- d) mesekūk
- e) melék
- f) kadâm
- g) goiós
- h) gal’lebesói
- i) gongiaû
- k) gongolúüeb
- l) bad
- m) kuóku
- n) ugútûm
- o) gad
- p) sáus
- q) ngláos
- r) gasbógôb
- s) gorsogókl
- t) madál a sikês
- u) góngrangêr
- v) a is
- w) (1) galabád
- x) rekói
- y) rekáu
- z) (2) a imûl
- a’) gorongódel
- b’) sêgês
- c’) gonglaigúkl
- d’) dūs
- e’) búik gorongódêl
- f’) gosekidêl
- g’) sêgês a kmêlâódh’)
- h) nggóngg canter board
- 1. (v) galabád
- 2. (Z) a imûl
- 3. (Y) rekáu
- 4. gomkūk
- 5. buádel
- 6. ráel
- 7. ultutóur
- 8. omérek sêgês

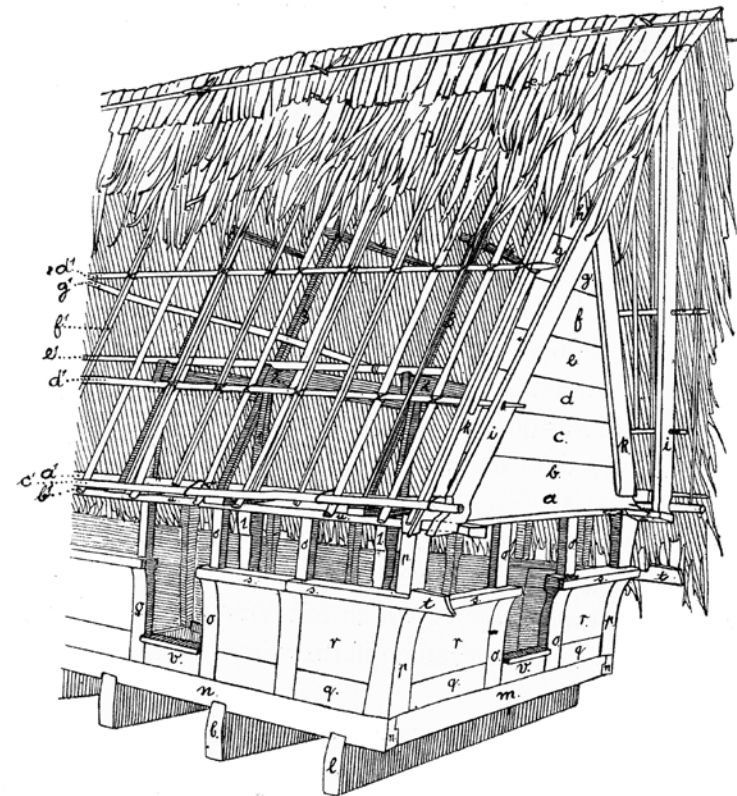


Fig. 177. Roof parts of a bai.

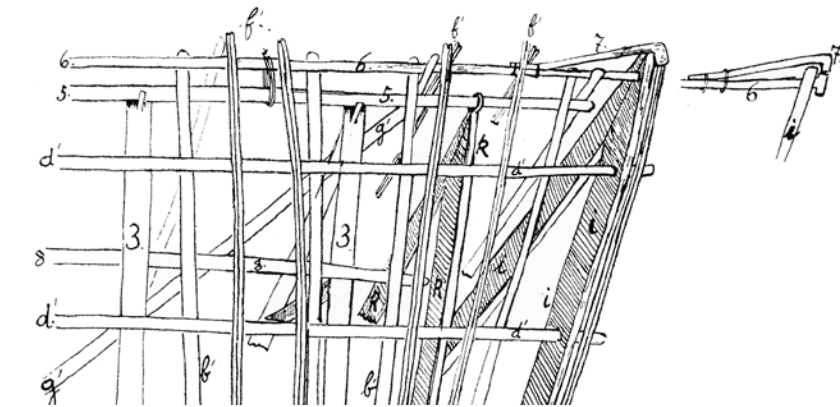


Fig. 178. Part of the truss.

The fact that the *rekau* 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 *rekau* 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 *buádēl* (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 *sēgēs* rafters point upwards, so that the thick ends protrude like branches from the *gorongódēl*, to which they are lashed (that is why the binding is called *réngēd*; 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. 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.

The houses are covered using leaves of the narrow Pandanus (*sug*) or the fronds of the Nipa palm tree *tovēgēl* (see Fig. 52). 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 *golukl*, and pinned down (Fig. 180).

A pole like this with leaves hanging on it is called a “roof leaf” *gádo*, poss. *gadoél*, (WALL.: *chadou*). Both ends of the pole are tied to the double cane rafters *gosekidēl*. 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 watertight; this creates many descending tracks from the roof truss, called *nglósōg* (poss. *ngelsegēl*), and dividing the house into an equal number of sections, and the *rubak* pay for each of them. Only the last two tracks, over the gables, are wide on top and pointed at the bottom and are called *umád*. Likewise, the wide leaf poles at the top are called *udengīl*, 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 *ulomogóēl* or *golkedikl*; 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 ½ *kluk* for each side of one *ulomogóēl*.

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 *gosárāg* (poss. *gosaragēl*) because they are “weighed down” with longitudinal pieces of wood, to keep the ends hanging down in the desired position. Transverse sticks *galīl* or *golīl* are driven through the roof truss to keep them from falling off; the *gosárāg* 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 *gosárāg*. 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. The covering lasts about 7-8 years, and the age of a house is measured by the number of coverings it has had; *ngongo tēlāl a gado ē r tiang 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 *rengēd* (poss. *rengēdēl*) is done using coconut string. On Palau, however, one does not find artistic string images like those in Yap. The lashing is important only on the *gorongódēl* beam, whose name is derived from it. Sometimes the natives even speak of *geimóng*, *teblóng*, *kldei rongódēl* 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. The lashing on the hull of the canoe is called *gēēd*. 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). The mortising of the carved beams, introduced by Gorágēl (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 ngálēk* (see Story 13) is very important so that they fit together well (*omég*, *omagém*; Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 225: *onuisok*, *omsohel*). Some of the joints overlap (clasp with a straight seam), which is called *ulemegóiēl* (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) *dēl* or a square, loose pin (*Kedulēkl* KUB.). The window frames *gorsogókl* (see below) have forks *teloádēl* (plural *telotáod*). In the case of a vertical seam, one usually mortises and tenons (b., c., d.) *ongálēk* and *urépēt* (Kub.: *orebetēl*) (from *ruépēt* “to fall”; WALL.: *orébet* “to let fall down”) are used.

Generally, all carved pieces of wood are painted, as already described in the discussion on wooden containers 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. For information about the ceremony for Galid houses, see below.

The hearth, simply called *gab* (poss. *gēbúl*) = “ashes,” is within the walls of the *blai* and the *bai*. Because the floor (*a uláol*, poss. *ululél*) is raised above the ground (*a gútūm*), a square structure of stones *galim* is constructed, on top of which, at the height of the floor, a wooden frame *rtógēl* is set. This structure is occasionally also overed 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 building. 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. Often, a *górangēl* grill is suspended from the tie beam above the *bai* fireplace; this was already mentioned above, in the discussion on smoking fish. In the cookhouse, the hearth *klum* 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. *gorikēl*), which usually consists of an old piece of skirt *vúlōg* (poss. *ulēgēl*). In former times, illumination in the house came from the fire in the hearths; occasionally, the sap *tpīl* of the *berór* tree was put in little clay dishes and lit; for information about the *golbidēl* lamps, see above.

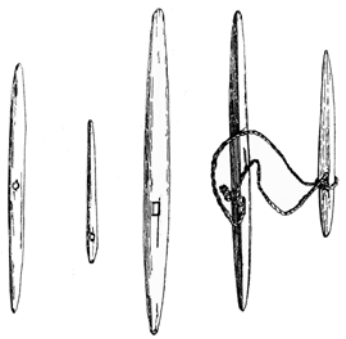


Fig. 179. Roof needles.

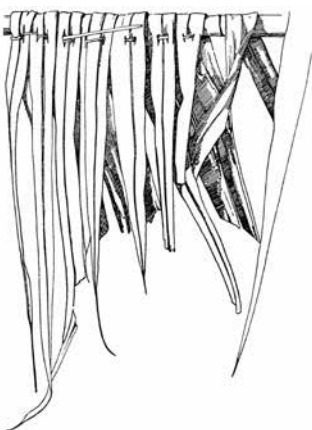


Fig. 180. Roof leaf.

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 *blai*, between the *bad* beam and the stones, always remains untouched. 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 *goměágēl*, also called *delaměráp* (Wall.: *delemeráb*, Kub.: *Telñerap*, *Telmárap* in the *blai*, 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*). True permanent rooms with wooden walls, more correctly called "sections," are found in the priest houses, however, as Vol. 2 shows. We found one such compartment in the Galíd bai a Urékēd in Ngimís (Vol. 2). 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 *gotēromódēl* 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.

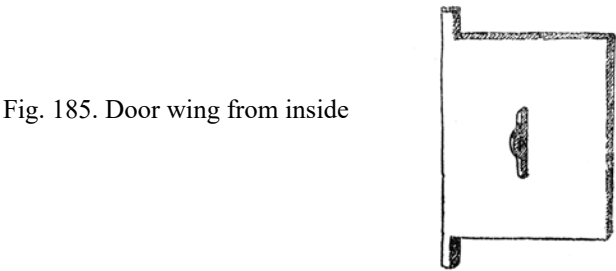


Fig. 185. Door wing from inside

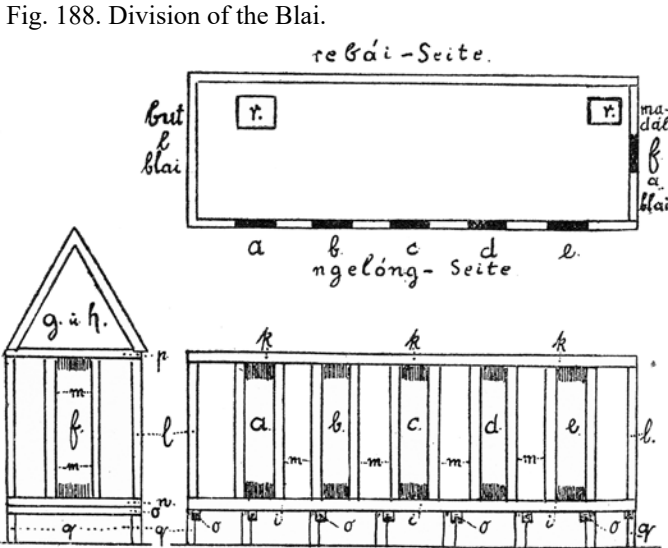
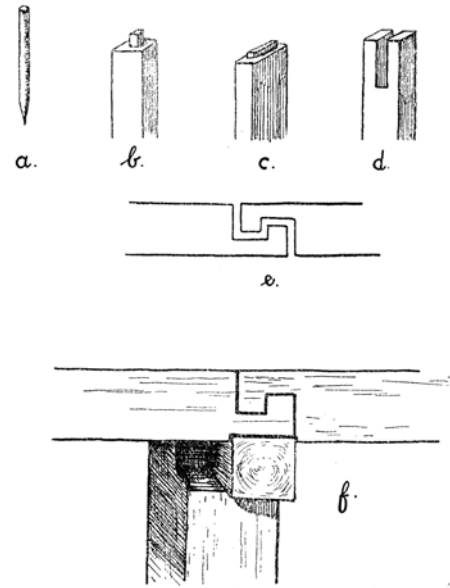


Fig. 188. Division of the Blai.

Fig. 182. Mortising (f on Blai post).



There are many doors *túangēl* (poss. *tungelél*) and windows *kekerél túangēl* (= "small door") or *goloégēl* in both *blai* and *bai*, of course these are nothing more than openings. 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* on both wings of the door, in the area near the lock, with a hole for inserting a shaft as a bolt *gongoségēs*. 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 ís*. The stones or posts for stepping up, called *derígēl*, or stepped blocks *did l bói* for climbing in, can also be removed. For information about the side windows and the back door (*gongár*), see the section on *blai*.

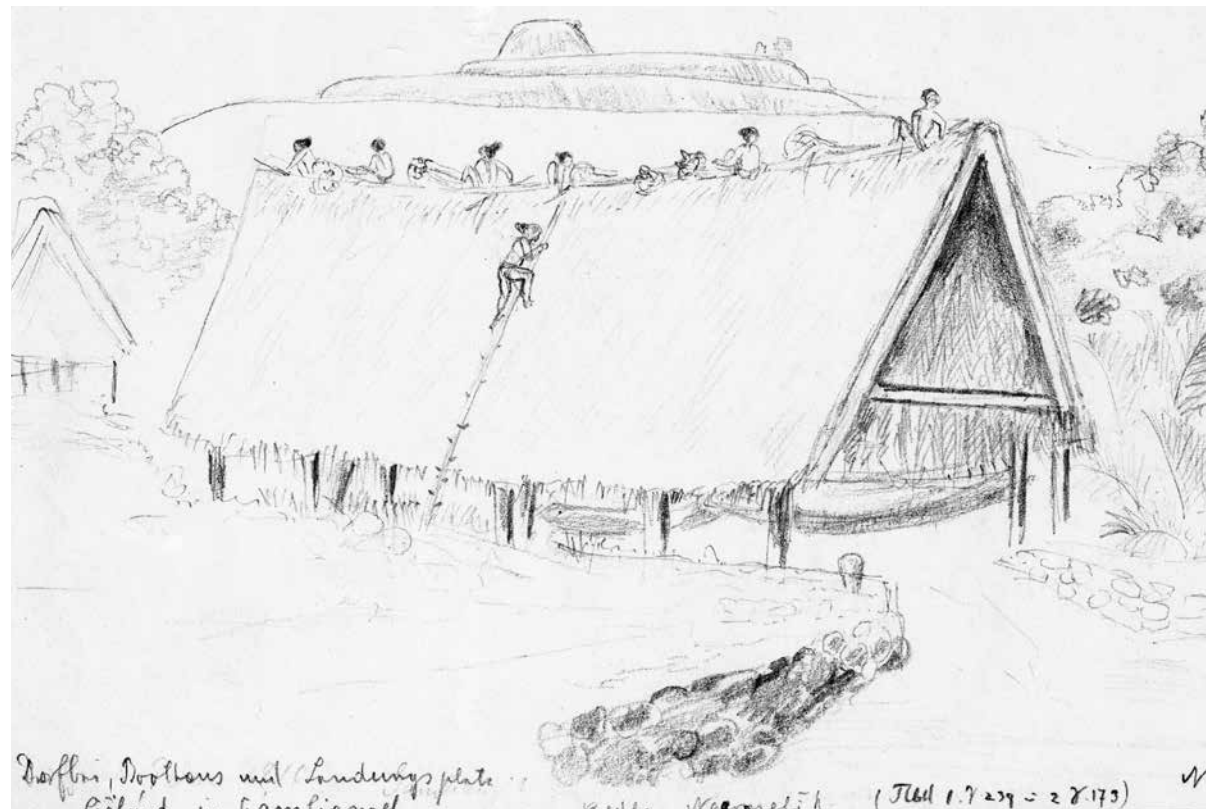
It is not unusual to see supports on old houses, especially on the *bai*, on which one often sees the gables braced up, but there are also often numerous supports on the side (*drongúgōl*). Houses are secured during storms, as well, as the story of Tu and Tkakl shows; see bai 27, VIa.

Bridges *did* (poss. *didél*) do exist, as planks are laid over water courses, for example, over the Bar' rak in Ngarekeāi (see Vol. 2). Stone slabs are laid over narrower crevices in the stone paths when necessary. 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*, which play an important role in Palau. The maps in Vol. 2 show the extent of the village paths *a gadēs* 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 Irañ* 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*, whose width and height differs depending on its location. All of these pavements are linked to each other by way of the stone paths *gádēs*, so that it is possible move from place to place without getting dirty feet. The *iliud* chiefs' pavements with their *ptangg* reclining seats are located on, next to, or near the paths. At the end of the *gádēs* are the "path termini" *ptelúl a gang*, also completely level. In other places, where the land slopes, the height of the slope may reach several meters, like in *a Jebúkúl*, Ngarabáu (Map 1^d in Vol. 2), in Ngardmau, etc.

The manner in which the stones are piled up is best seen in the photographs in Vol. 2. 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 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.



Dorf, Dörfler mit Landungsplatz
Gebäude in Gamlangl
Karl Krause (Juli 1879 - 28.179) ✓

Fig. 181. Roofers attaching the roof cap; canoe house Gēbūd in Gámliangēl.
Below: Palauan blai. EK drawing scans, Hamburg Museum.

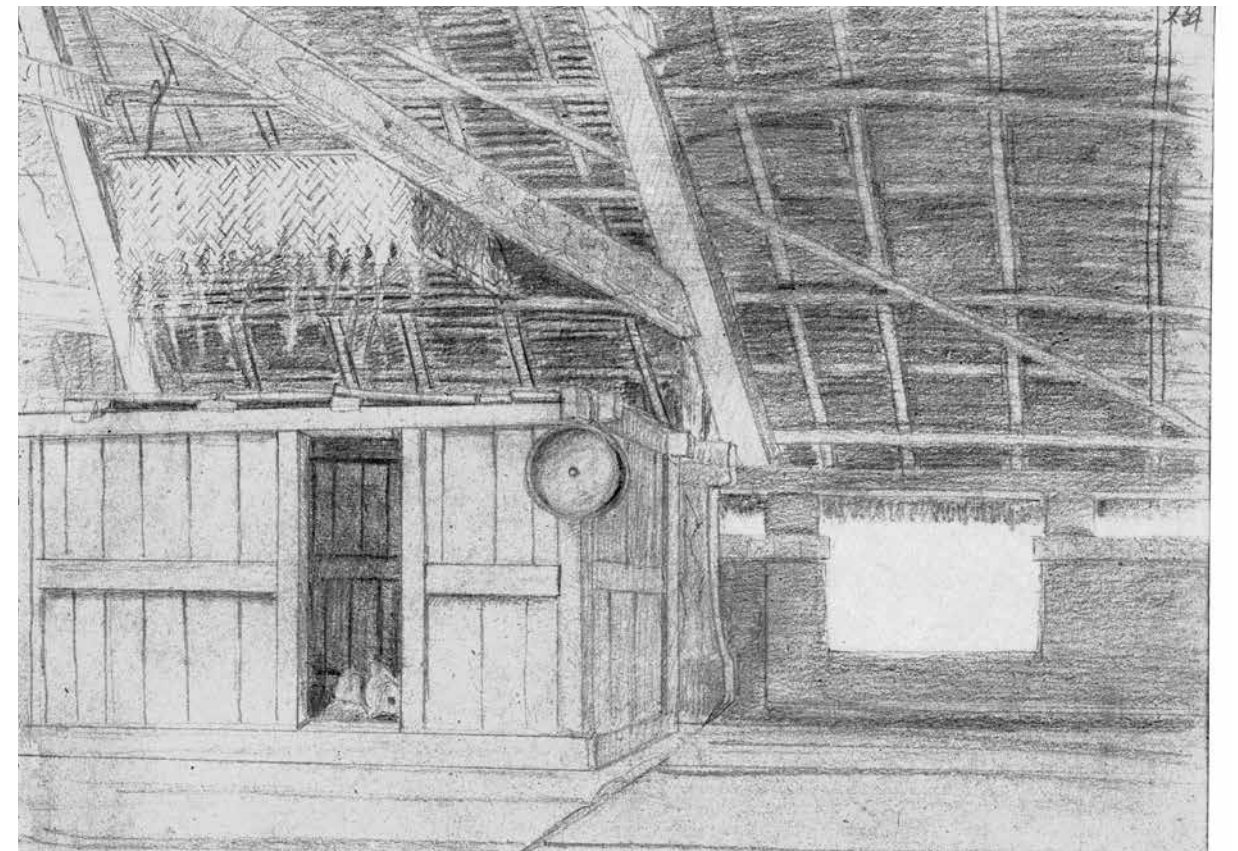


Fig. 184. Partitioned area in the Galid bai in Ngatpang.
EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum.

Fig. 183. Blai ra Lulk in Merong. EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum.





Two blai in Ngasias, Peliliou. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.



Below, blai Aidesau in Kekleu.

Above: Blai Togo boyot with *a* Idid graves, Goreor.





Construction of the blai a Tkél in Goréör. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.



While the *bai* always sit on the pavements called *galdúkl*, the posts of the *blai* always stand directly on the ground, while the *gólbed* pavement belonging to it always stretches out in front of its doors. It is the burial place for the family and thus often has large stone slabs on it. 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, where it is as tall as a man on the ocean side, because the land drops steeply here.

The huts (Wall.: *delüi*, 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). 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 *gongróel* or *uldékl* (Kub., ol. II, pg. 107: *Hongróol*, *Aulděkel*). The same is true of the burial hut *blil a debül* (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.

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, is erected for cooking, etc. (see the cookhouse in Vol. 2), and then there is the construction hut *delidüi*, 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 (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). A ladder leads up to it. The parts of the structures on piles are: the pile *a táng*, *útang* (see fish baskets), *deběgěl*; 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 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 *rekau* of a *bai* are driven into the ground. 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 in Fig. 43, 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*. 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. Here Fig. 181 from Gamliangél. 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.

The canoe house is never used as a dwelling, as is sometimes the case on Truk.

The cookhouse *a vum* (poss. *umangél*) 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*, but it can also stand in the longitudinal axis (see Vol. 2). 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 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 *olsáräg kpepél* (Kub.: *ulsarak el kpokpél*). As concerns the hearth, the same things apply as for the *Blai* (see above); 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.

Fig. 186. Wedding hut. Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum collection.



The dance house *diangēl* (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.

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*, 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.



Fig. 187. Dance house.
Original EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum collection.

Below and next pages: Female
dancers from Peliliou and Goreor.

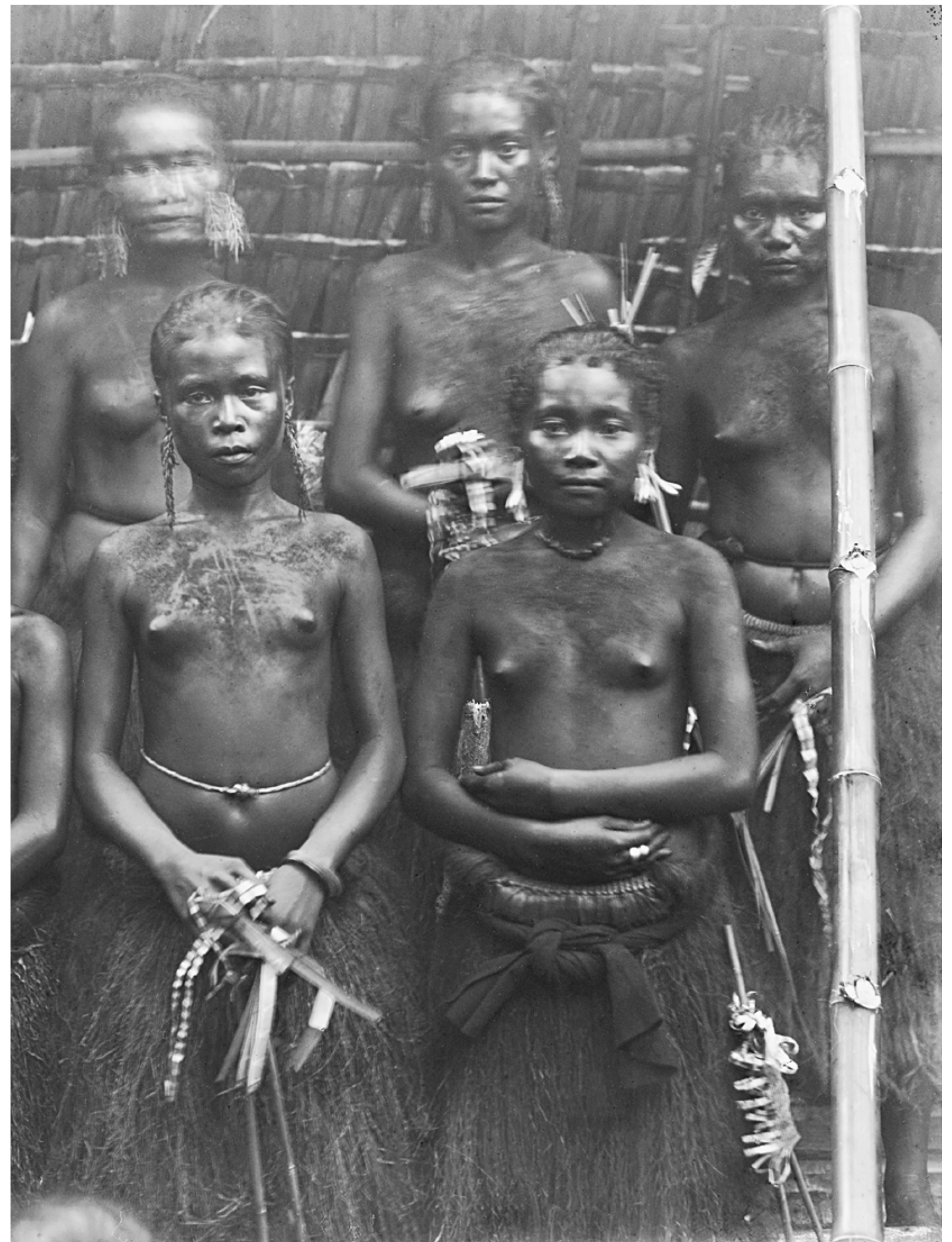


Female dancers preparing to dance during a feast in Sagamus, Goreor. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.
Below: Dance platform by *blai* Gongalutel.





Female dancers. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.





Female dance performance. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Female dance performance in Ngarevikel. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.





Bringing food for the dance festivities on Goreor. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.





Houses of carved and mortised wood.

The **dwelling** *a blai* (poss. *blii*). 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 *Araklây* 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:



Ngloik dance of ragutum Pelilou on Goreor, joined with Goreor dancers and German expedition members watching. Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.

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

Fig. 29 in Vol. 2 shows that the six-doored *blai* of *a Râklaî* 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), 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 the photo 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 *kleim madál* (two-doored *tēbló madál*, three-doored *kedēi madál*, etc.) was the real chief blai; and in fact the house of a Rāklāi 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 *kleim madál* is called *blül 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 *gorongódēl* purlin are located, after which it is named *túangēl ra úgul gorongódēl*, as already indicated above on pg. 201. In the opposite corner (e) the *túangēl rsél gorongódēl* is found, the entrance for the rest of the family. The doors in between (b and d) are called *gongēdēgádēl* (see Story 200, end). Fig. 188 shows more.

The front of the house, where the doors are, is called *ngelóng* (poss. *lengeklél*, Kub.: *Ānalón*), the back side is called *rebāi* (Kub.: *Arbay*). The front gable side *madál a blai* is located on the right, next to the *rsél gorongódēl* door; usually the side door (f) *gongár* is located in this side, as Fig. 26 in Vol. 2 shows, as well as Photo 2 (not easy to see). The gable triangle on this side is called *nglikl iábēd* “outside cloud,” while the square wall is called *kliu* (Kub.: *klin*). The triangle on the other gable side *but l blai*, in contrast, is called *golisál 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 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. Fortunately, in 1910, such cases were still rare exceptions.

Let me now present something about **magic during Blai construction**, starting with the *godogül* chant of the sun worshippers, as told by Gadlbai in Ngurusár:

<i>Gēdēl kebesengil a Geiág búiēl</i>	In the third night of the Geiag moon
<i>e ngak amerórōm gotilēg</i>	I sharpen my adze,
<i>e lek mo tuóbēd ra bó le kukúk</i>	because I go out the next morning
<i>māk duórōm e m lagá ra</i>	and I sharpen it and lay it towards
<i>golmátēl luaségēs</i>	the golmátēl luaségēs side
<i>e a kebesengēi; e ngak a mo ra ked</i>	in the evening. I then go on the heath
<i>mak bo e ak mo me ra telkíp</i>	and I go and I come to an area
<i>l mededāēs e mo kiei re ngí</i>	and when it is cleared, I sit on it,
<i>e gousí a gamágēl l mo megērei</i>	prepare a quid, leave it lying
<i>le gamalél a búiēl e dmul kmu:</i>	as the quid of the moon, and speak thusly:
<i>bo búiēl molámēg e egagegédegēdúg;</i>	Go, moon, chew and let us talk;
<i>ngak a ngalekél Gobagádrennél</i>	I am the child of Gobagádrennél, the sister of Iegádrennél
<i>logelél a Iegádrennél</i>	
<i>māk mē mesúbēd re káu</i>	and come to notify you
<i>e ak mo tuóbēd ra blil rngar’rág a lagád</i>	that I go out and will go to the house of anyone

e kau gobeketákl ra keúkl
l ngarengí a Ibēdul
ma Ngirturóng ma Rüngülbai
me ke ngmai a tengetingél
golébēdebelir
e oráel a udóud l mo ra ngikel’lagád
l kulásāg ra blil meng rolél
a udóud l mora ngak
e ngak a mo ra ked

ma kmes a telkíp l medēdāēs
e mo rebórob re ngí e gousí a gamágēl

l mo megērei e dmul kmu:
gaió, gaiós, ak mla mesúbēd re káu
l ak tuóbēd ra geilagál melásāg
ra blil ngar’ragá lagád
e kau gobeketákl ra despadál’l
l ngarengí a Rāklāi ma Gēbi rāklāi
ma remetētél³²⁵ a despadál’l
ma ke ngmāi á tengetingél
golébēdebelir, e mek ráel
a ududír l mo re ngí lagád
meng me re ngak lē gerál a blil
e soláe mo ra pelú
l mo ra blai l ngu gotilēg

e tuóbēd ra tuángēl
ra golmátēl luaségēs
e moráel mo ra goreómēl
e mesa ngí di le ker’regár
l dulókl bēdúl a ngabárd
e mo rebórob l gouskák
e soláe mekīs l ngu gotilēg
l mo dobegí meng morióu
e soláe dmul kmu:
Iegád l kéd kau ma Gobagád l kéd
tiaiekíd a desageliu
me ko melásāg re ngí
ma l kngtíl tia lomelásāg
ekom ngmai ma kom oláb
e melásāg r tial desageliu.
e merekúi mora pelú
e mo melásāg l dikēá tokói
e di melásāg l rokir a blai
l godouí e kibekbí
e tungerár l mo merék

and you look clearly to the West side,
there is a Ibēdul
and Ngirturóng and Rüngülbai
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 Rāklāi and Gēbirāklāi
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 golmátēl luaségēs 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,
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.

e soláe e ak gogotí a líus
e mgugí ra ngau
a re merŭl a udóud le tegél a kesól
le lólom l bágĕl ma gongĕuid
a delóbĕg
e mo sibegi a sis
l meĭ, e loga ralm ra gorságĕl
esi leki tiál sis re ngí
e soláe motmu l ngu a ulogóg

l tuóbĕd ra úgul gorongódĕl l túangĕl
e bldóel ra (n)gĭl mo ra sáus
ra úgul gorgongódĕl ra ngelóng
e mo degór e dmul kmu:
Ugél'lēgaleĭak mla melái
rekemiul ked mo ra godesóngĕl
l ked merŭl ra mur ra geilagáng
e soláe l mŭt l meĭ ra blŭl dáng
e mo mededegór e melekói l dmul kmu:
moltóbĕd l meĭ ra gólbed ng mur ra
geilagáng!

e mo ra sáus rarsél gorongódĕl
e mo degór ra ngelóng e dmul kmu:
Iegádrengĕĭ moltóbĕd l mo ra
godesóngĕl ng mur ra geilagáng!

e idevékl mo ra sáus ra rebái:
Gobagádrengĕĭ be bo ra gólbed
ng mur ra geilagáng!
e mo ra sáus ra rebái ra úgul
gorongódĕl e melekói
Gobildeĭ be bo ra gólbed
ng mur ra geilagáng!
e soláe ngu i tial lulogóg
l mo ra blingĕl gólbed
e ruregí e remóus l mo kleŭíd
l terúkl e dmul kmu:
morŭl ra blngur
e ked melái a gerál tial blai ra geilagáng
e soláe mo kideri sel buk
l ngarengí a sis ma ralm
l mo rebitar ra e kat uegóg
limelír l kar e te mánga e melim
e soláe ak ngmai aikĕl udóud l kesól
māk ngmai gĕrúng l mo k méd
ra tere kelél a Ugél'lēgalíd e dmul kmu:

Then I husk a coconut,
roast it on the fire,
and make money out of the (root) flesh of the turmeric
until the sixth bágĕl and the seventh
one delóbĕg 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 gorongódĕl door,
hold it in my hand and go to the corner
at the úgul gorongódĕl in front,
stand still and speak the following:
Ugél'lēgaleĭ, I came to invite
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 gorongódĕl 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 gorongódĕl 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
and I take two and lay them
with the food of Ugél'lēgalíd and speak thusly:

Ugél'lēgalíd a ike ududém kau ma Gobil dép!
e mo ngu a tang l mo magĕreĭ e dmul kmu;
Iegádlegebáng se ududém kau ma Gobagádle
gelebagáp!
e soláe me tmu ra blai e rebórob
l mo mekeketékĕt
e soláe tuóbĕd l mo rebórob

e melmesúmĕg l kmu:
komorokól lo mengír maika ududíu
le gerál a blai mekomngoóng e ngak a di lmuk
e soláe lmŭt l me tmu ra blai
māk rebórob l mo meketékĕt
e soláe dingak l dmul kmu:
olokói, tial le geimól delóbĕg
ng kotokotí gomeráel?
me kom ngoóu dudíu e di kíei?
e soláe e ngu i sel delóbog
l tuóbĕd l móng ma kmo rebórob
e dmul kmu:
ngei, e Gobagadrengeĭ, tia delóbog
l kelél a dilop.

Ugél'lēgalíd, 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 delóbĕg
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, Gobagadrengén, this delóbog
is his food that came too late.

Other magic acts during the construction of a blai.

a doromí gotilĕg
e me lóia ra úgul¹⁵⁵
ma bo le kŭkuk
ak mo tuóbĕd loba gotilĕg
ra kidekmék e olingátĕg
l mo tuóbĕd ra tuángĕl
ra úgul gorongódĕl
l mo kíei ra úbeng
e degór ra delkádk
eo mŭgĕl soregí a kidekmék l
ngomír
e kuk soregi a kiterúk l ngomír
e soláe maráel mak soregi a túngd
l lilia ra blngĕl gógik
ĕ ak luetál dikeá kulásĕg
lak medĕĭ meng díak e ak dimaráel
meng ruépĕt a líus ra kidekmék
e ak medengeĭ kmung
medĕ gadák
mak biltik ra bambu
l gelóit ra ráel ra kidekmék

I sharpen it, the adze
and set it on the base side
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 gorongódĕl 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,

ng direkl óueling ra gadák,
ma merá maikel lërül uláueg
a mla ra kiterúk
ng óueling ra gadák ra kleblíl
a ngak a di mo otěbědí gomelásäg
mak mo ra ked ra geimól bukl
mak rikí a gútũm l dogědągěm a
kl'lungél
e soláe melebúsög l klěuid
ma teluál kúkau a kulebáng
mak megedí l uid blěgiděl
e gěmáis a lěl a kěr'regar
l meĩ mak ě kmed re ngi
e mo kmed r tial rĩk l gútum
l kleuid l terúkl
e soláe robórob l mangmásäg
a lugél a bedengék
ě mendengél l kmu r galíd a maramáng
ě soláe dmul kmu sěgalkéd
ak mesúběd rekāu
l ěk mlē loltóběd re gomelásäg
meng súběd r tial loreóměl r rokir
mē ke dmu ra dągālbai ma Júsěgmád ma
Mesés
me te mē gědúk, ma ki melásäg!
a soláe maráel mo tumu re goreóměl
l mesá teluól ker'regár
l dul'lókl bedúl a dilúgēs
mak doběgi lulogógug
e merekóe mo ra pelú
meng diák a megesáng
ě ak tuóběd ra klukúk, meng a re ngi a
megesáng
ng ta e rul búiěl ě ak mogú tuóběd
ma k melásäg mo l mo rokir
a blai l kleoá madál
meng mo ogeráuěl ma k smúk a teblól
kluk
ma desegél tal madál a kluk
ma gongiúiet l tal góngiakl
a soláe ak mo remül geuid udód l kesól

ě mak ng mai mo tugerák ra kěr'regar
ra dmúiěl e dmul kmu:
ked e merekól melásäg maika gerál a blai

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,
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 ob
stacle for this,
so it is one or two moons until I go out again;
and I chop now until all are finished
for a house with four doors
and the payment comes and I take two Kluk,

and for the chopping a half a Kluk
and for the sitting one góngiakl.
Then I make seven pieces of money out of turmeric,
take them and hang them on a tree at the exit of the
compound and say;
We are finished chopping, this is the price of the house,

me ko ngmai meng ududiú
e remíd e ked e merekóng
and you should take your money
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 Gorěör, one pays 1 *kluk* for each door, so in the same case one would pay 4 *kluk*, 1 *ěikéd a klkúl* = *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. *Atañ*, *Tañal*), which are usually round, and whose bottom-most independent part is called *úgul* “stump” for short. These are the “piles” of the pile structures. 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 . 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 ugútũm* (Kub. *Ougúttum*)⁵⁹⁴ and the transverse beam (n) *a kuóku* (Kub.: *Kwokn*). To see their joining and position, see Fig. 182f.

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.

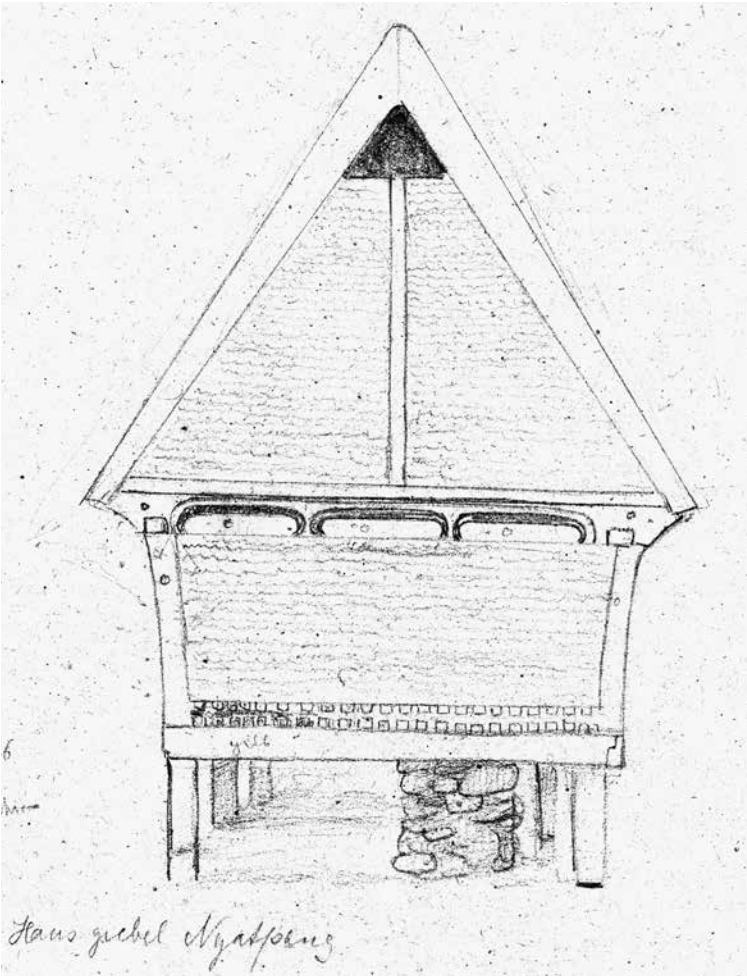


Fig. 189. Gable side of a *blai*,
Original EK drawing scan
Hamburg Museum collection.

The wall posts and corner posts support the upper frame, the longitudinal beam (k) *ráel béap* (poss. *rolél a béap*) “path of the rats” and the transverse beam (p) *dekéděk* (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 stories, 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 *Atan* 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 *uláol ra bámbu*, which make up the main portion, or with boards *uláol ra gasbógób*. 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, *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), which was separated by a wooden wall. On 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). 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 *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:

klpóp (Kub.: *Kelbóp* 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.

kldók (Kub.: *Keldók*) Wall made of split, hammered bamboo *rót 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.: *Hoñosogákl*, 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).

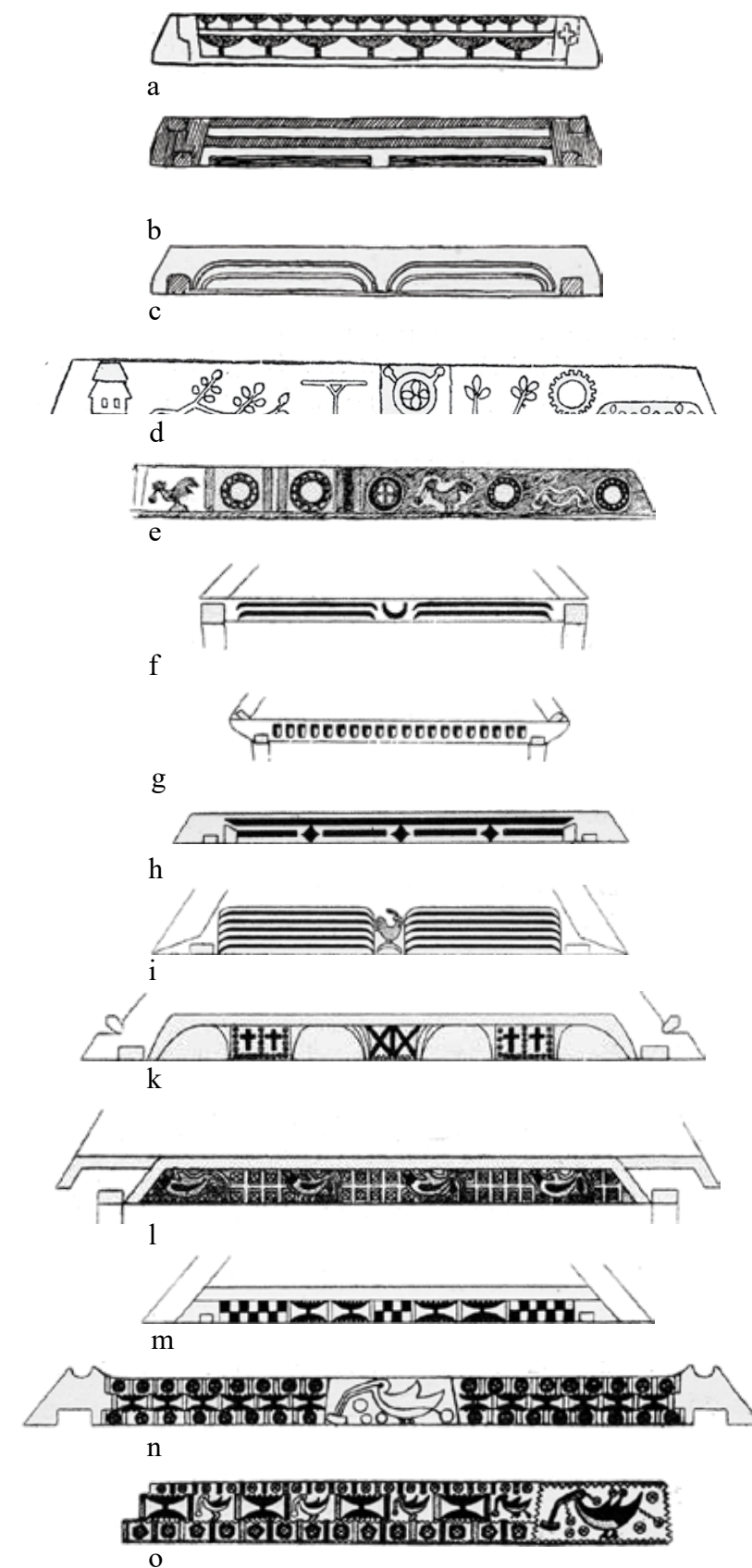
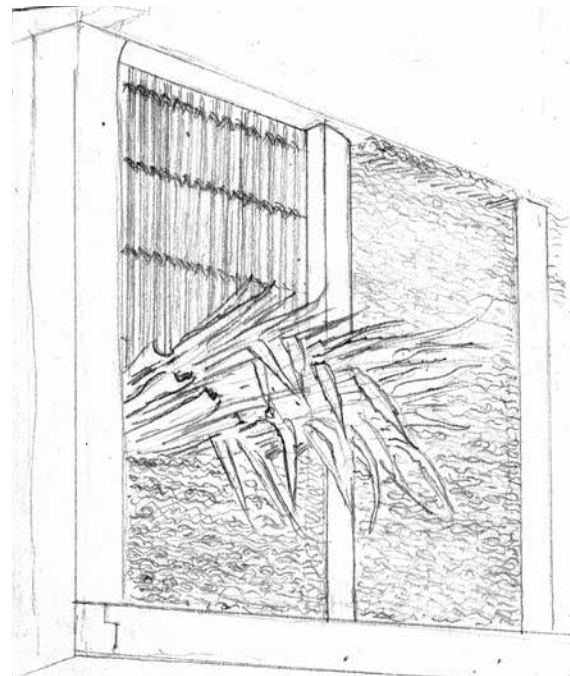
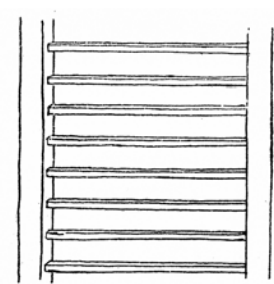


Fig. 189. *Dekéděk* decorative beams and 14 decorations a-o.

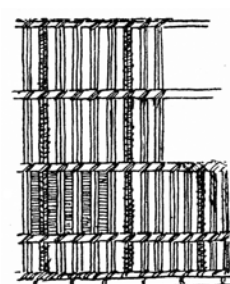


a. Original EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum collection.

Fig. 190 a-i. Making of a Blai wall.



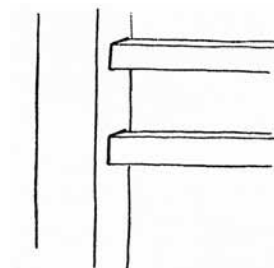
b



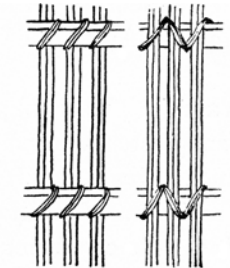
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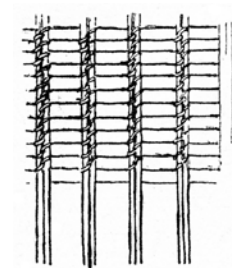
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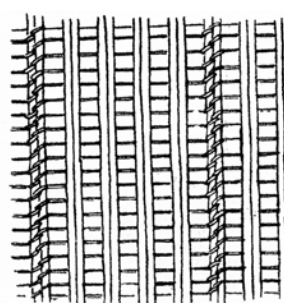
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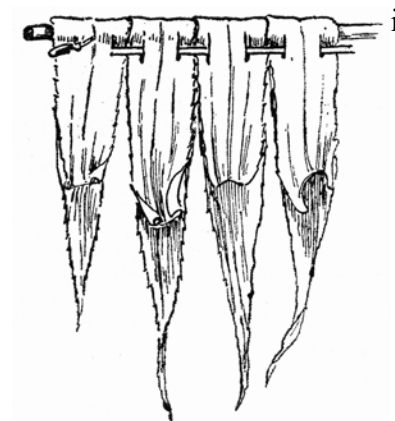
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h



i

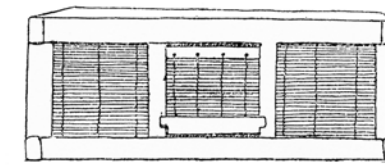


Fig. 192. food cabinet.

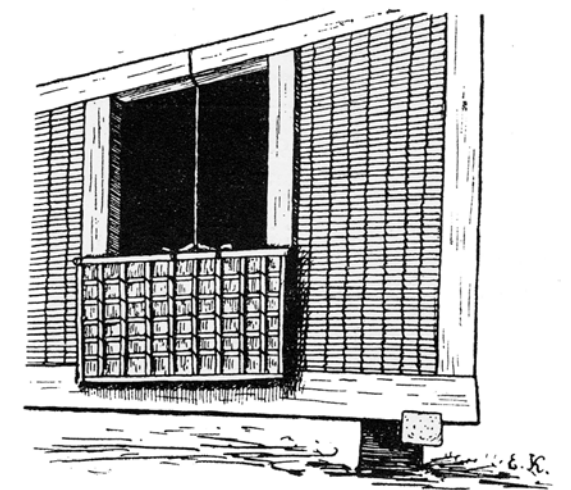


Fig. 191. Door closure.

Original EK drawing scan, Hamburg Museum collection.



Reeds are tied on in pairs, upright, like the *gosekidēl* rafters in the roof 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, 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* 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. Of course, a nice five-door *blai* such as that of rubak Nr. I from a Iméungs, called a Klang, 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 ts* like a *bai*, a sign of how closely related the *blai* are to the *bai*.

In light of the fact that at the numerous places where the great Galid Medegei 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 Keklau (see Fig. 22 in Vol. 2). The two-story *bai* are similarly impressive structures. The large cult house *ngousaus*, which was previously mentioned in Vol. 2, is also a *sop*. Kub. saw one still standing in a Irai, 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.

In the illustrations of the *blai* one can also see the item used to close the door *ulitēg* (poss. *ultegél*), 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. The numerous pictures (Fig. 198 and Vol. 2) 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, in the section on the hearth, and in the section on rooms. The photograph of the interior of the house is better than words. The rows of *tagērākl* hooks, called *gor'rebākl*, stand out; wooden plates and bowls are hung on these. As mentioned, the sleeping mats are kept up high on the shelf *reākl*, because the dwellings lack the mat hangers *rēkói* 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 galid*.

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 *telegeiēr bai*, which are discussed in more detail below. The Galid houses, which are the topic of this chapter, are also transitional structures between *blai* and *bai*. The following types are discussed:

Fig. 196b. Tet from Ngurusár.
Original EK drawing scan,
Hamburg Museum collection.



Above: Kubary 1870s Photograph
tet shrine for Medegei pelau in a
Irai.

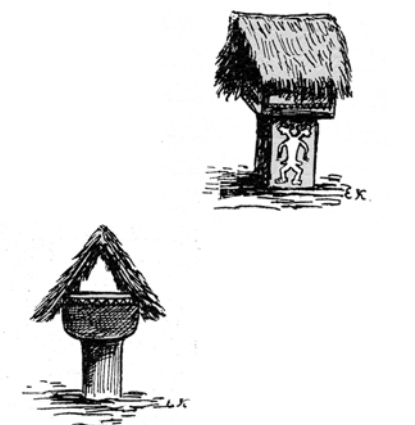


Fig.195. Sun shrine on post.
Ngasiás, Peliliou.

Fig. 194. Sun shrine on
Goreor. EK drawing
scan, Hamburg Mu-
seum collection.

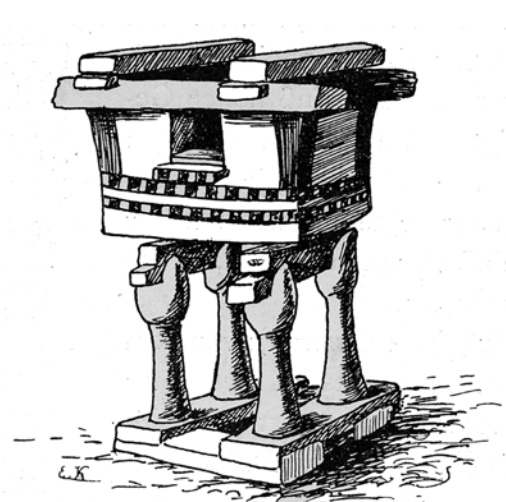


Fig. 196a. Tet from a Meungs on Ngarekobasáng.

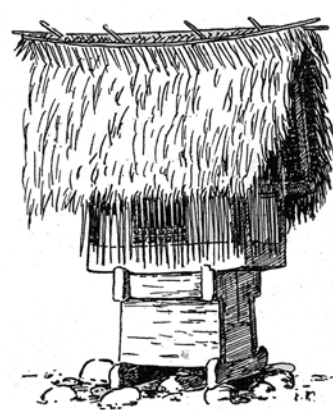


Fig. 197. Galsbong shrine

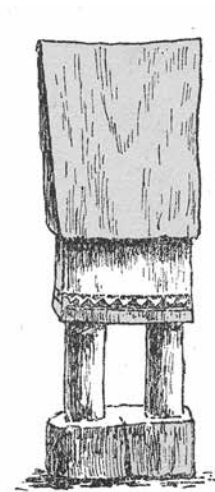


Fig. 193.
ordination shrine

the little sacred shrine without a post	<i>gatekil'l</i>
the little sacred shrine with one post	<i>kumerëu</i>
the sun shrine on a single post	<i>gaiós</i>
the shrine on four posts	<i>tet and sümög</i>
the little ornamental hut	<i>ulangáng and 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 painting *gësbereberél* (from *gëšberébër* “paint”; Kub.: *ongosprebrél*) can start. Another head is required for the “clipping” of the roof *ongemdél* (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 *tet*. 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 Ngátmëdug (see Vol. 1 and Vol. 2) in a grotto called Ngarsümög. 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).

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 *kumerëu* (Kub.: *Gumreu*), which was mentioned above (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 *gaiós* (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 Turang. 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 betel nuts, 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. 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 Bai it is called *sümög* (Mc Cluer: *sumuck*, Kub.: *sümuk*)—which is named after the *tet* basket, because it represents the basket for the god, in which the betel nuts, etc., are stored.

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, one can see them in their original position.

Mortised into the beams of the framework are the wall posts (o) (Fig. 177 and 199 (o)) *gád* (poss. *gadál*). They are straight, square, tapered at the top (by the window), with two grooves 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

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Below: Sun shrine *gaiós* in Ngatkíp at Blai Nr. I. (Left: girl Aralie)
Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum collection.



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The *tet* of the god Medegei pélau in *a Irai*, which is the subject of Story 197 and of which there is an unpublished photograph by Kubary, 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*. 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 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), while the latter is closed at the bottom (Fig. 197 and Vol. 2). As the showpiece of the blai with its bai-like ornamentation, 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 Raklai*. A small house is called *dep*.

The Men’s House *Bai* (poss. *bil*)

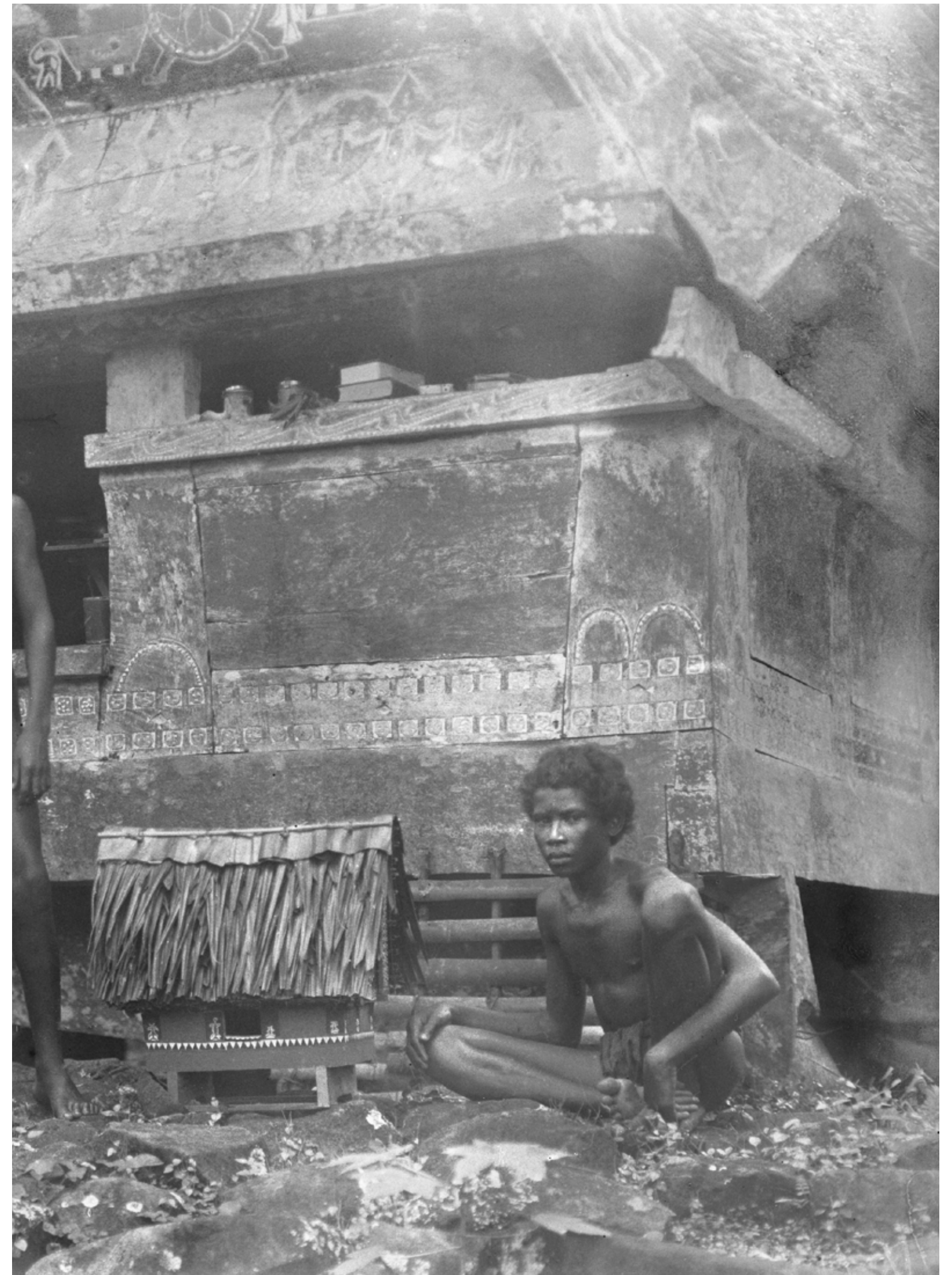
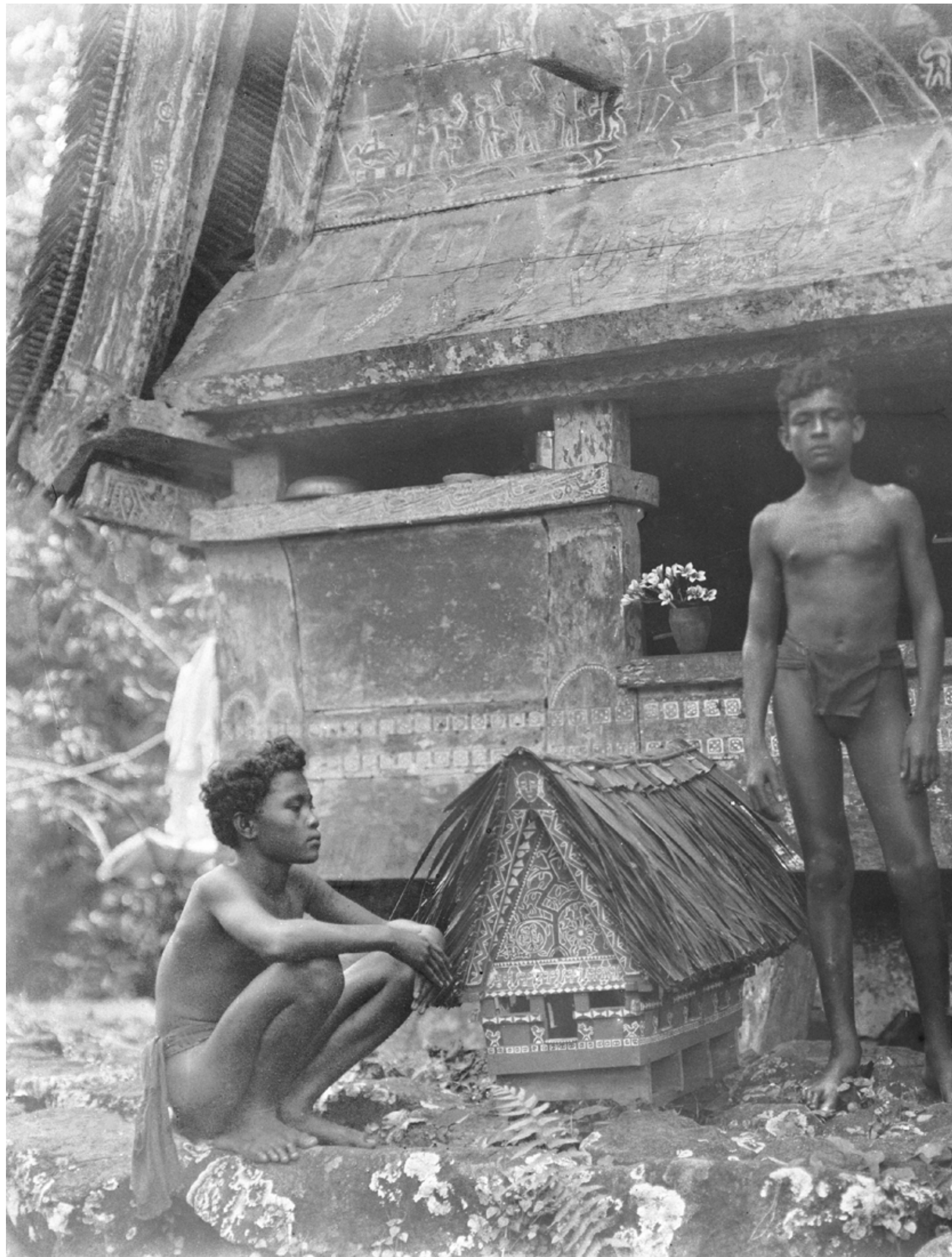
Like the sailboat among boats, the two-story *góutang* (see bai 31, VIII) is one of the most beautiful and artistic houses to be found among the primitive peoples on earth. Actually, there are only a few impressive structures that could successfully compete: those of the Menangkabau malaïen, and some 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 Meketí bai in Goréor 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.

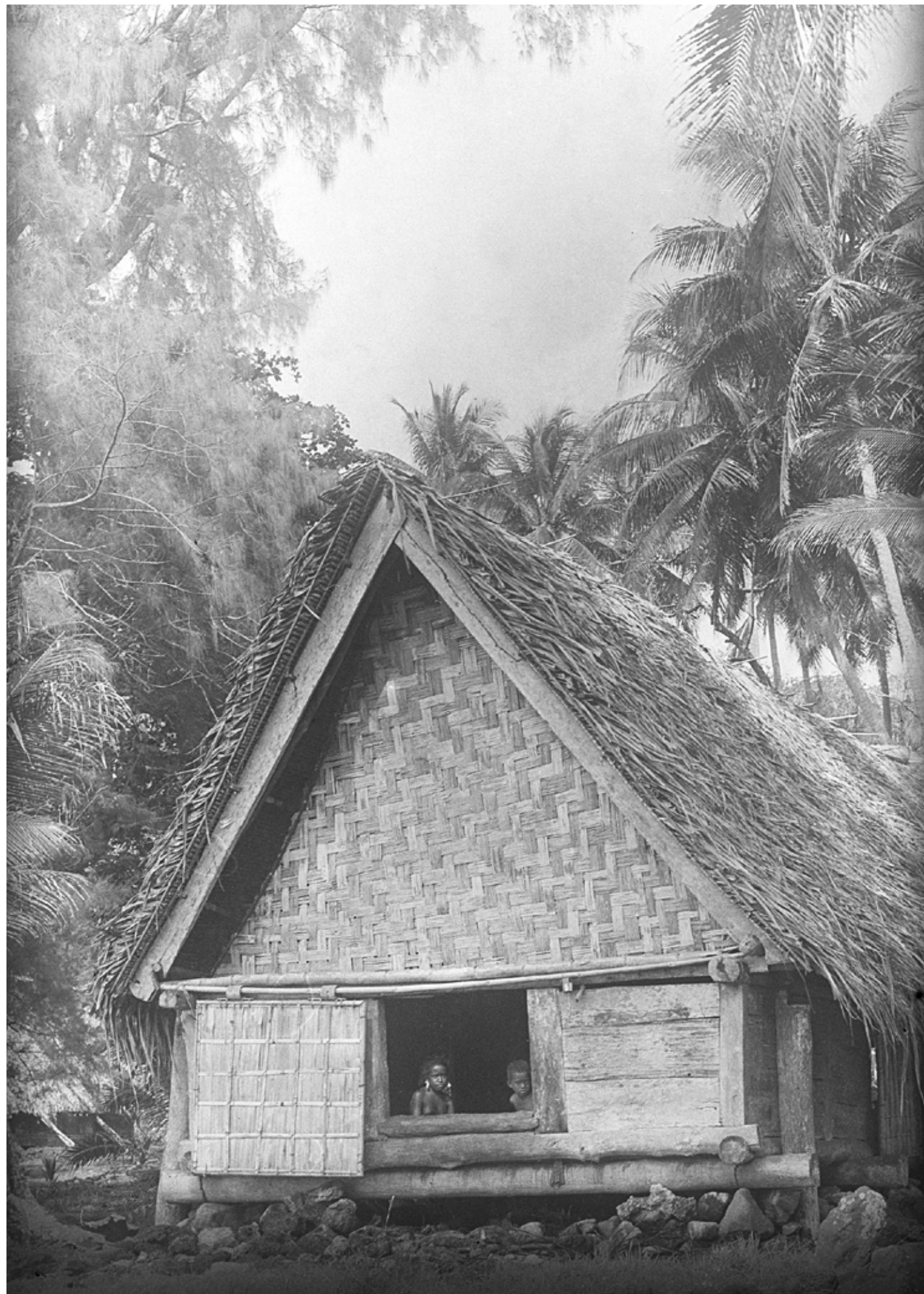
Semper and v. Muklucho-Maclay provide a little more detail about the bai, but Kubary is the first to describe them in words and pictures in extensive detail. It might seem superfluous to say anything more about them here, were it not that his text is long and unclear, the terms are terribly misrecorded, 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.

The roof was discussed above. The only thing under the roof is the wooden section called *galdul*’l (poss.: *galdl’lél*), 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*, 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 *gaděng*, this often has only a *dekéděk*, like a blai does (see above).

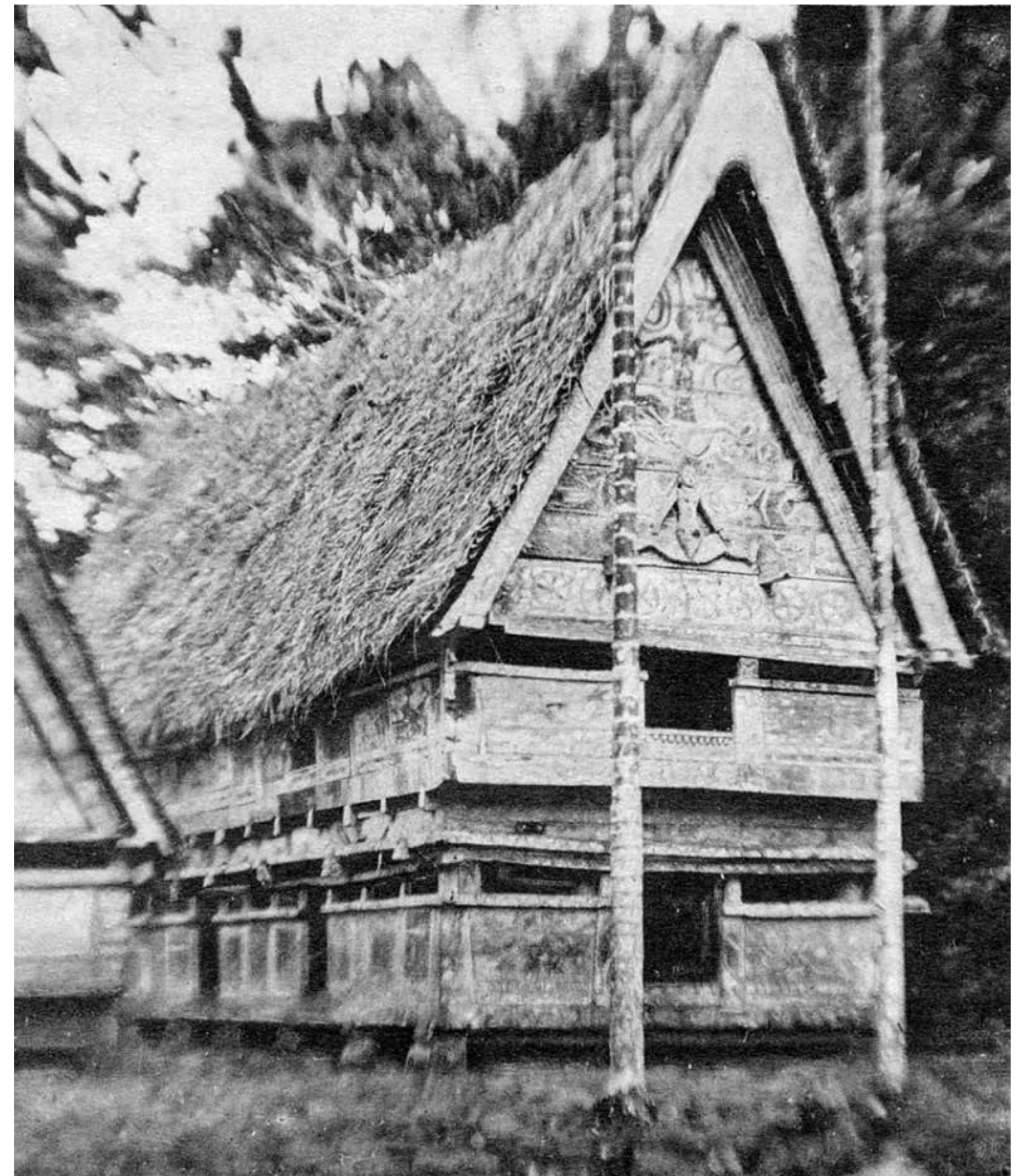
It is called *bai l dort* when the undecorated house is made of *dort* wood, usually unhewn. Hybrids do exist, as shown in Vol. 2, where a wooden bai stands on piles, in this case because it was near the water, or the poorly constructed wooden bai of 1783, which has a bamboo gable wall. The fishermen’s bai of *a* Urung is similar. 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*’l 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, especially the two *bai l pelú*, which also include the *sumōg* shrine and the bowl for heads *gomróěěl* or *klsáděl*. The support beam or main beams *bad* (poss. *bedúl*), which means “stone” (see Fig. 171), do not sit directly on the pavement, but rather on special stone blocks called *bad l uétăg*, 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.



Palauan boys were taught the different parts of a bai by constructing miniature structures. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum collection..



Bai l dort type structure with sliding door. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum collection.

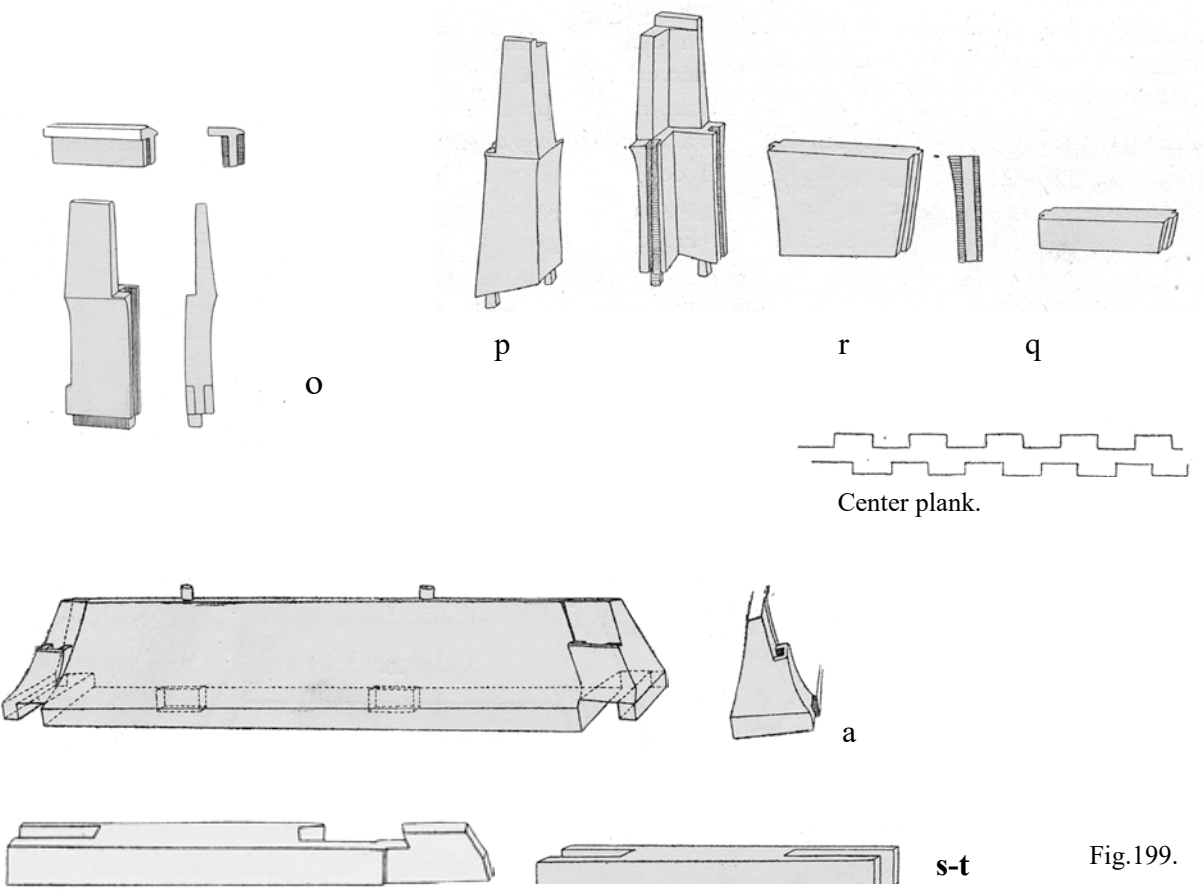


Two-story *goutang* Bai type structure in a Iraf.- Kubary 1870s photograph.

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>kleã a bedúl</i>	8 beams
<i>tákěr a bedúl</i>	10 beams	<i>klolom a bedúl</i>	6 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 Bilekélěk of Goréör was this area closed off with boards, as in the little decorative huts *galsbóng*. In Vol. 1, this bai is just barely visible on the right; it's more clearly visible in Vol. 2. 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*), which usually consists of 3 pieces, the center section *lebúgõl* and the two end section *gomúsõg*, and the two transverse beams (m) *guókũ* (poss. *guokũél*), 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. *gadal*). They are straight, square, tapered at the top (by the window), with two grooves 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) *gasbógõb* (poss. *gasbégëbél*).

Wherever there is a door opening, there are no boards, but instead there is a low “nose,” the threshold insert (v) *a is* (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) *gorsõgõkl* (poss. *gorsogeklél*), which is best called a window sill, since it forms the lower boundary of the windows *goloëgël*. These are often closed with a board *tangét longgëáol* or *ilekolú* (Kub.: *ayi logolu* for the window opening), particularly on the windward side. Naturally, there are no window sills on doors 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 sikēs* 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 Gosobulungáu of Goréör, or at the *brúgël* ends. I shall discuss these Nok beams in the culture comparison section. On top of the *gad* and *sáus* posts sits the upper main frame, mortised, consisting of the longitudinal beams (u) *góngrangěr* (poss. *gongrengrel*) and the transverse beams (visible in Fig. 117 under a) *gólik* (poss. *golkil*). On the underside of this frame, a “flying fox” *gólik* 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 *gasbógõb*. 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*), 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*. The central plank (h') *ng-góngg* (Kub.: *Goñk*) has a special shape; it is narrow and has alternating square protrusions (Fig. 199^b), resulting in cracks that allow the sweepings to drop through.

I already reported above, 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. For this reason, just as the roof is divided into *nglosõg* sections, the floor is divided into *ngódõg* sections; ergo: *telngódõg* first floor section, *a rē ngódõg* second floor section, *a deī ngódõg* 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”. The two gables *melég* (poss. *melegül*) rest on the two short sides. The gable area is bordered by two frames on both sides:

1. The upper, outer gable frame (i) *góngiáu* (poss. *gonguil*), 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. 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*, while below they rest on the upper longitudinal beams *góngrangěr* of the framework into which they are notched;
2. The upper, inner gable frame (k) *gongolüieb* (poss. *gongëlibél*), 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. *gadõngül*). The gable wall, which is framed by the three planks, consists of 7 planks that sit one above the other; the lowermost (*bageī*) is mortised into the *gadéng* (called “shark” because occasionally sharks are depicted on it) which has notches in it for the tenons

of the *gongolúiẽb* 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 over the doors like a roof or “lid” *dekédēk* (see blai, and Fig. 189), as is clearly visible in Vol. 2 on the r. bai; there this protrusion is called *goldebúöl*. With the wide area, it rests on the aforementioned upper transverse beams *gólik* and covers the longitudinal frame *góngrangē̃r* 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. *bagei*, 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 *brugēl* beams on which she is shown sprawling generally pierce through the top edge of the plank, if not even through c.
- c. *ter'rói pelú*, a term used for skirts, meaning “split wide” (see above); Kub., pg. 245 says it means the “skirt” of the bai, to distinguish it from the *dekédēk* beam of the blai (see Fig. 189); in this case it is usually *déngēs* wood (Story 168),
- d. *mesekūk*, usually with representations of fish of the same name.
- 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, Ngabúkēd.
- 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*, 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. 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 *gongolúiẽb* 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 *ségēs* on the sides, called *b'* like the rafters and parallel to the two *gongolúiẽb*, and a vertical one in the center, called *dēlál* “his mother.” All three come together at the tip of the gable (Wall.: *choláchēl*) and are secured with 3 transverse poles *delbárd* (poss. *delberdél*).

Furthermore, the two gable figure beams *brúgēl* (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 *dilukaí* figure sits on their ends, which poke out the front (see Vol. 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* (poss. *galebedél*) very similar to those described for the blai standing on it. On top of the posts the tie beams sit mortised with tenons (z or Fig. 177²) *a imūl* (poss. *galebedel*) very similar to those described for the blai standing on it. On top of the posts the tie beams sit mortised with tenons (Fig. 177) *a imūl* (poss. *a imulél*) or *delolákl* (poss. *deloleklél*), which are taken care of by the two opposite *nglósög*. Like the wall posts, the upper part of the *galábad* posts is thinner; on the overhang sit the mat carriers (x) *rēkói* (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 *góngrangē̃r* beam (u). The *gorongódēl* purlin (a') rests on this piece, and the *rekau* rafter (y), which was mentioned above, 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 *rebárabal* (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 Goréör), support *brúgēl* beams, which then run from gable to gable, although they are otherwise just short.

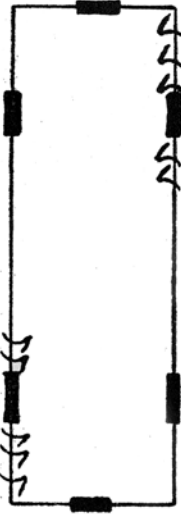
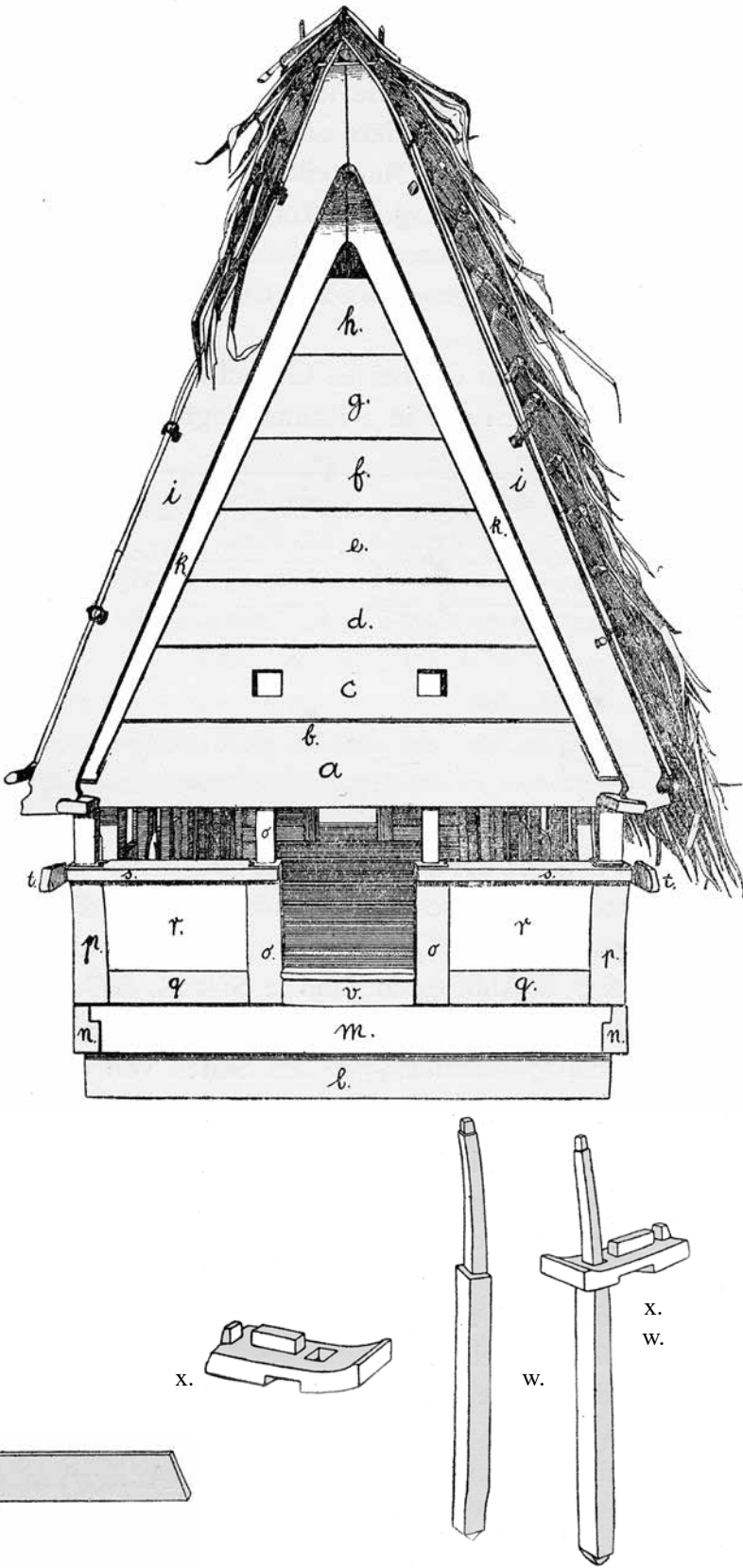
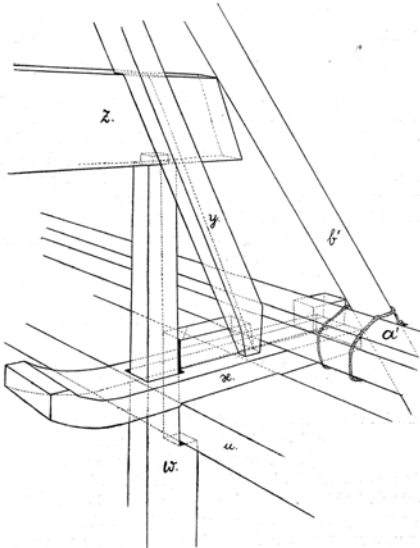


Fig.201. Cover in blai.

Fig. 200.



The size of the bai is often quite impressive. The *bai ra leí* 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 *urodékēl* according to KUB. 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 *rēkói* or bamboo stakes or grills *górangēl* over the fireplaces.

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 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” *dāgil a bëbelók*, which supposedly comes from the *bëap ruósëd*, 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, of why occasionally a *sumög* shrine or a *këóngël* 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 Ngaratëkángël in Goréör, whose members are listed in Vol. 2, 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 Ngaraderúdëm club, would be the master builder. This is the same Golegeril who was mentioned above as the wood carver of the two large cattle. His shadowy picture is still visible in Vol. 2. So this bai, which was given the name Kekerël Losobulngâu “small Gosobul ngâu”, is described in more detail in the “Special Guide” by von Luschan, 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 a <i>ugútüm</i> (2 on the ngëlóng side and 3 on the rebai side (see pg. 231)
	and	2 <i>guókũ</i>
		32 <i>gad</i> , and 4 <i>sáus</i>
		28 each of <i>ngláos</i> , <i>gasbógöb</i> , and <i>gorsögókl</i>
		8 a <i>ıs</i> (threshold inserts)
		4 <i>góngrangër</i> , and 2 <i>gólik</i> ,
the gables:		4 <i>gongiaû</i> halves and 4 <i>gongolúiëb</i> halves
		2 <i>gadéng</i> and 14 gable boards
the roof truss:		16 <i>galábad</i> (8 on a side)
	and	16 <i>rëkoı</i> and 16 <i>rekau</i> rafters;
		8 each of a <i>imül</i> , <i>gomkük</i> , and <i>rebárabal</i> .

So the *galdül’l* structure, including gable and roof truss, consists of 245 pieces. This figure does not even include the parts of the roof. The bai a Dngoróngër in Goréör, for example, had 33 *sëgës* rafters and 4 *düs* purlins on each side. The following construction magic *godogül* 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 *dágälbai*, 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 *godogül*, and there are only four types. Those who know them are called *telbákl* (see Story 11). Each *godogül* handles 7 spirits, called “people” *argád* for short, the seven together are called *tëuid l’lagád*. They must be invoked and pacified with offerings and chants, to prevent bad luck. Before anything else, however, the “first in heaven” a *Ugéliángëd* is prayed to, as well as *Diratagădei* the sun, and *Meketëkët* the moon, whose messengers (*goderügël*) are *Gauióu*, *Gaubáb*, *Sés* and *Júsëg mad*.

The four spells of construction magic are as follows:

1. *Gorágël*, named after the inventor of bai architecture. This is considered the most important spell and is these days in the possession of the Ngarakelau family on Goréör. It was Remókët who took it there.The spell was brought by Ngira meléngël into the blai Regotóng in a Ulimáng. Story 13 of *Gorágël* names Ngiragasákl, who handed his knowledge down to Ngira milang in a Ulong, who gave it to Remókët.

2. *Ngaragárm*, supposedly in the possession of a Kmederáng in Ngardmau, Nr. III of Ngatpúiëg. The worshipper eats every food that is distributed, in honor of his god.

3. *Ngei deüid*, probably originating from Ngardmau. The stone bai builders from Story 5.

4. *Garagár ma Gëlägáng* (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. The Palauans keep the *godogül* secret, and it is very difficult to learn any details about them. I learned the following about the *Gorágël* 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 *gad* (forest spirits) of the *godogül* Gorágël are called:

1. *Góbak l gëvül* “chief centipede” (see Canoe Building)
2. *Gobil l gëvül* “female chief centipede”
3. *Góbildép*, daughter of the two mentioned *gad*, forest spirit for fishing, etc.
4. *Diledëgú*, see Story 17 and 215
5. *Goragel*, see Story 13
6. *Bersóiög*, mother of Gorágël, 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 *uriül rúbak*, i.e. 7 high chiefs and 7 lower-ranking chiefs. These are apparently inspired by the spirit Gëvülkói (also called Góbak l gëvül), 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. Meléngël is the master builder, the *dágälbai*, 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* as *oltebedél a melásăg*. 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 felling is seen as an omen (*mangalıl*). When he has found a suitable tree, he goes home. Now the *dágälbai* (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 Gëvülkói, as he is the highest-ranking of the 7:

<i>Gëvülkói, aika gotilëg</i>	Gëvülkói, these adzes
<i>l ngar tiáng, me ke medengëi</i>	are here, you know
<i>ma kmë melái ra tútau</i>	I take them tomorrow
<i>l mor goreómël</i>	to the forest,
<i>ë lë ked ë melásăg</i>	so that we chop.

He also chant the following to the 7th spirit, the butterfly pupa:

<i>a Nglai, molulŭg ě ra Góbak</i>	<i>a</i> Nglai, please ask Góbak
<i>ma Rĕgĕtúkĕr ma Ksâu</i>	and Rĕgĕtúkĕr and Ksâu
<i>ma a Rekerĕáng ma</i>	and to Rekerĕáng and
<i>a Rmdágĕl ma Segemlóng</i>	and to Rmdágĕl and Segemlóng
<i>ma Rekeũís,</i>	and Rĕkeũís,
<i>l dmul kmo: ko mo krolí</i>	the following: you direct
<i>a kluk l mo ra Ngirakebóu</i>	<i>a</i> kluk for Ngirakebóu,
<i>meng mo gerál</i>	as the price
<i>a ngelsegĕl ě tia bai</i>	for the roof section of this bai
<i>l merekóng,</i>	when it is finished,
<i>meng mo merúr a gad</i>	ashamed is the man of
<i>re Ngeremĕgís</i>	Ngere mĕgís,
<i>a le bo lák a gerál</i>	if he does not receive the price
<i>a ngelsegĕl</i>	for his roof section.

The next morning, he takes his adze, goes to the tree, chops three times, and sits down. 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:

gáldĕbegĕl, a bai a mesemâi re kid;	Club, the bai is (too) strong for us;
meng di sauál l mo mogút;	(the wood) has a tendency to rot;
meng di bol mesisĭg	only if strong are
a rengúd, ě ked ě rokír	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 uĕtăg* (KUB.: *bad derittek* = *derĕtĕg* “long side”), there are more chants. First, 16 round logs are cut from coconut tree trunks, 16 *delépĕs*, whose length extends approximately from elbow to elbow. The first *delépĕs* is laid under the *rsel a gorongódĕl*, at the front gable, to the left; the master builder prays:

<i>Gĕvŭlkói, tia depselél,</i>	Gĕvŭlkói, this his sleeper
<i>a ngelsegĕl Gobak remegú</i>	of the house section of Gobakremegú,
<i>ma k m lngia re ngí</i>	and I lay it down,
<i>me ke goróid a mekngít</i>	and you keep away evil
<i>ra blai Remegú</i>	from the house of Remegú
<i>mĕ tireká lĕ gáldĕbegĕl,</i>	and from this club,
<i>e osísĕp a udóud</i>	bring a piece of money
<i>l mo petók lĕ gerál a bai.</i>	quite a lot as the price of the bai.

and before laying out the other 15 sleepers, he then says something like this:

<i>meng melekói ra Rĕgĕbóng,</i>	and say to Rĕgĕbóng,
<i>l melekói ra Rulúkĕd,</i>	say to Rulúkĕd,

<i>l melekói ra Ngirĕkungĭl ma Sagaruleóng</i>	say to Ngirĕkungĭl and Sagaruleóng
<i>ma a Tkedĕsau ma a Regĕtáog,</i>	and to a Tkedĕsau and a Regĕtáog,
<i>me tesmĭk a klúk l mo gerál</i>	that they search for a kluk as the price
<i>a ngelsegír, m bol ngásăg a bai,</i>	for their house section, and, if the bai rises,
<i>ě di lĕ rŭl, mĕ lĕ mĕrégĕd</i>	they should be ready, that quick
<i>gogeráol</i>	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 *delépĕs* was laid was compulsory, and after it, the 15 remaining *delépĕs* 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 melĕm,</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>melāmál’l rĕkíd,</i>	to harm us,
<i>me ke melulŭg 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 ugútŭm*. The *dágălbai* sits in the center again and says:

<i>a Nglai, ke subedí Góbak,</i>	a Nglai, you inform Góbak,
<i>me ng medengĕi,</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 rongĕdáng?</i>	Did you hear?
<i>ma kmogursei</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 *galdŭl’l* wooden bai, and when everything (except the roof) is standing, he prays:

<i>Gĕvŭlkói, ng di kâu a medengĕi ngeklir,</i>	Gĕvŭlkói, only you know their names,
<i>tirekĕ longi ngákl lóbak ra Melekéiok</i>	these names of the Rubak of Melekéiok
<i>ma ke melekói r tír,</i>	and you speak to them,
<i>mĕ torĕgĕd gongeremátl</i>	that they hasten the down payment
<i>mĕ goliruóngĕl ra bad,</i>	and the taking away of the foundation beams,

měng merégěd a bai
l mong másăg!

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 yet, 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 *delépēs* and says:

<i>Gěvúlkói, bekīs, l mẽ</i> <i>debó ra Nglai</i>	Gěvúlkói, arise, so we go to Nglai.
--	--

Then he moves to the center and says:

<i>a Nglai, bekīs, kau ma Gěvúlkói,</i> <i>mě debó ra nglukl,</i> <i>e ked ě mo ra Melekéiok</i>	a Nglai, arise, you and Gěvúlkói, we go with the burdens, we go to Melekéiok
<i>a Nglai, bekīs, kau ma Gěvúlkói,</i> <i>mě debó ra nglukl,</i> <i>e ked ě mo ra Melekéiok</i>	a Nglai, arise, you and Gěvúlkói, we go with the burdens, we go to Melekéiok
<i>ě loba bai</i>	and bring along the bai.

a Nglai and Gěvúlkói 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:

<i>morgedí gogeráol!</i>	Hasten the payment!
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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 *galuóměl* (fish wrapped in leaves, one basket of taro, and a plate (*buk*) of *blsīk*, as well as one *umád* 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* 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 Gěvúlkói are now united, and says:

<i>Gěvúlkói ka mā Nglāi</i> <i>kom di kiei l mangerīl</i> <i>ra gerál sel nglósog,</i> <i>l me temeláng, me gom kukúr</i> <i>a mesengúl aulúl</i> <i>Ngiratemríng</i> <i>l mo sěsě telil ě orékěd,</i>	Gěvúlkói, you and a Nglai, stay, to request for the price of that house section that is bad, and sink your claws into his breast of Ngira temríng until his breath stops a little,
--	--

<i>me ng diák rīd</i> <i>ma mlai góba kluk l mẽ</i> <i>re ngak ra Ngarsúl</i> <i>ě lě gerál a umád;</i> <i>ma k ngu ě dói děrékl</i> <i>ra mlai l mei</i> <i>mě ked ě logá telil</i> <i>ě a kngéi kemiu kung</i> <i>mě ked ě morěmei.</i>	but does not expire, and the canoe brings forth a kluk to me in Ngarsúl as the price for the gable roof section; and I take it and go aboard the boat there and we give him his breath; but I take you 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 *bágěl* piece of money formed out of turmeric root, and a *didmagei* Dracaena. He cracks the *ulogóug* nut in the B, hangs up the *bágěl* there and says:

<i>ak maramáng l mẽ melúbět</i> <i>ra ngikel smékěř</i> <i>mě tia a udóud</i> <i>lě gerál a telil.</i> <i>merekóng, ě m geití,</i> <i>ě ng mla mẽ udóud</i> <i>meng di ka sorákt re ngi.</i> <i>meng merekóng,</i> <i>ě mẽ m boderei!</i>	I have come to bring order to those who are sick and this money as the price for his breath. It is done, let him go, I received the money, and no more sick shall he be. Therefore finished; we go home!
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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, 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:

gomelásăg ra bai l pelú <i>tomūs e ra bai l pelú</i> <i>me ked e mo mėlásăg,</i> <i>me ked ónging rě gělagáng</i> <i>l mekldíp ě mangákt ra kīsěm</i> <i>mo bo dabád ě kerdí malamált,</i> <i>l diák a tára ragád l mo</i>	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 ulogóug ra tútau.
ma l tútau kung ẽ tedí
teuid lagád a maráel l mora
goreómě̃l, l mo melí r ulogóug;
ma debóng, ẽ ked osík
ra úngil pesúl l kér'řegar,
ma debětkě rengí
ẽ ked ẽ dóběgí
ma dōlóbog re ngí,
ẽ a dágǎlbai ẽ řěbórob,
ẽ omés re ngí,
ra mo tetágěř pesúl
ma mo úngil pesúl
ẽ ougáis re kid, a gáldebegě̃l,
mě mekéd ẽ megěrei gomelásăg.
ẽ l dmul kmo: m mekngít!

mě me ked ẽ megěrei gomelásăg.
a logúp ng dmul kmo: ng úngil!
me ked ẽ mo melásăg.
ma ked ẽ metarákl
l mo kairirei l mōrórōm
gotě̃lēgéd, ẽ oláb
l mā bad ra bai.
ra kebesengei ma tútau
ẽ ked e mo melóbog ra
klóu l ukál'l l mo tangét

/ra madálabai,
mě ked ẽ doběgei l mērióu,
ẽ mēgěrei; ẽ kuk mo
melóbōg sel teluó
ra tangét ra bútlbai;
me ked ẽ dōběgei l merióu;
ẽ soláe ẽ doběgei a gálděbegě̃l
mang bítalblai ma bítalblai;
ma bítalblai a melākldei
ra bád, me kid l bítalblai
a melākldei ra bád,
me ked ẽ ngmail merióu
a kakěřěkér ra kmu
ko merekóng ng diak?
ki: merekóng.
mě ked oderegí a gad
l mo ra dágǎlbai,

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 ukál'l tree for the foundation beam

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 down,
ask each other and say:
Are you finished or not? --
We: Finished! --
And we send one man
to the master builder,

l subědí ra ker'regár
l máramar ióu řěkúi l bad,
dágǎlbai a dmung:
kabó ra gálděbegě̃l
mom katěkói l kmu:
ked omágě̃l řě goingaráng?
ma le mei me lolokói sělo derígě̃l,
a ked ẽ reměngěs ẽ kmung:

săgălei, ng tagá gomókět řě golăũg?
mě gongě̃lólom lagád
a dmul kmo: ngak,
l ẽkekirél golăũg!
me ng omóket l meketi
a madál a kluk
meng sukúr a dágǎlbai.
dágǎlbai ẽ soláe ẽ dmul kmo:
ked a melásăg ra tútau

me kedomkókl l mẽ řě golságě̃l,

ma domágě̃l
me ked omágě̃l, l mo merék, ẽ magei,
ẽ mo melē ugútum
mě kéd ngoióng, ẽ magei,
ẽ mo melá guóku,
mě ked ngmail, mẽ magei;
ẽ mo melái gólik,
ẽ mo melái góngrangěř,
ẽ soláe ngmai l mo gamúdě̃l
ra telkip, ẽ olengngásăg,
a melásăg, mẽ ked ẽ dmásăg,
l mo merék, ẽ magei;
ẽ soláe ẽ okér ra dágǎlbai
e kmung: ked :e mekeráng?
ng merekóng goiláol,
me lẽ metarákl a kīsēm!
măng soláe ẽ tă ngmái gěbeklír
ar béklagád, ẽ mětarákl
l mo kěróus l melóbōg

a kloklír ẽ melásăg;
ě̃lēgěmúr ku nglósog
a kakerekér l kmung:
merekó kloklél a béklagád?
merekóng!
madá, ked oltekerékl ra bai
ra klukúk! Mě totekereklí

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:

Friend, who is paying the measurement payment?
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 so:
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 góngrangêr 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

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

l mē magēreī.
ē a gáldēbegēl gokér
ra dágǎlbai, l kmú:
ked ē mekeráng?
dágǎlbai: kam katekói l kmung,
ng tagá gomókēt ra golítl?
gongēuíd a dmung: ngak, akirél.
mang ng omókēt, l meketí
a madál a kluk, ma kora lopóket,
a dágǎlbai al mūtl kmung:
ng tagá gomegedegór ra gosegósu?
gongēai a kmung: ngak!
meng meketí góngiagl l meringēl lagád
meng merekóng.
ē ked ē mo melásǎg l melilt
ku ra kér'regar, l mo mālamált
ē ta blugelél,
ē a blēgidēl a mōrólang a l tútau
ma a dēhlúl' l a godogosóng
ma delepdép ē a kebesengeī,
ng kuk mē blēgidēl
me ked omesóil e mobád.
ē lē kerdí kldípl kung
ē melásǎg, l mo merék;
ma le merekóng, ē ked ē kuk
okér ra dágǎlbai l kmu:
ked ē mekeráng?
dágǎlbai l kmu: loráel a úēs
re kemíu l klebēkól
ē ng omongól l bai rē ngiáos
ma le ngiáos ē kung
ng meténgēl a pelú l móngol.
me tomóngol arpelú, ē a
dágǎlbai a dmung:
mēsā mǎngít a delépēs
mē lorogēdí, a ng mo galdegaiós.
gongētíu gomóket l meketí
madál a kluk a longtíl
a delépēs, ma ng sükur a dágalbai;
ē soláe a mekīs l omérēk
ra kebēas, l mo merék
ē soláe ē dmul kmo:
ka mē klebēkól, medongidēr

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 góngiagl,
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,
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 sup ports
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 kebēas line, and when he is done,
he says:
the club should come, we are raising

a bad, l mo mesmogókl
metemekīs l mo smogókl
a bad l uētag, ē mangídēr
a bad, l mo melongákl re pēbúl
a bad l uētǎg.
ked omúgēl l tmongklí a tǎngét
ra madálabai ma dágǎlbai
a mesáng ē kmong: merekóng!
ē mei mē débó dotekir a tǎngét
ra bútl bai mang merekóng
ē mei mēdēngú a rús, merekóng
kabekīs a klebēkól, l mo gēmúr a mangi kai
l bad mang merekóng, ē lē mugadu mang
merekóng
ē ked e mē rebórob.
dágǎlbai: ng tagá gomóket rē gometkól?
gongotrúiōg a dmung: ngak a
mēlǎgá ra gometkól.
meng meketí góngiagl mang
súkur a dágǎlbai. ē soláe ē
te mekīs l mǎngíder augútūm
l mo melongákl,
me ked ē tmongákl a lebúgöl,
ē ng m gás a dágǎlbai,
ē ked orépet meng merekóng.
ē ked ótak gomúsōg, ē m gás
ē orepēt, meng merekóng.
ē a dágǎlbai a kmung
bem rēbórob, a klebēkól,
ē m guskemíu
me ked ē merebórob ē góuskid;
ng dmu dágǎlbai: ng tagá
melép ra guóku ra madálabai?
ma a ptēhlúl a gáldēbegēl
a melekói ra argadál l kmung:
ng tagá re kemíu a dobengí
a guóku?
ma mesisīg a rengúl
r tir a dmul kmo: ngak
meng meketí a mo ra geimólkúkau
meng sükur a dágǎlbai ē dmul kmo:
kadebekīs l kmidēr a guókū
l mo kmongákl; ē tmuk, ē orépēt.

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 set up the foundation beam
at the back gable, (and) finished;
he comes and we take the line, finished;
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) gongiagl 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
in order to set it up, mark it, let it down.

meng kuk merekóng
me te merebórob ma gáldēbegēl
gokér ra dágǎlbai, l kmu:
ked ē mekeráng?
ma dágǎlbai a dmul kmo:
ng di sáus kung a sauál l mo degór;
ē ngak a mǎdákt re kemíu
mē kom di meréděr!
ma ar gáldēbegēl a kmo: momókēt
kemíu l tēoá lagád!
mē tē mókēt a dertál, l mo ra
dersē geimólkúkau
lō metíl a sáus;
meng smuk a dágǎlbai;
meng mekīs a dágǎlbai

l mo meng murs a ngálēk,
ē soláe ked ē dmásǎg,
ē mangíděr, loltak, meng merekóng!
ē ngi l dágǎlbai a mo ráel
ra telebákl; l mo merék,
ē temogēmúr a ngelsēgír
ar béklagád, e lōmēgēdegór
a gadrokúi l doibkúr a bai,
e ng tobangáng ra dágǎlbai,
meng merebórob,
me temē rebórob ar gáldēbegēl,
ē mókēt gērúl mo ra
dersē geimólkúkau,
lomdebúdēl ra bitang ma bitang;
meng smuk a dágǎlbai,
ē mekīs l mo merekí
a ungámk, ē murs

a geteptél a gad ra bitang
ma bitang, ē merekóng.
ē te mekīs a béklagád
l mo gemúr a gad r tir,
ē omdábd a geteptél.
l mūt l mo megedegór,
ng kuk tobangá ra dágǎlbai,
me te mē rebórob, ng dmu dágǎlbai,
l kmu: góngrangěr gogábagēbál
me tomóket a tērú ra ragád,
l díak lulterēkókl,

ng di tirekél l mo sorír,
me tēlogáng gērúl mo ra

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

 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,

dersē geimólkúkau,
lo mo gabagēbél góngrangěr.
meng merekó, ē te mekīs
l kmíděr, l mo ótak,
ē orépět; ng tuáp ra dágǎlbai
mē tē kúk mókēt gērúl mo ra
dersē geimólkúkau,
lo mo gabagēbél gólik
ra telíá ma teliáng
mē tekúk ngmai l mo répet;
ē a dágǎlbai a dmul kmo: merekóng!
ē bom oltáut a ng ngláos, ē m
kěróus l mǎngasbógob
a ngalsegēiu ar béklagád.

me te mo gemúr l mangasbógob
a ngēlsēgír;
e sel kebelúng, a di ngi,
l ngu a udóud, l m sa dágǎlbai
a dmu re ngi l kmo: m skúr
tial udóud a mo repetí
a gasbēgebék ē a medúg
a díak louspég ra dágǎlbai
ē a ridm a morólang,
l mē rē gomelásǎg,
a mesél lebé l mē kidep
a kal, ē tē mo subedí;
a dágǎlbai l kmu:
a kal a merekóng,
l díak a kuápēs,
ma dágǎlbai a dmung l kmu:
m góit a kisēm
ē mē mēsómes ra blugúr re kid!
mē te mē rebórob a moróus a kal,
me tōmungúr, l mo merék,
ē melúgōl a kelél a dágǎlbai
l mora blil.
ē ngi a merekó gomangasbógob,
me tó megedegór a galabád
l mo merék, ēo megebēgǎp
a imül, l mo merék;
ē o medíkl a rekau, l mo merék;
ng tuáp dágǎlbai a dmung l kmu
l mē golepengél a boádēl!
mongomóket gongēdēl lagád
l meketi a klsúk lolebengél a boádēl;

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;
 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 cutting of the roof truss beam

meng sukúr a dágǎlbai,
ě dmu ra gálděbegěl l kmu:
tútau, e komomkókl mei,
ng mongmásăg a boáděl ra tútau;
mongosagáng, meng merekóng
ng melekói ra gálděbegěl
l kmu: moldárs a sěgěs
meng mo merék a sěgěs
ě ngi a dmung l kmu:
bol ă ma ngai góngiâu l mei!
me d olsíu mo ked osíu
l mo merék. ng tuáp a dágǎlbai

a dmul kmu:
lobókět golívěg
me tēmókět a teblól klsúk
lolívěg ra teliá ma teliáng
a ptěluł mẽ gđngëru lagád;
meng mongmásăg góngiâu,
meng merekóng.
me ked ě rebórob, ě a gálděbegěl
a mesúběd ra dágǎlbai
l kmu: ked olengkóngk ra bai!
ma dágǎlbai a kmung: vaiséi!
mě ked okengkí a bai
l meriáu, ě melúgěs l mo merék
ě gupeli a gáus, ě megěrei,
meng mo medirt,
ě soláe meliágěs l mo merék,
a mangesperépěr
ra galededál a bai
ě merekól ter'rop
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 gogěráol ra, me tuáp
me kid armelásăg a klekár
re ngi, meng dí mẽ kměd
a tepangél a búiěl, ě ked
ě mẽ kldipl ě katekói,

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,

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,

re ngi, meng dí mẽ kměd
a tepangél a búiěl, ě ked
ě mẽ kldipl ě katekói,
ě soláe matărékl l ngaragei
losík a galumělád, l dertál
lě galuóměl,
ě soláe ě kakerěkér ra búiěl
ra kmung ngěrúng, ngědei,
ě a tára ragád l mlě medengeli,
a dmul kmo: a búiěl e gěrúng!
ma gáděbegěl a dmúl kmo:
ng o meliókl rě geilagáng,
ě ogeráol ra klukúk,
ma le bol kukúk, ě ked ě
melái ra kal, kid armelásag,
l mẽ ra tial dedágěl l bai
me ked ngmai a kal
l mẽ kúiděp
ě di merekól rebórob,
ě tirekě lomagár, a mla mo
kldipl ra geimó ra bai,
ě omesīg rtir ra usěkerír
ě mǎngilt a réng ě osík
a gamalír, ma iěta rě gospáděl
ě te tuóbed, l mo meděsí
ě maráěl l mei l mẽ rǐ tial
děságěl l bai mẽ te mẽ rebórob
ě sel ptěrir a Rúbak a
mekedongí goldíu a udóud
meng mo ra madál
ng mo ngu a kluk l msang.
ě dmu rengí l kmu: modiúr
tíal kluk lě gerál a umád re ngak!

mǎng mo degór, ě odiúr
l kmu: tiá meringěl lagád
l kluk mesě golimiúměl
l kedóls ě meringěl lagád
l klsúk lě gěrál a umád
ra Ibědúl! ě kuk mo ra
gongěrúng mo ngodiúr
a gerál a umád re ngi
sel kluk; ě kuk mo ra
gongědei mong odiúr a gěrál
a umád re ngi dirékl kluk;
ě mo ra gongaoáng

it, because when near
is the new moon, then we
shall gather, to discuss,
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!

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,

*mong odiúr a gěral a
ngelsegél l dirékl kluk,
mem merekó gěoál umád;
ng kuk mo re gomagár
ra buádel, mong odiúr
a gěral a buádel l direkl kluk,
ě soláng ng mo ra gomagár
ra ngot ra ngělóng,
mong odiúr direkl kluk,
ě soláng ng mora gomagár
ra ngot ra rebāi*
*ng odiúr a gěral dirékl kluk,
mong merekó kluk, ě di klěuíd.
ě merekóng. ě ngi loldíu
a udóud a mo ra gongěim,
mong odiúr a gěral
a ngelsegél l klsúk
mo góngiagl lolimeúměl
a di obengkél.
ě kuk mo re gongělólom
mong odiúr a gěral a ngelsegél
l dirékl klsuk,*
*ě kuk mo ră gongěuíd dirékl l klsuk,
ě kuk mo ra gongěái, meng
dirékl klsuk gopóket,
ě kuk mo ra gongětíu dirékl klsuk,
ě kuk mo ra gongětrúiüg dirékl
klsuk ma góngiagl lolimeúměl.
me tomagár l mol mo rardigád
ra gálděbegěl l mogúkěr
a klsúk l mo tagěrmakldēi,
bitang ma bitang a tagěr makldēi
ě soláe ě temekīs armelásăg;
l mo gemúr ra rumagár,
ě keróus l melái a gerál
a gasbógöb ma īs ma gad
ma sáus ma góngrangěr
ma gólik ma górsögokl
ma imül ma sěgēs
ma galábad ma rěkói
meng merekóng;
ě te mě rebórob armelásăg
lē gálděbegěl, ě a ptelúl
a gálděbegěl a meketí
gotopóid ra klúk*

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 góngiagl as companion
only with him.
Then he goes to Number VI,
and he calls out the price for his section,
also one klsuk,

and then to Number VII, also one klsuk,
and then to Number VIII, also
one klsuk payment,
then to Number IX, also one klsuk,
and then to Number X, also one
klsuk and one góngiagl as a companion.
and they pay then the little people
of the club and round up the number
of klsuk 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

*l msá dágālbai ě dmu re ngi
l kmu tia gordemém,
ě ked ě merekóng l mēm
ngititěrir; a ra gědám;
ě bodereī!*
*merekó gogeráol ma těkingír
a rúbak a mo ra Regeiúngěl,
ě l ng meréděr, re ngós,
ma mo ra Gaspángěl
ě l ng meréděr re ngabárd;*
*ě l mesúběd r tír l kmu:
ked omláol ra Meketí,
měng tuóběd gomelásăg.
mě te melásăg ě kaspesúběd
ma a l merekó a uláol
ě a loderegí a Gaspángěl
ma Regeiúngěl l mě
mesúbed ra Ibědul l kmu:
uláol a merekóng!
a Ibědul a kmu:
bong, ng me soisěp
a uláol ra klukúk.
měng mě soisěp mě tomláol,
ě a Ngarmeketí
gomăkartír me tomláol
lē del sils, ě merekóng
ma l merekóng, ng dēsīl
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 soláe ngu těr'rói pelú
ě soláe ě di melásăg kung
l mo merék a melég
ě dmu ra gad l dágālbai
l dmul kmo: ke meláuğ
ra dilukāi! měng meláuğ
re ngi, ě te melásăg rě ngi, a beklagád.
ě ked ngmāi gongolúiěb
l mo merék; ě kaspesúběd
ma l merekóng; ě ked ě*

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 Regeiúngěl,
because he is in command in the East,
and to Gaspángěl,
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 Delúi
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
and then finished; we carry

mǎngól l mera bai
mě ked osēddemi l mo merěk,
ě kmung: ngomelügēs!
měng maráěl a vúēs
ma bol kukúk ě ked ě mei
ma ked ě melügēs
l ě re bítal táog;
ě a ridm amaráěl mei,
me ked ě mangáng, bua
dosáōed ra mur,
a melügēs, ě di mǎngasóls
ra teliáng, ma teliáng,
ě ouġuēil pelú;
ma le merekó gomelügēs,
ě ked ě měngúpěl ra gáus,
l mo merěk; ě meliágēs
l mo merěk; ě katekói
ě re gongasǎgél a melég;
me ked ě mo kauēdēngei,
ě diul mongmásǎg
argád ra telia ma teliang,
l mēlǎgá séges
l mo merěk,
ě ked ě ngu gēkil l ngeleklí
ra boáděł, ě óbal merérd
a klálo l mo ra báb,
ě mangádo l mo merěk;
ě ngmai gongǒlúiēb
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.
ked mo ra gei ě l ě re bítaltáog
l mekěk golěkál, ě omés
ra búieł ma arīd
rě gēlagál l kesús.
ě ked ě melióng lulemkókl ra tútau,
ma kerdí mesisióu a kal,
ě ra gomesák l kúkau
gomērúsōg l blsīg,
ma sabāu l malk ma babi;
ě a ngolt a sils, ě kid a
mekldípl argád r rokúi,

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 gongǒlúiēb,
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;
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 blsīg,
and soup from chicken, and pig;
at sundown, we
gather together, all of the people,

ě mǎngasóls, mē sēl ólab
a melég a gomúgǒl l mǎngasóls
ě rě góměłmesúmōg l logasóls
l melsúmōg ra re gadál
ta dēságěl, ě tē di mangasóls
ku re bėklagád l kaudertartír,
l mo melekói a tútau;
l ngel mūt ngikél l mlě kót
ě mǎngasóls, u l mūt
l mo melmesúmōg ra
re gád ra melég.
meng di mo merěk,
ě soláe ě ngu a ngerél a galitūk,
me ked ě mǎngitúōk l pelú,
ma debúsōg ma bóieš gobubú
ma rekērúkūm
ma diu ě bėklagád lomagaderéngēs
ra iumesekú,
ě ked a bėklagád l kmu: iū.
ě merekóng; ě mē rebórob,
l smodí a mur,
me ked omǎngúr; ě melikeús
ě soláe ě mo kairirēi
logětá mo gagevēiu;
ě a pelú a diak a merekerúkūm re ngi
lē uid l klebesēi;
ě sēl ongěái, ng sūbēd
kung re gomerūl l klalo,

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 gable.
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;
then we go home
everyone, to sleep;
the village is quiet therefore
for seven nights;
when it is the eighth day, one says
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 *ardanel*) one *kluk* and several smaller pieces for himself and leaves the rest to the others. At the dedication, the “clipping of the roof” (see above) 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. In Ngarameténgēł, 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, 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), 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 IV, to starboard (*úgul*) Number II ; 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; the families of the chiefs often sit near him. They play a large role in particular in the case of the roof sections *nglósōg* (Kub., Vol. VIII, pg. 238 *ńlosok*), which were previously discussed, because the inhabitants of the good blai of a village, and also the owners of the taro fields (*meséi*), take over a certain *nglósōg* during the construction of a blai. Therefore, each of the 17 *nglósōg* has its own name, from the 1st., the *umád* (see above) to the 9th, the “middle” *galid*; 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>)			
Ngaratëgëki	rebaî side	nglósōg roof section	ngelóng side
	Ngira tęgë kí Nr. IV	1. umád	a Ibědul Nr. I
	Ngira tęgë kí Nr. IV	2. bedebáděł	a Ibědul Nr. I
	Regekemúr Nr. II	3. melái	Dérābai Nr. 14 (his messenger)
	meséleg Maulekikt	4. mageîkíkt	Gádlbai Nr. 19
	Ngërumáoog Blai +	5. túangěł (“door”)	Mad ra Gotolóiōg
	a Ibedągál	6. mageîkíkt re gomkëgab	Goukerdéu Nr. 18
	Tëgamdíng Nr. X	7. melái re gomkë gab	Ngiramerīl Nr. IX
	a Ingeáoł Nr. VII	8. goliké galíd	Ngiragětět Nr. VI
	a Ikělau Nr. II	9. Galid (“middle”)	Ngirai kelau Nr. II
Ngaríoulidíđ	Ruseblūk Nr. V	10. goliké galíd	Ngira tęgëkí Nr. IV
	Gětět Nr. VI	11. melái re gomkë gab	Rubásăg Nr. VII
	Gětět Nr. VI	12. mageîkíkt re gomkë gab	a Kldngül Nr. X
	mesé ra Kesól	13. túangěł	Ngirai kelau Nr. II alone
	meséleg Ngeribúkul	14. mageîkíkt	
	meséra Gëgóngg	15. melái	Ngirai kelau Nr. II
	Jóulidíd Nr. III	16. bedebáděł	
	Joulidíd Nr. III	17. umád	with the help of relatives
Back Gable (<i>but l bai</i>)			
	rebaî side	ngelóng 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

In Ngarsúl, the distribution of the *nglósōg* is as above.

That is more or less the distribution. The seats on the *rebaî* 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 túangěł ra madál*

the back is *mangarém l túangěł ra but*.

The third center door, as already mentioned, was missing entirely in former times; the only hearth 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 isos-celes 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 *dilugaî* 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, shows a wide form with only one door; we never did see any two-doored ones.

On the other hand, two-story bai, called *góutang*, were not so rare. I myself saw one in *a Iraî* in 1907, although it was half decayed. 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 *góutang* of Ngivál, which stood in Ngaragelūk (Vol. 2). The gable was not occupied by a *dilugaî* but by another woman (not with spayed legs, but standing upright) on a stand, the way the Bilekéłëk in Ngabúkěđ is full of human figures, for example (Vol. 2). Kub. speaks of such an *Antañ* 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 Gólei, Ngrīl, and in Keklau, where I recorded a two-story blai. Thus it becomes clear that these impressive buildings, like the two-story *sop* just mentioned above, are dedicated to the Galid Medegeî pélau, who shall be discussed in the section on the Galid cult. The *góutang* bai were not, however, practical buildings for cults or dwellings; they were built more to be impressive structures.

The so-called *telegeîěr* 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 Ngarabagéđ and *a Iraî*, the ruins of these buildings were still visible; in Melekéiok the house of the *a Răklaî*, which is pictured in Vol. 2, was still standing; a similar one was in Ngátpang.

In the same village, however, there was also a real Galid bai, as mentioned in Vol. 2 and above, 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 *rekau* rafters are supposed to rest. Instead, these sit on the *góngrangěr* longitudinal beams, and the tie beams *a imul* are mortised into the *rekau* rafters, like the two smaller ones above.

These *telegeîěr* 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). If no such hut is available, an enclosure *galsímēr* is marked off in the house; 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 Telgúl 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 ullítek. He then gives the father one Adolóbok for the Osúmuk and one Kluk for the pkngel a diil, whereupon the father gives him back one Adolóbok for the Gal a Kaláng. In the fourth month, the parents send 10 baskets of the best type of taro for the Delúl a diil, and the son-in-law informs the parents that he will come to the emúm a diil, also known as the bún diil, 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.”

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*, then 2 *madál a kluk*, called *dik*, since they are meant to “support and surround,” like the belly does the child, and finally 1 *góngiakl* as a *gomĕbáĕl*, “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* of the husband pay the family of the wife for the first pregnancy and the meal they received, are called *pokĕt*. However, before the *pókĕt* is paid, the *buldīl* magic is performed. It takes the form of *ómu lius* 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*, usually in the shape of a fish *bang* or *deg*; in her right hand she holds a coconut; she says the following chant:

ak oltúrĕk re keméu
arbldekĕl tial pelú
marbldekĕl tial blai
ĕ ak ũmú r tial lisél,
a lisáng ra gĕlagál sils,
mang mĕgĕl mang ardil
ĕ ng di uāngák
mang sǎgál
a ng di uádamál

I plead with you,
spirits of this land
and spirits of this house,
agh! I break this fine nut,
the nut from today’s sun;
if a woman is born,
let it be like me,
if a man,
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 *ulitĕg* is drawn back (*mesúmĕg*), and the payment of money *pokĕt* commences. Kub. also says: “now an *Arulap toákl* 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 *ngongĕtákl a ngálek* in the third or fourth month of pregnancy. The woman casting the spell, an old woman called *gobadīl*, comes to the pregnant one and brings along a *sis* leaf, which she strokes while casting the spell; 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*, but only “roasted taro” *del’lil*. She does not decorate her ears with taro sprouts (*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 *gomókĕt*. The following is said of them:

ungil kroleklél a delép
sĕkīt mang kbóup re ngí
ĕ sel lamád a sagál
e ngu mangomoketél a delép

Good is the thing of the Delép,
on him it stands up somewhat like a wall;
when a man is dead,
one takes the headdress of the spirit.



Fig.202.
Coconut smashing club made of lime stone,
39cm long. (Leipzig Mi 1616)

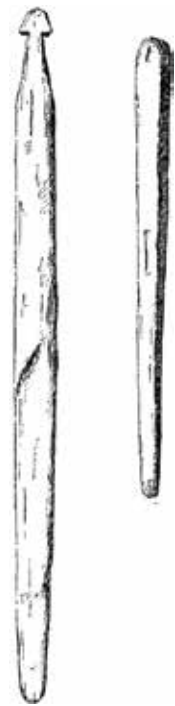


Fig. 203.
Coconut smashing club
made of wood, 63cm long. HE 90.

Abortion (*melëgeb*, means *golëgëb*) 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 it). 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. *gërël'lél*) 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 *gërévut*, 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 *gobadil* 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 chants. Diraingeáol said the following words:

<i>galälákl, galalakl</i>	be quiet, hush!
<i>ak mongöhlulau, tëkóre ardil,</i>	I whisper, I speak to the woman,
<i>ak melái a ardil diól,</i>	I stroke the pregnant woman;
<i>úngil arungül, ngálek l meî</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: push, push!, and they sometimes also give her medicine, a little drink *imelél 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 *rágäd* usually follows quickly.

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 *rebótël* leaves (Jambosia). Her main task, however, is to sit still or to walk with her arms together in front of her, with her hair tied in a knot on top of her head. For the most part, wearing such a top knot *telók* (Kub.: *tólok*) 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 day. 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 *galsóbël*; 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 *ngásäg* celebration, there is one final torture, the culmination of everything, the steam bath *gosúrög*. A bamboo frame, called *bliükül*, 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 *gosokëoákl*, 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. 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*, which is brought out by the hot stones and pottery shards 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*. 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 lágël a mlägél*.

The top knot *telók* is now loosened and the hair falls down, tied only once at the neck. The mother puts on a *ririámël*k dress, adds two new little *gotúngël* bags, one of which is the *ulálëk*, 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 (*kingelél* “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 pieces 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, *blsîk* dumplings, 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 *goroliu*. 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). 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 *ngmásäg*, which demonstrates the importance of the *ngásäg* 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 Babldaob.

Otherwise, *ínging* platforms are reserved for the Galid during celebrations, as in the description of Melekéiok and *a* Irai in Vol. 2. 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 Diall and Dósomel. 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 Kalapahi and the Omsúmok. 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* 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 hiccups, 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* or *gabásángēl*, 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 name *ngakl* (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 *golkngákl* 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 gongkē klák – kláu – 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 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. 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-ingeáol. Occasionally, however, these may also be titles, as is the case for blai Nr. II, VI, and IX (see Vol. 2), 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).

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 *galdebégēl*, 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 (*kaubéngēt*), 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 *tegíngēr 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 *kebiú* leaves, then *kesibibiú*, 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.: Gerg-er) 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*. 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 *metaú* (Wall.), the same term as for a ripe coconut, 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 *klsáu* “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, like Natasha”; 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), 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 mǎngolungēl* is the obligation of one village to provide bai girls to another, for which the reasons can be seen in Vol. 2, for example (see also story 38).

Fetching the girls, which is done by force (see Kub., Vol. IV, pg. 79), known as *melardil*, 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. 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* Irai, Ngarekeai and Goréör, Ngarsúl and Melekéiok, Ngirál and Melekéiok, Ngabúkēd and Galáp, Ngabúkēd and Ngardmau (see Story 79^a), *a* Iméungs and Ngatpang. Goréör, on the other hand, had *úlog* from Pelíliou (see Keate, pg. 205), Melekéiok had it from Kekláu, 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.



Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.



Fig. 204.
Primipara with breasts squeezed together.



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 bai 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 lover *gǎlól* (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 *gǎlól*, 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” *merégórǒg* by club members is pretty much the rule. Sometimes, a girl changes her *gǎlól* 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 meal, consisting of taro, fish, betel leaves and nuts, etc., which is distributed to the club members. In the case of *úlǒg* 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 bai in a foreign village to achieve power. These love journeys are called *blolóbǒl* and they used to last about 7 months, 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 *gǎlól*, a gift of money for the rubak of the women’s home village; each one gives “his contribution” *ruál*, as described in Story 113. The gift of the 10 rubak 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 lover, 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 *blolóbǒl*, 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 227.

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* figures, were still present on several bai, of course only in a few villages, as can be seen in Vol. 1 and Vol. 2, etc. As gable figures, they had special meaning during construction of the bai, as well, as can be seen above.

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 l 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 Bagei. She frequently came to the bai in *a* Irúr 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 (*gosěgósu*) 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 Bagei was the brother and that the sister’s name was Dilukai; both lived in Ngabekai. 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* Idegór, to the point where her brother wanted to murder her. She fled to Ngükl, and when her brother found her there, she threw down her skirt, which surprised him and made him turn away. The people in Ngükl 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 dilukāi protects against illness and misery. Story 149^b, about the miraculous dilukāi 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 below. 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. 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, the root word is apparently *bágēl* “large money”; how this was related, however, I was unable to find out. 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 of it since 1862 seems to point to this.

Kubary says that Kaldebekel in the northern parts was called Klobbergoll. He notes in KUB.II that Klobbergoll should be Klobogol, which means “companion“, this is not correct, during his time this word was not used for galdebegel. 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. 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). Purpose of the clubs: protect the village, carry out the decisions of the rubak and perform community work, uréor (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. 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 sides is the rule in every village. It is said to have been first instituted in overpopulated Ngardolókok (see Vol. 2 and below, 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 (oltóbēd, KUB.: Oltuóbot), which is done by sending his mat to his blai. He is then supposed to perform melúkēd, i.e. send in a piece of money as a fine (ngúkēd), 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 of. 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. “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 oá! E oá!. If a woman is there, she has time to grab her skirt.

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*. I must mention here that, as is the case in Goréör, one of the three bai belonging to each side is the leader, namely *a* Dmäsäg and *a* Dngoróngēr. It is in these more public bai that the *klegädáol* visitors, men or women, tend to stay. When we were living in our last bai in 1909, a *klegädáol* of women came from Pelíliou; out of respect for us, they went to the Sägámús bai (see Fig. 205).

As for the foundation and expansion of a club, the Ibēdul 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*), 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 (*gamágēl*) 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. These ten are “in front” *ugei*. Every family provides a substitute and in Goréör, their names are *Gamágāraidid*, *Gamágāraikelāu*, etc., for example. Usually, Nr. 1 is called the leader, *ptelil a galdēbegēl*, and the rest are numbered like the rubak: *gongērúng*, *gongēdei*, as shown in Vol. 2. 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 *óngiakl* to Nr. III, who gives half of an *óngiakl* to Nr. IV, who gives a small *kliāu* to Nr. V; VI through X receive money (in descending amounts) only when there are large sums involved.

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 in their hair, and all of them wear the same kind of *áusákěr* loincloth. Each of them makes two *deráu* hand fishing nets 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 *deráu* fishing, and when they have gathered one hundred *gălsúg* strands, these are taken to the Nr. I rubak. The third fishing excursion, with approximately 80 strands, 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 *deráu* 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. They set out in their *kabékl* canoe 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 chief and lay it in front of the *bai l pelú* on the *gomróžěl* stone (see Vol. 2). After this first deed, the club is *klemeái*, 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 *klegădáol 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 at the village bai and leave it there. 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):

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 used by a different club, 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 Ngaratěkángěl 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 *magăsáng*, which was discussed in Vol. 2. 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 order. When such an order comes down, however, first a meeting is held, a *galdágăng* (Wall.: *chaldecheduch*), 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 work. Women’s clubs are organized along the same lines as men’s clubs, 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), 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 *klegădáol* of the women was discussed above.

g) Marriage (*bagēi*, 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. *bagēi ra pelú* marriage in the village, *mengirs* marriage outside. The word *bagēi* is related to *oubúg* “to marry”, because *bug* means spouse (poss. *băgīl*), 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, *kladesiöl* 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* Răklăi had 4 wives. Hockin, pg. 51, says that the Ibědul 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.

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 *gasmágěl* 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 Ngěděbug, Story 76 of Ngiragosisáng, Story 30 of Ngiratei, Story 170 of Golungīs, etc.

Sometimes, the woman’s family uses the services of a broker *goderúgěl*, 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.

Mis-marriage between a high-ranking woman and a lower-ranking man is frowned upon and is met with fines *keratórog* or *kérilatoróg*, 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, 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, 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” 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*, 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 bathing. On the other hand, the wife has no legitimate way to vent her own jealousy 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.

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 relatives. 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. 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, 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 Peliliou, the people are generally darker than in the north, 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, 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* or *gěsingěl* poss. *gěsngelél*. The latter, according to Wall., is an object (particularly an animal) that cannot harm a person, because the *Galid* belongs to or is dedicated to the person.

According to what I heard, *gěsingěl* is stronger, because it embodies the close, maternal bonds, which are not broken. *delásěg*, on the other hand, is considered dedicated to the *Galid* 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 Peliliou descended into the strait of Gěügěl with his two spirit friends, where they made love with two female fish, *máměl* and *deságěl*. 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, in *a Iraĩ*, , in Goréör, certainly indicate that they, that is the family, descended from fish. And so blai Nr. III *a Iměóng* says in *a Iebúkūl* that the *goroviděl* fish, who is their ancestor, is buried near their house; and blai Nr. VIII Ngatogóng, whose *delásěg* is listed as the mullet, had the pigeon (*bělógěl*) 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 Góiláng in Gólei, there lived a priestess Ngoróiklóu, to whom people came with coconut oil or expressed coconut milk 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 *Galid* 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), which has three, all of which are subject to food taboos; likewise *a Uděs*. For the name of the mother, see above. See also the *kleblil a Ugelióu* in the appendix. Totemism is one of the marriage regulations of the original, larger communities; smaller circles are governed by;

h) Matriarchy and Family.

We just discussed 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* Iraï, from blai Nr. VI *a* Dai, and she marries into Goréör, into blai Nr. 1 *a* Idíd, with the titled chief *a* Ibëdul. Both children belong to the blai *a* Dai in *a* Iraï. But *a* Ibëdul is the son of an *a* Idíd woman who is married into Galáp, and he lived there until the previous *a* Ibëdul died; only then did he come to Goréör 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 Goréör; 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 Goréörans.

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* Ibëdul and the women’s title of Bílung. The wife of *a* Ibëdul 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* Ibëdul can hold the title or another descendent of an *a* Idíd woman! In other words, only the descendants of an *a* Idíd woman are considered the family, the house *a* Idíd! This is matriarchy in its most pronounced form!

The natural children of a married couple are called *ulägél* (poss. *ulëgelél*). 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” *ródël* (poss.: *rëdelél*) (KUB. *rodel ngálek*) only if it is not related to its foster parents. The word, therefore, is also used for members of the same clan (*keblîl*), 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 *geimól-blai* “one house.” 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 *keblîl*, plural: *kleblîl*, poss.: *keblilél*.

They have names and are listed in Vol. 2 with the larger communities, for example with Goréör. All the *keblîl* have a blai name with the prefix *ngar*, just as the districts Ngaramlungúi, Ngaragúmëlbai, 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 *keblîl* is the rubak of the blai; if there are several rubak in one blai, they are collectively known as *merédër ra keblîl*. *Keblîl* are based on the women, just like the closer family is, and the oldest women are called *rukdemáol* (singular *gokdemáol*), which actually means “ancestor,” while the women who belong to a blai are called *ardalál a blai* “mothers of the blai.” But a *keblîl* is definitely more than just a group of relatives (see *ródël*). I presented good examples of how a *kleblîl* is structured in Vol. 2, 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 blai. These blai usually do not marry among one another; for Nr. II, marriage to Nr. 3 Ngaramerîl or Nr. 9 Maeriáng is possible, although it is frowned upon; marriage to any of the other seven is scorned completely, as is marriage within them. So the *keblîl* is a true clan in the totemic sense! These foreign blai of the leading house each have their own *keblîl* 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 *omeldúgël* (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 17 *omeldúkul*). As far as the origins of the *kleblîl* 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, because an *a* Ikelaú man was given the title of Ngirturóng.

Glossary of Terms for Relationships

father	<i>gadám</i> (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	<i>kau békël</i>		
man (as in mankind)	<i>a gad</i> (poss.: <i>gadál</i>), a people = <i>argád</i> , family = <i>klaugád</i> ,		
clan	<i>keblîl</i> (poss.: <i>keblilél</i>) plur. <i>kleblîl</i>		
man (as in a man)	<i>sagál</i>		
spouse	<i>a bug</i> (poss.: <i>abugil</i>)		
ancestor, elder	<i>gokdemáol</i> (poss.: <i>gokdemelél</i>), plur.: <i>rukdemáol</i>		
family tree	<i>goról</i> birth	} <i>uádil re ngak</i>	
her great grandmother	<i>galdedír</i>		
her grandmother	<i>durír</i> , his = <i>deúl</i>		
her mother	<i>derír</i>		
her sister or brother	<i>gogaderír</i>		
offspring	<i>gëbëdël a kesól</i> , skin of the turmeric plant = nieces, from <i>búdël</i> peel, skin; <i>pkul a kesól</i> tips of the turmeric plant (see <i>pkul a gúdël</i>).		
brother’s sister	} <i>gogád</i> (poss.: <i>gogadál</i>), plur.: <i>ruegád</i> (poss.: <i>rugadál</i>)		
sister’s brother			
brother’s brother	<i>odám</i> (poss.: <i>delíl</i>), sister’s sister <i>odód</i> (poss.: <i>dedíl</i>)		
older than I	<i>guódël re ngak</i>		
younger than I	<i>kekeréi re ngak</i>		
sons of one mother	<i>klaudám</i>		
daughters of one mother	<i>klaudód</i>		
children of several sisters, collective	<i>telungálek</i>		
my older relative (uncle)	<i>góbokuk</i> (plur.: <i>arúbukuk</i>)		
♀ female to elders	(<i>guódël</i>) ♀ female relatives = <i>gudelék</i> (plur.: <i>armugudelék</i>)		
my younger ♂ and ♀ relative (nephew)	<i>gogalék</i> (plur.: (<i>a</i>) <i>rugalék</i>), younger (<i>kekeréi</i> small)		
	<i>mer’rengék</i> (more correctly <i>kekerengék</i>) (plur.: <i>armer’rengék</i>)		
my aunt			
older niece, etc			
son-in-law	<i>gasmágël</i> (poss.: <i>gasmagelél</i>)		
possessing children	<i>klengelákl</i>		
infant	<i>gabásángël, tologói</i>		
boy	<i>kekerél sagál</i> young man = <i>buik!</i> boy (form of address) = <i>arbúik</i>		
	“boys,” called to work by the Rubak		
young girl	<i>gomukldíl</i> plur. <i>rumúklđil</i>		
girl	<i>gëkebil</i>		
maiden	<i>sauluái, meseúngël a blai.</i>		

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; 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*. 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 *Ngologollela pelú* and one for *Ortél a kabeás*, 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*,

High chief *rubukúl pélau*, also *meréděr* “ruler.”

Every large village has 10 big titled blai, in Vol. 2 these are numbered I through X. It is said that originally there were only seven, in accordance with the holy number of Galid, which are discussed below. In Gorėör, 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 Ibėdul, 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* in the center of the village *gelsél a pelú* and receive state visits *klegădăol* by foreigners *klóbak*. A man with a poor title or no title is called *pkul a gúděl*. People of the upper class, “the beautiful,” are called *kapkal’l*, those of the lower class *bedăgəd úgos*. The commoners, i.e. people without titles, are called *armeău* “the naked”; the community in every large village has a special name, as seen in Vol. 2. The eldest is the *gokdemăol* 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 Gorėör Nr. III moved to Nr. I, Nr. V moved to Nr. III, Nr. VIII to Nr. V, just the way I recorded it. I was told that in Gorėör anyone may succeed to a title provided the person belongs to *a* Idíd Nr. I and *a* Ikělău Nr. II, the two leaders of the *bital blai*, who may choose anyone. I believe, however, that in earlier days only the descendents from one

bital blai 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 (*tekaŭl*) were not even considered. To round out the picture, I must add that every rubak of one *bital-blái* side has a “friend” *săgălei* (poss. *sagalil*) (spelling, see Vol. 2) on the opposite side, so that there are bridges between the two sides (see, for example, Melekéiok, Vol. 2). These friends send each other something whenever food is distributed, the *godekúiěl mo ra săgălil*. This reciprocal relationship is called *kauogáro*. Kub., Vol. II, pg. 70, says that at the *murfeast*, the share of the host of the celebration belongs to the “friend”, 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 *orětęg* and one as *ul’likil’l*. 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 *kēmădăngěl*, 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. A messenger in general is called *goderúgěl* (see above, marriage broker, below), and he receives proof of identity *gosisál* from the rubak, as previously described above.

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*; 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 *kldololél* (from *kldělăol* “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*.

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 *guóděl*). 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 Kaldebėkel 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* or *bıil* 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 a rúpak*, Kub. Vol. IV, pg. 87 *Foholbel*) “the washing off of the oldest ones.” At the time of my stay, *a Ibēdul* in Goréör 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” *melékēt* 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*) “arrival of the shouting”, 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* (Kub.: *Auligil*) for the “knotting” and the death money *orētěg* (Kub.: *Horrettek*).

The payment, in the form of numerous small pieces of money (see above), 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 Udēs* in Melekéiok, *a Idíd* in Goréör, *Ngěrturóng* in *a Imeúngs*, *Klólulblai* in *Ngarekeāi*, *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.”

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, for the *a Rāklāi* in Melekéiok, and for the *a Ibēdul* in Goréör, as well. 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) 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*.

A great title bestowed this way makes the bearer “holy” *měáng* and invincible to enemies in war, as well. 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 *klegădáol*, as mentioned in Vol. 2 in the case of Mad.

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), as well as on the stone square *iliud*, as described for Melekéiok (Vol. 2). In his blai, the rubak also has his own spot, as well as his own stone in front of the house (see Kub., Vol. II, pg. 71). Kub., Vol. I 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.

Finally, I should still mention the privileges *klepkál’l* (poss. *klepelél*) that individual high-ranking houses have. The details were already described with reference to the skirts, also with reference to first-time mothers ascending the stage and knotting their hair. 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 *Medegēipélau* for the Galid house there. The weaving of the magic symbol *blsebúd*, the jagged mats *telutāu* and *kleiangěl* weaving, the blowing of the *debúsög* triton horn and the stage set up for celebrations (see Vol. 2 and below). 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, are stepping stones to the high chiefdom 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. 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. 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 bai titles, such as Gobak of Goréör.

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 money of various Rubak, of which there must have been way more than 1000 in the old Palau, when it was still richly populated. 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* (Kub., Vol. IV, pg. 87, Kolulául), 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, 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. War *mākāmád* (poss.: *mākāmadil*) 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 challeng 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, the kingfisher is mentioned as a navigator for the *káep*. 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 Benget (*béngéd*, poss.: *bengédél*) and headhunting *osiik a kad* , an actual *osiik a gad* “looking for a person,” or, as my people said, *regórög l mākāmád* “thieving battle.” In the latter case, the villages are always in a continuous state of war *lógéd* (Kub. *Lokot*), because a person 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 *oldingēl* in everyday life. The correct word for the trophy head is *blolói*, also pronounced *blel’lói* in Babldáob. Only in times of absolute peace *búdög* (poss.: *bdëgél*), which is secured by mutual exchange of peace money *kngakiréng*, 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 (Gorekim = Ngirairiáng, below). “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 gecko, 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 Irai* concerning preparation and execution:

When one is ready to go into battle the next morning, *a* Rdegór of *a Irai* goes very early to the heath by *a Irai* 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:

<i>olokói! Matugáis! kemerkmang?</i>	Hey there! Matugais! Have you arrived?
<i>msbedí a Ugéldákt l kmú:</i>	Give Ugeldákt the news and speak:
<i>a Rdegór goldürëg rengák</i>	Rdegór sends me
<i>l mo mesúbëd ra Ugéliángëd l kmu:</i>	to bring news to Ugéliángëd, he says:

mākāmád r tial Irai
a mo mēús ë geilagáng l mo ra Imelík
mak mesúbëd rekāu logengít
rsél klúpëd ra Ngërudelóng
l lekërd re ngí a mēkēmëdíl a Irai
ë ak mangatákl re ngí l mo ra pelú
meke goridí a tëlëbrádël re ngak ma
tial Irai
ë ák ulengít ra godóim me kungú
losiuklí tial mēkēmëdíl a Irai
ak ulengít e rengí lodóim l ng kal’l
ma ki mangárengi
ë a rektél ma gëdül a di ngar tia pelú
ra Imelík
a nguluklél a Ibëdul ma Rāklāi
ma Ngirturóng ma Mad re Ngabúkëd
lomūs re ngí ra Medegēipélau
ak melái ra Melimrásăg
ma mer’rengél ma gogëderir
l mo ra pelú l ki mo ra kabékl

the battle troop is in this Irai
paddles today to a Imelík,
and I report to you and ask
for the landing Ngërudelóng,
where he lands the troop of Irai;
and I lead them to the village;
set far away the wound from me and this Irai;

I ask for meat and make
(that) someone meet this troop from Irai;
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 Ibëdul and a Rāklāi
and Ngirturóng and Mad from Ngabúkëd,
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’l* the seat board on the outrigger (Fig. 172). Then he goes home, fetches his things, and gets ready. When he returns to the *kabékl*, he lays two spears on the outrigger and says:

<i>āika lidéd ë Ngirairiáng</i>	These are our spears, Ngirairiáng,
<i>kau ma Melimrásăg!</i>	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!

<i>tia Ngaragúmēlbai</i>	This Ngaragúmēlbai
<i>l maramá kldepl</i>	has come to the gathering
<i>a kmo Rdegór</i>	and says Rdegór
<i>m gaderderí tial mākāmád</i>	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 land-ing place, *a* Rdegór speaks to the Galid:

<i>Ko mekeráng?</i>	You do what?
<i>ka morurül rekemíu</i>	prepare yourselves,
<i>ë l kërd ngiká logadád</i>	they should land here our sisters
<i>l mo ra pelú melangá rengí</i>	at this place, set themselves there,
<i>ë l gitëgetúr a pelú ë longíl rekíd</i>	weaken the village, wait for us
<i>ma debó a lomís</i>	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, 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 (*ol̄it*), steps over it and picks it up with his right hand; then he ducks, in fencing position, 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 had 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:

<i>m ngu godóim l mẽ med ě sáng?</i>	Bring the meat, so we can see it!
He takes the basket, opens it and addresses the Galid:	
<i>ko mekeráng?</i>	You do what?
<i>dikamuák a rengm̄iu ě moráel,</i>	eat just a little as your heart desires and go,
<i>ě bagērě tiáng ě ng uluókl ra ru</i>	it matters not, it happened on the order of the high
<i>bukúl Pēlau.</i>	chief;
<i>lulumūs rengira M. meng ker’rekerengél</i>	it was ordered by M. and he has earned it.
<i>meng óbal l maráel l mesúk l gerálra rubukúl</i>	And he takes it and goes, pockets the prize of the
<i>Pālāu.</i>	high chief.

Kub., Vol. II, pg. 129, adds to the above: “When the noise, the *tautadiu*, starts in the attacked village, and the *Rurt* 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. 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, *magolgólp a hongol mádak*, 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 Kotím̄ (*otimd* means “to snap”), however, but simply *galévě̄l* “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. Trophy scalps of fallen enemies were left to flap in the wind on bamboo poles (see Vol. 2). 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. Kub., Vol. II, pg. 131, reports of a case around 1850 of a man from the Udēs 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 Udēs 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
2. Dedication ceremony of a newly founded men’s club
3. (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 125): When a high chief is taken ill, if a *mangālil* prophesy has revealed that his house god is making him ill and requires a *gosóls* 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*. The second one is used after the celebration and is called *mōngóit aremengéd* (Kub. mongoyt a remengír); it is supposed to throw away *mōngóit* the tiredness.
5. Construction of a new Galid house
6. Construction of a new bai, when raising the gable

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 lēkil* 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 killed, to serve as a spirit, or was released in exchange for a ransom, for example, in exchange for several women called *vúlog* (poss.: *ulăgét*), which also means “old skirt.” Otherwise, war reparations are called *omdăgěl a ráel*, clearing the path. Prisoners of war who were old people, women, and children were called *ngáis* (poss.: *ngisé̄l*), weak ones, who had to be treated with care like an “egg.”

Suppression *oukér̄r*—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 răsăg 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 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 Regügēr in a Imelik 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*, 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 or if a woman is attacked while carrying a burden (water, taro, etc.).
5. Abduction. See Marriage, and *mongol* kidnapping.
6. Seduction; considering the general customs, this is not important.
7. Child molestation. ; considering the general customs, this is not important.
8. Attack or assault.
9. Adultery.
10. Breaking customs, incest, and all related offenses.
11. Misalliance (that is, a mismatched marriage).
12. Arson, other than during war, is considered a private matter.
13. Unlawful entry (burglary).
14. Betrayal Oblât (*mangablád* verb).
15. Crimes against the state.
16. Crimes against the Galid.
17. General crimes.



Fig.206. Imeungs refuge stone 40cm high.

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; in that volume, I also mentioned the atrocities that were visited on entire villages on account of offenses against high-ranking persons. 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, 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.

v. M. M. correctly makes a distinction between *blul* and *múgūl*, 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”. The purpose of both was to protect against burglary, theft (*meregórōg*) of betel leaves and nuts, of coconuts, and especially of taro, which was protected with coconut fronds (*gúūūt* in Story 195) or bows of coconut pinnae. Theft *mungúps* 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.

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—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 Ngérturóng, I just found the refuge stone *ii re* Ngérturong “cave of Ngérturong.” (Fig. 206), reaching which provided safety there was a bridge one had to cross, and there, also, reaching the terminus of a path provided safety, as was the case in Kekláu with an *iliud* 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 Ngēlúkēs 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	= <i>ouelág</i> “come quickly”
arms crossed over the head,	lowered quickly	= <i>skokl</i> “someone is dead”



Fig.207. Feast on Goreor, Blai VII, with *ilengel* wood container and taro on stools and benches.

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 (*godángěd*) of the wife of a Rubak, and to multiply riches (*omeka ilĭēt*), 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* (poss. *merngél*), and if a *feast* is held on behalf of a rubak it is also called *tkul a bad*. *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.

Large celebrations in the main villages last 7 *plkul*, 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* (poss. *nglikél*), 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 búüēl*; 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 (*mekesókēs*) 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 ruau, is called *kikeruau*; I was not able to find out any details about it. 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 *nglóik ra gútŭm*, 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 *desĭl* consisting of four pigs, fish and taro, which is not, however, heaped on the benches.

2. *gongéd* (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 57, Hongét), a village celebration, really nothing more than a ceremonial fishing excursion 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 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 side, 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*); 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* 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, towards one another with branches 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*. Laden with gifts, the *bital táog* then goes home; after two days it returns to watch the *tiakl*, 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 *góngiakl*, 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. *těrúgöl* (from *otúgör* “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 Terkélĭl is named as the originator of the celebration in honor of his wife Sagalaĭ of Nggeĭangěl.

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 *klegădăol* 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 *terúgöl*; *ngúiēs* is the last *plkul a mŭr*; its end is called a *ukaráel*. The women of the family bring taro, *ulĕld*, 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 Iraĭ, from July 28 until July 30, 1909. A long platform *gailăol* was built in front of blai Nr. II Gěsurói (see Map 22, Vol. 2), on which 4 women’s dances took place on the first afternoon, two with dance paddles, two without. The women’s wrists were decorated with coconut frond bows (*garderĭd*), 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 *diángēl* (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. About 40 painted and beautifully ornamented dancers stood in front of this, ready to begin the dance.

Large quantities of taro had been gathered before the celebration. In the first dance, two women appeared, each of whom had a *delásēg* figurine on her head, representing the goddess Túrang and a kingfisher, 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 branches 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 lagoon. 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. 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 chest. 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 knees 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. 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.

4. *galsímēr* "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 (*mangelil*) 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 *nglók búiēl*, 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".

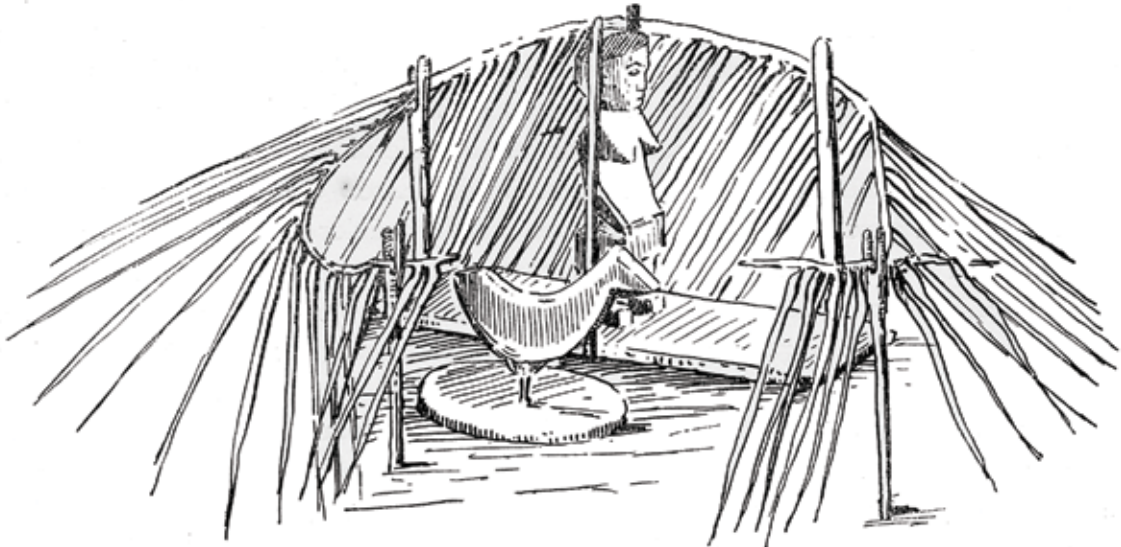


Fig.208. Goddess Turang and kingfisher carving. Scale 1:10.

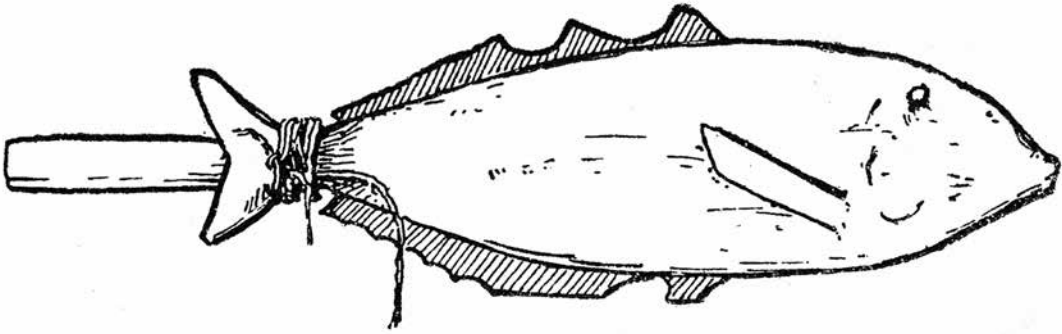


Fig.210. Gorovidēl Fish as Dancing stick.

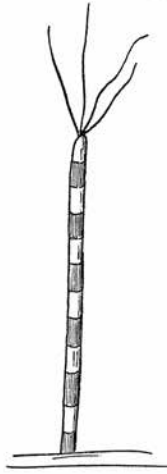


Fig. 209.
Dance tree.

Dances.

The most important of the dances is the *ruk*, also called *gorik*. It involves temporary seclusion of the men, just as *galsimër* 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 in the *bai l pelú*, the village Bai, and hang the broken pieces outside on the Bai; this is the *mesivëg a tóluk* (Kub., Vol. II, pg. 104: *mesiuker 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 *gorovidël*, the wooden reproduction of the Caranx fish (Fig. 210), which each dancer holds in their hands; they even assume the name *gorovidël*. This oldest club, when secluded, is therefore called *klemeaî*, while the other, younger ones are called *gotebádël* (Kub. Kotobádel), or also *goltebér*, 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*) begin. When a club is ready, it goes into the neighboring villages, to recruit helpers (*sauluâi*, 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 Iraî*, in Melekéiok, then in Ngërupesáng and Ngarbagéd, where the god *a Ugél'lëgalíd* was celebrated. Kub., Vol. II, pgs. 105-108, describes it from this point on. When everything is ready, the leading club, the *klemeaî*, which has the privilege of calling itself *gorovidël*, announces that the *me-tególpa a táiu* (Kub.: megolgolpp a tayn) 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” *omesiëg* (Kub.: Mesiyek). At the same time, they tie coconut fronds around their neck (*lebú*, Kub.) and around their wrists and ankles. Thus adorned and singing, they proceed towards the main Bai, where the Rubak are gathered.

The lead club enters (*olsisëp* or *soisëp a klemeaî*), becoming *meàì*, 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 (*gongróël* and *uldékl*; 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 fish) 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*; these may not quiver when the bowl is carried. In addition to the huts, a raised shrine is built for the priest of the god; 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 *ovëtkéu ra gameráëg* (Kub.: Owitkeu a Kameráek), at day break the *melógëd ra mangidáp* “the breaking of spider webs,” followed later by the call to breakfast *gongráol*, at noon to eat *goléngël*

and in the evening the *gúës*. “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 *gorovidël* performs its dance after every signal. According to KUB., this sounding of the horn is the privilege of *a Iraî*, 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*,” *goltóbëd ra ruk* (Kub.: Ottobot a ruk), also called *klóul tebedël* “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, the *bedeklël a mesáng*, which is especially popular at women’s celebrations (Fig. 209). The mast is considered the cane (*skors*, poss. *skersël*) 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 Ngërupesáng (Vol. II) the two sides are hung with a wooden kingfisher and a frigate bird, which are holy to Ugél'lëgalíd.

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 *gorovidël* 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 Iraî*, especially, this is observed, because their god Medegeî is a descendent of Ugél'lëgalíd. In *a Iraî*, during the period of seclusion, the dancers have in the bai, in addition to their *tet* hand baskets, another little basket called *gomsangël*. This basket contains the betel quid for the god and is hung on the bai wall behind the back of its owner. In *a Iraî*, where several other unusual things occur, the *klemeaî* 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), as a soul-catching net for the protective deities, the 7 Galid, the Tekiël maláp (Story 137). These special practices apply only to *a Iraî* and Ngátpang, however, which are the villages of Medegeî 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 *klemeaî*. 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 *gorovidël* 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 gorovidël* “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 *klemeaî* a little dance and then return to their bai. It is not until the afternoon that the great dance *gorovidël* is performed; it is followed by the *kotebádël*, the other clubs.

Next on the program is “catching spears” *bedóiël* (Kub.: Blodoyol). One of the *klemeaî* 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.

It is worth considering the report in the Deutsche Kolonialblatt in 1901: “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 reed-like leaves were wound around their shoulders, and their hands moved like castanets when they danced. In their right hand they held a spear-like 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 *gorâu*, 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” in this context. Acceptance of the dish obligates them to come and deliver the *peketël a udóud* (from *omókët* “to pay,” “money”; Kub.: Bohatël a Audoud). The foreign rubak come as *klegädáol*, 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 *beregël a gorovidël*, there are more dances and games, but these are no longer ceremonial; they are for entertainment.

According to Kub., Vol. II, in Ngabúkëd, instead of a *ruk*, there was just a small *temengël a vag* (Temengël a wak), a men’s dance, for which the women provide torch light = *metliëg a ruk* (molúyoker a ruk). The only guests invited for this are from Ngarárd, and they pay little or nothing (see the *kikeruâu* celebration). 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 *melil a búiël* (see Story 37) do things appear to proceed a little more lively and represent events, as Semp., Vol. II, describes. Kub., Vol. II, names the wild *ngadëbú* dances Angadewu. A distinction is made between dances on the ground *ngloik ra gútüm* and on the stage *goiláol* in the dance house *diangël*.

Dances on the Ground:

I once saw a dance performed in a seated position by a women’s *klegädáol* from Pelíliou, on the pavement in front of the *Săgámús* bai in Goréör. 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 *klegädáol* from Pelíliou perform this in a circular formation. The most common are the row dances. P. Raymund says (From the Mission, 1909): 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.” A simple row dance of young girls in Galáp is shown with the movements. For information about the “standing dance” *golekisél*, with hand clapping, see Story 236. The walking dance *galitük* 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 galitük*, and move this way, dancing, along the stone path, often with branches in their

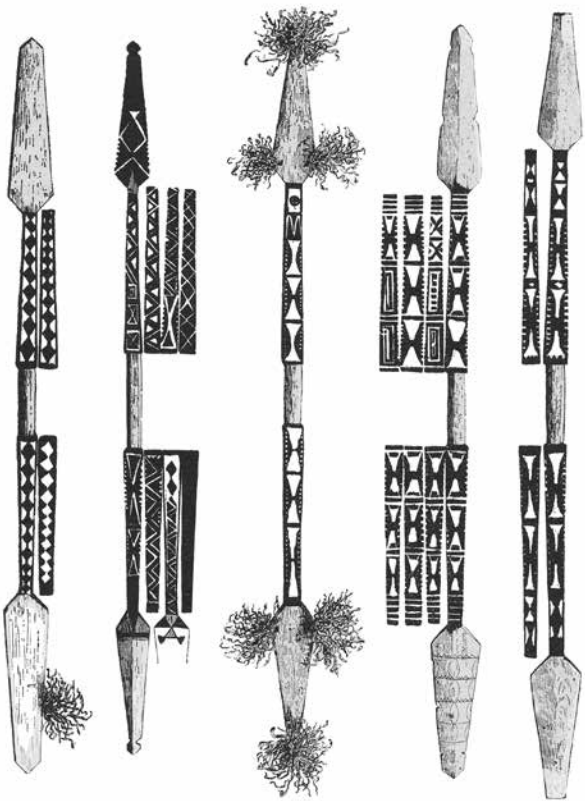
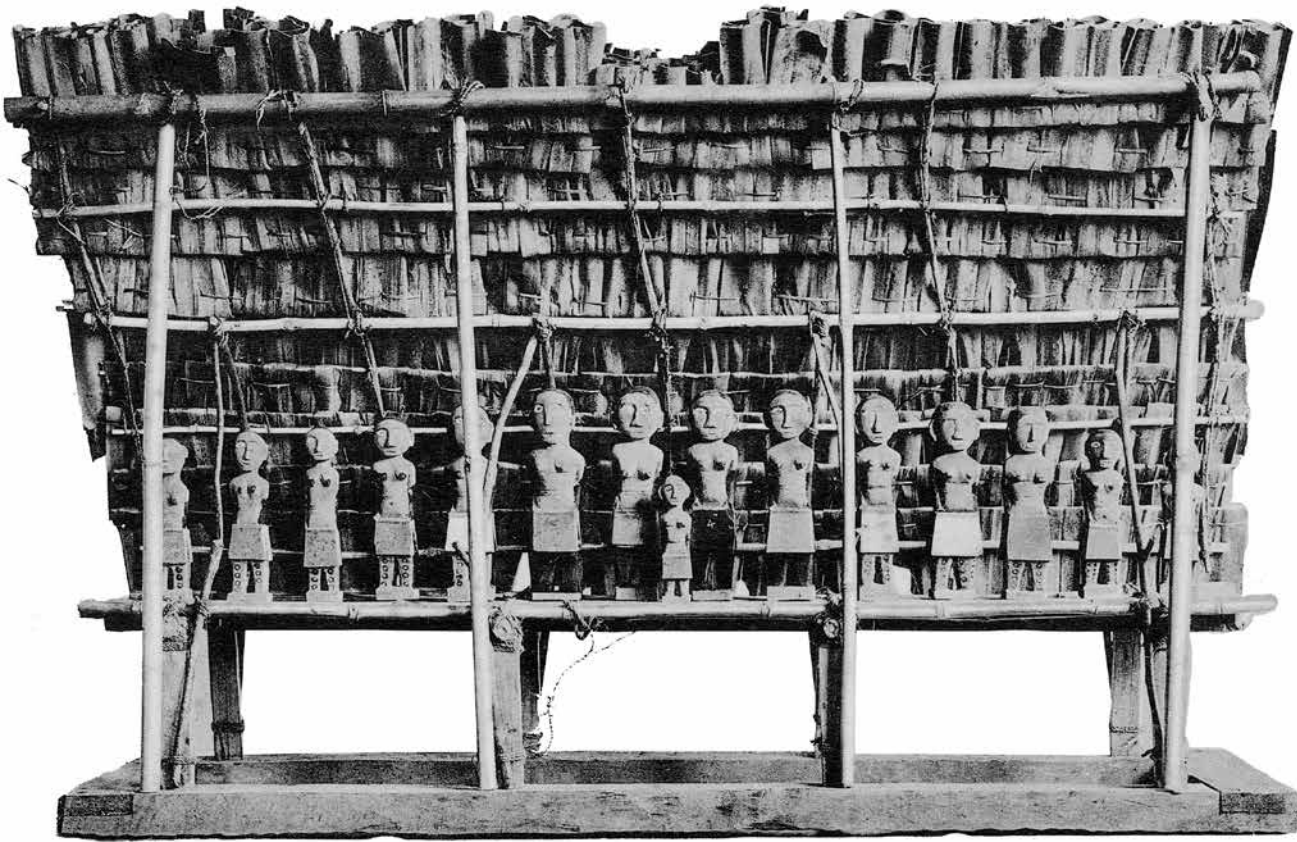


Fig.211. Dance paddles. 60cm.

Bottom: Model of a Women’s Dance House. Linden-Museum, Stuttgart.



hand (*klbógēl*). Story 39 shows some of the things that can happen in this dance. 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, 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* ; the spear dance mentioned by Wilson indicates this. Religious celebrations, as Kub. says, usually end with dances in the nude. 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 (*klbógēl*). Story 39 shows some of the things that can happen in this dance. 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, in which the women hold a *rongór* mat in their hands (see bai 50, VIIa).

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Dances on a Stage are called *goiláol*: These were previously described above (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. Dance objects held in the hand during the dance, such as spears and the *gorovidēl* 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). These paddles were used on bamboo rafts, like the kayaks of the Eskimos. The paddles have holes for inserting white feathers (*bségél a besós*) or bundles of fiber; they are decorated with notched cuts and paint. Finally, the dancers often hold branches *klbógēl* in their hands, which are also depicted with the 10 crabs in bai 144 VIIa. Hand movements alone are called *blëgóbög*. Dance masks are not used (see Müller, Yap).

Music.

On Palau, music is sparse. There are no instruments, 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. This is even more noteworthy when one considers how highly developed the art of poetry is.

The only music was singing *l’lál*. Singing is divided into the following types:

- 1. *klakelál* alternating singing (Story 37 and example in Stories 226 and 228).
- 2. *galitakl* (poss. *galiteklél*) improvised song dealing with any subject.
- 3. *kerekórd* nice-sounding singing (Story 229), sung by at least three people.
- 4. *gelgesgésēp* 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* dirges sung at funeral ceremonies (see Kub., Vol. III), also litanies in cases of illness *gongúrēs* war and rowing songs



Above left: Galid Mogoloú of Ngaraus with phallus
Above right: Galid Temdókl. Linden-Museum, Stuttgart



Fig. 212. Jew's hair made of bamboo.

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 precantor *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. The main verse is called *a úgul* according to Semp., Vol. II, i.e. “stem.” The refrain, called *rsél* “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*, 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'loi galdólōm* (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 *golekīsēl*, the hands are clapped during the singing. For information about the wild dances and obscene songs sung at funerals, see Kub., Vol. II, 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 Nggeíangel 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 búiël*, 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 *lógěd*, 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, 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 lovers. 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 (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 *viíl*. 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 (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). 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.

garměk l kiau (Karaměl kiyéu) “my animal the *kiau*” (see fish). Ring dance; in the center stands a dancer who jumps about happily like a *kiau* fish.

kaibrebúrěg (Kay burbúrok) Throwing spears at one another.

kaitevētěg (Kay toétték) Throwing objects (for example, stones) at one another.

bedóiěl Catching spears *blútěk* (poss. *bltekél*) Racing toy canoes. 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 racing 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 above, the votive canoe, Fig. 176).

Pigeon hunting and hunting of bats count as sports; both are described above. Also among sports-related events are the ceremonial flying of kites, which were called *kědám* (poss. *kedemíl*) like the frigate bird, as Story 18 of Ngardmau reports and describes. 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 *ngamgogúii*, 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, *omóiěs* shooting with the small fruit of the *demāīlēi* mountain palm, *mědegíměs* smoking (*molokói*) of the hollow fern stems of the *delíměs* 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 *sěbósōp* 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.

The last important thing to mention is the *galid ě báol* 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, 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).

<i>Earth pelú lagád</i> (land of the people)	Volcanic land <i>pelau</i>
<i>Ground gútŭm</i> (poss. <i>gětěmél</i>)	Coral (limestone) <i>lovīl</i>
Hard kernel <i>ungelél a gutŭm</i> (from <i>uingěl</i> tooth)	Loose stones <i>guld</i> ; gravel <i>geidúděs</i>
White clay <i>gasagáem</i>	White earth <i>mlűs</i>
Stone <i>bád</i> (<i>bědúl</i>)	Cliff <i>rois</i> , <i>īl</i> cave (Wall.: ii)

New moon tap <i>l búiiēl</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>búiiēl</i> ngabárd	Full moon <i>gorakirūg</i>
Half moon <i>gēsēp</i>	
Sky <i>iángēd</i> (Wall. <i>eánged</i>)	Heaven, divine <i>babluádēs</i>
Horizon <i>a úgul a iángēd</i>	Earth <i>eóul uádēs</i>

Sun *sils* (poss. *klśél*): Sunrise *másāg*, morning *tútau* (morning bird), approx. 8 o’clock *golmatmalá* *l dērúdēm*, the sucking of the *Diodon* fish, 10 o’clock *gosbádēl a rongós*, noon *gosbádēl* (Wall.: *godogosóug chosbe-delang*), 1-3 o’clock *ieta gosbádēl* (past noon, Wall.), 3-5 *mulékl a sils* (*dulókl* crooked), 5-6 o’clock *golon-gosóngol a sils* (see pg. 44), sundown *ngelt a sils* (*mieténgēl*), evening *kebesengei*. Night *klebesei or moáis*.

Star *pdúg* (poss. *psegengél*), meteor *mungúps* (thief), comet *ouemókēt* (from comb feather *gomókēt*)

Astronomy was poorly developed, for the reasons already mentioned. The islanders know, of course, that the Pleiades *mesiki* 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 IIb shows next to them the constellation *bersákl a rirámēs* (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 *gomeráēd* Venus as the morning star and the pitcher-shaped constellation *gongāu*, 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). The Milky Way is called *didil* (path) of Gadabedei (Story 193). Wall. names some of the planets: Jupiter *milenglí*, derived from *ó mang* to make slide, because it is sometimes confused with Venus as the morning star, then *chuit er a* Ngatmél, hair of Berenike, *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 *dilúgēs*, South *a dims*, East *gongós* (poss. *gongosil*) and West *ngabárd* (poss. *ngābārdél*), Northeast *dilúgēs ungós*, Northwest *dilúgēs 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. *reki*l), and the following distinctions are made: The trade wind season (our winter, December through May) *klśél 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	Táog
Approx. June	<i>raūd</i> “fickle,” because of changes in wind direction
Approx. July	kmúr. The <i>Dracaena</i> bloom. It is said: “The tongue of the kmur trembles when the new wind comes.” I was unable to learn more. Wall.: tngmur, Kub., Vol. VIII: tmur, from Carolinian tumur = Antares

Approx. August	madaláp “open,” i.e. the stomach, because there is too much high water, so that the catch of fish is reduced, and there is much taro in the oven. The roro (<i>Erythrina</i>) blossom appears at the foot of the tree.
Approx. September	galíd (according to Kub. also mékngit a ngklél “bad his name” or lak) “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	gorongódēl “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	geiag “someone who stares out,” because all of the fruit now emerges, or ripens (from mangiág “to stare out of a hole”), see also the schools of fish in a Irai, Story 11.

High tide and low tide are aspects of the ocean *dáob* and sea *ngaovávēl* (Wall.: *ngoáol*) that are particularly important to the natives, because their entire navigation in inland waters is dependent on them.

Important terms:
Incoming tide (flood, high tide) <i>kerīk</i>
Ebbing tide (low tide) <i>garágās, magaragár</i>
Low tide <i>magédagei</i>
Medium tide <i>admólog a gei</i> (sufficient for canoes)
<i>gei, ged</i> or <i>ugél a géd</i> shallow water on the reef good for a fishing spot,
then <i>ged lorakirug</i> low tide at full moon
<i>ged l'tap l búiiēl</i> low tide at new moon
also <i>delegél a dorakirūg</i> high tide at full moon or <i>klóul dólōg</i> (great flood)
<i>delegél a tapl búiiēl</i> low tide at full moon or <i>kekerél dólōg</i> (small flood) or <i>mangeai</i>
<i>makáud</i> water dammed up

d) Medicine and Sexual Expressions.

All illness (*rakt*) comes from the *galíd*. Healing is therefore called “freeing” *melúbēt* from them. When someone is taken ill, one first does a *mangālil*, 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, 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 clouds, etc. From these signs he learns the will of the gods (*gongalil*). 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 galíd of the betrayed person seeks revenge. The situation is particularly bad if the divine protectors are *tengangói lē galid* “ugly gods”. If the god in question is an important one, the fortune teller usually predicts that a *murfeast* must be held for the *klóu l galid*, as discussed above. 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*, 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.

In general, the *gosóls* singing played a large role in healing the sick, because the art of poetry was highly esteemed. 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 is carried out of the priest’s house or the bi, wherever it happens to be, and set up in front of the house hen *tet*). The sacrificial donation is laid in this *tet*. 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, 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, 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 kāmám tiáng l maramá merŭl ra mur
Dilrekúng, get ready, we (are) here arrived, to make a *feast*,
mě tia blim l mulekér re ngí ma ki ũlēbal l mēi ma rungúm
this (is) your house, you asked for it and we brought it here and your heart
a ungiáng, 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 kāmám a riědung.
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 *galid* at his location, if possible. In the case of the *kumerěu* fish pole, similar customs are observed. They say the *gatekil'l* is primarily for women, *blil a* Kumerěu for men; the *galid* Kumerěu lives in the moray eel; his wife Turang, 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 *galid* Mariúr because of illness. Wall., for example, calls such illnesses *klir-iŭll* “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 (*ulogóug*) and taro in the little shrine of the sun *gáios*. But a hut is not the only way to gain favor with the *galid*, 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 *kěóngěł*, especially at the 7 places sacred to the *a* Ugél'lēgalid, 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. When the bird flew away, he carved an exact replica out of wood and also one of these canoes, which looks like the *kěóngěł*. That is why it is built primarily in the locations where the god was originally worshiped, where the canoes also have their own names and were made by the priests:

Localities of the Galid	Name of the kěóngěł	Name of the priest around 1900
<i>a</i> Iebúkul (by Gorěör)	Ngartiáu	+
Ngarbagéd	Remúrt	Ngiraibúōg
Ngěrupesáng	gaus a galid	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 Pelíliou. 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 déu 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 e ngupěti uriúeli
to free me, to free those behind (offspring)
chorus: *āu guēi, ng uēi*

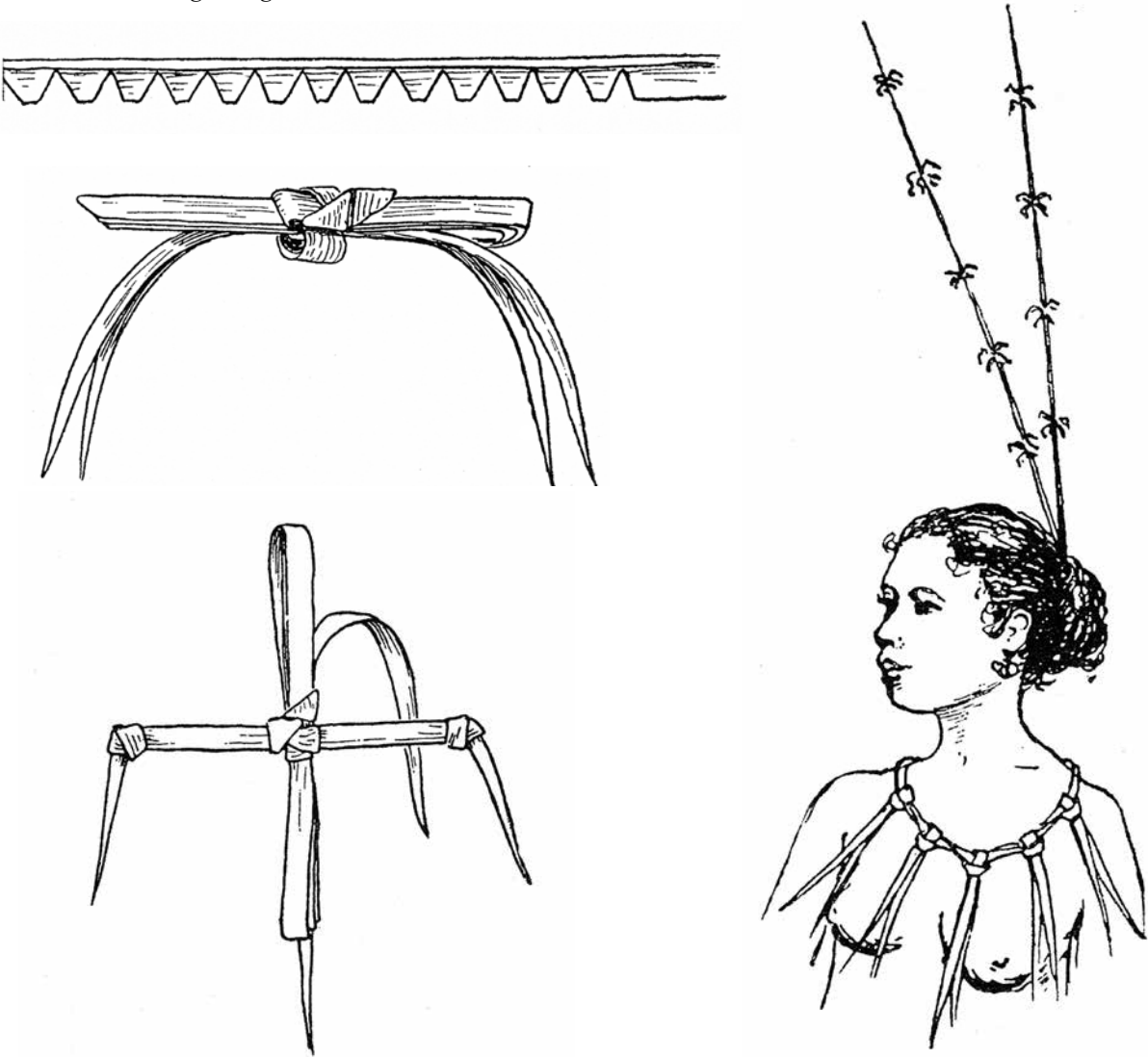


Fig.213. Woman with 2 coconut leaf ribs in her hair and knotted coconut leaf necklace.
Fig.214. Magic coconut leaf knots.

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 *súmōg* did before, which is removed after the *gosóls* and given as place in front of the bai, as *tet*.

A similar institution to the votive canoe is the Galid seat, *kingelél a galid* as Kub. calls it and depicts it in Vol. V, (see also Vol. 2). But it is really called *ngot ri dmúüēł* “taro pounding board at the exit” (Ham.: *notteritt s’mui* “Galid chair for sun”). 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. 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. *Dmúüēł* 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 found it hung in the little ornamental hut. Ham. 11 and K. 6’07 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). 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; the taboo, i.e. food that is forbidden when taking medicine, is called *ulekiái* (Story 146). According to Wall., taking laxatives is called *mangerímět*, temporary bloating is called *cheidogo*, abortions are called *cholégeb*, etc. But the medicine *kar* (poss.: *kerúl*) is primarily given for internal complaints, for example, for abdominal pain *súgōs* (source of the term for spear wound), *kesibibúú*, a type of betelnut, is given.

ilalíl fever with chills

ngul consumption

mesél shortness of breath

ngliil (Wall.) difficulty breathing

gétēláol dizziness

terétěr influenza

ngirt poss.: *ngertél* cold, sneezing

ugísp hiccups

uâu, *déngerengěr* mental illness

uldegūāl 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 *dōgōdōgóměł*, chewed-up leaves of *ulúi*, *gabelúdēs*, *deběgěl*, 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 *dōgōdōgóměł* is used. It probably consists of *bungaruâu* 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. In Goi-kúl, 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*, scabs, *Tinea imbricata sókěl*, scab *kuóku* (Wall.), Cascas *taptapk*, 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 *mesěgēs* or *gasěgēs*, 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.

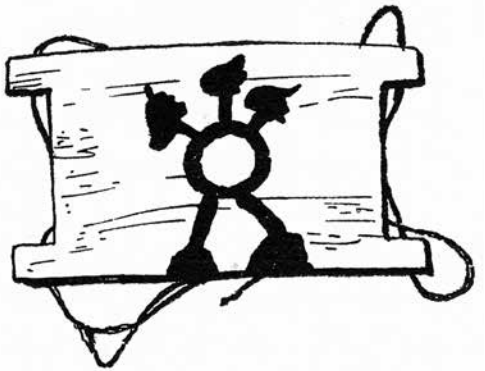


Fig.215. Spiti seat, sun with 3 heads.

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 man. Actually, this may not be entirely out of the question, because the many shipwrecks in the Philippines, which are listed in Vol. 1, 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.

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 *madudin* tree. To bandage a wound *gatágát* (poss.: *gatatatíl*) that has opened *kěltat*, they use the leaves of *Clerodendron (butagárēgar)*, also juice of *ouderódōg* and *ilemlakl*.

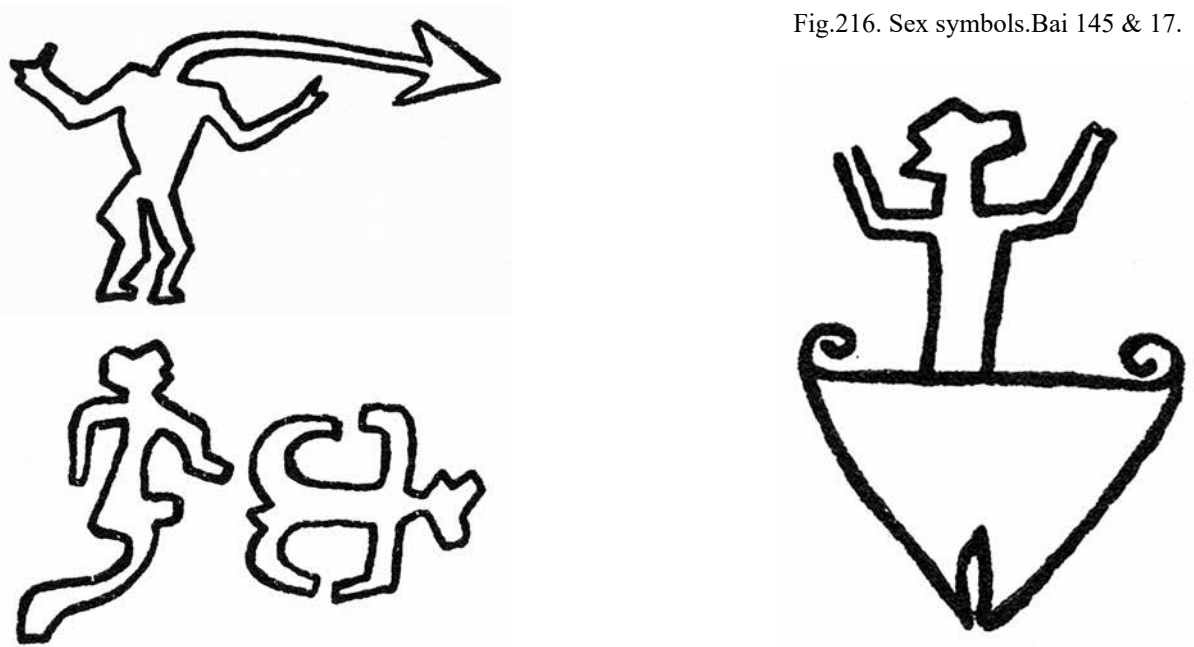


Fig.216. Sex symbols.Bai 145 & 17.

If a man received a spear wound 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 *telagáíēt* (from *omangáíēt* to tie, to bind). Abscesses *ptú* (poss.: *ptungél*) are opened with sharp pieces of bone or cut with shells (see Story 77), and the pus *lálāg* (poss.: *lagél*) is drained out, or they are allowed to open on their own (*obú* Wall.). The ganglion *olagatāgél* is healed by hammering it down *melogótōg*, therefore the name for it.

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 ngódēg* “then different.” I have already related the attitude of Palauans concerning paying for medical attention in Vol. 2. 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 and mummification practices. The process of defloration 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 *gärtókēt* (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 bai, especially the phallus representations (*túbōg*) on the gables of the old bai in *a* Imeúngs and Ngarekeai, as can be seen on the photos of bai 69 and 86.

They are always grouped around the wooden *dilukai* figure, who, like the girl Manga mangai fatua in Polynesia, is depicted facing from the sun as it rises, with her legs spread wide (see KRÄMER “The Samoa Islands,” Vol. 1).

This representation is apparently a type of fertility magic 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 men. 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, 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. 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 *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. (Fig. bai 37 IIIb and 38 IIIb).

As for perversities, I saw only one illustration (see Vol. 2, in bai 121, where *melim* “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., 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.: *ukil*) are, according to Wall., also called *klegósog* (poss.: *klegesegélél*), 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 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 *gotúngél* bag, which she wears in front, under her skirt.

Masturbation (*ngolókuk*, *mengeláoch*, *melegeták* Wall.) in the pigeon hut bai 68 Va. Wall. calls cunnilingus *me-láng*; pederasty is *outibéngēd 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, occurred among Australians and was known in Papua.

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, 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,” 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 Ugéliángēd, “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). Ugéliángēd has another earthly form, as well, namely that of Ugél lē galid, the “first of the galid,” who plays the role of the protagonist in Story 195.

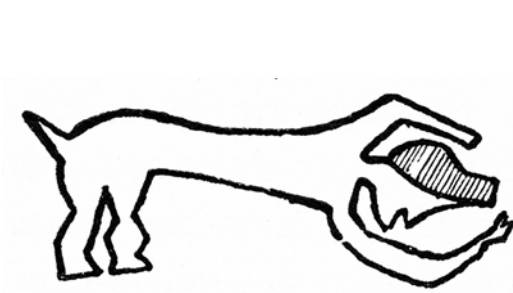


Fig. 217.
Tailed Spirit

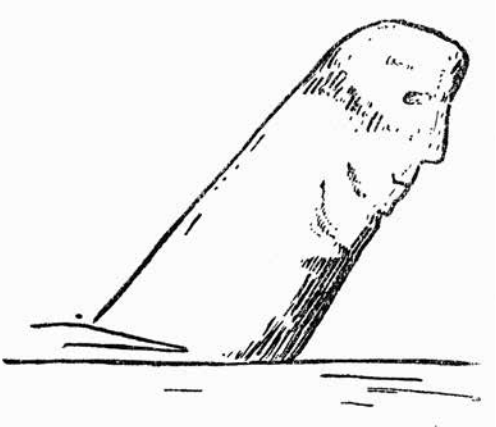


Fig. 218.
Stone carving of MedegeiPelau
in Ngatpang, see map, Fig. 219^b.

There are several magical, superhuman beings. All divine beings are collectively called *galid* (poss.: *gēsúl* or *gaidúl*), 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* (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*. The following are field and forest spirits or demons, “magical beings,” worth mentioning:

- the *telbakl* or *godögül* spirits who preside over construction
- the *bel’lek* spirits of the bush
- 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 *bitagolil*)
- the *těuid l ketórd* the 7 with the crooked mouths (Stories 19 and 58)
- the *tekīl maláp* the 7 galid with the owl heads (Story 137)

Finally, there are the *těngangói lě galid* (Story 167), who have on “bad things,” 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, also called *gědăol* because it is “holy”. These areas usually lie near the village Bai and have many red *gerdéu* bushes, which the *galid* are fond of, and often there is also a little decorated house nearby (see Ngërupesăng, Vol. 2), where the women place the *bărăom*, after they have tasted some of it, together with some taro.

The favorite food of the other galid, next to captured souls (see Story 29), is usually roasted coconut *ulogógus* (see Story 137); the Godomăděl or *tubăg 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 (*túbăg*). *ráod* does not appear to mean Ngěráod, but rather the mangrove roots under which they are said to wander.

Finally, the “demigods or semi-humans” belong in this category. They are called *oléplăgalid* or *oléplăgăd*, 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. The expression “god person” *galiděgăd* is most commonly used for heroes, but also (see Story 172a) for mermaid people, otherwise known as *ilokugil* (Story 170) and *gadělul*, beings that are half human with a fish tail, probably of the moray eel *luléu* (see bai 22 VIb). There are also female galid, such as Gobagăd 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, Jegăd re ngél went into the sun himself, i.e. he became the sun god. However, Ugélkeklău 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. Ugélkeklău, of whom I reported previously in Vol. 2, 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 Túrăng 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 messengers of the deity in heaven are *a Ugél lě galid*, *a Guóděl* and *Medegēi pélau*; he came to all villages and was given different names; Ugéliángěd is thus to be interpreted as “the god” of Palau, like the Polynesians’ Tangaloa. (See Incarnation in Fish) Goddesses appear even in the early myths of the natives. The universe is divided, as Wall. correctly reports, into three levels: “above” *bal l uădēs*, “below” where the people live *eóluădēs*, and the underworld *datk*.

Gods and Heaven.

Heaven *a iángěd* 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: Tpéreakl (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 Ugéldátk* “first in the underworld”

Some say the brother’s name was Ugér’rěrák, 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 underworld. 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. 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 Ugélpebăěl*, named after the *pebăěl* 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 Ngarapelău on Ngeăur (see Story 170),
- Ngirauluóng of Ngarapelău,
- Kereóměl of Pkulapelú on Peliliou,
- a Guóděl* of Ngardolólík on Peliliou,
- Ugél kobasăděl of Ngarekobasăng
- and Ugél kldéu of Goréör (Story 14).

Also known are the bush spirit Gobagăd (Story 17, 58 and 202) see Ngěráod, the *galid ra ked* (“heath gods”) *a Tpalapălag*, Keruău l búkl and Kerengókl (see Story 17), Gaderés, Tagăd uěău.

The spirits of the sea are: Sagál a gēi, Kereóměl, Lăladang and Săulang and Geiugidatk, who works in the deep waterway *geúgěl*, as a partner to Ugéldatk (see also Ngiratei, Story 30, etc.). The spirits of the earth are: Remesegău, 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, 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 galid, however, one stands out, the one who in Story 3 is named as another form of the underworld god Ugéldatk, Ngiraidemaî of Ngaramásǵ on Ngeaur. Even the name Ngiraidemaî hints that this is not his original name, because the house of *a* Idemaî stands in Ngabiúl, in the North of Babldáob. From Story 197, it is clear that this is just one of the many names of Medegeîpélau, the “punisher of Pélau.” He is believed to be a son of a Ugél’lê galid, who, like his father, was honored in numerous places, and Medegeî had his main place of worship in *a* Iraî 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.

The bai *a* Urékêd (see map, Fig. 219) originally stood at the landing of Ngërutegeî. The priest of Medegeî dreamt that a stone image of his god lay buried in the village. 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. 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 Medegeî, which he then tells the rubak gathered in the bai.

The offerings for the galid, usually red *kesik* leaves and taro roasted by the women, are placed on an *ouāg* plate (Fig. 123) and are laid in the area made of mats high up on the wall, the *kléangēl*. Those making offerings usually stay for two days in the bai and only sleep in their blai at night. During celebrations, the galid’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. In *a* Iraî, there once was a place of worship, as previously mentioned in Vol. 2. The unusual wooden figures are also mentioned in that volume, particularly that of Goltegeî and Maráel kéd (see Story 197), who was able to see both *a* Iraî and Ngátpang at the same time with his two faces; the kingfisher with the two faces on his back originates there as well. These were brought, together with the sharks from Ngareklím cave for celebrations at the Bairairai, and returned there afterwards.

The kingfisher *tangadik*, which also adorns the war canoe, is believed to be the favorite of the wife of Medegeî, Túrang. Both are represented by images at celebrations (see above, fig. 208). The kingfisher with a red cap, the *galîēmásǵ* species, 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 house (see Fig. 194) (see also Túrang re Ngeráod). How Medegeî 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* Iraî, but also in other villages, especially Ngarsúl, Ngardmau, Goleî, and Ngabiúl, where in addition to the priest there was a priestess *mlageî* (also *mlágél* from *omágél* “to bear” who carried out duties, as well as in Ngarevikl, Galáp, *a* Gol.

The gods themselves were only rarely represented by wooden figures, that is, as idols. KUB., Vol. VIII, 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

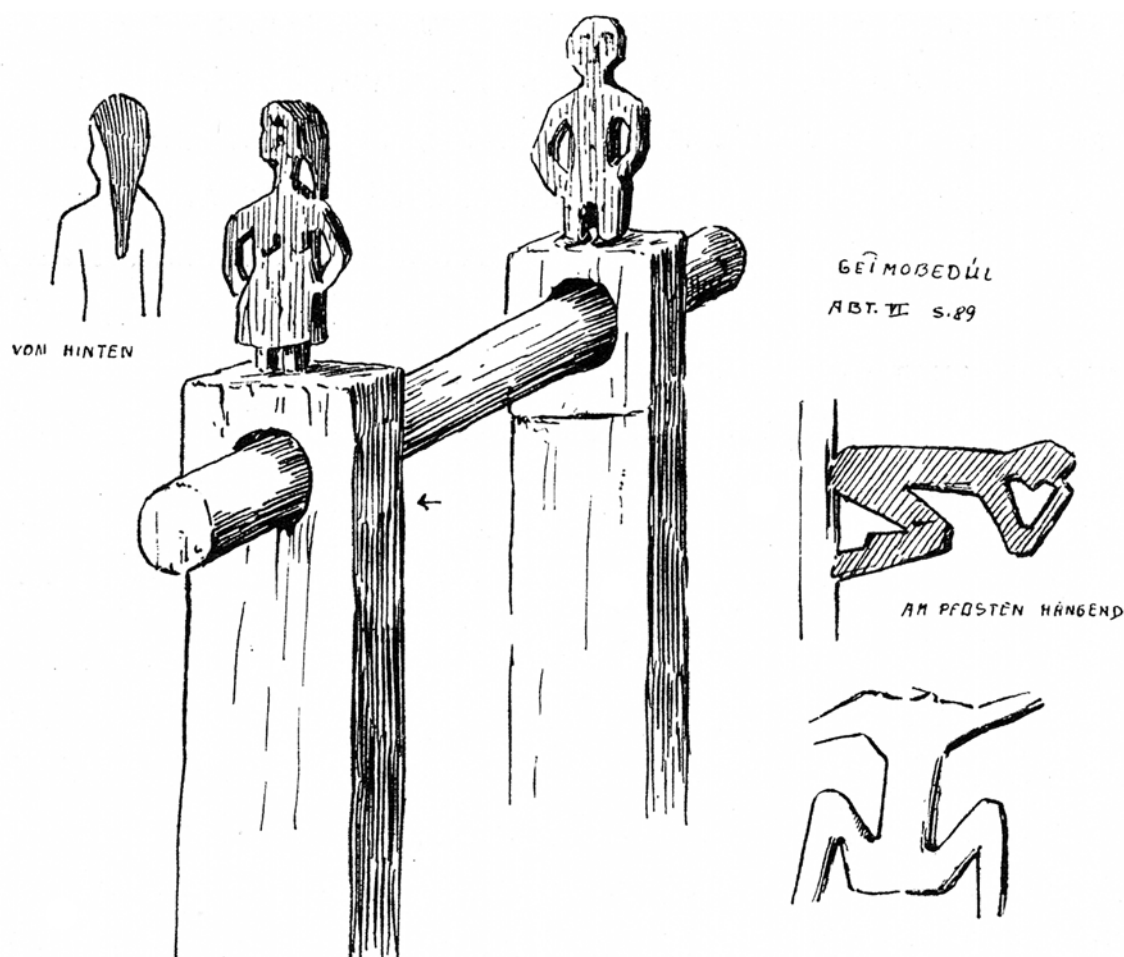


Fig. 220. Carvings of the Spirit yoke C.

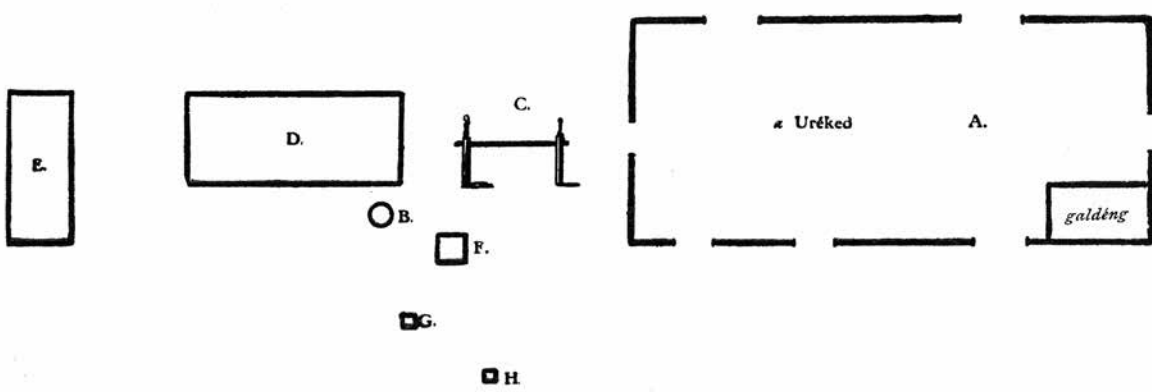


Fig.219. Map of the spirit site in Ngatpang.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| A. Spirit house <i>a</i> <i>Ureked</i> with room <i>galdeng</i> | C. Fig.220 display | F.Shrine |
| B. Fig.118 Stone carving | D. Priest house <i>sop</i> | G. Shrine <i>tet</i> |
| | E. Priest house <i>sop</i> | H. Sun shrine <i>gaios</i> |

kirs, in 1907; he is in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart. But there were also stone images of the gods, as shown by the previously mentioned Temdókl, as well as Delangerik *a* Iluóngēl, the famous Gamasiógēl, 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 *omlútēk*, the sailing race, which was discussed above. The one who brought the *ngas* branch from Nggeiangēl would be king, which is why the Palauans also call the competitors *arúgel mesibēg ra ngas*—the first to break the *ngas* branch. There were 7 galid in all:

1. *a* Ugél kldéu
2. *a* Ugél kobasádēl
3. *a* Ugerʹrērāk
4. *a* Ugélsúng, often thought to be the same as Nr. 7.
5. *a* Itúngēlbai
6. *a* Ugélʹlēgalid
7. Medegei pélau.

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 hollow 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 Ugélkeklāu came from the East has already been described; the reference that mentions Itúngēlbai states that he came with Medegei pélau from the West. 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 Medegei pélau: Bói and Gorekím. Bói is said to have come from the Eastern islands, like *a* Ugélkeklāu. Story 11 begins: “Boi is the god of rainstorms, which fish and birds follow.” 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 Medegei pélau 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, 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 Gorékím 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. 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); his mother is Gobil ē geisau, his brother is Melimrásāg (pgs. 35 and 300), his sister is Gobildep (see blai Construction). According to Kub., Vol. V, pg. 50, he is supposedly the god of Ngarulang (Ngēruliáng, Vol. 2). But I did not hear about this, because the inhabitants of that village told me that Medegei pélau 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 (*melúbēt*) whom he has possessed out of dissatisfaction during an extended period of peace.

Right:
2 hanging spirit dishes.
Below:
3 wood carvings from the Ngareklím hole.
Bottom, right:
Gamasiogel stone carved face
Bottom left:
Wood carved figure Hamburg Museum



“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* 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 galid 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 and Vol. 2. Diraikebúi lives here under the *gongáïēr* 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 Keklau, see Stories 19, 61, 66, 73.
3. Ngadég ϕ 45’, see Vol. 2. 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.

The priests are called *melúgōl a galid* “carrier of the Galid,” also *kerdelél a galid* “protector of the galid,” but usually they are just called *galid* 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’láng, Ngarekeai, Goréör, Ngarmíd, Ngarekobasáng, 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 *mlageî* or *mlagél*, who have already been mentioned in the discussion on Ngardmau and Ngarsúl. 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* Guóděl. The powerful galid are called *klou l galid* or *bedógěl galid*. Often, they have two heads like the sun, which the spirits roll across the sky (see story 6), and Túrang. The monsters Maluad lě *gūr* (Story 164) and the Těbló l pteúl (bai 25 VIII) are also depicted as having two heads.

The most important mythical stones are mentioned or pictured in Vol. 2: Galeós, Mangal’láng, Ngabiúl, Gólei, Galáp, Ngardmau, Melekéiok, *a* Imeúngs, Ngaremeskáng, Ngátpang, *a* Iraî, Goréör, Ngarebóděl, Ngarmid, Ngardolólók, see also the Gorágěl 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 *bersóiōg* 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*, or *blebáol* gifts to the *galid* usually consist of betel offerings, especially in the case of the *tet*, offerings of food (such as the fish), money (but only counterfeit), as described for canoe construction, and for example in Story 60, where, in addition to *kesól*, the fruits of the *bel’lói* bush must also be provided. Red *kesík* leaves (probably red Croton *kesúk*) are placed in the *kléangěl* shrines. The offering of a fish that has been wounded by another (Story 200) is called *ksaděl. tiakl* (poss.: *tiklél*) means offering to the gods of the sea, *blsebúd* to the gods of the land (Kub., VIII, pg. 295).

Magic and spells *gólei* (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 “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, *búōg* 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 (*kasúlōg*), 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 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).

Finally, there is a magic “trick” *údăg*, used to hurt others. The possessive, *udĕgúl*, appears in the secret incantations of the galid, for example in Story 137, *udĕgúl ma gĕuíd*, the latter referring to the holy number seven. Recall the 7 galid groups, the 7 *bersóiĕg* snakes in Story 128, the 7 construction spirits, and offerings consisting of 7 taro slices, the 7 rubak of Goréor, the 7 cities of Ngaregolóng, the 7 waves in Story 20 that destroyed Ngáruangĕl, the 7 blows in story 73. Also, the conch shell is blown 7 times in war, food is sent to the *blolóból* 7 times, 7 *plkul* are made for celebrations and there are 7 courses.

Soothsaying *mangalil* was previously mentioned above. Golungĭs 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*, *dengéchĕl* 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 = *gongalil mla r mesúbĕd a toágĕl* “recitation of the news provided by the channel.”
3. *oméu a lius* “breaking of the coconut” (see above).
4. malangas a lap and a sngal = *melángĕs* “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. *mangalil a mangidáp* “prophesy of the spider,” from observing it (see story 39)
6. Meréo a galéol = *melúk a galĕvĕl* “measuring of the spear.”
7. Mangált a gréel = *mengáet a ker’rĕl* “winding the string” around the hand.
8. Manglil a búuk = *mangălil a buĕg* “prophesy of the Areca nut,” after it has been split.
9. Manglíl a gúttum. 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 *gúiüt* taboo sign.
16. Manglil a tanatík = *tangadík* kingfisher.
17. Manglil a Kossuk from the cry of the owl (*gĕsúg*) (see story 23).
18. Manglil a borsóyok = *bersóiĕg* 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. Mangling 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’reĕgár* “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. or information about other superstitions, see Story 65.

Apparently, the phases of the moon were also used for making prophesies, as Mc Cluer supposedly relates. 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. That is how one discovers who the wrongdoer is; the consequences are described in the case above.

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

In living beings, one is aware of breath, the wind from the nose, so life is described as *tĭl* (poss.: *telíl*). Also residing in the living body is the soul *reng* (poss.: *rĕngúl*, usually sounds like *rŭngúl*), the seat of the spirit and the mind. “Behavior” is called *tĕkói*, 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* (*rŭngúl*) 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 *kĕsol* 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. 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 yolk, 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 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 “adal-bengél”... 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 picture 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 spirits, 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 bird *idedelép* (bai 65).

From Babldaob, the soul makes its way over Malágal, where it bathes in the spring. 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, and then swims to *a* Ngeaur. Once there, it flies to the wide, gently sloping sand beach in the Southwest, Ngëdelóg, also called Ngadólog, 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 *bersóiög* 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.

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 *gotúngěl* 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. Apparently, the spirits remain a long time on the beach of Ngëdelóg, where they dance and hold their celebrations. 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 a Bēlau</i>	hello! split is Palau
<i>mě go kekri! a mamārāmáng</i>	and his thick part has already come
<i>a lilitél a di ng kiei, uí!</i>	his thin part however remains, uí!

This means, 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. 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 Gomókět in Story 215; and especially the awakening of Milad 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, *blsīk*, sweets; it is called *goseregél 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*) and he finally calls out (*olgyérd 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* tree and fetch some water, which is placed on the fire and awaits the passing. Once this has occurred (*makapdá*), 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, 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 turmeric, and a man is given a fresh loincloth, the woman a skirt, which, according to her rank, is either the normal Bunan, or the Riryámmel, or even the Ulálek.”

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) 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 *gaměldīl* (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).

The dead body is laid on a bier *gomăsāuégěl* (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. 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, 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.

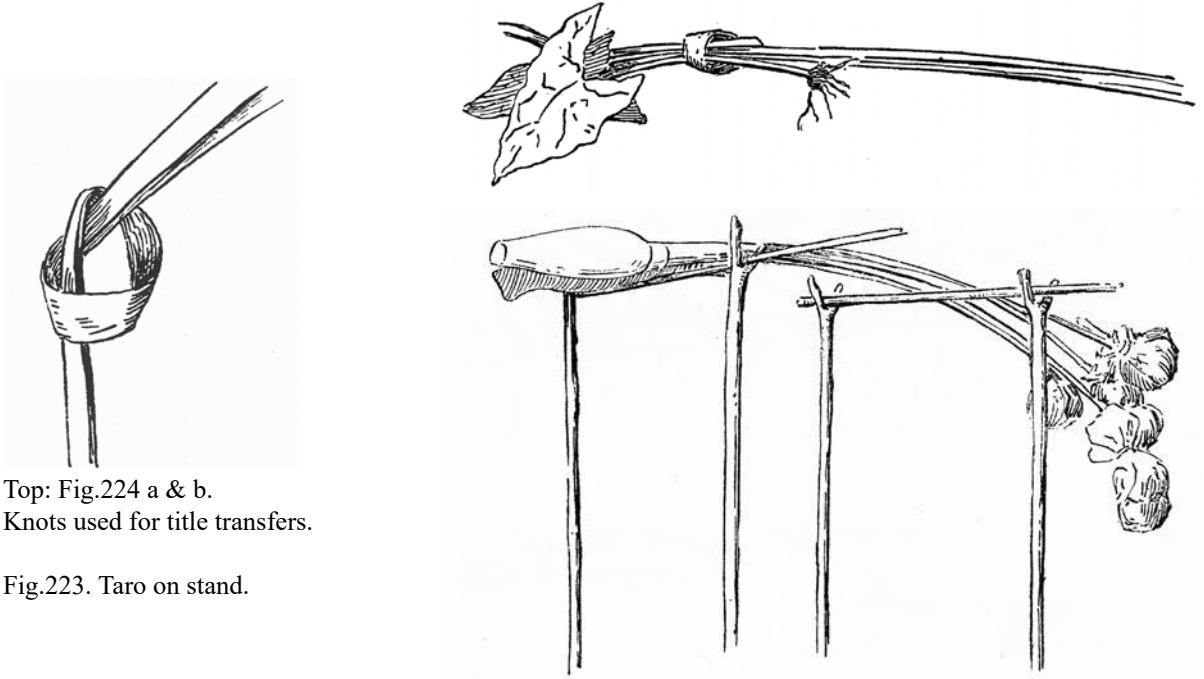
The women sing the songs of lament in the house, mainly during the night, with each of them taking up her own lament.

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 plants are called in Goréör, which are usually called *dáit*. 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. 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), a split *titíměl* 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 *mārasm ra blsókl* “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. Each mat is later paid for with a *galábad* banquet.



Top: Fig.224 a & b.
Knots used for title transfers.

Fig.223. Taro on stand.



Fig.221.Body on display in a blai.

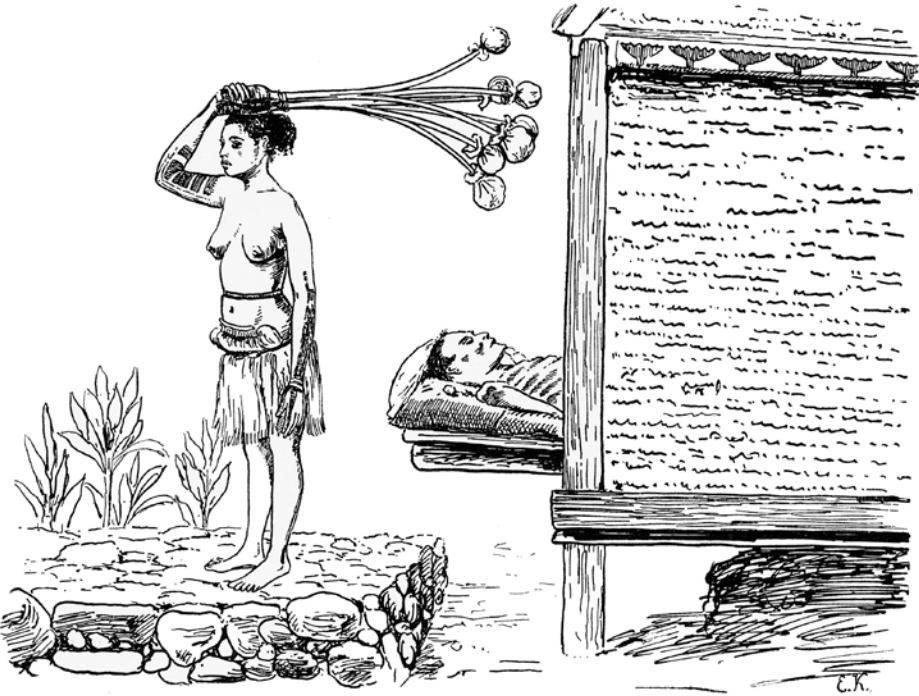


Fig 222. Taro ordination for the body.

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 *meāi*.

In general, burial gifts are not placed in the bundle or grave. Kub., Vol. V, pg. 8, however, speaks of *diál'l* (ship) money for women, because they are supposed to reach the other side in a vehicle, or because they will otherwise fall into the *kim*. 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).

After the ceremony, a woman speaks:

a l medēi Ngira...

ra ungi a tagelél a sils

ē ngomikl a kersél l morbáb

Just as Ngira... died

just at noon,

his kirs 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 *gólengěl*). 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 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). With this bundle in hand, he walks around the dead person and says:

ak ultúruk rekāu e Ugéliáng

kau ma ra bldekél l tial blai

ē ak mēlái ra diál a Gádlbai

rē gēlagál sils.

Gádlbang, kau di a l medēi

meng di mesúběd a rěngúm

l ke di mlě delebáb, rúbak,

l 'ka mul e mur ra rubak,

ma 'ka m ngilu a tal songd

ē mogá tuobókl ma ke maráel

ē di ungil a rěngúm

ma ko ngatangatí a moimák lagád

e ngatangaták!

I plead with you, Ugéliángěd,

you and the spirit of this house,

I take the title of Gádlbai

on this day.

Gádlbai, you are just dead,

and you know it in your heart,

you were just indifferent, Rubak,

you made not feasts for the chiefs

and you made also not a branch;

you went down, and you wander

with contented heart

and you bless him, the high man,

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. In the meantime, the grave (*debúl*, poss.: *debelél*) has been dug, in the *gólbed* pavement in front of the house, 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 *golúbōd* 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.

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). 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. But the customs vary, depending on the village and family. Usually, the title is transferred and the corpse is sewn up

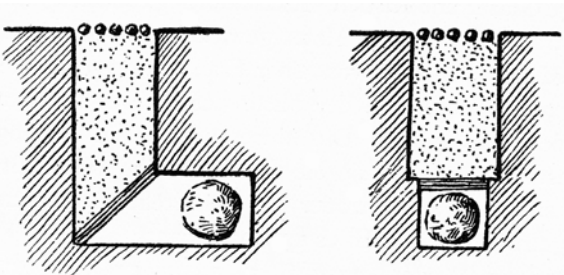


Fig.225. Cut-through view of a layer grave with wrapped body bundle.

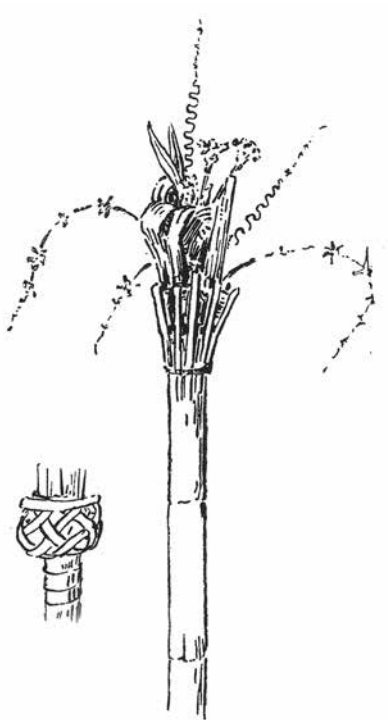


Fig.226. Oracle flowers and bouquet.



Fig. 227. Burial hut, Goréör.

in the house already. Now the burial *mēlākl* (Kub. *melwosu*, which means “to duck” according to Wall.) begins. The corpse’s head is placed facing East, just as the main gable of the *bai* is supposed to face East. The *déliakl* bundle remains on the lowest of the 6 *gongasagākl* stakes until the grave is covered with stones (about 9 days later). It is placed on the 2nd, *gongasākl* counted from the bottom, when the *dépēs* celebration, the end of his nourishment, is held about 10 days later; the meal consists of pork and taro. It is stuck on the third stake by the *uldekiāl a dui*, on the fourth by the *udóimtú*, on the fifth by the *but l blai*; 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. On the fourth evening, after the burial, the family usually consults the oracle of the flowers “*oltúruk ra sis*” (Kub.: *marad 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 hand. 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:

<i>ngar'rag lă galid aurakt rekau monggoblóng;</i>	Any Galid you sick, you he killed;
<i>górengí, gorengí, a ngói kau.</i>	that is it, that is it, it took you.

When the bouquet quivers, everyone calls out. 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 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 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 *meai*, 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).

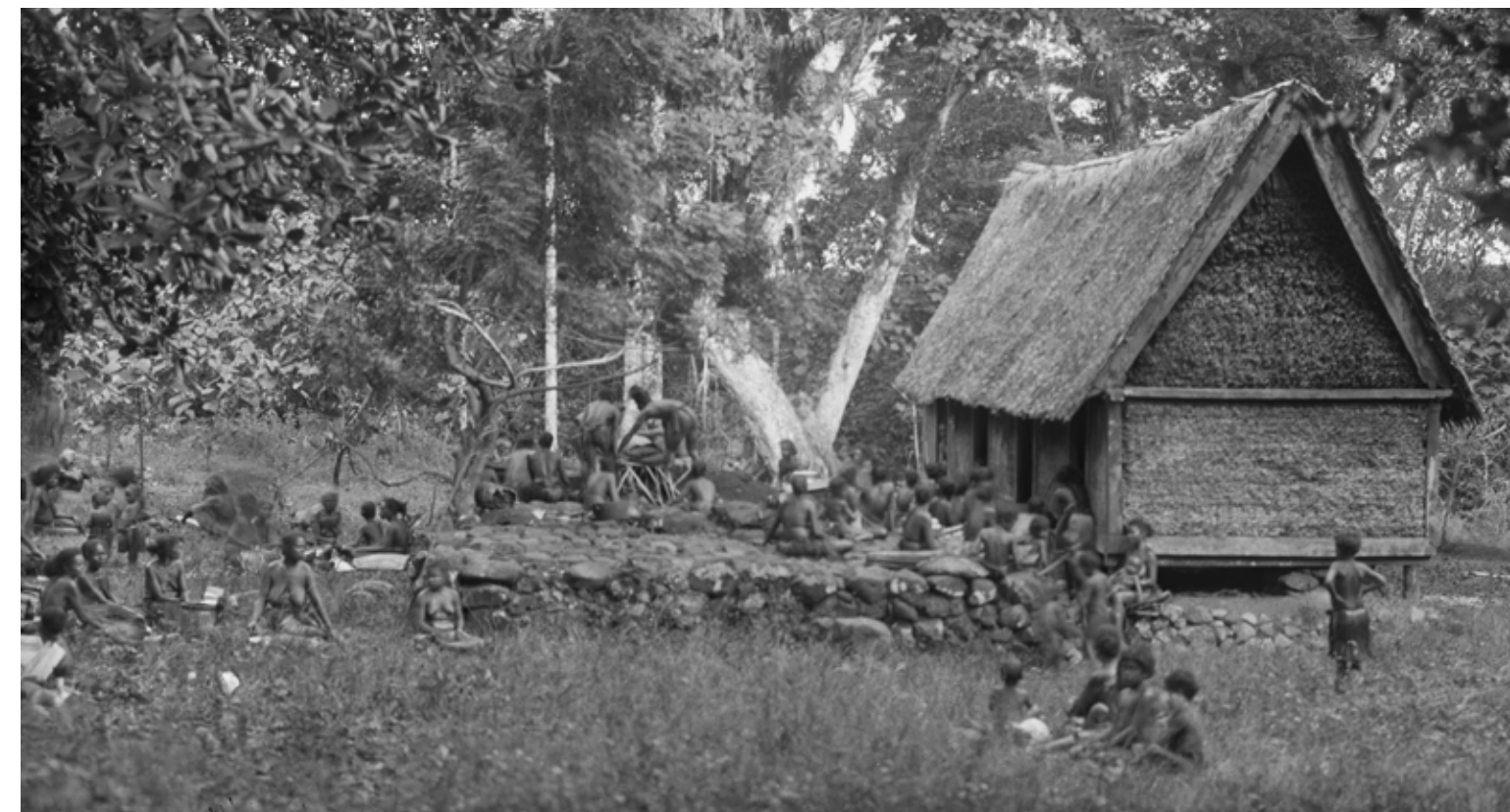
At first, the burial mound consists only of dirt. Kub., Vol. II, pg. 9, says that it is adorned with a mat with *gerdéu* blossoms and *kesúk* leaves; but this is probably just a local custom. On the other hand, it is generally the case that the two taro plants are planted at the head and the foot of 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, and they pour some of the beverages on the ground. Later, the women occasionally bring the dead one some betel (*bai* 59 II b). After about 9 days, 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



Taro corms piled up on stands for a feast. Glass plate scan, Hamburg Museum.



Burial taking place in Ngarbaged, Goreor. Below: Carrying the body bundle from the blai to the grave site.



Above: Lowering the body bundle into the grave
Glass plate scans, Hamburg Museum.

Below: Family by the new grave.



Vol. 2. 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. 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 *gongelĕmádĕg*. 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-Bannoi-Hawaiki, a wide region of former research!

Appendix

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 *keblĭl* into two sides, a front side and a back side, *ngelóng* and *rebái*, as can be seen in the blai and bai sections. This division can be traced back to the two *bítang* of Rubak Nr. I and Nr. II, whom all others generally follow. The rubak *keblĭl* demonstrate this division in detail, of which I shall list one group each from Goréör and Melekéiok. See also the “friend.”

Kleblĭl of Meketĭ Goréör.

ngelóng = side		rebái = side	
Kebĭlĭl			
1. Gongolákāl	a) a Ibĕdul I b) Mad XIII c) Dérabai XIV d) Goukerdéu XVIII	1. a Ikelāu	a) Ngiraikelāu II b) Remeráng XVII c) a Ugél XV d) Mudelong XVI
2. Ngarióulilid	a) Regugĕr Ngirióulilid III b) Ngiragĕtĕt VIN c) Ngiramerĭl IX	2. Bab I Dmiu	a) Regúgĕr Ngiratĕgĕkí IV b) Regekemúr XI
3. Eóul Dmiu	a) Klotráol V b) Keúkl XII c) Gad l bai XIX	3. Gógop (♀ VII)	a) Rubasăg VII b) Rekesiváng VIII c) Kldngŭl X

Melekéiok.

Likewise for every rubak bai 1 *keblĭl*, of which only the four primary ones appear, divided into two, with the ranking of the rubak.

Ngelóng	Rebái
1. Gogád arúgĕl (<i>keblĭl</i> Nr. I)	Gúmerang (<i>kebl.</i> Nr. II a Gum)
a Rakĭāi I	Rĕgĕbong II
Sagaruleong V	Golikong VIII
Rengŭl XII	Tmekeĭ XI
Ngiratekāu IX	Ngira gongor XIII
Med re nggar XXII	Mad ra lmi XVII
Tkul a gudāl	Ruikang
Ngiruosg XVI	

2. Ngerĕkungil (<i>keblĭl</i> Nr. VII)	2. Ngatbúiĕl (<i>keblĭl</i> Nr. III)
Ngirĕ kungil V	Ruluked III
Kemadaol XX	Ngiramang X
a Imetukĕr XV	Koi XIV
Regĕtáog VII	Ruadesúl XIX
	Madra gulsiang XVII

One example of a large family *keblĭl* is shown by the *kleblĭl* of a Ugélióu of blai Nr. IX Meril of Goréör. *a* Ugelióu is listed 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 *kleblĭl* 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> Ugelióu	Túrang	Octopus <i>gorovidĕl</i> fish (Fig. 210) <i>derúdĕm lúdĕl</i>
2. Ngareko- basáng (259)	Godiláng VI	Răgăbei VI Rengĭl Tpekriu Bedŭl Regĕkemúr	Dira Godíláng <i>a</i> Ibŭg X r’regĕkemúr	Turang Risois	Octopus <i>bang</i> <i>karamlál</i>
3. Ngatkíp (199)	Ngaraman- grang X	Gadlbai X Kekerél-Gadlbai	Dil a Gadlbai Kekeréldil a Gadlbai	Turang	Octopus <i>bang</i> <i>kludĕl</i> and <i>ketau</i>
4. Ngurusár (196)	Ngĕrulkong V (Goivél)	Risong	Gĕbilrisong	Turang	same
5. Nggasagáng (193)	Gasél I	Spis I Buikaspis V Malangaibúgĕl	Guódel’lagád I V IX	♂ Dagelbai ♀ Gamáng	<i>gamáng</i> (= crab)
6. Ngĕrupesáng (111)	Gĕbŭl VI (<i>bab</i>) Bersóiőg VIII (<i>eóu</i>)	Ngiripkál V Ngira bersóiőg VIII Ngiragóng klúngĕl XVIII	Diripkal VIII Dirak Gĕbŭl	Gorekim Góbilgĕsau	moray eel <i>derúdĕm</i> <i>kludĕl</i>
7. Ngĕru- liáng (114)	Gorúkei I	Ngirakúmer I Ngiramĕgāu V a Ingebáng IX	Golsivékl I Diramĕgāu V Diraingebáng	Medegeĭpélau	<i>gai</i> (barracuda)
8. Ngaragĕlŭk (123)	Ngereke- turáng IX(X)	Isokeli X Koibád	Keturang X Ngeringidal	Gorekim	moray eel <i>gaséngĕl</i> <i>mese kūk</i>
9. Keklāu (68) in Ngotel	Merap III	Gadlbai ra Merap III Túlei V Ranggai IX	Sumog Dil V Ilungel a Sumog	Damlgalíd	<i>rekúng</i> (land crab)

in <i>a</i> Irágel	Ksid III	Galid ěgěsong III <i>a</i> Rdui VI	Ugelióu III <i>a</i> Ngaprengel	Duoi ♀	<i>goroviděl</i> <i>gadui</i> <i>klúděl</i>
10. Galáp (60)	Ngaruaug VIII	Ruaug VIII	--	a Iliuai ♀ Remeng ♀ (227)	<i>gadui</i> <i>kelát</i> <i>gasall</i> <i>derúděm</i>
11. <i>a</i> Iebúkul (31)	<i>a</i> Ibóng IV (<i>uriúl</i>) Ngarebogóng II (<i>úgei</i>)	Gěsang IV <i>a</i> Iegád ra Tpěgui VIII Geoél II Iegad IV Kemedangěl X	Gěbilěsáng Gěbilgěoél II VI X	<i>a</i> Ugél ra (Story 204) Gulsiáng it.	<i>kengól</i> , <i>ksau</i> and moray eel it.
12. Ngabiül (23)	Idebóng III ¹¹³⁵	Regeirěi III R. ra Galkáng VII	Rúgel legíu III Goltopodagúr VII	Gebelksid	<i>ksid</i> (tree)
13. Ngara- metukěr (21)	Dmagel II (úgei) Ngeáol IV (uriül)	Gěúpeděi II Gad l pelú VI Mad raidúp Regatáoăg	II VI IV VIII	<i>a</i> Ugěrrekeěam it.	<i>goroviděl</i> <i>klúděl</i> it.
14. Ngardims (44)	Milong II	a Spis II Gadlbai III Buikspis VI	G. ra Milong II III ---	Mororou ♀	<i>karamlál</i> <i>bang</i>
15. Ngarekeai (106)	Sěgesúg III	Ruregeruděl III Ngiracagerěi IX Mad XII Métilap XVIII	III Ulonggongg	Gorekím	moray eel <i>klúděl</i> <i>derúděm</i>
16. Ngarbagéd (249)	Ngeripkál VI (<i>bab</i>) Golsugol VIII(<i>eóu</i>)	Ngiripkal VI Ngiragolsugol VIII Ngiragaldaís	VI VIII Dir...	Gorekím Gogilgěsau	moray eel and <i>derúděm</i>
17. Ngar- dolólok (268)	Ngarakelau II	<i>a</i> Iderěg Mogugěu VI Klamatalúlik X 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 Ugeliou VI X XI	Túrang	moray eel <i>kluděl</i> <i>bang</i> <i>karamlál</i>
19. Ngarapelau (285)	Ngartungěl III	Gobak III Talobak IX Mad.	Gebil III IX Mad.	Remédlgalid ♂ Mlagél ♀	<i>derúděm</i> <i>karamlál</i> <i>madálagarm</i>

Palauan word Index Krämer	Modern orthography
a kid ma deměi e degór a nglóik a bad l uětag, ě mangíděr a bad l uětăg a bad, l mo melongákl re pěbúl a bad, l mo mesmogókl a dágâlbai al mu=tl kmung: a dágâlbai l kmu: a děi ngódóg a delépěs, ma ng súkur a dágalbai a di obengkěl a díak louspég ra dágâlbai a dmu re ngí l kmo: m skúr a dmul kmo: a búiěl e gěrúng a dmul kmo: ngak a dmul kmu a gabíngěl a gadrokúi l doibkúr a bai a gálděbegěl a meketí a gamalír, ma iěta rě gospáděl a gasběgebék ě a medúg a gasbógôb ma l=s ma gad a gěrál a buádel l direkl kluk a gerál a umád re ngi a geteptél a gad ra bitang a guóku? a Ibědul a kmu a Iegád Tutáol a ikrél a bar a iláot a ilěngěl a imu=l, l mo merék a ĩs a Júsěg mad ke doiderékl ra kutelíng a Júsěg mad ma Súběd reng a kakerekér l kmung a kakérěkér ra kmu a kal a merekóng a kal, ě tě mo subedí a ked ě reméngěs ě kmung a klálo l mo ra báb a kloklíř ě melásăg a klsúk l mo tagěrmaklděi a kseksi a kuk melekói l mo ra a logul a logúp ng dmul kmo: ng úngil! a madál a kluk a madál a kluk, ma kora lopóket a melég a gomúgól l mângasóls a melég; ma bítal táog ě ra Delúi a melekói ra argadál l kmung a melúgěs, ě di mângasóls a magěréł mo medegěrégěr a mangesperépěr a mela=klděi ra bád a melásăg, mě ked ě dmăsăg a mesăng ě kmong: merekóng!	a kid me a demei e dechor a ngloik a bad el uetech, e mengider a bad el uetech a bad, el mo melongakl er a bebul a bad, el mo mesmechokl a dachelbai a lmuut el kmo: a dachelbai el kmo: edeingodech a delebes, me ng sukur a dachelbai a di obengkel a diak lousbech er a dachelbai e dmu er ngii el kmo: mskur a dmu el kmo: a buil a erung a dmu el kmo: ngak e dmu el kmo chebingel a chad el rokui el doibkur a bai a cheldebechel a meketii a chemelir, me a ieta er a osbadel a chesbechebek e a meduch chesbocheb me a iis me a chad a cheral a buadel el dirrek el kluk a cheral a umad er ngii a chetebtel a chad er a bita a kuoku? a Ibedul a kmo Iechad Tutaol a ikrel a bar ilaot ilengel a imuul el mo merek iis Iusechemad ke doiderekl er a kuteling Iusechemad me a Subedreng kakerker el kmo e kakerker er a kmo a kall a merekong a kall, e te mo subedii e kede remenges e kmo a klalo el mo er a bab akloklir e melasech a klsuk el mo tacher me a kldei kseksii a kuk melekoi el mo er a a lechul a lechub ng dmu el kmo: ng ungil! a medal a kluk a medal a kluk, me a ko er a loboket a melech e omuchel el mengesols a melech; me a bita el taoch er a Delui a melekoi er a rechedal el kmu a meluches, e di mengesols e mecherei el mo medecherecher e mengesbereber a melai a kldei er a bad a melasech, me kede a dmasech a mesang e kmo: ng merekong!

a mesél lebë l më kidep	me se el lebe el mekideb
a mesúbêd ra dágâlbai	a mesubed er a dachelbai
a ngalsegêiu ar béklagád	a ngelsechiu a rebek el chad
a ngelsegél l klsúk	a ngelsechel el klsuk
a ngêlsëgir	a ngelsechir
a ptêlúl më gdngëru lagád	a bdelul me a ongeru el chad
a rê ngódôg	erengodech
a rúbak a mo ra Regeiúngêl	a rubak a mo er a Recheungel
a rungúl ma uliókl a diúl di ngisál	a rengul ma uliokel a dul di ngisall
a tepangél a búîêl, ë ked	a tebengel a buil, e kede
a udóud a mo ra gongëím	a udoud a mo er a ongeim
a ugul mang ngulabals	a uchul me ng ulebals
a ugútűm	uchutem
a uláol ra klukúk	a ulaol er a klukuk
a umád re ngí dirékl kluk	a umad er ngii el dirrek el kluk
a ungámk, ë murs	a ungamk, e murs
a Urung	Urung
adolóbok	delobech
aeliúkês	deliukes
aidelisb	a ideliseb
ailéngêl	ilengel
ak mangi=s a telngót, ak melíld ma mengersús	ak mengiis a telngot, ak melild e mengersous
ak melédês	ak melides
ak melegés^eg , ë gubêlí a lmél	ak melechesech e chubelii a lmel
ak merurengi l kekkl	ak meruul er ngii el klokkl
Andouth	udoud
Apelsiyek	belsiich
ar béklagád, e lo= mêngêdegór	a rebek el chad, el omekedechor
ar béklagád, e mêtarákl	a rebek el chad, e meterakl
ar umangéd	ruumenged
Arakalulk	Rechelulk
arbebîl	a rebebil
argád ra telía ma teliang,	a rechad er a telia me a teliang,
arua	a rua
a rubak a melekói l kmu:	a rubak a melekoi el kmo:
Aulogéro	ulechero
Aye katheltoákl	a Iechadeltoakl
Ayekáth a Madarart	a Iechadamaderart
Ayekath a Ryūk	a Iechadraruuk
Ayekáth hotáor	a Iechadraotaor
Ayekath susugîl	a Iechadrasusuchil
babi	babii
Babldáob	Babeldaob
Bablpelú	Babelbeluu
bad l uétâg	bad el uetech
badáog	bedaoch
badául	bedaol
bagagás	bechachas
bagéî	bechei
bageîei	bachiei
bágêl	bachel
bai kldók	kldok el bai
bai l delu=s	bai el deluus
bai l dort	bai el dort
bai l pelú	bai el beluu
Bai ra lêî	Bai er a Lei
bai têtíp	tetib el bai
băkăî	bekai
bal a gád	bal chad
bal a galid	bal chelid

bal'l delu=s	bal deluus
balág	balech
balagél	belechel
bangkek	obengkek
bâráom	beraom
bâsáol	bedaol
basás	besas
basói kěam	besoi keam
běap ruósêd	beabruosech
bědêsákl	bedesakl
běgîl	bechil
bekerséu	bekersiu
beklagad	bek el chad
belógêl	belochel
bem rêbórob, a klebëkól	be mreborn, e klebekoll
besagámêl	besechamel
besepesél	besebesel
besepesél a Ngorót	besebesel a Ngerot
beúmkm	biumkm
bibak madál	bibakmedal
bítal táog ma bítal táog	bita el taoch me a bita el taoch
bítang ma bítang a tagêr makldêi	bita me a bitang a tacher me a kldei
Bi-ul (biúl)	biul
bládêk	bladek
blágákl a gabíngêl	blechakl el chebingel
blágákl	blechakl
blagalákl	blechelakl
blagídêl	blechidel
blásâg	blasech
blásâg (Kub.: Blásak)	blasech
blsakl	beldakl
blsáps	belsabs
blsebúd	beldebud
blsi=k	belsiich
blsisk	belsisk
blsóil	belsoil
blu	bluu
blugúr	blengur
blúlôg	blulech
blútal teléu	bluta el teleu
bóbai	bobai
bódêsagár	bodeschar
bóes	boes
bóes ra ulékbút	boes er a ulekbut
bol â ma ngai góngiáu l mei!	bo lemengai a ongiau el mei!
bol turuk	bo el turek
Bollóy (bêlói)	Belloi
bombádel	bombatel
bombátêl	bombatel
bong, ng me soísêp	bong, ng me soiseb
boruriul	bo ruriul
br`rak	brak
br`rak	berrak
br`rak a ngél a be`ap (brekängél a be`ap).	brekengel a beab
Bras	beras
brór	beror
brúgêl	bruchel
Bras	beras
brór	beror
brúgêl	bruchel

bsepsél	bsebsel
bsips	bsibs
bsips a tumedíp	bsibs a tumedib
búik singg	buik singch
bukitáng	bukitang
buldil	buuldiil
búlog	bulech
búng (poss. bkngál)	bung/bngal
bungaruau.	bungaruau
búög (poss. bugél)	buuch/buchel
Butangteléu	bluta el teleu
butlut	buteluut
dabár	debar
dágâlbai	dachelbai
dágâlbai a dmung	dachelbai a dmung
dágâlbai ě soláe ě dmul kmo	dachelbai e solae e dmu el kmo
dágâlbai l kmu: loráel a úês	dachelbai el kmo: lorael a ues
dágâlbai: kam katekói l kmung	dachelbai: ka mkatekoi el kmo
dágâlbai: ng tagá gomóket reĕ gometkól?	dachelbai: ng techa omoket rii ometkol?
dágíl a bëbelók	dechil a bebelok
dagíl a gólúg	dechil a cheluch
dángâb	dangeb
dangêbéł	dengebel
debe ġer a ngabárd	debechel er a ngebard
debêgêi	debechei
debêgêł	debechel
debí	debii
degóiêł	dechoel
degolél	dekolel
degór	dechor
degóul	dekool
dekédêk	dekedek
dêł	deel
del’lúl	delul
delagésâg	delechesach
delárók	delerrok
delásêg	delasech
delbódb	delebodeb
delbódb l kvál	delebodeb el kual
delbói	delboi
delebégêł	delebechel
delebesépês	delebesebes
delegór	delechor
delegúdô g	delechudech
delél	delel
delepdep	delebdeb
delepêsákl	delebesakl
deléute	deluut
Deliáes	deliaes
delmárap	delmerab
delóbok	delobech
delolákl	delolakl
deloleklél	deloleklel
delú siáog	deluusiaoch
delūs	deluus/delsem
déngês	denes
dep	deb
deríl	deril
deróiôg	deroech
dersë geimólkúkau	derse chimo el kukau

deruál	druall
dëságêł l bai më te më rebórob	desachel el bai me te me reborb
dgerul	delcherul
dhuy	dui
diangêł	dangel
díêł	diil
díkau	di kau
dildí	dildii
dilugài	dilukai
dimerek mo	dimerekmo(ng)
dingak	di ngak
dingi	di ngii
diósôg	diosech
diplogoel	di blechoel
Dira tęgëkí	Dirratechekii
Diragamaimelēi	Dirrachemaimelai
Diragētēt	Dirrecheteet
Diragolngabáng	Dirrecholngebang
Diragomrekóngêł	Dirrechomrekongel
Diraidíd	Dirraidid
Diraingéaol	Dirraingeaol
Diraitúngêłbai	Dirraitungelbai
Dirakeklau	Dirrekeklau
Dirangél	Dirrangel
Dirasmangêsóng	Dirrasmengesong
Diratamarikél	Dirratemarikel
Dirateliál mekêsóng	Dirratelialmekesong
direkl	dirrek el
dirékl klsuk gopóket	dirrek el klsuk oboket
dísêg	disech
ditâg	titech
diudí	tiudii
dméud	tmiud
Dngoróngêr	Dngeronger
dobôgĕ	dobechii
dodóbôg	delobech
dódop	dodeb
dogolél a ulkél	decholel a ulkel
dosâêd ra mur	dosaod er a mur
dúbog	dubech
dudúk	dudek
dung ra golakáng	dung er a olekang
dung ra irêtêg	dung er a iretech
dūs	duus
ĕ a blëgídêł a môrólang a l tútau	e a blechidel a merolang a ltutau
ĕ a dágâlbai a dmul kmo: merekóng!	e a dachelbai a dmu el kmo: merekong!
ĕ a dágâlbai a kmung	e a dachelbai a kmung
ĕ a dágâlbai ě rëbórob	e a dachelbai a reboreb
ĕ a gáldêbegêł gokér	e a cheldebechel a oker
ĕ a loderegí a Gaspángêł	e a loderchii a Espangel
ĕ a Ngarmeketí	e a Ngarmeketii
ĕ a ngolt a sils, ĕ kid a	e a ngolta sils , e kid a
ĕ a pelú a diak a merekerúkûm re ngi	e a beluu a diak a merekerukem er ngii
ĕ a ridm a morólang	e a rimd a merolang
ĕ a ridm amaráêł mei	e a ridm a mrael mei
ĕ a tára ragád l mlë medengeli	e a ta er a rechad el mle medengelii
ĕ boderéi!	e bo derei!
ĕ bom oltáut a ng ngláos, ĕ	e bo moltaut a ng nglaos, e
ĕ di merekól rebórob	e di mereko el reborb
ĕ diul mongmásâg	e diu el mo ngmasech

<p>ẽ diutí , morúsôg , meób re ngí ẽ dmu ra gad l dágálbai ẽ dmu ra gáldêbegêl l kmu ẽ dmu rengí l kmu:modiúr ẽ guiár ẽ gupelí a gáus, ẽ megërei ẽ jed ireoetm meng merekóng ẽ kau l Súbêd reng a medengeli a ngikêl ẽ ked a béklagád l kmu: iu= ẽ ked ẽ dóbëgí ẽ ked e me rebórob ẽ ked ẽ melikês, ẽ ked ẽ mo melkelíkês ẽ ked ẽ melióng lulemkókl ra tútau ẽ ked ẽ mêngúpêl ra gáus ẽ ked ẽ merekóng l mëm ẽ ked ẽ mo melásâg l melílt ẽ ked e mo melóbog ra ẽ ked ẽ ngu gëkil l ngeleklí ẽ ked ngmái gongolúieb ẽ ked orëgëd l te ẽ ked ótak gomúsôg, ẽ m gás ẽ keróus l melái a gerál ẽ kid a mêrú a sug e kmung: ked :e mekeráng? ẽ kmung: ngomelúgês! ẽ kuk mo ra gongëái, meng ẽ kuk mo ra gongëtíu dirékl klsuk ẽ kuk mo ra gongëtrúiûg dirékl ẽ kuk mo râ gongëuíd dirékl l klsuk ẽ kuk mo re gongëlólom ẽ l dmul kmo: m mekngít! ẽ l mesúbêd r tír l kmu ẽ l ng merédêr re ngabárd ẽ l ng merédêr, re ngós ẽ lë kerdí kldípl kung ẽ m guskemíu ẽ mangádo l mo merék ẽ mangadóu, ng merekóng ẽ mângasóls, më sël ólab ẽ mângasóls, u l mu=t ẽ mangídêr, loltak, meng merekóng! ẽ mângilt a réng ẽ osi=k ẽ maráêl l mei l më rí tial ẽ më kldipl ẽ katekói ẽ më mësómes ra blugúr re kid! ẽ mëgërei; ẽ kuk mo ẽ mei më debó dotekír a tângét ẽ mei mëdêngú a rús, merekóng ẽ meki=s l mo merékí ẽ melásâg, l mo merék ẽ melúgôl a kelél a dágálbai ẽ merekól ter`rop ẽ merekóng. ẽ ngi loldíu ẽ merekóng; ẽ më rebórob ẽ merusôg ẽ mo melá guóku ẽ mo melái gólik ẽ mo melái góngrangêr ẽ mo mele= ugútum ẽ mo ra gongaoáng</p>	<p>e tiudii e merusech e omeob er ngii e dmu er a chad el dachelbai e dmu er a cheldebechel el kmo e dmu er ngii el kmo: modiur e chuiar e chubelii a chaus e mecherei e ker di orebet me ng merekong e kau el Subedreng a medengeli a ngikel e kede bek el chad el kmo: iiu e kede dobechii e kede me reborb e kede melikes, e kede mo melekelikes e kede meliong el omkokl er a tutau e kede mengubel er a chaus e kede merekong el me e kede mo melasech el melilt e kede mo melobech er a e kede nguu chekil el engeleklíi e kede ngmai ongeluib e kede oreched e te songerenger a rengalek e kede otak omusech, e mchas e kerous el melai a cheral e kid a meruu a such e kmu: kede mekerang? e kmu: ng omeluches! e kuk mo er a ongeai, me ng e kuk mo er a ongetiu el dirrek el klsuk e kuk mo er a ongeteruich el dirrek el, e kuk mo er a ongeuid el dirrek el klsuk e kuk mo er a ongelolem el dmu el kmo: ng mekngit! el mesubed er tir el kmo e le ng merreder er a ngebard e le ng merreder, er a ongos e le ker di kldibel kung e mchuskemiu e mengado el mo merék e mengado, ng merekong e mengesols, me se el olab e mengesols, e lmuut e mengider el oltak me ng merekong! e mengilt a reng e osiik e merael el mei el me er tia el me kldibel e katekoi e mei medomes er a blengur er kid! e mecherei; e kuk mo e mei me debo dotekir a tanget e mei me denguu a rus, merekong e mekiis el mo merkii e melasech el mo merék e meluchel a kelel a dachelbai e mereko el terrob e merekong. e ngii el oldiu e merekong, e me reborb, merusech e mo melai a kuoku e mo melai a olik e mo melai a ongrangr e mo melechutem e mo er a ongeuang</p>	<p>ẽ móket gërúl mo ra ẽ mongúiêd re ngí ẽ ng m gás a dágálbai ẽ ng omongól l bai rê ngiáos e ng tobangáng726 ra dágálbai ẽ ngak a mǎdákt re kemíu ẽ ngi a dmung l kmu ẽ ngi a merekó gomangasbógob ẽ ngi l dágálbai a mo ráel ẽ ngmai gongólúieb ẽ o medíkl a rekáu, l mo merék ẽ ogeráol ra klukúk ẽ omdábd a geteptél ẽ omés re ngí ẽ omesi=g rtír ra usêkerír e omngi=s re ngi ra sils ẽ orepêt, men merekóng ẽ orépêt; ng tuáp ra dágálbai ẽ ougáis re kid, a gáldebegêl ẽ ougúêil pelú ẽ ra gomesák l kúkau ẽ rê gómêlmesúmôm̃g l logasóls ẽ re gongasâgél a melég e sel kebelúng, a di ngi ẽ sël ongëái, ng súbêd ẽ sel ptêrir a rúbak a ẽ soláe a meki=s l omérêk ẽ soláe ẽ di melásâg kung ẽ soláe ẽ dmul kmo ẽ soláe ẽ kakerêkér ra búieł ẽ soláe ẽ mo kairirèi ẽ soláe e mo melekétek ẽ soláe ẽ ngu a ngerél a galitu=k ẽ soláe ẽ okér ra dágálbai ẽ soláe ẽ temeki=s armelásâg ẽ soláe ked ẽ dmásâg, ẽ soláe matârékl l ugaregêi ẽ soláe meliágês l mo merék ẽ soláe ngmai l mo gamúdêl ẽ soláe ẽ dobêgêi a gáldêbegêl ẽ soláe ẽ dobêgêi a gáldêbegêl ẽ soláng ng mo ra gomagár ẽ soláng ng mora gomagár ẽ ta blugelél ẽ te më rebórob armelásâg ẽ te meki=s a béklagád ẽ te tuóbed, l mo medësí ẽ temogêmúr a ngelsêgír ẽ tirekë lomagár, a mla mo eáiês ẽámêł ẽdêł ẽlêgêmúr ku nglósog gab gabagáp gád gâdâgól gadál gadêi gadéng</p>	<p>e moket a cheru el mo er a e menguit er ngii e ng mchas a dachelbai e ng omengol el bai er a ngiaos e ng tobengang er a dachelbai e ngak a medakt er kemiu e ngii a dmu el kmo e ngii a mereko omengesbocheb e ngii el dachelbai a mo rael e ngmai ongeluib e omedikl a rekau, el mo merék e ocheraol er a klukuk e omdabd a chetebtel e omes er ngii e omesiich er tir er a usekerir e omngiis er ngii er a sils e orebet, me ng merekong e orebet; ng tuab er a dachelbai e ouchais er kid a cheldebechel e ouhueil el beluu er a omesak el kukau er a omelmesumech el chesols er a ongesechel a melech e se el kebelung, a di ngii e se el ongeai, ng subed e se el bderrir a rubak a e solae e mekiis el omerk e solae e di melasech kung e solae e dmu el kmo e solae e kakerker er a buil e solae e mo kairirei e solae e mo meleketek e solae e nguu a ngerel a chelituuk e solae e oker er a dachelbai e solae e te mekiis a remelasech e solae kede dmasech e solae meterakl el ngar er a chei e solae meliaches el mo merék e solae e ngmai el mo chemudel e solae e dobechii a cheldebechel e solae e dobechii a cheldebechel e solae ng mo er a omechar e sola ng mo er a omechar e ta bluchelel e te me reborb a remelasech e te mekiis a bek el chad e te tuobed el mo medesii e te mo chemur a ngelsechir e tirke el omechar, a mla mo eaes iaml iedel el chemur ku nglosech chab chebechab chad chedecholl chedal chedei chedeng</p>
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gadôngúl	chedengul	garm	charm/chermel
gagaragarau	chachuchau	garmam	chermam
gaiép	chieb	garmed	chermed
gaiós	cheos	garmek	chermek
gaisóis	chachisois	garmel	chermel
gal'lebesói	chelbesoi	garmél abúik	chermel a buik
galábad	chelebed	garmem	chermem
galabêdél	chelebedel	garmir	chermir
galagadál	chelechedal	garmiu	chermiu
Galáp	Elab	gasabëságal	chedebsachel
galát	chelat	gâsâgél	osechel
galauoságâl	chelauesachel	gasagél a líus	osechel a lius
galbákl	chelbakl	gasbêgêbél	chesbechebel
galdáel	cheldael	gasbógôb	chesbocheb
galdáiêl	cheldael	gasêgê s	chaseches
galdeklél	cheldeklel	gâsegêsuél	chesechesuel
galderír a rungéd	chelderir a runged	Gaseu=g	chesiuch
galdíl	cheldil	gasísualík	chesisualik
galdl'lél	cheldellel	gasívôg	chesiuch
galdúkl	cheldukl	gaspad	chesbad
galdul'í	cheldull	gâtákl	chetakl
galebedél	chelebedel	gátekil'í	chetekill
galebíngêl	chelebingel	gatú	katuu
galebúgêp	chelebucheb	gáus (poss. gusél),	chaus/chusel
galéd	cheled	gaus mesóbil	chaus mesobil
Galëgúi	Elechui	gavés	cheues
galeótl	cheleotel	gay	chai
galépêd	chelebed	gëbákl kim	ebakl el kim
Galid	Chelid	gëbákl	ebakl
galido	chelid (from mengid)	gëbúl	chebul
galiduíd	cheliduid	géd	ked
galings	chalings	gëdêpsúngêl	chedebsungel
galiótêl	cheliotel	gedú	cheduu
galiótl	cheliotel	géi	chei
galiótl geiúl	cheliotel el chiull	geiág	chiach
galíotl medú rúsûk	cheliotel el meduu el rusech	geibárs	chibars
galiúiês	cheliuis	geibêlguíês	chibelnguis
galsbón	chelsbong	geilagang	chelechang
galsbóng	chelsbong	geimál	chimal
galsebsúng	chelsebsung	geimó	chimo
galuómêl	cheluomel	geimól	chimo el
galusákl	chellusakl	geirógêr	chirocher
gamádâg	chemadech	geisilatú	chisil a tuu
gamágêl	chemachel	geiúl	chiul
gamaklágêl	chemeklachel	geiusêl	chiuesel
gamalél	chemelel	gelagalagelagang	chelechang
gamáng	chemang	gelei	chelei
gamlól	chemlol	gelisp	cheliseb
Gamngél	chemngel	gelsel	chelsel
gamogóng	chemechong	gelsel a blai	chelsel a blai
gamúiêd	chemuit	gëókl	cheokl
gaoás	cheuas	ger'regerói	cherecheroi
gap	chab	gerabái	kerebai
gar'rtógêt	chertochet	gerdéu	kerdeu
garabrúkl	cherabrukl	gêrêgém	erechem
gáramal	cheremall	geróng í bang	cherong el bang
gârâmrúm	cheremrum	gerrebíl	kerebil
gâréá í	chereall	gerságêl	chersachel
garitêl	cheritel	gersúôg	chersuuch
garitm	cheritem	gerúmês	kerumes

gesál	chesall	gologólt	olecholl
gësbereberél	chesbereberel	gologotókl	oleketokel
gësegúr	chesechur	gologúl	olechull
gëtirbel	chetirbel	golongól	olengoll
geungel	cheungel	golongsóngêl	olengesongel
gílt	chilt	golosóngêl a sils	olengesongela sils
gingarengárek	ingerngarek	goloukl	oluuchel
girt	chirt	golsírs	olsirs
goálâg	choalech	Golubás	chelubas
góba madálabai ma	oba medal a bai me a	gólug	cheluch
Gobagád	Obechad	golugaságl	orsachel
góbei	obei	golugâu	cheluchau
Godálmelég	odalmelech	góluk	oluk
godensél	osengdel	golúkl	olukl
goderógêl	oserochel	golúmêl	ollumel
godóim	odoim	Golungis	Olungiis
godugodêg	odekodek	golungs	oluus
goeáng	oeang	gomâkartír me tomláol	omeka er tir me te omlaol
gogádu	ochadu	gomangéd	omenged
gogáio	ochaeo	gombál	omball
gogerdúi	okerdui	gomêrusôg í blsi=g,	omerusech el blsiich,
gogíl	ochil	gomku=k	omkuuk
gógod	ochod	gomkukél	omkukel
gogotí	chochedii	gomlútêl	omlutel
Goikúl	Oikull	gomodókl	omedokel
goingarang?	choingerang?	gomogosóngêl	omchesongel
goiós	cheos	gomókêt	omoket
goití	choitii	gomoketél	omeketel
gok	kok	gomoklógêl	omeklochel
gokál	okal	gomôkodál	omekodall
gokáu	okau	gomosoókl	omesokl
gokelíl	okelil	gomosoókl	omeseokl
gokér ra dágâlbai, í kmu	oker er a dachelbai el kmo	gomregórog	omrechorech
Gol	Chol	gomróêêl	omeroel
gol'lálêm dí ra d melaitóng	ollallem Dirademelaitong	gomu	omuu
golakáng	olekang	gomúsôg	omusech
golbáol	olbaol	gomúti	chemutii
gólbed ê kal	Olbedekall	gongál	ongall
golbolél	olbolel	gongál geisilatú	ongall el chisil a tuu
goldebúôl	oldebuul	gongasagákl	chongesechakl
goldimél a í mekebúd	odimel el mekebud	gongbál	omball
Golegeril	Olekeriil	gongêái a kmung: ngak!	ongeai a kmung: ngak!
Gólei	Ollei	gongéd	onged
goléngêl	olengel	gongêdêi mong odiúr a gêral	
golengelél	olengelel	ongedei me ng odiur a cheral	
golés	oles	gongêdil	ongediil
golíbek	olibek	gongêgád	ongekad
goliêg	oliich	gongêlibél	ongelibel
goligubák	Oliichubak	Gongelípêl	Ongelibel
gólik	olik	gongêrúng mo ngodiúr	ongeru me ng odiur
golim	olim	gongés	onges
golit	olit	gongêsímêr	ongesimer
golkíl	olkil	gongesmól	ongesmoll
golóbog	olobech	gongespél	ongesbel
goloduósog	oleduosech	gongesuai	ongesuai
goloêgêl	olechel	gongesuai	ongesuai
gologasákl	olechesachel	gongetekil'í	chongetekill
gologêlél	oluchelel	gongêtíu gomóket í meketí	
gologódôg	olechotech	ongetiu omoket el meketii	
gologódôg	olechodech	góngiákl	ongiakl

gongëuid a dmung: ngak, akirél.	
ongeuïd a dmung: ngak a kirel	
góngiáu	ongiau
gongilótêl	ongilotel
gongilótêl	ongilotel
gongióng	ongiong
gongirt	ongirt
gongirt	ongirt
gongísp	ongisb
gongiúg	ongiuch
gongiût	ongiut
gongól ngabárd	ongor el ngebard
gongolúîëb	ongeluib
góngolungêl	ongelungel
gongopsúl	ongeksuul
gongór	ongor
gongósu	ongosu
gongotrúiôg a dmung: ngak a	
ongeteruich a dmu: ng ngak a	
góngotul	ongetul
góngotul a vúiêd	ongetul a uuid
góngrangêr	ongrangr
gongráol	ongraol
gongrengrél	ongrengrel
gongsi=l	ongesiil
gongúíkl	onguikl
gonguíl	ongiul
gonsi=l	ongesiil
Gopkál	Obkal
gor’rebákl	orrebakel
górangêl	orrangel
gordimêl	ordimel
goremáêl	oremael
Goréôr	Oreor
gori=g	orriich
goródêl	orodel
gorogódol/gorokódêl	orrekodel
górogur	cherechur
goromógêl kar	oremochel kar
gorongódêl	orengodel
gorovíkl	oruikl
gorovíkl telíu	oruikl teliu
górsagêl	orsachel
gorsogeklél	orsecheklel
gorsôgókl	orsechokl
goru	oruu
gorúl	orul
gorúm̃k	orumk
gorúsôg	orusech
gósaur	osaur
gosbadel	osbadel
gosbógôp	chesbocheb
gosêgósû	chesechosu
gosëkêd	oseked
gosekidêl	osekidel
gosepí	chosebii
Gosilé̃k	Osilek
gosisál (poss. gosilselél)	osisall (osisellel)
gosm	chosm
Gosobul ngáu	Osebuulngau

gosogoákl	osekoakl
gosómikil	osemikel
gosónd ra kud	osongd er a kud
gosónd	osongd
gosópêl	osobel
gosú bogêlél	osebekelel
gotêlëgéd, ë oláb	oteleched, e olab
gotílêg	otilech
gotógêl míêg	otochel el miich
gotógêl	otochel
gotopóid ra klúk	a oteboid er a kluk
gotótêl	ototel
gotúngêl	otungel
gotúngêl	otungel
gotúot	otuut
gotutél	otutel
Goubádl’lóu	Oubadllou
gouêrúl	ouerul
góutang	outang
guókû	kuoku
guokûél	kuokuel
gurúr	churur
ilibugêl	ilebuchel
Imeúngs	Imeungs
imûl	imuul
isgnél	isngel
ka më klebëkól, medongídêr	
ka me klebekoll me dongider	
kabeki=s a klebëkól, l mo gêmúr a mangikai	
ka bekiis a klebekoll el mo chemur a mengikai	
kabó ra gáldêbegêl	ka bo er a cheldebechel
kadám	kedam
kadebeki=s l kmidêr a guókû	
ka debekiis el kmider a kuoku	
káêp	kaeb
Kalaklók	chelekloch
kardókễt	cherredoched
Kasimímiel	chesimimel
kau a ngarang	ke ua ngerang
kau tagang	kau ke techang
ke di míl	kede imild
ke klâgá re ngi mang díak l magás a golakáng	
ke klekar er ngii me ng diak el mechas a olekang	
ke mlar kel meí?	ke mla reke el mei?
ked ë mekeráng?	kede mekerang?
ked ë melásâg a lomúgô	kede melasech el omuchel
ked mo ra gei ë l ë re bíaltáog	
kede mo er a chei el erebita el taoch	
ked omágêl rë goingaráng?	
kede omachel er a oingerang?	
ked omláol ra Meketí	kede omlaol er a Meketii
ked omúgêl l tmongklí a tângét	
kid a omuchel el tmongklii a tenget	
Kekerél Losobulngáu	Kekerei el Osebuulngau
Kekláu	Ngkeklaui
këkóm	kokom
(Kub.: Gekóm, Wall.: kegóm)	
Keldók	kldok
kelél a garm	kelelacharm
kemíu l tẽoá lagád!	kemiu el teua el chad!

këóngêl	keongel
ker’regár	kerekar
kêrós l mângasbógob	kerous el mengesbocheb
ketangk̃lel	ng ke ng techa a ngklel
ki: merekóng	Aki merekong
kissêm	kisem
kl e mangatel a delanggaklek	klemengetel a delengcheklek
klao a bedúl	kloa a bedeul
kldipl ra geimó ra bai	kldibel er a chimo er a bai
kldo=l	kldool
kleái a bedúl	kleai a bedul
Klegodáol	klechedaol
kless l br’rak ë galiótl	kles el brak e cheliotel
kless, delepdep̃	kles, delebdeb
klevídêl	kleuidel
Klewídel	kleuidel
klidút	klitut
klióu l telngót	kliou el telngot
klívuk	klibuk
klolom a bedúl	kllolem a bedul
klóu l ukál’l l mo tangét	klou el ukall el mo tanget
klpóup	klboub
klsakl	ng klsakl?
klsuk ma góngiaki l limeúmêl	klsuk me a ongiakl el olimimel
klsus ra klukuk	klsus er a klukuk
kmu ra blai	tmuu er a blai
ko merekóng ng diak?	kom mereko ng diak?
Koluláut	kelulau
kordí ë rusôgí	kordii e rusechii
Kosorókl	oserochel
kseksi	kiseksii
ku ra kër’regar, l mo mâlamált	ku er a kerrekar, el mo melefalt
ku re béklagád l kaudertartír	ku rebek el chad el kauderta er tir
kumerëu	kumreu
kung re gomeru=l l klalo	ku er a omeruul el klalo
kungêl a ríamêl	kungel a riamel
l bad mang merekóng, ë lê mugadu mang merekóng	
el bad me ng merekong, e le muchado me ng merekong	
l di merék mo l muíl^eg	el di merekmo bo lemeuilech
l di teluó! ë gal’lebesói	el di teluo el chalebesoi
l díak a kuápês	el diak a kuabes
l díak lulterêkók!l	el diak lulterkokl
l dirékl klsuk	el dirrek el klsuk
l dmul kmo: ke meláug	el dmu el kmo; ke melauch
l ë re bítal táog	ele rebita el taoch
l ëkekirél goláûg!	el kekirel a olangch!
l kedóls ë meringêl lagád	el kedols e meringel el chad
l klsúk lë gêrál a umád	el klsuk el cheral a umad
l kluk mesë golimiúmêl	el kluk me se olimimel
l kmídêr, l mo ótak,	el kmider, el mo otak,
l kmo ked ë melásâg	el kmo kede melasech
l kmu tia gordemém	el kmo tia a ordemem
l kmu: góngrangêr gogábagêbál	el kmo: ongrangr chochabechebal
l kmu: ked olengkóngk ra bai!	el kmo: kede olengkongk er a bai!
l kmu: moldárs a sêgês	el kmo: moldars a seches
l kmu: tiá meringêl lagád	el kmu: tia meringel el chad
l mã bad ra bai	el mo bad er a bai
l máramar ióu rôkúi l bad	el merema er a eou a rokui el bad
l më golepengêl a boádêl!	leme olebengel a buadel!
l mëlágá sêges	el melecha seches

l melsúmôg ra re gadál
l meriáu, ã melúgês l mo merék
l mo gemúr a gad r tir
l mo gemúr a gad r tir
l mo gemúr ra rumagár
l mo kairirêi l môrórôm
l mo kêrous l melóbôg
l mo kmongákl; ẽ tmuk722, ẽ orépêt
l mo medidirt e meliók re ngi
l mo melekói a tútau
l mo melmesúmôg ra
l mo melongákl
l mo meng murs a ngálêk
l mo merek
l mo merék a melég
l mo merék
l mo merék, ẽ magéi
l mo merék, ẽo megebëgâp
l mo merék. ng tuáp a dágâlbai
l mo merék; ẽ kaspesúbêd
l mo merék; ẽ katekói
l mo merék; ẽ meliágês
l mo ra dágâlbai
l mo tugerákl, ng merekóng
l mora blil.
l msá dágâlbai ẽ dmu re ngi
l mu=t l mo megedegór
l ngel mu=t ngikél l mlẽ kót
l ngu a udóud, l m sa dágâlbai
l smodí a mur
l subêdí ra ker`regár
ldí
lẽ del sils, ẽ merekóng
lẽ gáldêbegêl, ẽ a ptelúl
lẽ galuómêl
lẽ uid l klebesêi
lebúgôl
lêkél a garitm
Libu
lo mo gabagêbél gólik
lo mo gabagêbél góngrangêr
lo= metíl a saús
lobókêť golívêg
logá ra golakáng
logêlá mo gagevéiũ
logúkl
lolúmêl
lomdebúdêl ra bítang ma bítang
losi=k a galumêléd, l dertál
louág
m góit a kisêm
ma a dêlúl'l a godogosóng
ma a l merekó a uláol
ma a ptêlúl a gáldêbegêl
ma ar gáldêbeg^el a kmo: momókêť
ma bitalblai a mela=klde
ma bítang, ẽ merekóng.
ma bol kukúk ẽ ked ẽ mei
ma dágâlbai a dmul kmo
ma dágâlbai a dmung l kmu:

el mel mesumech er a rechedal
el me er a eou, e meluches el mo merek
el mo chemur a chad er tir
el mo chemur a chad er tir
el mo chemur er a rumechar
el mo kairirei el merorem
el mo keraus el melobech
el mo tmongakl; e tmuk e orebet
el mo medidirt e meliokl er ngii
el mo melekoi a tutau
el mo melmesumech er a
el mo melongakl
el mo me ng murs a ngalek
el mo merek
el mo merek a melech
el mo merek
el mo merek, e mechei
el mo merek, e omechebechab
el mo merek. ng tuab a dachelbai
el mo merek, e kasbesubed
el mo merek; e katekoi
el mo merek; e meliaches
el mo er a dachelbai
el mo tucherakl, ng merekong
el mo er a blil.
el msa a dachelbai e dmu er ngii
el lmuut el mo mekedechor
e ng lmuut ngike el mle kot
el nguu a udoud, el msa dachelbai
el smodii a mur
el subedii er a kerrekar
ildii
lede el sils, e merekong
el cheldebechel, e a bdelul
cheluomel
el euid el klebesei
lebuchel
lekel a cheritem
Lebuu
el mo chebechebel olik
el mo chebechebel ongrangr
el ometil a saus
loboket oliuch
locha er a olekang
loketa mo chachiuaiu
llechukl
el ollumel
el omdebudel er a bita me a bitang
losiik a chelumeled, el derta el
el ouach
mchoit a kism
me a delul a chodechosong
me a lemerko a ulaol
me a bdelul a cheldebechel
me a recheldebechel a kmo: momoket
me a bita el blai a melai a kldei
me a bitang, e merekong.
me a bo le kukuk e kede mei
me a dachelbai a dmu el kmo
me a dachelbai a dmu el kmo;

ma dágâlbai a kmung: vaiséi!
ma debêtkê rengí
ma debúsôg ma bóíês gobubú
ma delepdép ẽ a kebesengéi,
ma detóbêd ra madál a táog
ma díu ẽ béklagád lomagaderéngês
ma do=lóbog re ngí
ma domágêl
ma gádêbegêl a dmúl kmo
ma galábad ma rêkói
ma gólik ma górsôgokl
ma imu=l ma sêgês
ma Júsêg mad a mesáng mẽ ked ẽ m regéi môkódir

ma ked ẽ melúgês
ma ked ẽ metarákl
ma kerdí mesisióu a kal,
ma l merekóng, ng dësi=l
ma l merekóng; ẽ ked ẽ
ma le bol kukúk, ẽ ked ẽ
ma le mei me lolokói se=lo derúgôl,
ma le merekó gomelúgês
ma le merekóng, ẽ ked ẽ kuk
ma le ngiáos ẽ kung
ma mesisi=g a rengúl
ma mo ra Gaspángêl
ma mo úngil pesúl
ma ngak a doiderékl ra blú
ma Regeiúngêl l mẽ
ma sabáu l malk ma babi
ma saús ma góngrangêr
ma Súbêd reng a doiderékl ruriúl
Mád a tumlógêť
madá, ked oltekerékl ra bai
madál
madál a gadéng lolúmêl
madál a gadéng louág
madál a gadéng
madál a kluk
madál a kluk a longtíl
madál síkês
Madalái
magád
mageberél
magéd l meséi
magíp
maigongáng
máis
malageiángêd,
malakau a singk
malakáu
malámêl
malogúp
mámêl
mang
mang bítalblai ma bítal blai
mâng mo degór, ẽ odiúr
mang ng omókêť, l meketí
mâng soláe ẽ tâ ngmái gëbeklíř
mangael'lúl
mângârengél (mengur)
mangdul
manger`rẽ l
mangere dógôd
mangês
mangesép

me a dachelbai a kmo: ng ua isei!
me a debetkei er ngii
me a debusech me a boes obubuu
me a delebteb a kebesengei,
me a detobed er a medal a taoch
me a díu e bek el chad el omechederenges
me a dolobech er ngii
me a domachel
me a cheldebechel a dmu el kmo
me a chelebad me a rekoí
me a olik me a orsechokl
me a imuul me a seches
me a lusechemad a mesang me kede mrechii e mekodir

me kede meluches
me kede meterakl
me ker di mesisiou a kall,
me a lemerekong, ng desiil
me a lemerekong; e kede
me a lebo lekukuk, e kede
me a lemei me lolekoi se el oderuchel,
me a lemereko omeluches
me a lemerekong e kede kuk
me a lengiaos e kung
me a mesisiich a rengul
me a mo er a Espangel
ma mo ungil besul
me ngak a doiderekł er a bluu
me a Recheungel el mei
me a sabau el malk me a babii
me a saus me a ongrangr
me a Subedreng a doiderekł er a uriul
Medal a tumeloket
me ada, kede oltekerekł er a bai
medal
medal a chedeng el ollumel
medal a chedeng el uach
medal a chedeng
medal a kluk
medal a kluk a longtil
medal sikes
Medalaii
mechas
mecheberel
meched el mesei
mechib
maichongang
maiis
malechianged
melekau a singch
melekau
melaml
me a lechub
maml
me ng
me ng bita el blai me a bita el blai
me ng mo dechor, e odiur
me ng omoket, el meketii
me ng solae e te ngmai a chebeklıř
menga delul
mengerengel
mengduul
mengereel
mengerdoched
menges
mengeseb

mangéss
Mangidap brutkonl
Mangidáp rutkól
mangikói
mangilúkúm
mangím-kim
mangitertár
mangiúg
mangivětókl
mangsóus
mangúêm
mangúiéd
marádêl
maráêl a vuês re gosëpêkkê melég
maramárag
marár
markêkél
masáog
me d olsíu mo ked osíu
më gongëlólom lagád
më ke di kau lobámlai l bédúl le ngi
me ked ë do=bégéi l meriáu;
më ked ë dobëgèi l meriáu
me ked ë mangáng, bua
me ked ë mângitúôk l pelú,
me ked ë melekétek, l mo merék
me ked ë merebórob ë góuskid
me ked ë mo kauëdëngèi
me ked ë mo melásâg
me ked ë ngmail meriáu
me ked ë rebórob, ë a gáldëbegêl
me ked ë tmongákl a lebúgôl,
me ked ngmai a kal
më ked ngmail, më magéi
më kéd ngoióng, ë magéi
më ked oderegí a gad
më ked okengkí a bai
me ked omágêl, l mo merék, e= magei
me ked omângúr, ë melikeús
me ked omesóil e mobád
më ked osëddemi l mo merék
me kedomkókl l më rë golságêl
me kid armelásâg a klekár
më kom di merédêr!
me lë metarákl a kísêm!
më lorogêdí, a ng mo galdegaiós
më me ked ë megërei gomelásâg
me ng omókel l meketi
më tē kúk mókêť gērŭl mo ra
më te më rebórob a moróus a kal,
me te më rebórob, ng dmu dágâlbai,
më te melásâg ê kaspesúbêd
me te merebórob ma gáldëbegêl
me te mo gemúr l mangasbógob
më tē mókêť a dertál, l mo ra
me te remi=d, ë arúbak
më tekúk ngmai l mo répet
me tēlogáng gērŭl mo ra
me temë rebórob ar gáldëbegêl
me tēmókêť a teblól klsúk
me tēmókêť a teblól klsúk
me tó megedegór a galabád
me tomagár l mol mo rardigád
me tomókêť a tērú ra ragád
me tomóngol arpelú, ë a
me tômungúr, l mo merék

menges
Mengidabrutkoel
Mengidabrutkoel
mengikoi
mengilekum
melit a kim
mengitertar
mengiuch
mengiuetokl
mengsous
menguum
menguit
meradel
merael a ues er a osebek ku melech
meremarech
merar
ma lmereke
mesauch
me dolsiu me kede osiu
me a ongelolem el chad
me ke di kau el oba a mlai el bedul ngii
me kede dobechii el me er a eou;
me kede dobechii el me er a eou
me kede mengang, el ua
me kede mengituuk el beluu
me kede meleketek, el mo merek
me kede me reboreb e chouskid
me kede mo kaodengei
me kede mo melasech
me kede ng ngmai el me er a eou
me kede reborb e a cheldebechel
me kede tmongakl a lebuchel,
me kede ngmai a kall
mekede ngmai el me mechei
me kede ngoiong, e mechei
me kede oderchii a chad
me kede ongkengkii a bai
me kede omachel el mo merek e mechei
me kede omengur, e meliukes
me kede omesoil e mo bad
me kede osedemii el mo merek
me kede omkokl el me er a olsachel
me kid a remelasech a klekar
me kom di merreder!
me lemeterakl a chisem!
me lorechedii e ng mo cheldecheos
mei me kede mecherei a omelasech
me ng omoket el meketii
me te kuk moket a cheru el mo er a
me te me reborb e remous a kall,
me te me reborb, ng dmu dachelbai,
me te melasech e kasbesubed
me te me reborb me a cheldebechel
me te mo chemur el mengesbocheb
me te moket a derta, el mo er a
me te remiid, e a rubak
me te kuk ngmai el mo orebet
me te locha cheru el mo er a
me te me reborb a recheldebechel
me te moket a teblo el klsuk
me te moket a teblo el klsuk
me te omekedechor a chellabed
me te omechar el mo el mo er a redi chad
me te omoket a teru er a rechad
me te mengol a rebeluu, e a
me te omengur, el mo merek

me=sa= mângít a delépês
mëánglkói
Medegéipélau
medegesúg
medhún eliou
medú
medú meliókr ‘re ngí a budél
medú gamádâg
medú márêk
meduk gangarél
megéideuíd
mekedongí goldíu a udóud
mekëkád
mekél
mekldípl argád r rokúi
meklegél
mékngit l mul
melaegáb
mëlâgá ra gometkól
melái ra kal, kid armelásag
melaitúl ra dait
melálem or mel’lálem
melásâg
melebútêl
melédês
melég
melegësêg
melegóng
melegúl
melék
meléket
melekétek
melengóiës mo ra golakáng ma ralm ma dáob

melép ra guóku ra madálabai?
melikêlíkês
melikl
meliókr
meliuálach
melóbôg
melóbôg sel teluó
melógôd a bad
melongóiës
melóug
mem merekó gëoál umád
men meki=s a dágâlbai
meng di mo merék
meng kuk merekóng
mêng maráel a vûês
mêng më soisêp më tomláol
meng meketí a mo ra geimólkúkau
meng meketí gónggiakl l meringêl lagád
meng meketí góngiakl mang
meng merebórob
meng merekó, ë te meki=s
meng merekóng, ë ked ë megërei
meng merekóng
meng mo medírt
meng mo merék a sêgês
meng mo ra madál
meng smuk a dágâlbai
meng súkur a dágâlbai ë dmul kmo
meng súkúr a dágâlbai
mêng tuóbêd gomelásâg
mengeti=t
meregáu

mesa mengit a delebes
meangelkoi
Medechiibelau
medecheduch
meduuliou
meduu
meduu el meliokl er ngii er a budel
meduu el chemadech
meduu el marek
meduchangerel
mechiduid
mekedongii oldiu a udoud
mekekad
melkel
me kldíbel a rechad el rokui
meklechel
mekngit el emull
melecheb
melecha er a ometkol
melai er a kall, kid a remelasech
melaitul er a dait
melalem or millalem
melasech
melebutel
melides
melech
melchesech
melechong
melechul
melech
melechet
meleketek
Melengoes a mo er a olekang me a ralm me a daob
meleb er a kuoku er a medal a bai?
melkelikes
melikel
meliokl
meliualech
melobech
melobech er se el teluo
melechotech a bad
melengoies
melouch
me ng mereko eua el umad
me ng mekiis a dachelbai
me ng di mo merek
me ng kuk merekong
me ng merael a ues
me ng me soiseb me te omlaol
me ng meketii a mo er a chimo el kukau
me ng meketii ongiakl el meringel chad
me ng meketii ongiakl me ng
me ng me reborb
me ng merko, e te mekiis
me ng merekong, e kede mecherei
me ng merekong
me ng mo medirt
me ng mo merek a seches
me ng mo er a medal
me ng smuk a dachelbai
me ng sukur a dachelbai e dmu el kmo
me ng sukur a dachelbai
me ng tuobed a omelasech
mengetiit
merekou

mereged	mereched
merekó gogeráol ma têkingír	mereko ocheraol me a tekingir
merekó kloklél a béklagád?	mereko kloklel a bek el chad?
merekóng!	merekong!
merekóng, ë ngu, ë ldí, a budél goití,	merekong e nguu a budel el choitii
merémâg	meremech
merémêt l br´rak	meremet el brak
merénged	merenged
meringêl a gamalél	meringel a chemelel
merúog	meruuch
merúr	meruul
mesálou	mesalo
mesekiu l mêg	mesekiu el miich
mesekūk,	mesekuuk
mesersúrôg	mesersurech
mesúbed ra lbêdul l kmu	mesubed er a lbedul el kmo
mesusúêd	mesusuud
metególþ a táiu (táiu	metecholb er a taiu
metemeki=s l mo smogókl	me te mekiis el mo sumechokl
Metimrásak	Melimrasech
métmelásâg	metmelasech
mëus	meius
mgn mongmásâg góngiáu	me ng mo ngmasech ongiau
miêg	miich
milngól	milngoll
mílu	miluu
mius	mius
mo góngiakl lolimeúmêl	mo ongiakl el olimimel
moedí	moidii
Mogóng	Mechong
mogúr	mechur
múngur	mengur
mur turukel	mur terukel
na rekêrúkûm	me a rekerukem
ng di sáus kung a sauál l mo degór	ng di saus kung a soal el mo dechor
ng di tirekél l mo sorír	ng di tirke el mo sorir
ng dmu dágâlbai: ng tagá	ng dmu dachelbai: ng techa
ng gogêráol ra, me tuáp	ng ocheraol er a, me tuab
ng gol dîtém gãlei, mak turumókl	ng kol ditem elei, me ak turmokl
ng kuk mẽ blëgídêl	ng kuk me blechidel
ng kuk mo re gomagár	ng kuk mo er a omechar
ng kuk tobangá ra dágâlbai	ng kuk tobenga er a dachelbai
ng melekói ra gáldêbegêl	ng melekoi er a cheldebechel
ng merekóng goiláol	ng merekong a oilaol
ng meténgêl a pelú l móngol	ng metengel a beluu el mengol
ng mo úngil goielák	ng mo ungil choielak
ng mo ngu a kluk l msang	ng mo nguu a kluk el msang
ng mongmásâg a boádêl ra tútau	ng mo ngmasech a buadel er a tutau
ng o meliókł rë geilagáng	ng omeliokl er a chelechang
ng odiúr a gêrál dirékl kluk	ng odiur a cheral el dirrek el kluk
ng tagá gomegedegór ra gosegósu?	ng techa omekedechor er a chesechosu
ng tagá gomókêt ra golítł?	ng techa omoket er a olitel?
ng tagá re kemíu a dobengí	ng techa er kemiu a dobengii
ng túap dágâlbai a dmung l kmu	ng tuab a dachelbai a dmu el kmo
Ngabád	Ngebad
Ngabiúl	Ngebiul
Ngablúgêl	Ngebluchel
ngabongabókl	ngebekebokel
Ngabúkêd	Ngebuked
Ngabúl	Ngebul
ngak mo tuó gãlagáng a mesúbêd	ngak a mo tuobed er a chelechang e mesubed
ngak a ma kau	ngak me a kau
ngak malogub e kau	ngak me a lechub e ng kau
ngamácl	ngemael
ngapseklél	ngebtiklel
ngaptákl	ngebtakl

ngara seingar er sei	ngaragêi ngar er a chei
Ngarabesul	Ngerbesuul
Ngaraderúdêm	Ngaraderudem
ngarakobúkl	ngerchebukl
Ngarameketí	Ngarameketii
Ngaramesekíu	Ngaramesekiu
ngarang	ngerang
ngararangang	ng ngar er a ngerang
ngarangkel tiang	ng ngar er ker tiang
Ngaratëkángêl	Ngaratekangel
Ngarbagéd	Ngerbeched
ngarbitang	ngar er a bitang
ngardekil´l	ngerdekill
Ngardókou	Ngardoko
Ngarebódêl	Ngerbodel
Ngaregolóng	Ngarchelong
Ngaregúr	Ngerchur
Ngarekekláu	Ngerkek lau
Ngarekesauáol	Ngerkesoaol
Ngariáp	Ngeriab
ngarikł, ikr	ngar er a iikr
ngarker?	nga er ker?
Ngarmid	Ngermid
Ngarsúmôg	Ngersumech
Ngáruangêl	Ngeruangel
ngásâg	ngasech
Ngasagadíl	Ngasechedil
Ngaseíar	Ngesear
Ngasiás	Ngesias
ngasíl	ngesil
Ngatageiár	Ngetechear
Ngatanggáu	Ngetengchau
Ngátþang	Ngatþang
Ngatuái	Ngetuai
ngauéi	ngeuei
ngdu=l	ngduul
ngea=sêk	ngeasek
Ngeaáur	Ngeaur
ngeás	ngeas
ngebengebógêl	ngebengebokl
ngeei	ngii
ngelóng	ngelong
ngelsegél l dirékl kluk	ngelsechel el dirrek el kluk
Ngerangabárd	ngerngebard
ngerél a dabár	ngerel a debar
Ngërupesáng	Ngerubesang
Ngesëkês	Ngesekes
Ngesisëg	Ngesisech
Nggéiangel	Ngcheangel
Nggësár	Ngchesar
nggóngg	ng chongch
nggóngôg	ng chongch
ngí a dísêg	ngii a disech
ngiáog	ngiaoch
ngíëklí, ë dougí	ngiklii e tobtii
ngigongáng	ng ichongang
ngikal segal	ngika el sechal
ngilaumád	ng ilaumad
Ngira gosúlap	Ngirchosulab
Ngira ngëtibúgêl	Ngirangetibuchel
Ngiraikeláu	Ngiraikelau
Ngirangáruangêl	Ngirngeruangel
ngititêrír, a ra gëdám	mngititerir a rechedam
Ngivál	Ngiwal
nglemóiêl	nglemoel
nglkódêl	ngelkodel

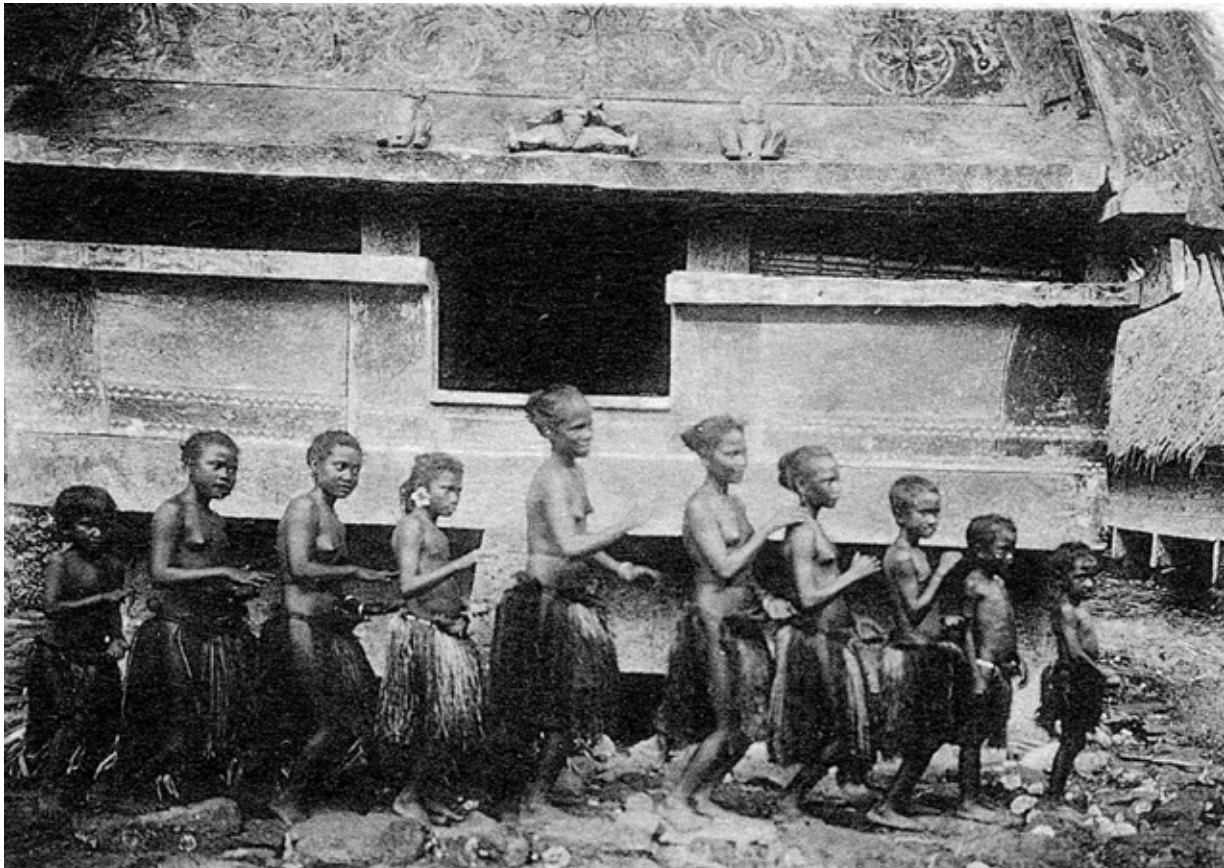
nglosôg	nglosech	ra búiêl ma arid	er a buil me a riid	Sâgâmús góba bút l bai	Sechemus a oba butelbai	telutáu l bar	telutau el bar
ngoberél	ngeberel	ra bút l bai mang merekóng	er a butelbai me ng merekong	sako ě kúm (Kub.: Sako a ginn)	sako chum	telutáu ulegâdâgér	telutau el ulechedecher
ngódôg	ngodech	ra but l bai, a medégêl	er a butelbai, a medechel	samelúk	semeluk	têmakâi	temekai
ngolegêságêl	ng olechesachel	ra dágâlbai, l kmú	er a dachelbai el kmo	sapúsik	sebusik	tepelík	tebelik
ngólom	ngolem	ra dilukâi! mêng meláug	er a dilukai! Me ng melauch	sêbósôp	seboseb	ter’rói pelú	terroibeluu
ngoluókl	ng oluuchel	ra gadéng, ě solâe ngu têr’rói pelú	er a cheldeng chedeng e solae nguu terroi beluu	sebúiês	sebuis	teri=d	terriid
ngu	nguu			sêgês	seches	teruategang	te rua techang
ngulêgém	ng ulechেম	ra gáldêbegêl l mogúkêr	er a cheldebechel el mochucher	sekesákêl	sekesaker	terúkl a sâus	terukel a saus
ngurbitar	ngar er a bita er a	ra galededál a bai	er a chelechedal a bai	sel kluk; ě kuk mo ra	se el kluk;e kuk mo er a	thmathm	Tmatm
Ngurugeál	Ngerucheal	ra iúmesekú	er a iumeseku	Semankang	Semengkang	Thoy	Soi
nitliabat	nglikliabed	ra kebêas, l mo merék	er a kebeas, el mo merek	sigéro	sikero	tiakíd	tia kid
Obagáth	Obechad	ra kebesengéi ma tútau	er a kebesengei me a tutau	singg	singch	tiakid a kloklém	tia kid a kloklém
Obey	obei	ra kmung ngêrúng, ngêdêi	er a kmu ng erung, edei	smálou	smalo	tíal kluk lě gerál a umád	tia el kluk le cheral a umad
odhánap	odangeb	ra madálabai ma dágâlbai	er a medal a bai me a dachelbai	sógei	suchii	tial udóud a mo repetí	tia el udoud a mo orebetii
ogobelí	ochebelii	ra madálabai	er a medal a bai	sogósog	sechosech	tiang a bai ungil r' sei	tiang a bai ungil er sei
okér ra dágâlbai l kmu	oker er a dachelbai el kmo	ra mo tetágêr pesúl	er a mo metacher besul	sokesôgi	sochesechii	tiangarang	tia ng ngerang
omagíikêl	omikel	ra ngot ra rebâi	er a ngot er a rebai	solae	e sola e	Tipêtíp akmiêg	Tibtíbekmiich
omáil	omail	ra ngot ra ngêlóng	er a ngot er a ngelong	songosóngêl	songesongel	tirekang	tirkang
omálag	omalech	ra tangét ra bútlbai	er a tanget er a butelbai;	sopngi	sobngii	tirekei	tirkei
omásâg	omasech	ra tedei klebesei	er a chede el klebesei	soursap	sausab	titêg	titech
omâsêvôs	omeseos	ra telebákl; l mo merék	er a telebakl; el mo merek	suálo	sualo	tiuálâg	tiualech
omegedúrs	omekedurs	ra teliá ma teliáng	er a telia me a teliang	súbog	dubech	Tkelgáng	Tkelkang
omesi=g	omesiich	ra telkíp, ě olengngásâ	er a telkib e olengasech	sug	such	tkulemél = tkuelêmél	tkulremel
omi=r	omiir	ra toágêl, diak a kekerê=i mekngit	méi re ngak!	sugomásâg	suchemadech	Tmalaythoy	Demalasoï
omngélaléi	omengelalei	er a toachel, ng diak a kekerei el mekngit el me er ngak		súkur a dágâlbai ě solâe ě	sukur a dachelbai. e solae e	Tmêlógôd	Tmeloched
omódôg	omodech	ra uláol, ě solâe ng	er a ulaol, e solae ng	Súmog	Sumech	tmoich	tmoech
omodókl	omedokl	ra, re	er a , re	sumuk	smuk	tmudí	tmodii
omosoil	omesoil	rakau	er kau	Súrêg	Surech	tmuruk	tmurek
omsips	omsibs	Râklâi	Reklai	ta dêságêl, ě tē di mangasóls	ta desachel, e te di mengesols	tmutudí a dobôdobôgi	tmutudii e dobedebechii
omúók	omuuk	ramád ra galid	remad er a chelid	tabár	debar	togêd	toched
omúrôg	omurech	rámak	ramek	tagá méi komokodír	techa mei ke mekodir	togôbi lóia ra keái	tochebii e loia er a keai
Onoroml	ongeromel	rangak	er ngak	tagal gad	techa el chad	tôloug	telouch
Oriúr	uriur	re bedul	er a bedul	tagangklet	ng techa a ngklel	tóluk	toluk
orogêrtelél	orechertel	re gád ra melég.	rechad er a melech.	tagar a dil	techa el redil	tóluk l golúîûp	toluk el cheluiûb
orogêrtói	orechertoll	rê gêlagál l kesus.	er chelecha el kesus.	tageiêr	techiir	toluk ra rubak	toluk er a rubak
Orúsok	orusech	re golúkl ě merásm	er a olukl e merasm	tagêrákl	techerakl	Tolumár	telumar
ouág	oach	re kemíu l klebêkól	er kemiu el klebekoll	táiu	taiu	tongg	tongch
ouág longál	oach el ongall	re ngak	er ngak	takebesengíl	tang a kebesengil	tórôg	torech
ouliêg	oueliich	re ngí	er ngii	tákêr a bedúl	tacher a bedul	Tpalapálag	Tbelebalech
palatóng	belatong	re ngi, ě te melásâg rê ngi, a beklagád		talagad	ta el chad	tuk, poss. tkul.	tkul
patáok	bedaoch	er ngii e te melasech er ngii, a bek el chad		talngót	telngot	tululásâg	telulasech
péágêd	beached	re ngi, meng dí mẽ kmêd	er ngii, me ng di me kmeed	tamatámêl gogáeo	temetamel ochaeo	tumedíp	tumedib
Péágêdarsai	Beachedarsai	rebárabal	rebereball	tamói	temoi	turtúruk	turturk
pedíkl	bedíkl	rebebul a	er a bebul a	tângârik	tengerik	tútau, e komomkókl mei	tutau e kom omkokl el mei
Pelíliou	Peleliu	rebérebelél	reberbellet	tángâtang	tengetang	tutu (poss. tutungél)	tutuu (tutungel)
Pelíliou	Beliliou	rebótêl	rebotel	tangét	tinget	ua ke mo úgul líus, ua ke bâkâi	
pesengél	besengel	Rekamesíkt	Rekemesik	tangetengél	tngetel	ua ke mo uchul lius, ua ke bekai	
pílis	bilis	rekáu	rekau	táoêd	taod	uakau	ua kau
pipirói	bibiroi	rekingél	rekingel	táoêd geráu	taod cherau	uakel tegetel a ngarang l m kiei?	
pisêg	bisech	remísû	remisu	táog	taoch	Ng ua kelteketel a nga er a el mkie?	
piskáng	biskang	riangéss	rianges	tara ragad	ta er a rechad	uangak	ua ngak
piskang	biskang	ríu	rriu	tarekeu (many people)	tírkei	uangi	ua ngii
Pkulapelú	Bkulabeluu	rodelí	rodelii	te meki=s l mângíder augútûm		uárs	urars
pngáol	bngaol	rometí	rometii		te mekiis el mengider a uchutem	uásâg	uasech
Potk	botk	rongódêl	rengodel	tebêgêl		úbeng	ubeng
prótog	brotech	rongór	rengor	tegang		ubiri=g	uberiich
ptágês	btaches	rót l bambu	rrot el bambuu	tekú		udertebótô b	ouderteboteb
ptágês a ked	btaches ked	róut	rrurout	têlageíd		udertebótôb	ouderteboteb
ptangg	btangch	rubaks	rubak	telagim		udóim tu	odoim tuu
r tir a dmul kmo: ngak	er tir a dmu el kmo: ngak	Rubásâg	Rubasech	Têlámês		ugôtemél	uchetemel
ra bád, me kid l bítalblai	er a bad, me kid el bita el blai	rubukúl pélau	Rubekul Belau	telbusúngel		ugul	uchul
ra bai, ra tal úngil iángêd	er a bai, er a ta el ungil	rudêl	rrudel	telegéiêr bai		ui=r	uiir
	eanged	rul síkês a goirúl	rrull sikes a oirul	telêgótôg		úlag	ulac
ra bêdúl! ě kuk mo ra	er a bedul! e kuk mo er a	rul’l	rrull	telêiulásag		ulagém	ulechem
ra boádêl, ě ôbal merérđ	er a buadel, e oba el merered	rungêd	ruumenged	telngódôg		ulakadurus	ulekedurs
ra buádel, mong odiúr	er a buadel, me ng odiur	sâgâlêi, ng tagá gomókêt rê goláng?		teloug		ulálek	ulalk
		sechelei ng techa omoket er a olangch?					

ulangaáng	ulengang
uláol a merekóng!	ulaol a merekong!
uldeti=l	uldetiil
ulebóiêl	uleboel
ulegadagér	ulekedechor
ulegáro	ulecharo
ulekedúrs	ulekedurs
ulekngál	ulekngall
ulenga=l	ulengall
ulenggidêl	ulengchidel
ulengi=l	ulengiil
uliógôl	uliokel
ulítêg	ulitech
ulítêg (poss.: ultegél)	ulitech
ulítêg telíu	ulitech teliu
ulogolóol	ulechelool
ulogóng	ulechouch
Ulók	uloch
ulokodager	ulekedakel
ulsárs	uldars
uórok	uorech
uósôg	uosech
uregedak	urrechedak
uregereger l miêg	Urekerk el miich
urodékêl	uredechel
uródog	urodech
uródok	urodech
trerél	utererekel
vag e dil	oach dil
vák	oach
vak (poss. gokúl or kúl)	uak, okul, kul
vacui	uek
vét	uet
vúm	uum
Xagedil	oach dil

Please note this copy is read-only, and not suitable for sharp printing.

The large 9 x 12” full printed set of Palau Volume 1-7 is available for sale at the Belau National Museum and Etpison Museum gift shops for USD \$175.

All proceeds from this non-profit translation project will be used to re-print these books.



352 Girls dancing at rubak bai in Galap. No original photo available.

