

Narrative 2 Told by Sosemea Samuelu,³ July 28, 1974, at our house, Nanumea. Learned by Sosemea from Takitua Peni. Present at tape-recording session: Sosemea, Laina Teuea, Anne Chambers, Keith Chambers

[Tala o te Hauga o Tefolaha -- The Story of the Coming of Tefolaha]

(1) Mea nei ko te tala o te hauga o Tefolaha, ine. Mea nei ko te tala muamua ailoa o te kamataga, a Tefolaha o fano o tau pelaa ki Samoa. Oti i ai uu naa, ko tena malaga ailoa o haele mai ikonei, ki Nanumea, ine? Pelaa muamua ko te tauga, ko te faitauaga telaa a Tonga mo Samoa, ine? E iloa e taatou, pelaa ko te mea he toa ine? Pelaa he toa. Telaa laa oti i ai uu laa, malaga mai loa i ai konei, ki Nanumea. I te taimi konaa e ttou iloa gina a te mafuaga a Tefolaha, he tinaa tino Tonga tonu ailoa. (2) Tefolaha. Kae maahani o fakaigoa i Tonga, e lua ona feitu. Te feitu aitu mo te feitu tino. Telaa laa te mea, ka fai e tau mo tino, e maahani loa a manumaaloo tele ttou tagata naa. A tefolaha, ine. Telaa laa i te taimi e tahi ni kkave naa a te aa ko ia, a te putukau tau a te kau Tonga. Ki Samoa. Pelaa mo te maahani mua e fai taua tele. Telaa laa fanatu naa te putukau tenaa o te kau Tonga ki luga i Samoa. (3) Koa aga mainaa Samoa hoki o fai te taua. Tenaa laa manumaaloo a te kau Tonga i luga i Samoa. Toe foki a Tonga. Me koa leeia a te kau Samoa. Tuumuli ki tua! [Sosemea laughs]. Tenaa laa toe tahi hoki. Toe tuku mai hoki. Tenaa a te kau Tonga. Pelaa he taahhaoga te lotou mea, mua e. Pelaa ka fai e fia taa tino, kave te taua. Malaga e? Toe fanatu hoki. Leeia hoki te kau Samoa, i te kau Tonga. (4) Tenaa laa i te malaga tenaa i te

lua, a te kau Tonga, ni fia fai ai a Tefolaha ki faafine Samoa. Tenaa laa, mmuni loa i ai a Tefolaha i Samoa. E olo te lotou kau, ka koa noho i Samoa. Aavaga naa mo Teati te igoa o te fafine Samoa. Teati te igoa a te aavaga a Tefolaha. Mea laa, hee ai laa tamalliki ni maua i luga i tana aavaga tenaa. Fano fano i ai. Toe hiki mai i ai te taua a te kau Tonga. Ka koa tau atu naa mai luga, a Tefolaha mai luga i Samoa. (5) Koa tau ki luga i tona fenua tonu ailoa. Ko Tonga. Telaa laa ni manumaaloo ai te kau Samoa. Auua laa i te toa o Tonga telaa koa noho i luga i Samoa. Telaa laa koa manumaaloo ai te kau Samoa. Noho loa i ai i konaa a Tefolaha. Tana nohoga ikonaa hee loko leva, hau loa i ai tana malaga o taahhao mai ki konei, ki Elise. Haele mai, haele mai, oko mai loa ki Nanumea tonu. (6) Tuu mai loa ki uta i Nanumea, e hee ai ni tino i uta i Nanumea. Kae haele mai naa e fepaki loa mo te fale, e tahi. Kae naa lavea mao mai gina ailoa e toko lua faafine e nnoho i loto. Ffuli loa i ai ki tona feitu telaa aitu. Ko fano naa o noho mai luga i te fata, e, e noho mai luga. E lua iloa gina te mea telaa e fakaigoa mua ikonei i Nanumea ko te loko. (7) Tukutuku ifo te loko mai luga i te fafine e toko tahi. Ko te mea e fia naa iloa gina a igoa o toko lua kolaa e. Telaa laa koa noho atu te fafine e toko tahi pelaa. "E Pai, a te loko tenaa e ko tukutuku ifo i luga i tou piho, ko tai patele ki tou piho." Telaa laa koa iloa gina e Tefolaha me ko Pai te mea telaa, a te igoa o te fafine telaa, e. (8) Koa fano, ko tukutuku ifo a te loko mai luga i te igoa o te, mai luga i te piho o te fafine e tokotahi. Telaa laa koa noho mai a Pai. "E Vau, a te loko tenaa koa tukutuku ifo i tou piho. Tai patele

ki tou piho." Tenaa, oti loa i ai, ffuli ki tona feitu tino, ka ko haele mai i te mataloa. Ana muna, "Olo ke aatea mo toku fenua." Muna a Tefolaha, e fai ki luga i toko lua faafine kolaa. (9) Ke olo ke aatea mo tona fenua. Muna a toko lua faafine, "Mai fea tou fenua? E o maaua loa te fenua nei!" "Hee o koulua te fenua nei. Penei mo aku, e kau iloa gina a lua igoa. Ia," muna a Tefolaha, "kae mate mai laa i toku igoa me ko ai?" Pula atu pula mai, pelaa laa, hee laa iloa te igoa o Tefolaha. Ia, "Ka ko ai maa igoa?", muna a Pai mo Vau. Muna a Tefolaha, "A tou igoa ko Pai, ka ko koe ko Vau." Taaffuke ake toko lua faafine kolaa, olo loa ke aatea mo te fenua. (10) Telaa laa noho ikonaa Tefolaha, ikonei, hee loko leva, fano loa i ai, toe foki. E foki naa, e foki ki tona fenua tonu ailoa. Naa laa i tona fanoga naa i te fakalua, i tona fokiga naa, e fano ki Tonga, ki tona tinaa fenua tonu ailoa. Puke mai loa i ai a, fai loa i tana aavaga. Te igoa laa o tana aavaga tenaa, mea naa ko tena aavaga i te tokolua ine, ko Puleala. I Tonga. (11) Ommai loa i ai pelaa ki Samoa ine. Ommai ki Samoa, puke ifo loa i ai te faoa o tena vaka. Mai Samoa. Puke mai loa tona faoa. Ommai i ai ikonaa. Ommai loa ki uta nei i Nanumea e. Noho loa i uta nei i Nanumea. Tino Samoa tonu ailoa na faoa. Ka ko tena aavaga he Tonga, ko Puleala. I tana aavaga mua laa he tino Samoa, ko Teati. E hee ai ni laa tama ni maua i Teati, telaa laa tiiakina atu loa i Samoa. Hee ni manako ki ai me hee ai ni ana tama. (12) Ka ko te ommaiga i konaa, noho loa ikonei. Telaa laa fanafanau loa i ai ana tama. Faannau loa i ai ana tama. Tena tama muamua laa ko Tutaki. Ka ko te tokolua ko Fiaola. Ka ko te tokotolu, Lavega. A igoa a tamaliki

konaa a Tefolaha. Telaa laa fano fano i ai, fai tama hoki a, fai tama hoki a Lapi mo Lavega...e! [notices his mistake] (13) Telaa ni fanafanau mo telaa laa e maua ai haa, a Vele mo Lapi, tamaliki haa Tutaki, tamaliki a Tutaki. Mai luga ikonaa i tamaliki a Tefolaha. Mea laa aavaga naa mo te, e aavaga ki luga i te aa ko ia, telaa e fai atu au. Fanafanau iloto uu naa, aavaga loa i ai mo tena tuaatina, tama a Lofale. Ko Lofale laa mea laa. Pelaa ko hee loko kau iloa tonu a te fakahologa i aavaga, a tino konaa, a taufanaua konaa. Ni fai tama a Tefolaha, Lavega. Fai tama a Tefolaha. (14) Iloto uu naa, te maafuaga uu naa, hee iloa a iloa iloto naa i te maafuaga...iluga i te faoa konaa ni ommai i te kau Samoa, ine?...Telaa laa ko tama telaa a Lavega, ni aavaga mai luga i tama kolaa, a Tutaki, ine. Fakatauaavaga uu naa, e...Ko Takitua e maaina tonu loa i ai, te fakahologa...Tena laa fanafanau loa i ai i uta nei i Nanumea. Mai luga loa i ai i konaa i aa Tefolaha. Fai tama haa Lavega. Fai tama haa Tutaki. Fai tama haa mea. Fano loa i ai i te aa koia, i te fanafanaua tenaa, i uta nei i Nanumea. Tena laa te gataga o taku tala tenaa i te hauga a Tefolaha.

Narrative 2 English Translation, Sosemea's [Takitua's]³ Tale

[The Story of the Coming of Tefolaha -- Tale o te Hauga o Tefolaha]

(1) This is the story of the coming of Tefolaha, eh. This is the very first story of the beginning, of Tefolaha to go fight with Samoa. After that, [it tells of] his voyage to come here, to Nanumea. But first is the fighting, the wars of Tonga and Samoa, you know? We all know about this [his being] a warrior, don't we? A warrior. Well, [when] that was all over there, [he] voyaged here, to Nanumea. At that time, we all know about the origins of Tefolaha, [he was] a real Tongan.

(2) Tefolaha. And [they] said in Tonga that he had two natures. A spirit nature and a human nature. Well the thing is, if he fought with people, this fellow was used to winning. Tefolaha, eh. So, one time a group of, a group of Tongans went. To Samoa. Before, they were used to fighting back and forth. So that group of Tongans went to Samoa. (3) Samoa faced them in a battle. The Tongans were victorious over Samoa. [The] Tongans returned [home]. Because the Samoans had lost. [They] really lost badly! [Sosemea laughs]. Well, [they did it] once again. [They] set out again. The Tongans. This was like a game to them in the old days. If [they] wished to kill people, [they] had a war. Voyaged [there], eh? [So Tonga] went again. Again the Samoans lost to the Tongans. (4) Well on that second

voyage of the Tongans, Tefolaha was enamoured of the Samoan women. So Tefolaha just hid there in Samoa. Their group [of Tongans] left, but [he] stayed in Samoa. [He] married Teati, [that was] the name of a Samoan woman. Teati [was] the name of Tefolaha's wife. The thing was, they had no children as a result of that marriage of his. Time passed. The Tongans again waged war. But [now] Tefolaha was fighting for Samoa. (5) [He] fought against his very own country. Tonga. And so, the Samoans were victorious. Because the [chief] warrior of Tonga was staying with the Samoan [side]. And so the Samoans were victorious. Tefolaha remained there. His stay there [was] not very long, [then] he came on his voyage to visit here, to the Ellice Islands. [He] came and came, and reached all the way to Nanumea itself. (6) [He] came ashore at Nanumea, there were no people on Nanumea. But as [he] walked around [he] came upon a single house. [He] saw from far off two women sitting inside. [He] changed right to his spirit nature. [He] went to sit up above in the attic, to sit above. You two know [about] that thing which used to be called a "loko" here in Nanumea. (7) [He] let down the loko onto the first woman. Because he wished to know the names of those two there. Well the first woman said, "Hey Pai, that loko there is lowering down onto your head, [it] is almost touching your head." So Tefolaha knew that that [woman] there was Pai, the name of that woman there. (8) [He] went [on], lowering the loko down onto the name of the [notes his error], onto the head of the other woman. So Pai said, "Hey Vau, that loko is lowering down onto your head. [It is] almost touching

your head." That done, [he] changed to his human nature, and walked in the door. He said, "Go away from my island." Tefolaha said [that] to the two women there. (9) To go away from his island. The two women said, "Who says it is your island? This island here is ours alone!" "This island is not yours. Take me, for instance, I know your names. So," Tefolaha said, "Can you guess what my name is?" [The women] looked this way and that way, [but] they did not know the name of Tefolaha. Pai and Vau replied, "What are our names?" Tefolaha said, "Your name is Pai, and you are Vau." Those two women there jumped up, [and] went away from the island. (10) So Tefolaha stayed there, here, not very long, [then he] went, returned. He returned there, returned to his real country. On his second journey there, his return, he went to Tonga, to his real country. There [he] took, married a wife. The name of his wife there, the thing is that was his second wife, was Puleala. In Tonga. (11) [They] came to Samoa. Came to Samoa, [he] got the crew for his canoe. From Samoa. Got his crew. [They] came here. Came right here to Nanumea. [They] remained here in Nanumea. His crew were real Samoans. But his wife, Puleala, was a Tongan. But his first wife was a Samoan, Teati. [He] had no children from Teati, and so [he] discarded her in Samoa. [He] did not want her because she had no children. (12) So on that trip [they] stayed here. And so his children were born. His children were born. His first child was Tutaki. The second was Fiaola. And the third [was] Lavega. [Those were] the names

of Tefolaha's children. Well, time passed, children were born, children were born to Lapi and Lavega...oh! [notices his mistake] (13) So [they] gave birth and Lapi and Vele [were born], children of Tutaki, children of Tutaki. Descending from the children of Tefolaha. [The] thing is [they] married to, [they] married into, well, as I said. [They] gave birth inside [the kin group], [one of them] married his tuaatina, "sister's child," the child of Lofale. Lofale. Well I don't really know the ordering of spouses, of those people, of those birth sets. Tefolaha had a child, Lavega. Tefolaha had children. (14) [They gave birth] incestuously⁴ there, the origins there, [well] I don't really know about [the details] of the origins...there from the canoe crew which came from Samoa, eh?...Well, that child of Lavega married that [other] child, of [his brother] Tutaki. [They] married back and forth [in that manner]. Takitua is very clear about it, the order [of who married who]....So, [they] gave birth here in Nanumea. [And] descended there from Tefolaha. Lavega had children. Tutaki had children. What's his name had children. Well, it went on, the giving birth went on here in Nanumea. That is the ending of my story of the coming of Tefolaha.

NOTES

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

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

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

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