

Alaga'upu Fa'a Samoa

SAMOAN PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

U.R.

199

Collected, translated and explained by

Dr. E. Schultz

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PASIFIKA PRESS
P.O.Box 68446
Auckland 1145
New Zealand
press@pasifika.co.nz

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INTRODUCTION

IN THE FIELD OF RHETORIC the Samoans have shown both skill and artistry. The most frequently used and best beloved embellishment of the language to which the orator resorts, is the *muagagana* or *alaga'upu*. They are proverbial expressions, mostly in elliptically mutilated form, taken from the mythology, the history and the everyday lives of the Samoan people and serve to illustrate their opinions and utterances. Both words are similar in meaning, but differ in so far as the *alaga'upu* points towards the existence of a story from which the proverb originates (*o le tala e ala ai le upu*). *Muagagana* (from *mua*, first, excellent, and *gagana*, language, speech) could be translated: embellishment of the language, elevated style.

In the existing Samoan literature the proverbial expressions have suffered woeful and undeserved neglect. However, the orators use them so frequently and they shed so much light on the past history and the present opinions of the people, that their importance cannot be overrated. The grammars and dictionaries present a few *muagagana*, but leave them often untranslated and unexplained. The present collection is an attempt to rectify this deficiency.

According to the thought expressed, the *muagagana* can be divided as follows:

1. *Upu fa'aalalo*: expressions of respect and courtesy.
2. *Upu fa'amaulalo*: respect and courtesy in the form of self-abasement.
3. *Upu vivi'i*: laudatory and complimentary remarks.
4. *Upu fiafia*: expressions of joy and contentment.
5. *Upu alofa*: expressions of love, compassion, and sympathy.
6. *Upu fa'anoanoa*: expressions of repentance and remorse.
7. *Upu fa'aulaula*: raillery, ridicule, jests.
8. *Upu faifai*: offensive expressions, insults.
9. *Upu fa'aalualu*: encouragement, persuasion.
10. *Upu fa'amafanafana*: comforting, consolatory expressions.
11. *Upu taofiofi*: warning, exhortation, appeasement.
12. *Upu fa'afiti*: denial, refusal.

In compiling the proverbial expressions I consulted the works of Kraemer, Pratt, v. Buelow, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Sierich, Stair, Stuebel, and Turner. Most of the material, however, I obtained directly from the Samoans themselves, about thirty of whom gave me their generous and unselfish assistance.

CHAPTER ONE

FISHING

1. The Samoan fish-hook consists of a longish shaft of polished pearl shell, *pa*, and a hook made of tortoise shell, *maga*. The hook is ingeniously fastened to the *pa* with thin threads of coconut fibre. The whole contraption is known as *matau*, or more simply, *pa*.
To polish the *pa*, pieces of coral are used: the rough kind called *puga*, as well as the softer *'ana*.

Ia a le puga, a le 'ana, or *Ia a le puga niisi, a le 'ana niisi*. Some parts are polished with *puga*, others with *'ana*.

Upu fa'aalulu: General invitation to assist in the reconciliation of quarrelling parties.

2. Laua is the name of a bay in Falelima as well as the name of one of Falelima's five divisions. In the days of yore Tuiuea (the king of the Uea or Wallis) came to this village. The king had a *pa* but he did not know how to tie it correctly into a fish-hook. He invited all the *tautai* (fishers and sailors) of Samoa to come to Laua and help him. They finally succeeded in tying the hook.

Ua 'atoa le faga i Laua. All have assembled in the Bay of Laua.

Upu fa'aalalo: Respectful term used to designate a full meeting.

3. The feathers of certain birds, e.g., the *tava'e* or tropic bird, are attached to the fish-hook to serve as artificial bait. Before the introduction of firearms, this bird was caught in the following way: The hunter searched for a nest with young and climbed up to it. With a thread pulled through the young bird's nostrils, he tied up the fledgling's bill in such a way that it was still able to cry but not to swallow. When the parents returned, they were so terrified at the young one's inability to eat, that they left all caution aside and could be caught easily. The Samoans maintain that if the parents were left undisturbed, they would remain with their young and allow themselves to starve to death.

E gase a uluga. The dying of the pair of birds.

Upu alofa: Loving words referring to friends who stick together through thick and thin.

Ta te gase a uluga. Let us die together.

Upu fa'aalualu: Words of encouragement.

4. *Se'i muamua ona ala uta.* Try the fish line first on land.

So that it may be used effectively the following morning.

Upu taofiofi: Warning: Look before you leap.

5. A pair of fish-hooks tied together is called *talaga*. The tying is done on the evening before the fishing expedition. The following morning the fisher embarks in his canoe, unties the hooks, and fastens the line of one to his right leg and the other to his left leg. The best hooks are those with a perfectly white pearl shell shaft.

Ua talaga a pa sina. A couple of white pearl shell fish-hooks.

Upu vivi'i: Words of praise referring to the speech of one high chief or orator and the reply made by another.

6. *O le pa ua sala i le maga.* The hook has been torn off the shaft. It is more difficult to make the shaft, *pa*, than the hook, *maga*; therefore, the *pa* is more valuable. If the *maga* breaks or is bitten off by a fish, the loss can easily be repaired.

Upu fa'aulaula: Playful words referring to losses easy to bear and easy to repair. In the estimation of the Samoans the death of the wife or a little child is to be counted among these. The death of the head of the family, on the other hand, is considered a great loss.

7. *O le pa ua sala le fausaga.* The fish-hook is incorrectly bound. When the hook is badly bound, the fish will not take it.

Upu fa'anoanoa. Expression of regret meaning: The undertaking failed because some error was committed in its execution.

8. *Se'i motu le pa 'a 'ua iloa.* May the pearl shell fish-hook never be lost before it has been shown to others.

He who has a fine fish-hook should not nervously hide it, but allow others to see and admire it; else, he could not proclaim its eventual loss, for the people would say that since they have never seen the hook, his boastful words are meaningless.

Upu fa'alumaluma. Mocking words meaning: Don't speak boastfully about the loss of an object whose existence was unknown.

Upu fa'anoanoa. Words of regret used by the loser.

The following applications are also customary: "It is mean to hide one's possessions." With the communalistically minded Samoans avarice is one of the worst vices.

If you have to form a resolution, do not revolve the matter in your own mind only, but discuss it with others. Should things take an unfavourable turn, they will then be willing to help you (just as he who is familiar with a fine fish-hook, is able to find a similar one).

9. *Ia uluulu matafolau.* Go and look in the fishermen's houses.

According to the communalistic system of the Samoans, a travelling party is allowed to beg fish-hooks at the houses where they call. A wider interpretation is often given to this custom, known as *malagafaga*, and the begging may be extended to other objects. To get good hooks one has to ask in the houses of the *tautai* (*afolau**); elsewhere only inferior hooks will be offered.

Upu fa'aalualu. Words of encouragement: don't be negligent, but do the thing thoroughly.

10. *Sa'a fa'aoti le utu a le faimea.* Let the fisherman's bamboo receptacle be completely emptied out.

Faimea are those *tautai* who are clever at making fish-hooks. *Utu* is the bamboo receptacle in which the hooks are kept. *Fa'aoti* (from *oti*, to die) is a figure of speech for *fa'aumu* (completely, so that nothing is left).

If a visitor comes to the *faimea* to get a fish-hook, the latter should empty the receptacle completely and not niggardly hide a hook.

Upu fa'aalualu: (1) In a discussion each one should tell his opinion unreservedly; only then can the right decision be reached. (2) At a reconciliation the opponents should openly confess the cause of their dissatisfaction, so that permanent peace may be concluded.

11. *O le va'a ua seu vale, 'a o ala le mafua.* A canoe is steered in the wrong direction while a swarm of little fishes arises.

**Afolau* is really a longish boathouse. A *tautai* must have a long dwelling house where he can store his long fishing rods. This is why a long dwelling house is also called *afolau*. It is supposed that in ancient times the *tautai* frequently lived in boathouses.

When a number of *matai* turn out for a common fishing expedition (*alafaga*), each canoe must keep its place and be steered properly, lest the fishing lines get tangled. Failure to do this is particularly troublesome when the little fishes appear, because they will be chased by the big ones and, at the same time, they serve as free bait for the fishermen.

Upu fa'amaulalo and *upu faifai*. The saying is used in a *fono* (council meeting) by an orator who interrupts another speaker or who wishes to express a different opinion.

12.

Seu foga'afa. To steer a canoe in such a way that the fishing line (of another canoe) is turned in the wrong direction.

This proverb is also used to describe the troublesome condition explained in No. 11. *Foga'afa* is idiomatic for *faga'afa*.

I was also told that *Seu foga'afa* designates a usage customary at the *alafaga* and resembles the *malafaga* (No. 9). A fisherman who has lost his hooks may approach another canoe, take hold of a fish line and remove the fish-hook.

O le a ou seu foga'afaina is an *upu fa'amaulalo* used in the same sense as No. 11. In the form of *E te seu foga'afa*, it is an *upu faifai* addressed to another who has caused an interruption in a *fono* without apologizing with an *upu fa'amaulalo*.

13.

Ua sa'a i le tai le 'upega o Pili. Pili's net has been poured out into the sea.

Pili, a hero of Samoan mythology, taught the Samoans how to fish with nets. In the Apolima Strait he spread a net that reached from Savai'i to Upolu. So many fish were caught in it, that the boats could not hold them and many had to be thrown back into the sea.

Upu fa'anoanoa used at the loss of some benefit anticipated or already obtained, particularly when it is lost through negligence.

14.

Ua tu'u tasi le upega o Pili. Pili cast his net by himself.

Upu vivi'i used of a person or a community that performs an undertaking unassisted.

15.

In Aleipata, too, Pili showed the people how to fish with nets, but the expedition was unsuccessful. When the

girls grumbled because the anticipated tit-bits failed to appear, Pili soothed them with the words:

O le upega e tautau, 'ae fagota. The net is now hanging up (to dry), but it will soon be used for fishing again.

Upu fa'ama[ana]ana. An exhortation not to allow oneself to be downcast by a single failure.

16. A big fish net is made in parts (*tulavae*) by individual persons. The *tulavae* are afterwards joined together. Before the work begins, the mesh-sticks (*afa*) are measured and made equal, so that all the meshes may be of the same size. When the net is finished people say, *Ua peiseai sa fai i se afa e tasi*; or elliptically:

Ua se afa e tasi. It looks as if it were all made with one and the same mesh-stick.

Upu vivi'i used to express a common opinion or a unanimous verdict.

17.

Ua 'ou seuseu ma le fata. I am fishing because I have helped to make a *fata*.

The *tulavae* is a portion of the fish net made by one person, as explained in No. 16. All the *tulavae* made by a section of the village are joined into a *fata*. The totality of the *fata*, again, form the complete net. A person who has supplied a *tulavae* for the *fata* is entitled to take part in the fishing and to share in the catch. He may not be repulsed.

The saying means: I have the right to take part in the discussion.

18.

Ua tu'u i tai le va'a tele. The big net has been spread out in the sea.

Va'a tele (big boat) is used figuratively for '*upega tele* (big net). When a village is making a new net, the nearby villages are not allowed to fish for some time before its completion. They may resume fishing, however, a little while after the new net has been tried out for the first time.

Upu fa'aloalo. It is becoming to listen to and to consider the speech of a distinguished orator.

19.

Fa'atiloilo masae. To look, like a fish, for a hole in the net.

The explanation given by Pratt "to seek an occasion to quarrel" is incorrect.

The fish caught in the net looks for some advantage, namely for a hole through which it may regain its liberty. Man, also, strives after material advantages. He tries to find out if the other person is good natured, liberal, hospitable and how he can turn things to his advantage.

Often one hears this saying at the reception of guests. Samoan etiquette requires the visitor to assure his host that he has not come to *fa'atitilo masae*, i.e., to sponge on him.

20.

O le upega le talijau. A net that is beyond repair.

Used of a weak, sickly old man.

21.

When fishing for *anae* (mullet) the fishermen post themselves around the big net. As the fish take to flight by jumping out of the net, they are caught in small hand nets (*alagamea*). This method of fishing is known as *seu*. Samoan custom requires that a man who has caught many fish, gives a few to his neighbour who has not caught any. This is called:

Va lelei. To keep up friendly relations with one's neighbour.

22.

O le i'a a tautai e alu i le fa'alolo. The fish seems to do the will of the *tautai* (chief fisherman).

When the fish see an opening in the net, they swim to the place where the *tautai* stands as if they obeyed him. The *tautai* alone has the right to push down the net and catch the fish.

Upu fa'amaulalo: Obedience.

23.

When the members of a family are fishing with their net another person will, perhaps, put to sea and join them in the hope that he will get his share of the catch after having assisted them. He will say to the *tautai*: *Fa'amole-mole, o lo'u va'a o le va'a si'i vale, ua ou sau lava i lo'u fia fagota*, i.e., I beg your pardon; I have launched my canoe without a good excuse; I have come to help you. The *tautai* may not refuse him.

O le va'a si'i vale la'u lauga nei. My speech is like a canoe launched without a sufficient reason.

Upu fa'amaulalo by which is meant: The matter on which I am now going to speak does not really concern me and I am overstepping my rights in taking the word. However, as my opinion may be of some value to you, I will express

it and, at the same time, beg your pardon for my tactless interference.

It is also used as an *upu faifai* to repulse someone's interference.

24.

O le upega e fili i le po, 'ae talatala i le ao. The net that became entangled in the night will be disentangled in the morning.

For a certain kind of night fishing the Samoans use a particular net called *ta'po*. After the catch, the net is carried ashore and hung up. The following morning it is properly put in order.

In order to settle a dispute, it is necessary to be clear about its causes.

25.

The method of fishing called *lau'loa* consists in enclosing a large space of shallow water in the lagoon by means of a coconut-leaf net. The fish are then driven to a spot previously agreed upon. The whole village led by the *tautai* takes part in the drive. Should anyone, in the excitement of the work or to show off, give orders to his neighbours, no one will heed him, for only the *tautai* may give orders. The busybody's pretended wisdom, therefore, will be of no avail.

O le poto a lau'loa. The wisdom shown at *lau'loa* fishing.

Upu fa'alumaluma referring to a *matai* who has no vote in the village or family council and who yet insists on giving instruction and advice which everyone will ignore.

26. At *lau'loa* fishing some men must mind the net lest it become entangled and tear in the stones and coral slabs. while the others are dragging it.

Fa'au'ui lau lavea. To disentangle the coconut-leaf net.

This is used of someone who tries to prevent or settle a dispute.

27.

E ta'ape a fatuati. The collapse of the heap of stones.

Fatuati is a heap of stones erected under water in the lagoon to attract fish. When this contraption has been destroyed deliberately or otherwise, the fishermen will come and rebuild it.

Upu fa'amafanafana referring to a disunited family or village community whose reconciliation is at hand.

28.

O le lamaga ua fa'atau aiu. At torch fishing an *aiu* appeared on either hand.

One night two women planned to go fishing with torches on the reef. As they had to wait for low tide, they lay down and fell asleep. While they slept, an *aiu* (spirit, devil) came along and took on the form of one of the women. He then awakened the other and went out with her to the reef where he intended to kill and eat her. However, a second *aiu*, much revered by the other woman's family, approached her and said "Run away quick and I will conceal your flight; that is not your friend but an *aiu*." While she was running away, he changed himself into her form and went fishing with the first *aiu*. When day broke the latter saw that his plan had miscarried.

The saying means: To countermine another's evil designs.

29.

Faiva o Fiti ia lililo. Let the Fijian method of fishing remain a secret.

The *Tuifiti* (King of Fiji) had two wives, one a Fijian, the other a Samoan. Each had borne him a son. One day the boys went fishing for their father. The Fijian used bow and arrow; the other fished with a spear like the Samoans. The Fijian met with failure, but the Samoan caught many fish. Thereupon the two determined to tell their father that both had used the spear. They also decided that the Fijian method of fishing, being so unsatisfactory, should no longer be taught to others. In Samoa, in fact, fishing with bow and arrow has hardly ever been popular; today it has completely fallen into disuse.

The saying means, not to reveal a certain matter, such as the commission of an injustice.

30.

A fisherman at his work or returning from the sea, being asked whether he has caught anything, will give a negative answer if he wants to keep all the fish for himself. From this we have the saying:

O le fa'afiti a tautai. The denial of the fisherman.

A petitioner uses it to indicate he realizes the negative answer he gets is only an evasion.

31.

When a *tauta* (landman, opposite of *tautai*) advances an opinion regarding fishing or navigation, he receives the answer:

O le va'ai a le tauta. That is the opinion of a landlubber.

It means that his opinion is of no value. The saying also has the same meaning as No. 25. Besides, it refers to a faint-hearted person who is ready to give up as soon as he meets with a difficulty.

32.

When a *matai tauta* (landlubber) who owns fishing tackle but understands nothing about fishing, wants some fish, he will give the tackle and a present to a *tautai* and ask him to go fishing for him. If the *tautai* has no luck, people will say it is the punishment for some sin he has committed and that he must try again until he makes a catch.

O le sala a tautai e totogi. The *tautai* must pay for his sins.

Upu fa'amaulalo meaning: If I have caused some trouble, such as a quarrel, I must try my best to set things right.

33.

A tulituliloa 'ua o le mago i Foa? Is he to be pursued like the shark of Foa?

Mago is a species of shark; *pa'itele* was a sea-monster about which little is known. Once upon a time a *mago* and a *pa'itele* had a fight. The *mago* fled towards Savai'i followed by the *pa'itele*. On the coast near Asau the shark crept into a submarine cave. The *pa'itele* tried to follow, but it was so big that it got stuck. The *mago* escaped through a side opening. Later the shark went to Foa and proposed to Sinafalemoa, the daughter of the chief. As he was rejected, he died of grief. This is why he is known as the Shark of Foa.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofoa* used when one is pursued by misfortune.

34.

O le malie ma le tu'u malie. Every shark must be paid for.

The first shark caught in a new boat must be presented to the village by the owner of the boat. In return the owner will receive a gift of food. This gift is known as *tu'u malie* or payment for the shark.

The saying refers to "retribution" in a good and in a bad sense.

35.

O le tiaga a Matala'oa e tiu ma affi. When the Matala'oa people go fishing, they fish and wrap up.

Matala'oa was a bush village in Falealii, inland of Poutasi. It exists no longer. Its inhabitants had the reputation

of avoiding all waste when fishing. Their village being so far inland, they knew how to appreciate their catch. Anything they caught was carefully wrapped up and at once sent to the village.

Another explanation is as follows: Matala'oa was a crippled girl in Falealili. She lived in a small hut behind the big house occupied by her brother and his family. One day her brother went out to noose sharks and stayed away a long time. During his absence a strange chief came along and put up at the big house. Matala'oa suspected him of having illicit intercourse with her brother's wife, so she watched him and found her suspicions confirmed. She did not let on. At last her brother returned, but he had caught nothing. She told him that she also had been fishing and that she had carefully wrapped up the fish and stored it away. She then related what she had seen.

The meaning of the saying is the same in both cases. It is an *upu vivi'i*, commending a person for his retentive memory.

36.

To'ai fa'ia ia a po. To come like a fish in the night.

This pictures a fisher who sits in his boat on a dark night and is startled by the sudden appearance of a shark.

Upu fa'aulaula addressed to a person who appears unexpectedly. The visitor, too, may use the words but in a negative sense; *Ou te to'ai fa'ia i'a a po*, i.e. I do not come secretly like a fish in the night, but I am here to meet you all, to converse with you, to tell you my wishes.

37.

Fa'afananga a laumei. Like the young of the turtle.

It is the belief of the Samoans that the turtle lurks near her eggs on the beach and that she catches and eats her young as soon as they are hatched.

Upu faijai. Mocking words referring to loveless, undutiful parents.

38.

Ia o gatasi le futia ma le umele. The sinnet ring and the stand for the fishing rod must be equally strong.

The bonito fishing rod is fastened to the thwart by means of a sinnet ring (*futia*). The lower end rests in a stand, to which it is tied by means of a rope (*umele*). Both ropes must be of equal strength, lest one of them tear when a bonito bites.

Upu fa'aalulu. When two men are in partnership, they must be of one mind. Should one be weak and fainthearted, the undertaking will fail.

39.

O le foe fa'ae'e i le tau. The paddle lying on the deck of the fishing boat.

The canoe used for bonito fishing (*va'aalo*) is small. The bow and the stern are partly decked in. A paddle lying on this half deck may easily fall off.

Upu fa'amaulalo signifying that a person is unwilling to vouch for the correctness of his report or the unalterableness of his opinion.

40.

Ua se le atu i ama. The bonito was mistakenly pulled up on the outrigger side.

When a bonito has taken the bait, the fisherman will swing in his rod with a forward motion on the starboard side, the canoe still moving on. This cannot be done on the left side because of the outrigger. Should the fish or the line strike the outrigger (this may happen to an inexperienced or a hasty fisherman) the hook is likely to be torn out and the fish will be lost.

Upu fa'amaulalo. The saying is used by a speaker as an apology for having, in the heat of the discussion, offended one of his listeners or for having unintentionally omitted one of the set forms of speech required by Samoan etiquette.

41.

Ua tuliloa le atu a le sa'u. The bonito is pursued by the swordfish.

The swordfish (*sa'ula*) likes to pursue the bonito and follows it even when it seeks shelter near a boat.

Upu vivi'i to commend the energy and perseverance with which a person strives towards his goal. *Upu alofa* to express sympathy for one who is pursued like the bonito.

42.

Talanoa atu, 'ae le talanoa manu. The bonitos swim about thoughtlessly, but the seagulls are on the alert.

An incautious person will be surprised by his enemy.

43. Nafanua, the war goddess, dwelt in Falealupo, Savai'i. The land where her house stood now belongs to Chief Auva'a. There were three entrances to her house. The front entrance was used by those who came with a request. Through the back entrance she received the food which had to be offered to

her as tribute. The side entrance had a different purpose. It was called "the passage of the bonito" and through it the bonito fisher had to bring her a fish, even though he had caught only one. Opposite this entrance was Nafanua's seat.

Tau ina uia o le ala o le atu. Let it go the way of the bonito.

This is said by a person when Samoan custom requires him to give away some valuable object, such as a pig or a fine mat. Often a somewhat inferior object is chosen for such a presentation. The saying is then used by a member of the family or a third person to indicate that the quality of the gift does not correspond with the dignity of the receiver.

It is also used as an *upu fa'amaulalo*, an apology to the receiver whom courtesy then requires to praise the value of the gift.

44.

O le sapatu motu pa. The barracuda that tears off the hook.

The *sapatu* (barracuda) is a big predatory fish which, when caught, is very violent. It is, therefore, compared to a quarrelsome person.

45.

O le sapatu moe 'ese. The barracuda that sleeps apart.

The barracuda sleeps by itself because the other fish fear and avoid it.

Upu vivi'i. Words of praise to commend a person's power and strength.

46.

The inhabitants of the old village Papa (near Satupaitea, Savai'i) once noticed a big school of fish out in the sea. Thinking they were bonitos they hurried to the shore, embarked in their canoes and went out. However, the fish were not bonitos but *aitu* (devils, spirits) in the form of big sea eels. The eels rushed the people and started to devour them. A few men managed to regain the shore. However, another *aitu* named Pagoa was lurking there and ate up those who had escaped the eels. Thus the whole village perished. *Ua malaia nisi ia pusi, malaia nisi ia Pagoa;* or elliptically:

Ua a pusi, a Pagoa. Some were destroyed by the eels, others by Pagoa.

Upu fa'anoanoa or alofa. He who wishes to avoid Scylla falls into Charybdis. The Maoris have a similar proverb: Those who avoid the sea-god will be killed by those on shore. (An allusion to the legendary custom in the ancestral home of Hawaiki, of killing shipwrecked strangers.)

47.

O le galo e gase i Pa'au. The galo dies in Pa'au.

The *galo* is a full grown fish, which in its earlier stages is called *fugausi* and *laea*. Pa'au is the name of a piece of land and a lagoon between Vaisala and Sataua, Savai'i. The *galo* is frequently found in this lagoon. This is why the Samoans say that the full-grown fish come from all over Samoa to Pa'au, where they are caught.

During his lifetime a person frequently changes his abode, but when he is about to die he remembers his birthplace and his family and returns there to await the end.

48.

Ia moe le ufu, to'a le paipai. The *ufu* sleeps; the *paipai* sits calmly by.

The fish *fugausi* secretes a whitish substance in which it hides itself and feels secure from its enemies. In this state, which is considered a symbol of repose, it is known as *ufu*. The *paipai* is a small crab that moves about slowly and does not resist capture. Some maintain that *ufu* is the name of a certain fish and *paipai* the substance secreted by it.

Upu taofiofi. An admonition to live in peace and harmony.

49.

The *fuga* has soft dorsal fins; the *maono*, hard and spiny ones. The former, therefore, is compared to a peace-loving person; the latter to a quarrelsome one.

Ia tafatafa fuga, 'ae 'aua le tafatafa maono. Have dorsal fins like those of the *fuga* but not like those of the *maono*.

It has a meaning similar to No. 8. Introduced with the verbal particle *'ua*, the saying also refers to a person's disposition.

50.

The trunk-fish *moamoa* moves very slowly and is easily caught. The Samoans say that its existence is useless (*ola fua*), since it does not try to evade its enemies. (Kraemer's contention that the *moamoa* is not eaten is incorrect.)

Ua ola a moamoa. Like the life of the trunk-fish.

Upu fa'anoanoa or alofa, having a similar meaning to No. 33.

51.

Fetuia'i fa'afaga a 'apoa. To prick one another like a school of 'apoa.

The 'apoa have spines on the back and breast. They are gregarious. When lying in the sand, they can easily hurt one another.

Upu faifai. Rebuke for relatives, friends and neighbours who are quarrelsome and trying to harm one another.

If the saying is to refer to incestuous brothers and sisters, it may be used only as an obscene jest, but never in the presence of relatives.

52.

Ua se unavau. He is like an *unavau*.

The *unavau* is a poisonous fish that occasionally appears in a school of edible *pelupelu*. (Kraemer II, 416 says the *unavau* is the poisonous stage of the *pelupelu*.) The Samoans maintain that if a single *unavau* happens to be in a swarm of *pelupelu*, the latter will all be poisonous. The fact is that, now and then, fatal poisonings occur after the natives have partaken of *pelupelu* that were caught with an *unavau*. I am not competent to judge how the *unavau*'s poison is communicated to *pelupelu*, whether this happens in the sea or when the two fish are accidentally cooked together.

Upu faifai referring to a meddler or a slanderer who endangers the peace of a family or a village.

53.

E a sipa le lama, 'ae fano malolo. The torch is tilted over while the flying fish die.

Sinasegi, the daughter of the Tuiaana Fa'apilipili and his wife Sinalaua, went fishing one night on the reef of Falelima. The glare of her torch unexpectedly attracted a large number of flying fish that fell into the canoe although it was not flying fish she wanted but a different kind.

Another explanation is as follows: For the capture of the dolphin (*masimasi*) the hook is baited with flying fish. The latter are caught with a small fish-hook. While the fisher is waiting for a bite, his boat must move on slowly. The sail is, therefore, somewhat lowered until it hangs in an inclined position (*sipa*).

Upu fa'anuanuoa or *alofa* referring to a person who has come to harm through another's fault.

54.

Ua ta i matau, ta i ama fa'alamaga ise. When fishing for *ise* we swing the net sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left.

The *ise* (*garfish*) is caught by torch light with a hoop-net.

An orator who digresses from his topic and speaks now of this, now of that, so that no one knows what he wants to say (*fa'a le maua se tonu*) is compared to the *ise* fisher who swings his net in every direction.

55. When the *gatala* has been impregnated, it moves very slowly. The Samoans compare this state of repose to grief and mourning and maintain that the *matulau* is then often seen in company with the *gatala*. Both fish are frequently caught together.

Ua fa'anoa fua le matulau i le fa'anoa a gatala. The *matulau* share the *gatala*'s grief without reason.

Upu faifai referring to a person who meddles with other people's affairs without the slightest reason.

56.

Ua se matulau. Like unto a *matulau*.

When exposed to the air the *matulau* dies very quickly.

Upu faifai referring to weakness and inefficiency.

57.

The swarms of *lo* (whitebait) usually appear first at Fagaiofu, a sandy coast between Falelatai and Lefaga. Not so long ago there was a village there, whose people are now living in Falevai, a *fuaiala* (section) of Falelatai. From Fagaiofu the *lo* travel to Falelatai and then along the coast to Manono. Hence the fish appear first at an insignificant little village while the politically important towns have to wait.

Ua mua'i ta i'a Fagaiofu. Fagaiofu goes fishing first.

Upu faifai. Mocking words referring to common people who begin to eat before the high chiefs, and to similar cases.

58. When the *lo* appears, Samoan custom requires the family of the husband to present a number of these fish to his wife's clan. Her family repay the gift with *sia'po* (tapa cloth). In Manono the *lo* appears so often that it is paid for with *lo*.

Avatu ni lo, aumai ni lo. To give *lo* and to receive *lo*.

Tit for tat.

59.

Ua se tiftifi. Like a *tiftifi*.

The *tiftifi* is a small fish. According to Pratt the word means "a nimble warrior." I have never heard it used in this sense. I think it is simply as a *faianaga*, a jest referring to a lean person. The aesthetic sense of the Samoans requires a person of dignity to be well-fed and portly.

60.

On a *malaga* to Satuimalufilufi (Faleolo) Leaosavai'i, a chief from Savai'i called on High Chief Lilomaiaava. The

latter was just returning from fishing. Entering the house, he poured the fish in front of his guest. A little *tiftifi* that was still alive sprang up and fell into a deep hole and Lilomaiva said, "Perhaps you want that fish too?" "Yes," replied Leao and Lilomaiva said, "Well, then the post must be taken down."

Fa'i pea le pou i Faleolo, 'ae su'e le i'a a Leaosavai'i. Break down the post in Faleolo and look for the fish of Leaosavai'i.

Upu fa'aalualu. Words to encourage a person to strive after his goal, and not allow himself to be deterred by any consideration or obstacle.

61.

E sola le fai, 'ae tu'u le foto. The sting-ray escapes, but it leaves its barb behind.

The sting-ray (*fai*) has a sharp barbed spine in its tail with which it can inflict severe wounds. The barb easily breaks off and remains in the wound, while the fish escapes.

Upu fa'anoanoa. The evil a man does, lives after him.

62.

Aua e te fagota i le sao. Do not fish with the stick.

To catch the octopus within the reef, the fisher uses a stick, *sao*, with which the fish is tickled and enticed from its lair. The fisher then pulls it forth with his hand and kills it by sinking his teeth through its head. Experts may use their hands only to catch small octopuses; but the correct and most efficient method is fishing with the help of the *sao*.

Upu taofofi. Do not enquire too deeply into the things which do not concern you, e.g., the affairs of another family (*aua e te sagolegole*).

63.

O le vaivai o le fe'e. The softness of the octopus.

Notwithstanding its soft body the octopus is a powerful fish.

Upu vivi'i referring to a small but influential family or village, a calm but momentous speech and to similar circumstances.

64.

The fish had a *fono* regarding the advisability of declaring war on the birds. Because of its small size the *igaga* was not invited to the meeting. However, when hostilities began he joined the fish.

O le i'a a itiiti o igaga. The *igaga* is only a tiny fish.

Thus says a person who has not been invited to express his opinion at a council meeting.

65.

Ua fa'afugafuga gutulua fa'a'apea. He has two mouths like the sea cucumber.

In the war between the birds and the fishes (No. 64) fortune was changing. The sea cucumber always held with the victor. (The fable evidently owes its origin to the fact that the sea cucumber's anus may easily be mistaken for a mouth.)

66.

Folau a alamea. The cure of the *alamea*.

The *alamea* is a spiny sea star. The sting of the *alamea* may be cured by turning over the animal and allowing it to suck out the spines.

Like cures like.

67.

Once upon a time there was an *aitu* (devil, spirit) who had the form of a trumpet shell (Triton shell, *pu, foafoa*) and ate men. At night he came ashore through a passage in the reef to look for his prey and in the morning he returned to the sea. The inhabitants of the coast finally determined to rid themselves of the oppressor. One night, under the direction of an experienced fisherman (*tautai*), they stretched a net (*lologamata*) across the reef passage. When the *aitu* wanted to return, he became entangled in the net and cried out in a loud voice. The fishermen said *Ua tagi le pu ina ua maua i le upega, o le a mate.* (The *pu* cries because it is caught in the net where it will die.)

Ua tagi a pu mate. Like the crying of the *pu* that is going to die.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofa* referring to a person who is in danger of his life.

68.

The *aitu* tried hard to free himself and the fishermen feared he would tear the net. The *tautai*, however, knowing that the net was strong enough to hold him said, *E le afaina.* (It does not matter; there is no danger.)

Ua to i lologamata. He is secure in the net.

Upu fa'ama'afanafana or *vivi'i* used when a thing is done with so much skill and energy that we may rest assured of its success.

69. On fixed days in October and November every year the *palolo* worm appears on the reef and is caught in large quantities by the Samoans who highly esteem it. The fish, too, lie in wait for it. When the catch is poor, the fishermen exaggerate on their return, saying that they saw the *palolo* only in the mouths of the fish they caught.

Tau ina iloa ia i'a. Only seen in the mouths of the fish.

Upu fa'amaulalo used as an excuse by a person who has so little food, *ta'pa*, etc., that it is not worth while making distribution.

70. *Ua penapena i tua o tai i'a.* They were too late for the catch. It means the *palolo* was gone by the time the people reached the reef.

Upu fa'aulaula, alofa or *fa'anoanoa*: He who comes too late must content himself with what is left.

71. *Ua sa i'a e moe.* Like a sleeping fish.

Originally this was used metaphorically for a beautiful calm day when the sea and the mountains are perfectly visible. Thus people say, *Ua se i'a e moe o mauga o Savi'i*. The mountains of Savi'i are like a sleeping fish. Since the spread of Christianity the saying refers to the repose of the soul after death.

72. *Ua se i'a e sola.* He is like a fish that escaped.

Upu vivi'i: A figure of speech for "speed."

73. *O le i'a ua lata i le loto.* The fish is near a deep spot.

As soon as the fisherman appears, the fish will escape into deep water where it can no longer be caught.

Referring to a person about to leave his home, never to return. It also refers to elderly or sick people whose days are numbered, but in this case it may not be used in the presence of the person to whom it is applied.

74. *Ua fa'afaiva o matu'u.* It is like the fishing of the heron.

The Samoans say that the greedy heron eats all the fish it catches and brings nothing to its family.

Upu faifai. The heron is compared to an egotistical person who refuses to share his belongings with his fellow-men.

75. *Ua le fa'asino pu, le tautu'u palapala.* He neither searches the holes nor does he dig away the mud.

A certain crab called *tupa* that lives in salt-water swamps, is caught by digging it out of the hole in which it makes its home.

Upu faifai referring to a lazy person or a shirker who will not lend a hand at a job undertaken by the community.

76. *E gase le pa'a i lona vae.* The crab dies by its own leg.

When the fisherman has caught a crab, he pulls out its leg and with it pierces the animal.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofa* or *faifai* referring to a person who has come to harm through his own fault or that of a relative or friend.

77. *E pata le tutu i ona vae.* The crab brags about its legs.

The *tutu* is a crab with big, strong legs.

Upu faifai referring to a person who brags in a difficult situation when he knows that help is near.

78. the *papata* crab had borne a child and there was much rejoicing among the relatives. All the crabs came to see the baby Sina and they brought food for the mother as is right and proper. Only the *matamea* crab presented herself without a gift. She simply came to sponge and, sitting by the mother, she smacked her lips covetously until she was reproved for her unseemly behaviour.

O le mitimiti a matamea. The sponging of the *matamea* crab.

Upu faifai referring to a person who feigns love and affection.

79. The following saying is based on the same story (No. 78):

E le'i mitimiti papata. The *papata* crab has not yet smacked her lips, i.e., has had nothing to eat yet.

Upu faifai: You have not shown by your deeds that you wish me well.

80.

E a le uga i tausili, 'ae tigaina fua le atigi aliti. The hermit crab is doing the climbing, but it is its shell that suffers the damage.

The hermit crab often wanders inland. When it tries to climb over rocks and tree trunks, it frequently tumbles down.

The shell, then, has to sustain the fall while the crab itself gets off unhurt.

Upu alofa, fa'aulaula or *fa'anoanoa*. The chiefs and orators make the decisions, but the common people (*tagatalautele*) must carry them into effect and suffer all the consequent hurt and damage, e.g., after a declaration of war.

81.

Ai la'ai fa'avalu. To join another at his meal like the crayfish.

Upu faifai: The little crayfish *valo* that leaves its hole and, unbidden, enters its neighbour's hole, illustrates a person who officiously meddles with other people's concerns.

82.

O le i'a a vai malo. Governmental power is like a fresh water fish.

Fresh water fish, e.g., the *tuna* (river eel) are slimy and slippery and, therefore, hard to catch and hold. So it is with governmental power. When one party has, with much trouble, conquered another and established a government, it has to watch lest its newly acquired power be wrested from it.

Upu fa'aalulu referring to the frequency of the Samoan civil wars. When the saying is applied to girls (*o le i'a vai tama'ita'i*), it is used as a *faianaga* (jest).

83.

O le faila tu i le ama. A piece of forked wood standing on the outrigger.

The *faila* is a piece of forked wood fastened to the front part of the outrigger of a canoe. Its purpose is to support the fishing rod, the spear, etc., lest they obstruct the narrow hold of the boat.

Upu fa'amaulalo. A visiting *matai* applies these words to himself when he thinks that, owing to his presence, his hosts are prevented from discussing their affairs. *O le faila tu i le ama a'u nei*, i.e., don't mind me; I am standing outside the canoe.

84.

At low tide two girls were fishing in the lagoon of Sale'imoa. The chief Amituana'i came along and abducted them.

Ua fano lua i masa. Both perished at low tide.

This refers to a mishap that befalls several people at the same time. It is also used jestingly at the preparation of food or kava, when the portion set aside is likely to prove insufficient and the whole available supply had better be used.

85. La'ulu is the name of a reef near Falealupo, very rich in fish. *Ua tagi le tagata e ona le va'a i le tautai ia ave le va'a i La'ulu ia goto ona o le tele o i'a*. The owner of a boat begged a *tautai* to take his boat to La'ulu even though it should sink with the weight of the catch.

Na tagisia La'ulu o se va'a ia goto.

Upu fa'aalulu. Meet the danger with courage and confidence and you will be assured of victory.

86.

E 'asa le faiva, 'ae le 'asa le masalo. A fishing expedition may have no success, but a suspicion usually has some ground for it.

A motto characterizing the Samoan who is suspicious himself and often invites suspicion.

87.

Sili le foe. To hang up the paddle (after a fishing expedition).

It means, to refrain from further participation in an affair; to leave the decision to another.

90. *E sa'olele le tuamafa i lou finagalo.* Your will is as the flight of an old pigeon.

Tuamafa is an old pigeon, the leader of the flock. It flies where it will and the others follow.

Upu fa'aaloalo: Obedience.

91. *Ua fufui fa'atasi, 'ae vao 'ese'ese.* Gathered into a flock from different parts of the forest.

The pigeons are scattered in the bush to look for food, to mate, etc. Then they will gather into a flock to travel to another part of the forest whence they will scatter once more.

Used of an assembly whose members have come from different villages and who, later on, will disperse again.

92. *E pipili tia, 'ae mamao ala.* The *tia* are close together but it is a long way from one to the other.

Two *tia* (cleared spaces in the bush for pigeon catching) on opposite hills may be so close together that one can be seen from the other, but because of the intervening valley the way between them may be a long one.

Thus, two families or two villages may live in close proximity and yet be far removed one from the other through lack of kinship. This was the original meaning of the proverb. The introduction of Christian ideas has given it a wider meaning: Men are living together on earth, but whether they will ever meet depends on the will of God who may send sickness, storms or other obstacles.

93. *O le fogatia ua malu maunu.* The catching place is full of decoy pigeons.

Upu vivivi referring to a village that boasts of many experienced orators.

94. *Ua numi le fau.* The string (to which the decoy pigeon is tied) is entangled

The affair is complicated and difficult.

95. *E atagia taga tafli.* The motion of the hunter's hand is visible.

The hunter sitting in his shelter lets the decoy pigeon fly with a toss into the air. If he is doing this awkwardly,

CHAPTER TWO

HUNTING

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: The fauna of Samoa is poor. For the chase it offers only feathered game. The following are the principal game birds: the *lupe* (pigeon), the *manutagi* (a small species of pigeon), the *manuali'i*, the *ve'a* (swamp hen), the *tava'e* (tropic bird), the *gogo* and some other sea birds.

The people hunted mostly with the help of decoy birds. To bait the *manuali'i*, a bunch of bananas was used (No. 123). In Tutuila people knew how to catch sea birds without a decoy (No. 126). Birds were caught either with a hoop-net or in a cage in whose open top the decoy bird (*manutagi*) was fettered. They were also shot with bow and arrow (No. 112). For the community hunt a *tia* (cleared space in the bush for hunting) was prepared and shelters or hiding places erected for the individual hunters. This was particularly done for the purpose of hunting pigeons.

The numerous *muagagana* (proverbial expressions) relating to pigeon catching prove how popular the sport was with the Samoans. The modern firearm has put an end to the old Samoan sport. Only the *manutagi* is still caught in the old way and, if the report be true, the chiefs of Aopo and Tiave'a will, occasionally, net pigeons according to the ancient rules of the hunt.

88. *Muniao (la'au fa'alava)* is a transverse piece of wood placed across the net to keep it properly stretched.

Fetu'una'i muniao. To push the cross-piece back and forth (in order to spread the net).

Upu taofiofi: Look before you leap.

89. *Ua leai se manu e olo.* Not a pigeon is cooing.

Thus say the hunters when, entering the bush, they notice no sign of the game.

The saying is used of a family or village where perfect peace reigns.

so that the motion of his hand can be seen, the wild pigeons will be suspicious and fly away.

Upu faifai or *fa'aulaula*: Your designs are too apparent and will fail.

96.

O le a sosopo le manu vale i le fogatia. A worthless bird flies over the *tia*.

By *manu vale* is meant any bird other than a pigeon. Should such a bird fly over the *tia*, it will be ignored by the hunters as only pigeons are wanted.

Upu fa'amaulalo having the same meaning as Nos. 11, 12, 23. According to Pratt: "Applied by one of himself when speaking before great chiefs."

97.

Ua le se'i seu fa'aalo. Why do you handle your net without considering the others.

Pratt translates: "Why do you not steer out of the way?" The word *seu* has two meanings: to turn the head of a canoe and to catch birds or fish in a net. If it is used in the first sense, Pratt's translation is correct and the figure is taken from the method of fishing known as *alafaga* (Nos. 3, 11, 12). If used in the other sense, it refers to pigeon hunting. One of the hunters tries to catch all the pigeons without considering those who have caught few or none. The information I have had from the natives convinces me that the second explanation is the correct one. The translation, then, would be: "Why do you handle your net without considering the others?"

Upu faifai: Why don't you pay respect and deference to others? The aggrieved person usually leaves it to another to utter this reproach unless he is unable to contain his anger. It is also used as an *upu fa'amaulalo*: *Fa'amolemole, ai a'u nei ua ou le seu fa'aalo*. (Compare Nos. 11, 12, 96.)

98.

O le lupe o le taeano. The pigeon of the early morning.

To catch the first pigeon of the day is considered a special achievement.

Upu fa'aaloalo: A polite expression referring to the first speech delivered at a meeting or at the reception of a travelling party.

99.

When a chief, with the help of his *tulafale*, succeeds in obtaining the hand of a noble lady, the latter (as well as the child issued from the marriage) is praised as

O le lupe na fa'ia mai i le fuiui. The pigeon that was detached from the rest of the flock.

The same figure of speech is used when the offspring of a noble family had been adopted by another village and honoured with a *matai* name.

100. When the wooing has presented particular difficulties, as through the lack of connections between the families of the bride and the bridegroom, then the young wife and her child are referred to as

O le lupe na seu silasila. A pigeon caught in the sight of all.

This figure of speech presupposes that a single pigeon was spied by a hunting party and that it was artfully enticed and caught in presence of all the hunters.

The *tulafale* try their utmost to bring about the wedding of their chief and when this is accomplished they are not sparing in flatteries, as they will be well rewarded with the fine mats that constitute the bride's dowry.

101.

Va i lupe maua. To catch one pigeon after the other.

A successful hunt. *Upu fiafia* referring to events that bring joy and contentment. *Ua va i lupe maua le aso nei*—this is a happy day, indeed.

102. A hunter who catches many pigeons rejoices in his shelter.

As this is closed on all sides, his companions know nothing about it.

'Oa'oa i faleseu. Delight in the hunter's hut.

Upu fiafia. Inward joy.

103. The chiefs Lefaoeseu of Atua and 'Ulumu of Tufutafoe were going to have a competition in pigeon snaring. 'Ulumu politely offered Lefao to take station in the *falemua*—the front hut. When a flock of pigeons came down, Lefao caught a great number of them before the other was even ready to swing his net. Lefao then cried out:

Ua tau lupe a Lefao. Lefao's pigeons are counted (i.e., the contest is ended; I am the victor).

The competition had not been conducted according to the rules, but it was a *fait accompli*. Lefao's people heard the call and repeated it so that the news of his victory

quickly spread through the bush and through the town. The surprised Ulumu could not but recognize Lefao's dexterity.

Ua malo fai o le faiva.

Congratulations to the victor,

Ua se togi le seu lagatila,

Quick as a stone the net flew to the left,

Ma le fa'apulou i tualima.

Backhanded it swept to the right.

Ua malo fai o le faiva.

Congratulations to the victor.

Nevertheless 'Ulumu could not help protesting against his opponent's unsportsmanlike behaviour, but the latter tried to soothe him with the words: *Sau ia, ia e fa'amolemole.*

104.

Ua pona i vao, 'ae lia'i'ina i ala. The fault was committed in the bush, but it is now talked about on the highway.

Applications: (1) The news is not true, but it has spread too far to be retracted. (2) Howsoever cleverly a thing may be concealed, it will come to light at last.

105.

O le faiva 'ese lo Pepe. Pepe made a strange catch.

On a narrow neck of land near Puipa'a in Faleata there was a *tia*. One day chief Pepe, a visitor, was catching pigeons there. A man from Faleata tried to net one of the pigeons that had been enticed to the *tia*, but he failed. The pigeon flew away, just skimming over the water near the place where Pepe was hidden. Pepe tried to catch it. At this very moment a fish (*malauli*) happened to jump out of the water and, with one swoop of the net, Pepe caught both pigeon and fish. The neck of land is now called Tiapepe.

The saying is used when some person meets with some unexpected fortune while his thoughts and actions were directed to something else.

106.

Fa'alupe tupola. Like a pigeon sitting on the *pola* (plaited coconut leaves used to enclose the sides of a house).

A tame pigeon having strayed or escaped from its master and failed to find its usual resting place, will sit on the *pola* of the first house it finds.

Upu fa'amaulalo, fa'anoanoa or *alofa* referring to a person who has neither home nor family. See also the next three proverbs.

107.

Fa'alupe tumulifale. Like a pigeon sitting behind the hunter's hut.

The hunter is interested only in those wild pigeons that appear in front of his hut.

Same meaning as No. 106, with particular stress on the fact that the homeless person gets no consideration.

108.

Fa'asega tu launiu. Like a *sega* sitting on a coconut leaf.

The *sega* is a tiny parakeet, the only bird of the parrot family found in Samoa. As it feeds mostly on the blossoms of the coconut tree, a cluster of blossoms is its usual dinner table. Finding no blossoms it will sit on the leaves.

Same meaning as Nos. 106, 107, 109.

109.

Fa'ape'ape'a le tu. Like the swift that never rests.

Same meaning as the three previous ones.

110.

Ua sili mea le seuga. The hunting implements are hung up.

Thus say the hunters when they have returned home from their expedition and hung up the nets, etc.

Refers to the conclusion of a speech, a *fono*, etc. See also the following.

111.

Ia tala mea fa'asolo. Take down the huts and put everything away.

Thus says the leader at the termination of the hunt when the *tia* is not to be used for some time to come.

Same meaning as No. 110.

112.

Aumai le u mataiasi e fana a'i le lupe ua i le flifili. Bring the one-pronged arrow to shoot the pigeon in the thicket.

The Samoan arrows had one or more prongs. A many-pronged arrow could not be used to shoot pigeons in a thicket, as the leaves and branches would have hindered or deflected its flight.

Upu fa'aaloalo: In a difficult situation only a wise *tulafale* can give advice and help; we, therefore, rely on him to make the decision.

113.

Ufufi manu gase. To cover up dead birds.

Turner says: "If a pigeon sees its mate fall dead, it will drop down and cover the body with its wings even though it should be killed also. To this the Samoans compare a brother who will rush in among troops after his wounded brother, even if he should be killed himself." This explanation is by no means exhaustive. The wider meaning of the saying is: To stand up for a friend or relative, to help him bear his misfortune, to forgive and "cover up" his mistakes.

As a request: *Ia e alofa, ia e ufufi manu gase.* Granting the request: *O lenei lava le ufufi manu gase.*

114. The wild *manutagi*, hearing the call of the decoy bird, approaches gradually by hopping from tree to tree,

Sa (matou) tu'u la'au mai nei. We have rested on many trees on our way hither.

Thus says a travelling party when entering a house, after having previously called at some other villages. (A phrase for *moemoesolo*.)

115. When the wild *manutagi* has entered the cage of the decoy bird, the hunter, crying 'ae'ae, jumps out of his shelter and covers the cage.

'Ae'ae lea manu ua ulu. 'Ae'ae, the bird has entered (the cage).

Upu fa'aalualu: When you see an advantage, turn it to good account. Don't throw away a favourable opportunity.

116. When a decoy bird refuses to call, people say it is *to'ia*—stricken (with sickness or obstinacy).

Ua fa'atagito'ia. Like the call of a stricken decoy bird.

Upu faifai applied to an orator whose speech does not meet with approval. Also used as an *upu fa'amaulalo*.

117.

O le manu tafi manu. A decoy bird that keeps away the wild birds.

Some *manutagi* have the bad habit of driving the wild birds out of the cage before the hunter has had time to catch them.

Upu faifai applied to a repulsive person whom nobody wants to associate with.

118.

O le a gase manu vao, 'ae ola manu fanua. The wild birds shall die; the tame ones shall live.

This is the order given by the leader when the hunt is to be terminated. The captured birds will be killed; the decoy birds will be given rest.

Used at the end of speech, *fono*, etc.

119.

Ua aliali le va'avava o le tava'e. The tropic bird's breastbone is visible.

The bird's breast feathers are very sparse.

Upu faifai applied to a person who talks nonsense or behaves foolishly; also to one who neglects his personal appearance. The saying is also used as an *upu fa'amaulalo*.

120.

Ua se tava'e le ausu i le fulu. He is like the tropic bird which is proud of its feathers. *Ua maefulu le tava'e.* The tropic bird is careful of its long tail feathers.

According to the Samoans the bird is so proud of its long tail that, being approached from the front, it sits immediately and allows itself to be caught, for fear of damaging its feathers by turning round. If it is approached from behind, it will fly off.

Upu fa'alumaluma applied to a fop or dandy who only thinks of grooming himself and is useless for serious things, such as war.

121.

O le manu sina e le soa. A white bird that has no friend.

A white tern that is so proud of its glossy plumage that it will not associate with darker birds. In Aana the expression refers to an *aitu* incorporated in a white tropic bird that lived on Mount Tafua.

Upu fa'aaloalo or *vivi'i* referring to the speech of a high chief or a *tulafale* who brooks no contradiction.

122.

Patupatu amo fale. The clumsy, loutish fellow carries the house.

This refers to the preparations for the hunt of the *manuali'i*. The *matai* orders his men to build a small hunting hut and carry it with the rest of the hunting implements to the swamp which is the bird's usual habitat. The heaviest object, i.e., the house, is carried by the strongest fellow—the Cinderella—who has to do all the heavy work.

Upu fa'amaulalo: I am inferior to you. Also, *upu faifai*.

123.

Se'i muamua se fa'asao a manu vao. Before bird-catching an offering should be made.

Refers to the introductory ceremonies to any function, such as the ceremonial greetings introducing a speech, grace before meals, etc.

When the men prepared for the hunt of the *manuali'i* they first made an offering to the gods, such as a bunch of bananas. The offering was called *fa'asao a manu vao*. A bunch of bananas also served as bait for the *manuali'i*.

124.

Ua se u ta'afale. He is like an arrow that lies about in the house.

The hunter watching in his hut lays three arrows in front of him. One is for the birds approaching in front,

the other for the birds coming from the right and the third for those from the left. A fourth arrow for emergencies lies behind the hunter and may be shot in any direction. This is the *u ta'afale*.

Upu fa'alumaluma: To the *u ta'afale* we compare a person who meddles in all kinds of things and thereby causes discord, particularly a tale-bearer.

125.

Va i fale ve'a. The space between the huts at the *ve'a* hunt.

The *ve'a* (swamp hen) was shot with bow and arrow, the hunter hiding in a small hut. As the *ve'a* is extremely shy, the huts were built close together so that the hunters could take counsel with each other in a low voice.

A figure of speech for *vavalalata*, to live in close proximity. It is particularly used in a salutatory speech: *O le pule o le Atua ua mafai ai ona tatou fesilafai i le aso nei, aua e ui ina va i fale ve'a o lo tatou soifuaga, 'ae pule lava le Atua i lo tatou soifuaga*. The omnipotent God has brought us together today, for although we are living close together it is He who rules our lives. See No. 92.

126.

In Tutuila the sea birds that rest exhausted on the cliffs are caught with nets without the aid of decoy birds. (See below.)

Ia seu le manu, 'ae silasila i le galu. Catch the bird, but watch the breakers.

Upu taofiofi: Be careful in an undertaking and mind the obstacles.

Remark: This method of hunting is not to be confounded with the hunt of the *fua'o* that nest in large numbers on Pola Rock in Tutuila. According to Kraemer the hunters climb the rock and kill the sleeping birds or seize them with their hands. To this refers the popular song: *A'e i le Pola nei gase—Ne'i sosola o manu e*. Climb the Pola Rock noiselessly lest the birds fly away.

127.

Ua pafuga le a pei o le faiva o seu gogo. They are shouting together as at the tern hunt.

When the hunter has allured the *gogo*, he pulls in his decoy bird and imitates the tern's call-note "a." He will be answered by the tern with another "a."

Applied to people who meet and take counsel together.

128.

Tavai manu uli. Give water to the black birds.

There are two explanations: (1) during the hunt of the tern a pause is made for the purpose of feeding the decoy birds. Coconut milk was usually given to the birds. However, if there were but few nuts available, only the valuable white birds got coconut milk; the common dark or speckled birds had to content themselves with water. (2) In the war between the birds and the fishes, a black tern (*gogo uli*) was killed and eaten by a *fuga* fish. At the termination of the war the birds held a *fono* and drank kava. When the cup was presented to the black tern the *gogo sina* (white tern) said, "Don't give him any kava; let him drink water; he has disgraced his family."

Upu fa'aulaula with which a *matai* refers to the common people (*tagata-lautele*). The *matai* takes precedence and must be given what is best. *Seloga o ni mea lelei tou te 'a'ai ai, e le tavai manu uli?*

129.

Fa'amanu po'ia i le ofaga. Like a bird caught in its nest.

To be taken unawares. The host, for instance, addresses the words to an unexpected visitor to excuse the delay in having things ready for his reception.

130.

O le punapuna a manu fou. The jumping about of a newly caught bird.

A bird that has just been caught jumps about and struggles to escape. After a while it will grow exhausted and surrender to its fate.

Upu faifai referring to lack of energy and perseverance.

131.

Ua sanisani fa'amanuao. The joy of the welcome was like that with which the birds greet the dawn.

Upu fiafia used at the reception of relatives, friends or guests. (See also the following.)

132.

Ua savini fa'apunuananu. To rejoice like a young bird on the return of its parent with food.

The word *savini* means the beating of the young birds' wings at their first attempts to fly.

135. *Mutiagiagi* are the four small rafters in the gable of the round end of the Samoan house. The lower end of the rafters is tied fast, the upper end lies hidden in the timber work. Because of this incomplete fastening the term:

Fa-amutiagiagi

is applied to a visiting *matai* who remains in a village only temporarily and is, therefore, not entitled to take part in a discussion or get a share in the distribution of food. *Upu fa'amaulalo* or *alofa*.

136.

E tele a ululau. Large like a bundle of sugarcane leaves.

The bundles of sugarcane leaves fetched by the women from the plantation for the purpose of thatching the houses are large and bulky but light in weight.

Upu faifai applied to a community (family, village, district) composed of many but unimportant individuals.

137.

Fatu'ulu. To use thatch a second time.

To store up grievances.

138. The Samoan *fale* (house) is built in such a way that it can be taken into parts to be transported to some other place. The work begins with loosening the rounded ends of the house from the *fatuga* (timbers to which the purlins are fastened).

Ua vaea i ulu fatuga. Divided on top of the *fatuga*.

Applied to a family, village or district which, through dissension, is divided into two equally strong parties.

139. The middle portion of the roof and the round ends are then carried to their new emplacement. The round ends are now temporarily tied with ropes (*tautala*) to the middle portion and the carpenter examines whether the house is standing straight. Should this not be the case, the house will be turned around until it stands right. The fastenings are then completed.

Ia ta'amilo pea ma taulala. Turn the house around; the ropes will protect it.

Upu taofiofi: Act after mature reflection. Don't be overhasty.

CHAPTER THREE

MANUAL WORK INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HOUSE

INTRODUCTION: The two principal objects at the use of the Samoan are his house and his boat. Both are well protected by the law of the land. Their wilful damage is considered in the same light as a bodily injury and a personal insult to the owner. Hence, house building and boat building are the two most respected trades. The old implements have now been replaced by steel tools. Civilisation, however, has spared many of the original usages. In the Samoan villages the *papalagi* house built of weather boards is the exception, whilst in Tonga it has become the rule. Even European building material is rarely used in the construction of native houses.

Of the five kinds of boats mentioned by Kraemer, three are still in general use: (1) The small outrigger canoe (*paopao*); (2) the large outrigger canoe (*soatau*); (3) the bonito canoe (*va'aalo*). The large double war canoe (*'alia*) and the two-bowed *taumualua* have been superseded by the big row-boats which the natives have learned to build European style.

The plaiting of mats is exclusively the women's business. The *matai*'s sole indoor occupation is the making of sinnet (*'afa*) out of the coconut fibre. He will often use the long hours of the *fono* to do this work.

133.

Ua mua ane lava se fale. Before everything else a house.

Refers to a man who always speaks of building a house, but has neither the energy nor the means to do so.

Upu faifai. Mocking words applied to a boaster.

134.

Fa'ae'e ia le 'au'au, 'ae tatou velo 'aso i ai. Place the ridge pole first, then we shall pass the battens.

Upu fa'aaloalo: Explain the general aim of the meeting, then we shall give our opinion. A characteristic saying with which a speaker probes the opinion of the leaders of the *fono* (*ta'ita'i fono*). It is also used in the form of: *Ua fa'ae'e le 'au'au*, etc., after the leader has concluded his address.

140.

Ua osofia moega luaga. The purlins are well joined.

When the *fale* is being re-assembled, the carpenter has to take particular care that the purlins of the side of the house are well joined with those of the end.

Applied to a resolution corresponding to what is customary in the family or the village.

141.

O le malu i fale'ulu. The protection afforded by a house built of breadfruit wood.

Upu fa'aaloalo or *fiafia*. A house built of the wood of the breadfruit tree is particularly durable and may, therefore, be compared to a chief or a *tulafale* who is able to protect his family.

142.

A gau le poutu, e le tali poulalo. When the middle post is broken, the side posts cannot withstand (the weight of the roof).

Applied to the loss a family or a village suffers by the death of a *matai* or an influential chief. (Compare No. 6.)

143.

Taia i le tafao, taia i le va'ai. The stroke of the mallet miscarries because the workman looks away. (*Ua sese le ta i le tafao, ua sese le ta ona o le va'ai'ese.*)

The figure is taken from the work of the boat builder setting a plank. According to Kraemer the carpenter first daubs the plank with *vali*, a mixture of earth or *lega* (turneric) with water. He then fits it in place and with his wooden mallet (*tafao*) hammers it down, his assistant holding it. If the assistant is inattentive and looks away, the plank will not fit in and the work miscarries.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofa*: An undertaking miscarries through the negligence of one of the participants.

144.

Ua liua le tua ma le alo. The top and the bottom are turned back and forth.

When the boat builder does not find a suitable plank, he shifts the one at his disposal back and forth, vainly trying to fit it in place.

All endeavours to effect a reconciliation prove in vain.

145. The deck-planks of a large war canoe were laid simultaneously from either side. If the boards met exactly in the centre, the job was completed.

Ua fetai fola. The floor boards meet.

Upu fa'aaloalo used when two chiefs or orators agree in a *fono*. Further discussion is then superfluous; the matter is settled.

146.

Ia lafoia i le fogava'a tele. Cast it on the big deck.

The deck of the large double canoe is roomy and able to carry heavy loads.

Have patience and forgive those that trespass against you.

147.

O le fogava'a e tasi. One single deck.

Belonging to one and the same family.

148.

O le aso ma le fliga'a'afa, o le aso ma le mata'ina'ila. Sinnet should be made daily and daily the rigging must be examined.

At the building of the double canoe it is necessary that an ample supply of sinnet be available, lest the tying of the planks and the completion of the boat be retarded. When the rigging is finished it must be examined carefully, so that existing defects may be corrected. Even though no defect has been discovered, it is well to wait and to repeat the examination, for the errors cannot all be found at once.

Upu taofofi: Weighty decisions should not be made precipitately, but only after mature reflection; each new discussion may bring new ideas.

149.

O le va'a fau po fau ao. A boat that is being built day and night.

Upu vivi'i: An enterprise conducted with zeal and care.

150.

Ia ololo pito'ava. Let each one smooth his part of the boat.

A new boat was smoothed with pieces of coral, each workman being assigned to a particular part of the boat.

Upu taofofi: Let each one attend to his own affairs and not meddle with those of others.

151.

Vaomua of Saua in Satupaitea (Savai'i) was building a big boat. Samoan custom required that all the family members assist at such an undertaking, either to help in the building or to supply food. Thus also did Vaomua. Those who heeded not his summons, he henceforth refused to recognize as members of his family.

E le'i iloa i Saua; e le iloa i le fa'alagamaea. They appeared not in Saua; they appeared not at the drying of the rigging.

Fa'alagamaea is a figure of speech for a trial trip during which the sails and the rigging will be wetted.

U'pu faifai or *fa'afiti*: To refuse a request because the petitioner has previously shown himself unloving and hard-hearted.

152.

Ia fa'autu ia le fao. Put the gouge aside.

The *fao* is a nail, a drill, or a gouge used in making the holes through which will be threaded the sinnet that ties the planks.

U'pu taofiofi: Leave off your work.

153.

Ua vela lana umu i lo tatou nu'u. His work in the village is useful.

The word *umu* signifies a hole, a groove. It is used for the pit in the ground in which the Samoans cook their food with hot stones. It is also used for the notch made by the carpenter in a tree trunk or a beam to facilitate his work. At the time when the Samoans had only stone tools, much strength and skill were required to cut this notch. If the apprentice passed the test, the carpenter said: *Ua vea lana umu*—his oven is hot. The double meaning of the word *umu* forms an untranslatable pun.

U'pu vivi'i applied in a figurative sense to a man who, because of his good qualities and hard work, is an acquisition to his community.

154.

E tenetene fua le livaliva, 'ae sagasaga 'ai le vili ia. Profitless is the turning of the drill plate, whilst the drill goes on eating through (the wood).

v. Buelow and Kraemer give the following explanation: The one dances about and wastes his time with useless things, whilst the other by persevering efforts goes straight towards his goal. From various other sources I had the following: Two men undertake a job. One is unsuccessful because of weakness, stupidity or for other reasons; the other meets with success. I prefer this explanation. The Polynesian drill, on which the saying is based, must be considered as an entity, the plate having as much to do with the work as the drill itself. Neither is it unusual amongst the Samoans that in a common undertaking one partner tries to overreach the other.

155.

Ua sasagi fua le livaliva, 'a ua gau le matavana. In vain rejoices the drill plate when the drill point is broken.

U'pu fa'alumaluma referring to profitless labour. However, it presupposes that only one person is engaged in an undertaking, or, if there is more than one, none of them meets with success.

156.

Ua se temeteme. He is like the plate of the drill.

Temeteme is the spindle of the drill with the drill plate. *U'pu faifai* applied to a restless person or a chatterbox.

157.

If one wishes to drill a hole in a thing, as in a piece of mother-of-pearl for a fish-hook, he first bores from one side and then tries to hit the hole from the other side. This often miscarries.

Ua logo 'ese'ese fa'amea vili'ili. To drill holes that do not meet. A council meeting in which no decision is reached.

158.

E le se tunuma ma moe fa'atasi. It is not like a container in which the tattooing instruments are sleeping together.

A tattooer who has a job to do will, on the previous evening, put all his instruments into a container (*tunuma*). There the instruments remain together, one knowing the other. With people it is different. Each one has a mind of his own and does not know the thoughts and designs of his neighbour.

U'pu fa'afiti in the sense of: *Ou te iloa le toto o lena ali'i.* I don't know the views of that person.

159.

E lafi a toga usi. Hidden like a tattoo design.

The *lavalava* covers the design. When the *lavalava* is moved aside by the wind or by the man stepping out, the tattoo becomes visible.

Used of secrets that have been divulged.

160.

S'i le natalalaga. To make a closer plait.

The plait of the fine mats (*'ie toga*) should be uniformly fine and close. Few mats, however, meet these requirements. Out of indolence one half is usually woven tight and the other rather loose. When wearing the mat, it is folded in two and the coarser half is worn underneath. Negligence, too,

may be the cause of an uneven plait; the woman then usually tries to rectify her mistake in the second half.

The saying is applied to a change of behaviour, opinion, etc. *Ua si'i le matalalaga*—things have changed. *Upu fa'afiti, fa'amaulalo: Ou te le toe si'itia le matalalaga. Upu taofofi: Soia le si'itia le matalalaga.*

161.

E tasi, 'ae afe. Only one, but worth a thousand.

An honorific designation of an old sacred mat whose story may be found in v. Beulow, Turner and Kraemer.

Upu vivi'i applied to surpassing qualities in persons or things.

162.

Ua solo le falute. The bundle of mats has fallen into disarray.

When a number of mats are to be stored away, they are gathered up evenly and rolled into a bundle. If new mats are to be added, the bundle must be undone and the mats will then fall into disorder.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alo/a*: The former concord is at an end. The word *falute* originally referred only to mats; it is now also applied to other things that must be gathered up evenly.

163.

By exerting slow pressure on the scraped bark of the 'o'a tree a reddish-brown dye is obtained. It is used for colouring *siapo* (tapa).

Fa'atauaga'o'a. Like the pressing out of the 'o'a.

Upu taofofi: Slowly and thoroughly; without precipitation.

164.

Ua fa'a'u lau'fala. Like the tip of the pandanus leaf.

The leaves of the pandanus, used for making the mats called *fala*, have a few spines at the tip.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alo/a*, applied to things that were well begun, but ended badly.

165.

Ua vela le fala. The mat is warm.

From the bodily warmth of the one who sits or lies on it.

Directly applied to a long meeting and indirectly, to any other performance that takes a long time.

166.

Ua solo le lavalima. The work is progressing fast.

Lavalima refers to the Samoan sinnet and signifies the progress made in plaiting it; it also refers to the work of

the carpenter who winds the string around the rafters as a substitute for nails. Pratt translates: to be prosperous.

The favourable progress of an undertaking is a good sign of final success.

167.

Ua se fau e ta'i. Like the twisting of a cord.

In the bush villages and sometimes also in those near the seashore, the inner bark of the *fausoga* tree is twisted into a cord used to make fish and lobster nets and for other purposes. The work, called *milota'i*, is usually done by the women. The twisting is done with the right hand on the right thigh, the cord at the same time being wound up with the left hand.

Applied to a unanimous decision. *Upu vivi'i: Ua se fau e ta'i le nu'u nei*—the people of this village are all of the same opinion (*ua tapulima fa'atasi, loto gatasi*). He, against whom a decision is directed, says: *Ua se fau e ta'i o outou finagalo*—your decision against me is unanimous; I shall not oppose it.

168.

A woman wanted to carry a burden on her back, so she took some *fau* fibre to tie it fast. The fibre being too short, she lengthened it with *polata* (fibre from the midrib of the banana leaf). *Polata*, however, is not very durable and the ribbon tore time and again. Finally she added another piece of *fau* and the cord held.

So'o le fau ma le fau. To tie together two pieces of *fau*.

Upu fa'aalualu: To effect a union or an alliance; to pursue a goal with united strength.

169.

Na o Neiafu na mele ai le to'elau. Only at Neiafu is the trade wind desisted.

An old childless couple of Neiafu were gathering dry coconut leaves (material for lighting and cooking). Instead of the gentle, steady trade wind, they prayed for a stormy westerly that would cause the leaves to fall down and save them the trouble of climbing up the trees.

The trade wind blows mostly during the cool season and brings fine weather for sea travel. Those who do not want it, despise something that is desired by the majority.

Neiafu is not the village of this name in Savai'i, but a piece of land near Falepuga, Upolu.

170.

Ua fa'amea tapena i ua. Like things carried out of the rain.

Applied to a thing done so hurriedly that order and care suffer; for instance, a hurried journey in which things are forgotten.

171.

O le fili va i fale. The enemy between the houses.

Refers to the weeds growing between the houses.

Applied to petty quarrels between families which are not of a political character and do not threaten the general peace of the community.

172.

A fai 'ea a'u mou titi se'esé'e? Shall I become your working girdle?

When a Samoan has to do manual work, he takes off his *lavalava* and puts on a girdle of *ti* leaves. This is the *titi* with which one can slide about (*se'esé'e*) in the dirt.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *fa'aulaula* addressed to one constantly begging (Pratt) or to one who becomes a nuisance through tale-bearing or in other ways.

A *fala se'esé'e* is an old dirty mat used to sit on during work.

173.

Ua se ta'ata'a a le ala. Like the grass on the wayside.

Upu fa'alumakuma applied to a person who knows everybody and talks about everybody. (Pratt translates: One who has no fixed abode.)

174.

O le ala ua mutia, 'ae le se ala fati. The road is overgrown with grass; it is not a new road.

Mutia is a short kind of grass found on much-used roads. *Ala mutia*—an old road. A new road is *ala fati*. Before the Samoans had steel tools a new path was made by breaking (*fati*) the twigs off the trees.

Upu vivi'i applied to two villages or families long related to each other and united through their common origin.

175.

O le la'au e tu, 'ae oia. The tree still stands but it is doomed.

Upu fa'anoanoa: Man is mortal. It also means that several men have plotted to harm another.

176.

Se'i to le niu i le tua'oi. Plant the coconut tree on the boundary.

Coconut trees serve to mark boundaries.

Upu fa'aaloalo used to introduce some complimentary remarks about the previous speaker, if the latter was a high chief or an orator of rank.

Same meaning as No. 187. Compare also Nos. 123, 201.

177.

Ia ifo le fuiniu i le lapalapa. May the cluster of nuts bow to the midrib of the coconut leaf.

As to each coconut leaf belongs a cluster of young nuts, so each individual belongs to his family.

178.

Ia fua le niu. May the coconut tree bear a rich harvest.

Upu fa'aaloalo applied to the wife of a chief or a *tulafale*: May you be blessed with many children.

179.

O le pa'u a le popo uli. The falling of a ripe coconut.

A ripe coconut that falls off the tree strikes root and grows. An unripe nut will rot.

Upu fa'amafanafana or *vivi'i*: A strong village that has been defeated in battle will fight again. A strong-willed, wise man who is unsuccessful in a first attempt, will try again.

180.

Ua taulua i le tuga. A pair of coconut trees, one of which is full of maggots.

Two persons, families or villages related to each other but unequal in strength, means, number, etc.

181.

Pa'u i se niu 'umi (loa). Fallen off a high coconut palm.

He who falls off a high coconut tree will sustain some hurt; to fall off a small tree (*nui muli*) is not dangerous.

Applied to someone who succumbs to a high chief or an orator, also to a *taupo* (village virgin) who elopes with a man of rank. As an *upu fa'amafanafana*: *E le afaina, ua e pa'u i se niu umi*—Take comfort, it is to a person of rank that you have succumbed. Or: *Ou te fia pa'u i se niu 'umi, ou te le fia pa'u i se niu muli*—If I am to meet with defeat, let it be at least through a person of rank.

182.

Fa'á'ulu toli i gaoa. Like a breadfruit plucked on stony ground (i.e., plucked off a tree growing on stony ground, so that the fruit will be crushed and no longer usable).

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofo* expressing disappointment when one's expectations are not realized or when a counsel given is disregarded.

183.

E sau le fuata ma lona lou. When the breadfruit harvest comes, the *lou* will be found, too.

The *lou* is a long pole with a crook at the end, used in gathering breadfruit. After the harvest the pole will be laid aside or thrown away. For the next harvest the old *lou* will be fetched again or a new one will be made. Thus, there is a *lou* for every harvest.

Upu fa'amafanafana. Consolatory words used at the death of a *matai*: Every generation has its chiefs and orators.

184.

Se'i lua'i lou le 'ulu taumamao. Gather the breadfruit from the farthest branches first.

Upu fa'aalualu: Do the most difficult things first.

185.

Ua saia fua le ma'avé'ave le fua. You shake in vain the branch that has no fruit.

When gathering breadfruit with the *lou*, it may happen that branches not bearing any fruit are knocked about and injured.

Same meaning as No. 80.

186.

When the breadfruit tree called *puou* is uprooted in a storm, it will not die but grow again.

O le mafuli a puou. Like an uprooted *puou*.

Upu fa'amafanafana used at the death of a *matai* who leaves relatives as his heirs. Also used in the form of a pious wish: *Ia mafuli a puou*.

187.

Se'i toto le ta'amu te'évao. Plant the giant taro to prevent the weeds from spreading.

The *ta'amu* is a coarse, little - esteemed species of taro. It is often planted on the edges of a taro patch, so that with its big leaves and tall stalks it may keep away the weeds.

Same meaning as No. 176. Compare also Nos. 123, 201.

188.

Ia lua mata to 'ese. Let each plant two taros in a particular spot. When a family wishes to lay out a big taro plantation, it is well that a specified spot be appointed to each member. If they work in common, one will rely on the other and nothing is done.

Lua mata is a figure of speech for a small taro patch; *to 'ese* is elliptical for *toto i se mea 'ese*.

Upu fa'aalualu: Don't rely on your neighbour; let each attend to his own work. Pratt translates: Better have a small plantation of your own, than be joined with another.

189.

Ia tupu i se fusi. May you grow in a swamp.

In wet soil taro thrives particularly well; it is, therefore, whenever possible, raised in a swamp.

Upu alofa: A pious wish addressed by the head of a family to a favourite child.

190.

Ua fa'alua'i talo Asau. Like the taro holes in Asau.

In Asau, Savai'i, the soil is very stony. If the people there wish to lay out a taro plantation, they have much trouble in removing the stones and digging the holes. That is why, after the harvest, they use the old holes a second time.

Applied to everything that corresponds with old usages and customs; used also of a widower who marries a relative of his late wife.

191.

Ua le sau i le afu, le sau i le tutupu; ua sau i le lalau. It came not when the yam plant withered; it came not when it sprouted again; it came when the plant was once more in leaf.

The yam is a perennial plant. When its tuber is mature, the leaves wither. When the plant sprouts once more, the tuber can still be used; but as soon as it has new leaves, the tuber becomes uneatable. Therefore, he who comes for it at this stage, is too late.

Same meaning as No. 70.

192.

Ua nunu le to'au. The stalks of the wild yam are all jumbled.

When the wild yam is mature, the stalks wither and break into pieces. It is then difficult to find the runner that has the edible root.

Same meaning as No. 94.

193.

Tafi le va i ti. Pull out the weeds between the *ti* plants.

The leaves of the *ti* plant were used to make the *titi* (leafy girdle; see No. 172). The roots are edible.

Upu fai'ai. Paraphrase for: To remove someone from a family, a meeting, or a village.

194.

E fa'apupuati le gase. Like a *ti* plantation that never dies.

When a *ti* plantation has been abandoned, the plants are not choked by the weeds but will grow up again as soon as the weeds are removed.

Upu vivi'i: Traditions, family trees and the happenings of ancient times are not forgotten, but survive among the people.

195.

O le gase a ala lalovao. The paths in the bush are never obliterated.

The shade of the high trees in the forest will not allow the weeds to come up and the path is always visible.

Same meaning as No. 194.

196.

E sua le 'ava, 'ae to le 'ata. The kava plant is dug up, but a twig is planted immediately.

Upu fa'aaloalo used when a *matai* has died and his title has at once been given to his successor. The king is dead, long live the king.

197.

The owner of a certain plantation had his crop stolen time and again. So he prayed to Tagaloalagi, the highest god, to help him. The god gave him a fetish (*tupua*) which the man hung up in an *aoa* tree (banyan). When the thief returned and saw the charm, he was frightened.

O lo'o mamalu le atua i le aoa. The god shows his power in the banyan tree.

The thief soon found out that the fetish did not harm him, so he stole again.

Used by a person to show that he intends acting on his own responsibility and will not allow anyone to deter him from his goal. It is also used as an excuse; for instance, when one wishes to discuss village affairs in the presence of a stranger: *Ia fa'amolemole, o le a se'i mamalu mai pea le atua i le aoa.* The stranger then replies with the *muagagana* No. 83.

CHAPTER FOUR

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

198.

Fa le taeao e le afiafi.

Pratt writes: *Fale taeao e le afiafi*, and translates: "Who sits at home in the morning will not eat in the evening." If instead of *fale* we write *fa le*, then *fa* is the irregular verb "to think erroneously" and *le* the article. *Le taeao*, the morning, personifies a man who instead of getting up in the morning to prepare food, thinks: "There won't be any evening," and keeps on sleeping. Then in the evening when the Samoans have their principal meal, he will have nothing to eat.

199.

E tuai tuai, ta te ma'ona ai. Since it takes such a long time (to prepare food), we are sure to get plenty.

Comforting words when one feels hungry. Also used as an *upu fa'aulaula*; *E tuai tuai e te maona ai.*

200.

Ua mu le lima, tapa le i'ofi. When one has burned his fingers, he asks for the fire tongs.

He who with his bare hands touches the hot stones used in the Samoan oven and then looks for the tongs, resembles a man who rashly ventures upon an undertaking and, having come to grief, asks for help.

201.

Se'i muamua atu mea i Mataututu sa. First the things for Mataututu sa.

According to Stuebel there used to live in Mataututu near Apia a demon named Moaula, to whom each passer-by had to make an offering. Another explanation originates in Mataututu, Savai'i. Custom, there, required that a tribute of food be given to the *faleupolu*, i.e. the body of orators, whenever a house or a boat was being constructed, a new plantation laid out, a net made, etc. If anyone disregarded this rule, his property was destroyed and his pigs and plantation produce were eaten. The damage of property as a punishment was customary in Samoa and in all Polynesia.

Same meaning as No. 123. Compare also Nos. 176, 187.

It is the ordinary abode of the family with the exception of the *matai* who sits in the front part of the big guest house where he will take counsel with the other *matai* of the village, receive his guests, drink kava, etc. As the principal meals and the state dinners also take place in the big house, it is the favourite resort of the rats which come to devour the crumbs. They also find a good hiding place in the rafters of the roof. It is there they meet with their fate when a youngster climbs up and kills them.

The saying illustrates the *pule* (authority) of the *matai*. Anything a family member acquires through his efforts must be placed at the disposal of the *matai* who will use it for himself or assign it to the rest of the family.

207.

Ia natia (ifo) i fatu a lavai. May it remain hidden like a stone among the 'o'a leaves.

Fatu is the stone which is placed, in a red-hot state, into a drawn pig to bake it. One or more stones are used according to the size of the pig. The leaves of the 'o'a tree are then stuffed into the cavity, the filling being known as *lavai*. *Fatu a lavai* is an abbreviation for *fatu o le lavai*.

According to the natives there were no pigs in Samoa in ancient times. There were many pigs in Fiji, but there was a law against the export of live ones to Samoa. One day a Samoan went to Fiji in a double canoe. There he baked a big pig, but instead of filling it with stones, he put a pregnant small sow into the cavity and thus succeeded in smuggling it to Samoa. (According to the Fijians pigs were first found in Samoa, whence they spread to Fiji and Tonga.)

Same meaning as No. 29. Pratt: "May our fault be hidden in Fatualavai; may we be forgiven. Fatualavai, a traditional stone." There are no particulars about this legendary stone, nor have I been able to determine its existence: that is why I prefer the above explanation.

208.

Ua ta'oto a atu vela. To lie like a cooked bonito.

It is easy to divide a cooked bonito lengthwise with the hands.

Used of a matter so simple that it is quickly discussed and decided.

209.

In the preparation of certain dishes the juice of the scraped coconut is used. The scraped kernel (*penu*) is put into a *lau'ao* leaf (wild banana) or in coconut fibre (*pulu*)

202. *Ui and Tea*, a couple living in Falealupo, Savai'i, had three children: a daughter named Sina and two sons, Gauta and Gatai, who were cripples. One day the parents returned from fishing and poured their catch in front of Sina. The girl asked them to remember her brothers and to

Fa'atoetoe le muli o le ola. To keep (for them) the remainder of the basket.

To show love and kindness to everyone; not to forget anybody.

203.

O le gaogao a 'ato tele. The emptiness of a big basket.

A big basket has a greater capacity than a small one. If one comes to a distribution of food with a large basket, he can carry off more food than he who has only a small basket.

U'pu vivi'i: A large family or village has more influence than a small one.

204. *Faletua'ana* or *Faletui*, the House of A'ana, is an honorific designation for the assembly of *matai* of Leulumoega. He who makes a presentation of food to the *Faletua'ana*, may take his seat in the house and share in the distribution: otherwise the donor will be disregarded at the food distribution.

Moli mea i Faletui. To make a food offering to the *Faletui*.

Used when the recipient shares out an offering and the donor gets his share.

205. In Falelatai there lived a woman who was very avaricious and used to hide her food instead of sharing it with her relatives. Her family tried to cure her of this vice, but all in vain. When the truth could no longer be hidden from the villagers, they hacked off one of her fingers, buried it on Usu Point (between Pata and Usufaga) and erected a little mound as a warning to others. The mound may be seen to this day.

Fa'adialia i le tolotolo Usu. Revealed on Usu Point.

Hidden vices and transgressions will eventually come to light.

206.

O le 'imoa i le fale'o'o e gase i le fale tele. The rat of the cottage dies in the guest house.

The *fale'o'o* is a small cottage behind the big guest house.

and the juice (*pépepe*) is expressed. Some of the scraped nut will adhere to the operator's hands and form a lump (*mule*) which will not be pressed out but discarded.

E le tauia mule. The juice of the lump is not expressed.

Tauia is the passive form of *tatau*, to express. *Mole* is often used for *mule*. *Mole* is the soft oily matter between the spongy and the hard kernel of an old coconut (Pratt). It is much liked by the children. For the manufacture of oil it is valueless (*e le tauia*), as it is too small. *Mole* is used as an euphemism for *mule* which is capable of an obscene application.

210.

O faiva 'aulalei. Only a handsome man can do a thing well.

Some three generations ago the *tulafale* Nafō'i of Matautu, Savi'i, had guests. His young men prepared the food. When Nafō'i went into the cook-house to see how they were progressing, he noticed that they had not sufficiently pressed out the *penu* (see No. 209). So he applied himself to the job and did it right thoroughly. The others said, "Only a handsome man like Nafō'i is able to do a thing competently."

Upu vivi'i. As an *upu faifai* it is applied ironically to a shirker (*ua fa'apelepele i lona tino*) in the same sense as No. 120.

211.

Ia su'i tonu le mata o le niu. Pierce the correct eye of the coconut (i.e., the one that is most easily opened).

Upu fa'aualatu: Go the right way about it. Don't allow yourself to be diverted from your goal.

212.

E suamalie a niu 'a'ati. The coconut is sweet, but it was husked with the teeth.

The Samoan husks a nut by piercing the fibre on a pointed stick standing upright in the ground and pulling off the husk with his hands. This process is called *mele'i*. When there is no husking stick handy, he may tear the husk off with his teeth. This is not a pleasant procedure because of the toughness of the husk and often the teeth will suffer. There is a good and a bad side to everything.

213.

E le uma se mu'a. He cannot drink up a coconut.

Upu fa'aulaula: A weak old man.

214.

Ua mata'u i le ufi, 'ae fefe i le papa. They feared the yam and were afraid of the rocks.

The Si'unmu people were looking for yam in the bush to prepare a meal for high chief Malietoa Fuaoleto'elau. The ground was so rocky that the tubers could be dug out only in fragments from which blood was oozing. The people feared to set such food before the chief; but they were afraid also to continue digging as it was impossible to pull out a yam root intact.

Another explanation is as follows. In Fiji there used to be people who knew how to fly. They were called the Winged Fijians (*Fiti apa'au*). One day they came to Samoa and plundered the yam plantation of Malietoa Faiga at Malie. When Malietoa noticed the theft, he set out with his servant Le'apai to find the thieves and recover the property. In Falelatai Chief Fanuanatele of Fagaofu (see No. 57) told them that during the night he had heard the Fijians pass overhead and knew from their conversation that they were the thieves. So Malietoa made a big net and caught the *Fiti apa'au*. They admitted they had hidden the yam in Pulu (the Polynesian underworld). As a punishment Malietoa changed them into flying foxes and chased them to Tonga. Le'apai was sent to Pulu to recover the yam. When he reached there, he found the entrance blocked up by big rocks and he was in the same predicament as the Si'unmu people. If he returned without the yam he would suffer the wrath of Malietoa; on the other hand, he feared the laborious task of removing the obstruction.

Perplexity in a dilemma.

Often this version is heard: *Ua mana'o i le ufi, 'ae fefe i le papa.* He desires yam, but he fears the rocks; in the sense of: The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.

215.

Sina na Tinae, an old woman of Asau, Savai'i, ate some breadfruit that were too hot. Her daughter Sina i Fa'aranu hurried to get her a cooling drink; but

Na sau Sina ua vela Tinae. When Sine came, Tinae had already burnt her throat (and was dead).

Same meaning as Nos. 70, 191.

The legend continues thus: Sina, sorrowing over her mother's death, left Asau and travelled east. On a cape between Samauga and Safotu she dropped and broke her water bottle (coconut shell) and forthwith a spring bubbled up—the Vai o Sina.

Sina's dirge still exists:

*Sina ma Tinae e,
O a'u, o a'u lava o Sina i Fa'a-
nanu,
Na'u utu vai e te fa'alanu,
E te le lilo, e te le lanu.
E le se mea a se tai galu,
O le tai pe, e le lilo se fatu.
E le se matagi to ta'uta'u,

O le ua na ona fa'afua'u.
Fa'i fo'i o lena, a o le ala e fai-
gata,
E tuitui i le gaoo
Amea fo'i i 'aia le la.
O lo'u ala tuai mai lena.
Taloa e i lo'u tina.*

216. *Masi*, a Samoan delicacy, is prepared by burying raw breadfruit in a pit. The fruits are covered with banana leaves, weighted down with heavy stones and left there to ferment. Coral blocks (*puga*) are not serviceable for the weighting as they are too light.

E le aia puga i le masi. Coral blocks have nothing to do with the preparation of the *masi*.

Applied (1) as an *upu fa'amaualo*: This is no concern of mine (*ou te le aia i lena mea*); (2) as an *upu fa'afiti*: I cannot grant your request. Your endeavours to drag me into this affair are useless: I'll have nothing to do with it (*ou te le aia*); (3) as an *upu faifai*: same meaning as No. 209.

217.

Na sau fo'i e ati afi, 'ae te'i ua no masi. He pretended to come for fire, but in reality he wanted *masi*.

Because of its small area and its stony soil the island of Manono has little arable land and once the breadfruit season is past, there often is a shortage of food. The people then open their breadfruit pits. When a family's *masi* supply is exhausted, they resort to all kinds of tricks to get more *masi*. Should the neighbours, for instance, happen to prepare a dish of the fermented breadfruit, someone will be sent across to ask for fire. When this has been given to him he will stay on and finally come out with his request for *masi*.

Upu fa'aulaula used when a person, having asked for one thing, unexpectedly asks for another.

218.

Ua se vi e toli. Like the fruits shaken off the *vi* tree.

The dropping of the fruit is compared with the fall of the men struck down in a club match (*aigofie*). Since this sport has fallen into disuse, the comparison is applied to a defeated cricketer or the victims in an epidemic.

219. The roasted fruits of the *ifi tree* (chestnut) are much esteemed by the children. At the distribution of the chestnuts each child sits expectantly and hopes that his nuts will be neither empty nor worm-eaten.

Ia tapua'i a atigi ifi. Sit and wait for good chestnuts.

Upu taifiofi. Same meaning as No. 115.

220.

Tapai tataga le pilia. May there be no lizards about when we collect *afato*.

The *afato* is an edible grub found in rotten tree trunks. When looking for the larvae one should see to it that there are no lizards about, for they are also fond of the *afato*.

When discussing important matters that demand secrecy, the women and children should be kept away; otherwise the success of the undertaking will be endangered. Also used as an *upu taiofi* in the form of a request: *Ia tataga le pilia*.

221. Chief Asomua of Si'umu was attending a district meeting in Malie, Tuamasaga. He ordered his foster sister Tapusalaia to chew kava for him. She did so, but when the kava was chewed, she sent it into the house by a servant. Asomua, thinking that the kava had been chewed by the servant, said angrily:

Ta te inu i Malie, ta le malie. I am drinking in Malie, but I am not satisfied (*malie*).

This is a play upon the words *Malie* (name of the village) and *malie* (satisfied). A polite way to express one's discontent when his expectations are not realised.

222.

Tali i lagi vai o A'opo. A'opo is waiting for water from the heavens.

There is neither river nor pool in the inland village of A'opo, Savai'i, and the people have to rely on rain water. One day Chief To'imoana of Fagaloa and his daughter visited the village. The orator Pa'o came with a kava root for the usual welcome, and To'imoana should have liked to

drink kava, but there was no water. So, To'imoana said, "Let the young people wash out their mouths with coconut milk; we'll wait for water from the heavens (*fa'atali i le lagi se vai*). Then he asked Pa'o "What direction do the rain clouds usually come from?" Pa'o showed him but added that the rain mostly fell on Anini. "Very well," said To'imoana, "let everyone get some kava bowls and other receptacles; it will rain shortly." The A'opo people laughed him to scorn, but To'imoana sang the following song:

A le to le to lena i maua,
Ua na ona fa'ali'a le taufa i nai
lupe.
 If that shower does not fall on the hills,
 How will the pigeons know where to
 find water?

Tali mai le tumu sa i Tagotago, May the rain fill the water hole in

Tagotago;

Le taufa ne'i to i Anini. May no rain fall in Anini.

E, le mea natinati e, See how quickly it comes.

Se aso na fo'i e ma'alili e. See, how the cool rain is coming down.

Upu taofiofo: All blessings come from above. The Lord will decide.

223.

Fa'amama to i fofoga. Like a mouthful of food (that will be spat out again, as in a fit of coughing).

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alo/a* used of some advantage acquired but lost again. If the saying is applied to oneself, the word *gutu* must be used instead of *fofoga*.

224.

O le mama ma le ponoi. Mouthful after mouthful and no end to it.

Applied to a mother who tries to put food into her baby's mouth faster than it can swallow. Same meaning as No. 172.

Pratt: A mouthful and a blow; or a canoe both leaky and with the waves coming in; applied to one over-burdened with different tasks.

225. For dipping water the Samoans use coconut shells that have a small hole (*gutu*) on top. In Samata, Savai'i, these water bottles (*vai*) have a peculiarity. The spring there is near the sea. It is shallow and sandy. When drawing water some sand will get into the shells. That is why the water bottles of Samata have a second, larger hole (*pu 'ese*) on the side, through which the shell is filled. The water is then poured through the small hole into another container, while the sand settles in the shell.

Ua pu 'ese le vai o Samata. The water bottles of Samata have a special opening.

Upu faifai applied to a person who passes irrelevant, offensive remarks during a discussion. Also in the form of a warning: *Aua le pu 'ese le vai o Samata*.

226. Fatuvalu and Paia are two sub-divisions of the village Safune in Savai'i. The former lies near the sea; the latter, inland. Two women, Fatu from Fatuvalu and Sala from Paia, had agreed to meet on a certain day halfway between the villages to exchange the latest gossip. Before Fatu set out towards Paia, on the road called Sao, she took a good breakfast, whilst Sala went on an empty stomach. They met and talked for several hours. Finally, Sala feeling the pangs of hunger, suggested that they stop. Fatu, however, wanted to continue the interesting conversation. Sala agreed, but she was so exhausted from hunger, that her voice grew weaker and weaker and towards evening she collapsed and died.

According to another story two women had made a bet which of the two would weed the larger piece of land within a set period. While they were working, they sang: *Ou te vele, ou te tutu*—I pull out the weeds and I set (the grass) on fire.

The following three proverbs relate to these stories:

Ua o le fa'avagana i Paia. Like the conversation in Paia.

227.

Ua ta u ia'e i le ala i Sao. I walked up the road Sao.

Upu fa'aulaula used to decline an invitation to dinner by saying that one does not feel hungry.

228.

Ua leo itititi le Paia. The voice of the Paia woman is weak.

Upu fa'amaulalo, fa'aulaula or *fa'afiti* used to excuse one's inability to help because of want and poverty. See also the following:

229. There was a famine in Manu'a. The married couple Gau and Pute were unable to find any food. As they were on the point of death by starvation, Pute begged Gau for something to eat, but Gau could not help.

Se'i tagi mai Pute, a o ola Gau. If Pute had only begged when Gau still had enough strength.

Another explanation: In ages long past a boat full of young men and women in equal number, came from Fiji to Samoa. As they landed in Ma'alauli, the eastern end of the

village Fagai'i, an *aitu* (demon) rushed at them and killed them all. When the young man Pute was about to die, he lamented his fate to his girl friend Gau. The latter replied that she also was mortally wounded.

A third version explains that Pute refers to the navel (*pute*) and Gau, to the folds (*lau*) of an empty stomach. Same meaning as No. 228.

230. In Si'uvaio, Savai'i, there was a famine. For lack of anything better, the people began to eat the wild yam, *soi*. An old blind woman who lived alone with her granddaughter had nothing to eat. So she sent the little girl to the neighbours to see if there was anything to be had. The girl returned and said they were just preparing the oven to cook some *soi*. After a while the child reported that the oven had been lighted. She went again and again to watch the progress of the cooks and the old lady hoped that the neighbours would take pity on them. Finally the girl returned with the tale that the neighbours had eaten up all the food. In desperation the woman took her granddaughter by the hand, led her to a high cliff overhanging the sea and plunged with her into the deep.

Ua o le talitaliga o le soi. It is like waiting for the wild yam.

Upu fa'aulaula or *fa'anoanoa*: To wait in vain.

231. There was a famine in Asau, Savai'i. The people, taking pity on their hungry chiefs, went to look for some wild yam in the bush. They wrapped the tubers in leaves and prepared a meal. The chiefs ate and were thankful to the kindhearted villagers. However, when things got better and breadfruit was once more plentiful, they treated their subjects as harshly as ever. *Ua latou 'a'ai i 'ulu, ona fa'atutuana'i lea o e sa faia ta'isi ufi*; or elliptically:

Ua 'ai ulu tuana'i ta'isi. When they were eating breadfruit, they forgot those who had fed them with yam cooked in leaves.

Upu faifai: The world pays with ingratitude.

CHAPTER FIVE

GAMES, DANCES AND FEASTS

232.

Aua ne'i fa'atau'i lapalapa. Don't behave as if you were fighting with a *lapalapa*.

For serious club matches (*'aigofie*, *fa'ega*) wooden clubs were used; *lapalapa* (the midrib of the coconut leaf) had to do for practice matches. When using the heavy wooden clubs, the opponents struck and parried alternately; but when they used the lighter and more harmless *lapalapa*, they struck away at each other haphazardly.

Upu taofiofi used to pacify the excited speakers at a meeting.

233.

O le ta e le agaia lau afoga. Your highness's blow cannot be parried.

In club matches a weak man cannot parry the blow of a stronger opponent.

Upu fa'aaalo: You are such a high chief that I would not contradict you.

234.

Ua le fa'anafatia tau lima. He is not a worthy opponent in the match (i.e., he is too weak).

Upu fa'amaulalo: You are richer, more powerful, of nobler origin than I.

235.

Ua tusa tau'au. Both shoulders are of equal strength. (They are well matched opponents).

Upu vivi'i referring to two persons, families or villages of equal wealth, power and birth.

236. When a fighter in a club match is hit on the head, he will stagger and fall.

Ua taia le ulu, sa'e le vae. When the head is hit, the leg will totter.

Same meaning as Nos. 80, 185. Compare also No. 53.

237.

E sao mai i le Amouta, 'ae tali le Amotai, fa'i fo'i o lea, a o le toe aso i Moamoa. Things went well on Amouta, but there is still Amotai and finally the big day on Moamoa.

In Falefa there are three *malae* (village greens). Club matches used to be held on all three. He who was unconquered on Amouta and Anotai, finally had to fight on the *malae* Moamoa.

Although one difficulty has been met with successfully, there are others at hand.

238.

Ua patipati ta'oto le Fe'epo. Fe'epo clapped his hands lying down.

Fe'epo, a blind chief of Aeale, the progenitor of the Malietoa family, had a son by the name of Leatiogie. One day the boy was victorious in a club match. The old man, lying in his house, heard the news and clapped his hands in joy. *Upu fiafia.*

239.

O Laloifi nei. This is Laloifi.

Pratt translates: "This is under the chestnut tree," and explains, "This is a secret." This explanation, although correct, is not sufficiently justified by the translation. The following story which I heard in Satupaitea, Savai'i, should shed some light on the matter. Laloifi is the name of a piece of land in Satupaitea. Valomua (see No. 151), the owner of the land, was one day instructing his young men in club fighting. One pupil had learned his lesson so well, that he struck down the master. When the terrified youngster was about to run away, the chief jumped up and said, "O Laloifi nei", i.e., Here in Laloifi no one has witnessed it; it will remain a secret and nothing will happen to you.

Same meaning as Nos. 29, 207. Also used like No. 113.

240.

O le tao e alu ma le laufa. The spear has carried off a piece of coconut butt.

For the sport of spear throwing (*tologa*) the butt of the coco palm or a coconut (*fa*) served as the target. A throw was counted when the spear stuck in the butt or when a piece of bark was carried off.

Upu fa'aaloalo applied to a *matai* who goes to another village either into retirement or to adopt a new title and who, out of respect, is still occasionally called by his old title.

241. A throw was particularly applauded when the spear stuck in the coconut and when the spears already there were shaken off.

O le tao ua tu'ua i le fa. The only spear remaining in the nut.

Upu vivi'i applied (1) to an old chief or *tulafale* whose colleagues have all died; (2) to a chief or *tulafale* of outstanding wisdom.

242.

E ta fua le tao, ua tau. It is too late to strike at the spear; it has hit.

In battle the spears were warded off by striking at them with a club. In peace time this was often done in sport.

To shut the stable after the horse has bolted.

243.

Ua tulia afega.

This expression does not, as Pratt says, refer to pigeon catching, but to the sport of *tagati'a*. This game consists in throwing a thin wand (*ti'a*) along the ground. To give the wand the necessary momentum, its posterior end is first made to strike a little mound (*paga*) of stamped clay. To the left of the *paga* is the place (*afega*) from which the thrower takes his run. A left-handed thrower takes station on the right side of the *paga*. *Ua tulia afega* means that there are people standing about the *afega* who hinder the player from making his throw.

Figuratively it means that an undertaking, particularly a discussion, is hindered by the presence of a stranger.

Upu fa'aaloalo, when good manners require that one attend to the stranger and put off his own affairs. *Upu taofiofi*, when it is not desired that the stranger know what is going on.

244.

O le ti'a e le seua lou fnagalo. Your will is like the *ti'a* that is not turned aside from its goal.

Upu fa'aaloalo.

245.

O le ti'a ulu tonu lou fnagalo. Your will is like the *ti'a* that flies straight towards its goal.

Upu fa'aaloalo.

246. When a dispute arises between two players and the umpire cannot or will not decide who made the better throw and is to get the point, he says:

Tu'u ia mo paga. It does not count.

The players must then return to the *paga* and start again.

Pratt explains: "In the game of *tī'a* when counted wrongly; applied to anything not paid for." It seems to me that his first explanation is wrong. It may happen that the saying is applied to a job performed without remuneration although some return may have been expected. Generally, though, it is used to request quarrelling parties to settle their differences. *Upu taofiofi*.

247. When all the players have made their throw and one *tī'a* lies far ahead of the others, it is quite clear who is the winner and there is no need for measuring the distance between the wands.

O le mua e le fuatia. The leading one is not measured.

Upu vivi'i applied to an outstanding chief, orator, village, etc. Compare No. 161.

248. *Lafoga tupe* is a game in which ten small discs made of coconut shell are thrown alternatively towards a finishing line marked out on a mat. The set of discs is known as '*aulafo*'. In ancient times the quoits were occasionally made from human skulls. Such an '*aulafo*' was *taua* (valuable, precious) and only the high chiefs were allowed to use it. One day the Manono chiefs wanted to have a game with the '*aulafo taua*'. It was found, however, that there were only nine discs. So a tenth disc was made out of coconut shell. At the end of the game it was noticed that the hard coconut shell had cracked the softer bony quoits. *Ua fa'aleagaina le 'aulafo i le ipiniu 'ese*. Abbreviated:

Ipinuu 'esea. The '*aulafo*' was damaged by the strange coconut shell. Applied to a change of opinion proceeding from the interference of strangers. *Ua ipiniu 'esea lou finagalo*.

Another explanation: When a young pig is to be weaned, it is given pieces of coconut shell (*ipiniu*) to which some meat adheres. With these *ipiniu* the young pig is enticed to some other ('*ese*') spot and accustomed to the new food.

249. The mat (*fala lafo*) used for *lafoga tupe* (see No. 248) must be soft and springy. It is, therefore, spread on a bed of coconut leaves covered with mats (*fala*).

Ia lago malu le fala. Let the bed of mats be soft.

Used by a person who is apologizing or asking a favour. *Ia malu lou finagalo*.

250. At the game of *lafoga* it is forbidden to show vexation at the mistakes or the dishonesty of the other players. There must be no quarrelling.

O le fa'ata'ata a lafoga. The forced smile at the game of *lafoga*.

What can't be cured must be endured. To make the best of a bad bargain. To make a virtue of necessity.

251. The following sayings refer to the end of the *lafoga* game: *Ua 'atoa tupe i le fafao*. The set of discs in the box is complete.

The *fafao* is a box made of two coconut shells fitted together, in which the discs for the *lafoga* game are kept. Same meaning as No. 2.

252.

Toe sa'a le fafao. To empty the box.

To check if all the discs have been put into the box (see 251).

To have a second discussion if the first one has led to no satisfactory result.

253. When the discs have been put away, the box is closed and wrapped up in the mat used in the game.

Ua aofa i le ulu mea fatu fala. The discs have been put into the folded-up mat.

Here *ulu* means to put into; *fatu*, to roll up; *fala*, the mat. These words have also different meanings: *ulu*, the head; *fatu*, a kernel; *falu*, the pandanus.

The fruit of the pandanus is composed of many closely pressed kernels; set out radially. The thin ends of the kernels point towards the centre; the thick ends (heads) point to the outside of the fruit and form a design like honey-cells. From this we have the following explanation: The pandanus kernels point toward the centre; their heads are united at the outside.

Applied to a unanimous decision.

254.

Ua togipa tau i le 'ave. The breadfruit was hit on the stalk and fell down.

In 'Ulutogia there lived a pretty *taupou* (village virgin) who had many suitors. As she found it hard to make her choice, she resorted to the following device: In the middle of the village there stood a high breadfruit tree with a

stunted little fruit on its very top. He who with a single throw of a stone was able to knock down the breadfruit, she would take for husband. Many tried in vain. Finally Chief 'Alae of Si'umu hit the stalk ('ave) of the breadfruit and knocked it down.

From this the village 'Ulutogia (from 'Ulu, breadfruit; *togi*, to throw) near Aleipata is said to have its name.

Upu fiafia used when one meets with some success. *Upu vivi'i* to applaud a person's performance.

A variant reading: 'Ai o 'Alae. The hit of 'Alae.

255.

O le 'ulu tautogia. A breadfruit serving as a target.

Same meaning as Nos. 33, 50.

256.

Aua le aoina le té'a muli. Don't pick up the balls lying far behind.

This relates to the game of *te'aga*. The two umpires pick up the balls thrown (mostly wild oranges or breadfruits) and count the points. The balls lying far behind the others will be ignored.

Upu taofiofi or *faijai*: Ignore uncalled for advice.

257.

The game of *tapalega* is played in shallow water. The players try to send a small floating piece of wood (*uto*) towards the goal by hitting it with a stick. When the piece of wood has reached the goal, a player is invited with the cry of *taliu le uto* to strike it back so that the game may be started anew.

Taliu le uto. Strike back the piece of wood.

Used on the return of a travelling party.

258.

Sa'a le fau tulima lau lupe. Haul in the string and take the pigeon on your hand.

For the game of *fa'alele lupe* tame pigeons tethered on a string are made to fly. If a player wishes the pigeon to rest, he hauls in the string and stretches out his hand for the bird to sit on.

Upu taofiofi, requesting a person not to use any language or commit any act that might offend another. Also used as a hint to a verbose speaker to cut his speech short.

259.

Ua sola le pepe nai le vae, sola le pepe nai le lima. The butterflies escaped from the feet and from the hands.

The Samoan children tie butterflies to thin strings and make them fly. When they catch the insects for this cruel sport, they hold them fast with their toes as well as with their fingers until they have collected a sufficient number. While one butterfly is being tied to a piece of banana fibre, the others may easily escape.

Upu fa'anoanoa, alofa or *fa'aulaula* applied to a person who strives after two things at the same time and gets neither.

260.

Two sons of the Tuimanu'a went to Fiji to get 'ula for their father. 'Ula are the pretty red feathers with which the fine mats are decorated. On the way back the boys plucked the feathers to pieces which were carried away by the wind.

Ua maua 'ula futifuti. To have nothing but shredded feathers.

To be careless and wasteful. Same meaning as No. 13.

261.

Salevao, an *aitu*, was the son of Fulu'ulaalefanua. When he was still a child, his mother gave him to the demons (*aitu*) Vave and Seali'itu. Salevao cried very much. To soothe him his foster fathers took him to Samana, a piece of land in Tufu Gataivai, Savai'i, where they organized a big dance. Many spectators came to the festivities. Even the birds attended. Everything was done to make the spectacle attractive. Banners (*fu'a*) fluttered on top of high poles and the wooden drums beat a joyous tattoo (*pa'o*). From this we have the saying:

Ua logo le fu'a ma le pa'o. The rustle of the banners and the beating of the drums were heard.

The saying is used to show that a thing is known by everybody.

262.

Salevao (see No. 261) continued crying. So he was taken to Saua in Satupaitea (see No. 151) where an even bigger feast was organized. Both the people and the trees were dancing and the dead rose from their graves to look on. There were so many people on the *malae*, that the stones (*fatu*) and the earth (*'ele'ele*) were unable to see and wept with sorrow.

Ua tagi le fatu ma le 'ele'ele. The stones and the earth wept.

The expression designates a great sorrow, such as at the death of a chief.

263.

Veve was a chief of Tutuila. He was an excellent dancer. A *malaga* party from *Upolu* was anxious to see him perform.

He consented but while he was dressing up, he accidentally hurt his eye with a comb and the dance did not come off.
Ua fa'ápei i le fa'anaunauga ia Veve, or abbreviated:

Ua o le nauga ia Veve. Like the request made to Veve.

Upu fa'anoanoa or alofa applied to unrealised hopes and desires.

264.

O le taeao i Samana (Saa). The morning feast at Samana.

Same meaning as Nos. 2 and 251.

265.

Ua fa'aumatia lagi a Pu'apu'a, 'ae le siva Leautau. The songs of Pu'apu'a are finished, but Leautau has not danced yet.

In Pu'apu'a, Savai'i, there were night dances. One after the other the chiefs showed their art. Leautau waited to the last, hoping to attract particular attention. By the time it was his turn, however, all the favourite dance tunes had been sung and the only song left was the old trite Tulele. The expected applause, of course, did not come.

Same meaning as Nos. 70, 191, 215.

The Tulele song: *Tulele e, tulele e; au ou sau; ua tino le ma'i o Faufau. Tulele*.

266.

A large gathering of people for feasting is known as a *nunu*. One of the most frequent occasions for the *nunu* is the presentation of fine mats by a newly married wife's family to the husband's clan, in particular to the *tulafale* who acted as match-makers. The husband's family gives food in return. When a *nunu* disperses, the participants do not return to their homes immediately, but call in the different villages on their way to enjoy the people's hospitality. The return journey often takes weeks.

Fa'asavali a nunu. Like the return from the *nunu*.

Same meaning as No. 163.

267.

'Ie'ie, the daughter of the Tuimanu'a, had an immense number of mats for her dowry. By the time her husband's relatives had acknowledged the fine mats, they were so tired that they had no strength left to thank for the inferior sleeping mats.

Ua le sula fala o 'Ie'ie. 'Ie'ie's sleeping mats were not acknowledged.

Upu fiafia expressing joy and thanks for gifts and benefits received.

268. Pa'usisi, the daughter of a high chief of Sa'asa'ai, Amoa, had many fine mats for her dowry. Instead of presenting these to the talking chiefs, she kept them for herself and her relatives.

Ua matemate lima le saga o Pa'usisi. Pa'usisi's dowry died in her hands (i.e., it was lost to the *tulafale*).

Upu faifai applied to avaricious, niggardly behaviour.

269. At the distribution of fine mats a *tulafale* sees the mat intended for him only from a distance. In the belief it is a good one he raises no objections. If later he finds out that it is a mat of inferior quality, it is too late for grumbling and criticising.

Va'ai tulafafo. To examine closely after the distribution of fine mats.

It is too late to raise objections. '*Aua e te va'ai tulafafo* means '*aua e te musu i le mea, auu ua e talia*. Don't object to what you have at first agreed.

Compare nos. 70, 191, 215, 242, 265.

270.

Fa'au le 'ula. To take off a necklace (in order to give it to another).

To renounce a thing in favour of another, as a chief who gives up his title.

Upu fa'aalualu: In a difficult situation reliance should be placed in a competent person, irrespective of rank and other considerations.

276.

O le va'a ua mafa tautai. The boat is full of captains.

Mafa is an abbreviation for *mamafa*.

Same meaning as No. 93. Also *upu taofiofi*: Don't worry; there are enough experienced people here.

277. When two boats sail past each other in a favourable breeze, only short greetings can be exchanged. If the boat is being pulled with oars, the rowers can stop and there is time for a longer conversation.

Ua fa'afetaia'iga a taula. The meeting of sailboats.

Applied to a fleeting meeting of friends.

278.

Ua mama i oa, mama i taloa. Leaking from the gunwale to the keel.

Such a boat will sink; therefore, the saying is applied to a person who is lost without hope.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofoa*, also applied to an imminent misfortune.

279.

Ou te se tagata tau suati. I am the man standing on the outrigger.

The Samoan sailing canoe has a big outrigger on the left side. On the starboard side there is a smaller outrigger called *suati*. When the boat is on the port tack, a man will stand on the *suati* to prevent the vessel capsizing. He moves back and forth according to the strength of the wind. The *tautai* gives him directions with the words *mamafa* (exert more pressure) or *mama* (exert less pressure).

Upu fa'amautalo: I have no authority here and must obey orders.

280.

O le fonono fa'api'i. A plank fixed temporarily.

If on a sea trip a plank should be stove in, the hole will be patched up temporarily and final repairs will be put off until the end of the trip.

Same meaning as No. 39.

Variant reading: *O le fonono fa'ia*. A plank that will be removed again.

CHAPTER SIX

LAND AND SEA TRAVEL

271.

Malo pa'u malaga. Guests should come in daytime.

When a travelling party arrives unexpectedly after sunset, it is difficult to prepare the necessary food for their reception.

272. If the travellers arrive after sunset, they must expect to go hungry and content themselves with a drink of water. However, the expectation of a good meal next morning will help to pacify a hungry stomach.

Ua tofoa i vai, 'ae ala i 'ai. He goes to sleep on a drink of water but rises with the hope of a good meal.

Upu fa'amafanafana similar to No. 199. Though the present is bad, better times are ahead.

273. The Samoans thought that land and sea were haunted by *aitu* (demons) that wanted to harm the poor travellers. Hence the rule:

Ne'i afe se atua a le ala. Beware of the evil spirits haunting the highways.

The saying is now used as a warning to travellers to avoid quarrels on their journey.

274.

O le fa'atonutonu folau. He who gives the directions in the boat.

Applied to an old experienced seaman who is too weak to handle the rudder, but sits in the boat watching the wind and the weather and giving directions to the crew.

Upu fa'aaloalo applied to a *matai* who has given his title to his son, but continues directing the affairs of the family, thereby teaching his son and preventing him making mistakes.

275.

Ia tautai o se mata'alia. Let the boat be guided by an experienced helmsman.

Mata'alia is one who knows how to handle the big double canoe ('alia).

281.

Ua pisia i le tagaliu. Splashed with water while the boat is being bailed out.

He who sits near the man who bails out the boat is likely to be splashed with water.

Same meaning as No. 53. Compare also Nos. 80, 185, 236. Applied also to a person who was absent from a distribution of food, but gets something from one of the participants.

282.

Taliu, 'ae popo'e. To bail out the boat and to be filled with fear.

An inexperienced sailor is afraid of the high seas. All he is good for is to bail out the boat.

Upu fa'amaulalo applied to a person who is engaged in an undertaking he knows nothing about and fears failure.

283.

Ua lafolalo le sami. The sea is rough.

Times are hard; the people feel disturbed; important events are at hand.

284.

Ua laolao le sami. The sea is smooth.

The difficulties are gone; the parties are reconciled.

285.

Ua ta'oto le 'aupeau. The waves have subsided.

Same meaning as No. 284.

286.

Ua tu lili o le tai. The sea is angry.

Saying used by the helmsman when he has to steer through a dangerous passage in the reef.

Applied to a person who is about to give vent to his anger.

287.

When the wind dies down the crew have to take to the oars. Should anyone then hoist the sail the others will mock him. He, however, will answer with droll exaggeration:

E tutupu matagi i liu. A wind can rise even in the hold.

Upu fa'amafanafana: Don't grumble; good fortune may come at any time.

288.

Matagi taumuaina. Headwinds.

To raise objections; to contradict.

Upu fa'aaloalo. *E le matagi taumuaina lou fnagalo—* You will meet with no opposition; all agree with you. *E matagi taumuaina lou fnagalo—* You are opposing us.

289.

Ua lutiluti a ni i'u matagi. This is the final effort of the wind.

When the travellers are shore-bound because of bad weather, they will argue about how long the storm is likely to last. Some weather-wise man will say: "This is the last kick; tomorrow it will be fine." The people will then be satisfied however strong the wind may blow today.

Upu fa'amafanafana used to exhort a person not to give in despite difficulties.

290.

E le sili Mo'a i le matagi. Mo'a is not the master of the wind.

The *tulafale* Mo'a, who lived in Fasitōtai two or three generations ago, went on a sea trip with his people. In one of the stopping places Mo'a went about his own business. In the meanwhile a favourable wind sprang up and the travellers were anxious to sail on. They waited a while but, as Mo'a did not return, they left, saying it was not he who could make them a fine wind.

Upu fa'aulaula used when a majority cannot consider the interests of an individual.

291.

Vivili fa'amanu o matagi. To stem the wind like a bird.

The Samoans do not know that it is easier for a bird to fly against a light wind than to fly with it. Hence, they compare a bird fighting against the wind with a person who strives after his goal despite difficulties.

A variant reading: *Fa'amanu o savili.* Like a bird in the wind.

292.

When a boat has to fight against a strong headwind, the helmsman calls out:

Ia fa'atutu mai foe ina ia faiaina le savili— Pull hard so that we may overcome the wind. Or elliptically: *Ia tutu foe o le savili.*

Upu fa'aualalu used to exhort people to do their best.

293.

Ia taupe le tila, taupe le fana. Haul the sprit and the mast tight. This is the order given by the captain when the large double canoe 'alia' is put about.

Same meaning as No. 292. Also used in the form of:
O le taupe nei le tila ma le fana.

294.

Ua gau le tila, tu'u i Manono. The sprit is broken; it is taken to Manono.

If on a trip between Upolu and Savai'i the sprit breaks, the travellers put into Manono to repair the damage. Thus the Manono people often have to entertain visitors in whom they are not really interested.

Same meaning as Nos. 53, 281. Compare also Nos. 80, 185, 236.

295.

E i'o le ua tafuna'i. The rain clouds are driven yonder by the wind.

This does not only refer, as Pratt explains, to a vanquished party, but it also means that the blame is laid at their door, and that they are held responsible for all the harm done, even though they had nothing to do with it.

Upu fa'anoanoa or alofa: Woe to the vanquished.

296.

Ia lafoia i le alogalu. May you be cast on the land side of the reef.

Alogalu is the lee side of a wave just about to break, that is the lagoon side. The saying refers to a boat trying to enter the lagoon through a narrow passage in the reef. This is not without danger because of the currents and the breakers.

May you overcome all difficulties. Also used as an *upu fiafia* when a difficulty has been successfully encountered: *Ua lafoia i le alogalu.*

297.

O le va'a seu atu seu mai. Like a boat that comes and goes.

Used as an excuse —when a travelling party calls a second time in a village after only a short interval.

298.

A boat in danger of foundering tries to reach the shore: Hence:

Tilitili va'a goto. Quick like a sinking boat.

Upu faifai applied to a person who deserts his companions in order to save his own skin.

299.

Pei se 'auva'a ua lelea. Like a boat crew carried away by the wind.

Upu fa'anoanoa or alofa applied to the members of a community who are in fear and sorrow because of some untoward event and are at their wits' end.

300.

Ua iloa i va'a lelea. Seen as seldom as the voyagers carried away by the wind.

Upu fa'aulaula. A friendly reproof addressed to a relative or a friend who calls but seldom.

301.

Ua ou nofo i le va'a lagoa. I am sitting in a cranky boat.

Upu fa'amaulalo to express one's fear of the consequences of some wrong done.

302.

Ua se va'a tu matagi. Like a ship before the wind.

Applied to speed; also to obedience and peace (*e leai se fa'alavelave*).

303.

Usiusi fa'ava'asavili. Obedient like a ship sailing before the wind.

Upu fa'amaulalo.

304.

O le va'a ua motu ma le taula. Like a ship that has lost its anchor.

Upu fa'amaulalo, fa'anoanoa or alofa applied to a person who has left his home and suffers want.

305.

E goto le va'a i lau 'avega fetalaiga. The ship sinks from the weight of your words.

Upu faifai. A rebuke to a person not to become troublesome with his incessant talk.

306.

Ia fili i le tai se agava'a. Choose on the high seas him who is to pilot the boat.

Thus says the leader of a travelling party to the crew before the boat is being pulled into the water, for only in wind and waves will the best helmsman be revealed.

Don't put your trust in inexperienced people. Pratt: Danger will be the best test of a man.

307.

Ua le se'i mau se alava'a. Why don't you steer a straight course?

Upu faifai applied to a person who because of indecision or reserve withholds his opinion. Pratt: Applied to a speech having no definite proposition.

308.

At low tide the water in the lagoon is very shallow. The boats then cannot follow a straight course but must follow the winding channel where the water is deep enough.

Ua fa'alava'a o tai masa. Like the boat channels at low tide.

Same meaning as No. 307.

309.

Where the lagoon lacks in depth, the sea floor is quite dry at low tide. Only a few water pools are seen here and there.

Ua fa'asami tu'ua. Like the pools left at low tide.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofo* applied to people who have been deserted in their misfortune. It is not quite clear whether the saying refers to the water pools or to the fish living in the pools.

310.

The preparations for a sea trip are completed. The travellers sit in the house and wait for wind. Suddenly a gentle breeze is felt on the bare skin and by the direction it comes from the people will know that the weather will be favourable.

Ua tofo i tino matagi lelei. A favourable wind is felt on the body.

Upu fiafia: The joy of expectation.

311.

Occasionally it happens that a travelling party gets into a fight with the people of the village at which they call. Hard blows are frequently exchanged; or the travellers may vent their anger on the offenders' relatives and friends whom they may meet in other villages. The A'ana people, however, have the reputation for keeping their tempers. They will return home; then they will discuss how they will revenge themselves on the real culprit.

Ia fa'amalaga a A'ana. Behave like the travellers of A'ana.

Same meaning as No. 211. As *upu taofiofi* it is used in the sense of No. 163.

312.

Ua o e malaga i 'Olo'olo. It is like the journey to 'Olo'olo.

Futi and Sao, the progenitors of Sagalala, travelled with their daughter Sina from Fiji to Savai'i. They landed in Safotu

between two rocky promontories and spent the night in a sandy cove. Next morning they climbed the hill. When they reached the top, they noticed they had forgotten the child's pillow (*aluga*) of soft mats in which they had wrapped two valuable necklaces of whale's teeth (*lei*). Futi and Sao resolved ('olo) to climb down again and get the pillow. Out of indolence, however, they put it off till the following morning. Next day, too, they lacked the energy to go back and so they put it off again and again until, finally, nothing came of it.

The sandy bay is called Fagalei (the bay of the whale's teeth) and the hill, 'Olo'olo.

Upu fa'aulaula applied to an undertaking that has long been planned and discussed and out of which nothing comes.

313.

Opposite the east end of Asau, Savai'i, there is a passage in the reef called Pi. This passage is narrow and shallow and presents more difficulties to navigation than the passage opposite the western end of the village. A Samoan sailing rule says:

Aua le afe tualaina Pi.

i.e.—Coming from the east the helmsman should not suddenly determine to turn to leeward (*tualaina*) and sail through the passage Pi, but he should first study the tide, the wind and the waves and should these be unfavourable proceed to the western passage.

Upu taofiofi to warn against precipitate action.

314.

E lutia i Pu'ava, 'ae mapu i Fagalele. Distress at Pu'ava, but rest at Fagalele.

Pu'ava is a cape between Papa and Falealupo, Savai'i. Fagalele is a bay beyond Pu'ava on the Falealupo side. Because of the cross currents it is rather dangerous to sail past Pu'ava, but in the protected bay of Fagalele the seamen find rest.

Upu fa'amafanafana. After rain there comes sunshine. Compare No. 289.

315.

The boat entrance to Taga, Savai'i, is dangerous as there is no reef and the waves are usually high. It is necessary that the boat crew await the lull that sets in after the seventh wave and then pull with all their might. It is easier to judge from the high shore when the right moment comes. That is why, whenever a travelling party approaches, the villagers assemble on the strand to watch the spectacle and to advise the

travellers with the cry of *Alo ia, ua mao*—Pull, there is a lull. However, it all depends who gives the advice. If it is an incompetent person or a stranger, the boat may be wrecked in the breakers. A wise *tautai* will wait until a friend comes to advise him.

O le mao a le ala. The warning "Pull, there is a lull" (given by a stranger).

Same meaning as No. 256.

316.

O le misa e faia i Toga, 'ae tala i Samoa. A fight that happens in Tonga (between Samoans) becomes known in Samoa.

A story will be spread by travellers. Same meaning as No. 104. Also used as an *upu taofiofi*: It is bad manners to quarrel before strangers, therefore, wait until you are home again.

317.

Ua aju le laufale. The floor mats are sweating.

The visitors stay so long that their entertainment becomes a burden. Also applied to a person who has to perform a difficult task. Compare with No. 165.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MISCELLANEOUS

318.

Talanoa fogafala. To converse while lying on the mats.

When late at night the sleeping mats have been spread out, the people do not sleep immediately, but stretch out comfortably and converse for a while.
Applied to peaceful times.

319.

Ua lele le se, 'ae lama le ti'otala. The grasshopper flies about, but the kingfisher watches him.

Same meaning as No. 42.

320.

Ua mao 'apa'au o le pe'a. The flying fox's wings are gone.

Upu fa'aulaula. An example of false love and friendship. The rat and the flying fox (*pe'a*) are considered brothers. The rat having one day borrowed the flying fox's wings, kept them and ever since that time sports about in the air while the *pe'a* has to creep about on the earth.

321.

E pala le ma'a, 'ae le pala le 'upu. Stones decay but words last.

Offences are hard to forget.

322.

E le pu se tino i 'upu. Words do not pierce the body.

Insults should not be taken too much to heart.

323.

E logo le tuli ona tata. The knee feels the tapping.

According to Samoan custom a *matai* is awakened by tickling the soles of his feet. If this does not have the desired effect, he is tapped on the knee. It is not permissible to touch another part of his body or to call him by name. When he wakes up, his attention is attracted by approaching him in a stooping position from behind and touching his knee.

The saying is used to imply that one has neglected to give the desired information. It is also used in the form of a question: *Ua le se'i tata tuli?* Why have you not touched

my knee? Pratt translates: "The deaf hears when he is tapped." However, the word *tuli* with the sense of "deaf" is used only in compounds, such as *taligatuli*, *fa'ataligatuli*.

324.

A ua sala uta, ia tonu tai. When a mistake has been made inland, it should be rectified at the seaside.

When two persons are engaged in an undertaking and one makes an error, the other can still save the situation by setting things right again.

325.

Ia folo i, folo toto. Swallow the pain and the blood.

To beg pardon for offences committed. The offended person says *Ua folo i, folo toto*. The *i* is either an abbreviation for *ifo*—down, or it stands for the breathtaking pain felt in the chest or abdomen. The offence is like a wound from which the body suffers and bleeds.

326.

Alofa moli po. Love shown at night.

Moli is short for *momoli*. Advice or information given secretly to help a person out of a difficulty.

There is a misunderstanding between A and B. C would like to help A, but is afraid to incur B's displeasure or to get mixed up in the quarrel; so he goes to A at night and confers with him.

327.

Amuia le masina, e alu ma sau. Blessed is the moon; it goes, but comes back again.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofa*: Man dies and there is no return from the grave. Compare a similar saying of Niue: *Mate a mahina, mate ala mai; mata a kuma, mate fakaoiti.* (Kuma—rat.)

328.

Ua uo uo foa. First friends, then broken heads.

Relates to the doings of the children who first play with one another and then fight.

Upu fa'aulaula or *faijai* applied to quarrels between relatives or friends.

329.

Ua fa'alau tu i vanu. Like a tree standing near a precipice.

Such a tree is exposed to all the winds and in danger of being hurled down.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofa*: A figure of irresolution and yielding to exterior influences. Also applied to some person threatened by a peril.

330.

O si ota uso si ota masalo. My suspicion is my brother.

Relates to the exchange of ideas and the mutual confidence that is usual between brothers.

Used to intimate that one knows the perpetrator of an action.

331.

Ua fa'aselu gauau. Like a broken comb.

Such a comb is unsightly and useless.

Applied to a family or village that has lost all respect and influence through constant quarrelling.

332.

Ua se vai ma lauta'ele. Only the water in the bathing pool is sufficient for everybody.

Elliptical for: *Na o se vai e mafai ai ona lauta'ele*, but one may run short of other things; that is why at the distribution of such things the family should be considered first. *Upu fa'aulaula*.

333.

O le 'ai a finagalo. A town full of many thoughts.

It is mostly used in the following form: *Tu'u ia, ua i le 'ai a finagalo*, i.e. Leave the matter alone; it is known by everybody. Man's thoughts are like unto the people of a village who all know one another.

Upu taofofi: Further discussion is unnecessary. Also used as a warning to keep a secret. Don't talk about it; walls have ears. The following addition is customary:

E a'oloo le vao. The bush is full of spirits.

The Samoans believe that once upon a time there were no *aitu* (demons, spirits) in their country, but that they came in big ships from Puluotu (the Polynesian underworld) and spread all over the islands.

Informers and traitors are numerous like the *aitu* in the bush.

334.

O le mea a tamaali'i fa'asala, a o le mea a tufanua fa'alumaina.

The transgressions of the nobility should be punished; those of the common herd should be treated with contempt.

Penal power in Samoa lay in the hands of the village council. For the lighter transgressions a fine consisting of pigs, *taro* or other food was imposed. The food, of course, was eaten by the village. By saying that only the nobility should be punished, is meant that it would be quite useless to expect the common people to raise the food for the payment of a fine.

335.

Va'ili tiina. To catch lice and crush them.

In old times when the Samoans wore their hair long, lice were plentiful and, indeed, they have not much diminished yet. Those who have lice are ashamed and get a relative to catch them in the privacy of their homes.

To search into the cause of a quarrel and settle it quietly.
Ii tatou fa'asaga e va'ili tiina. Sea le mea e le se'i va'ili tiina?

336.

Ulu ma 'e'eu. To enter and to remove.

If a splinter of wood or a fishbone has entered any part of the body, the sufferer does not allow anyone to touch it, but tries to remove it himself.

Ia ulu ma 'e'eu—I ask your pardon for having offended you.
O lenei le ulu ma 'e'eu—I accept your apology. *Ia outou alolofa, ia ulu ma 'e'eu*—Forbear each other in love.

337.

Aua e te seluselu mai a'u. Don't comb my hair.

Don't flatter me. Don't try to scratch my back.

Upu fa'afiti. A hint to a person that one suspects him to have an axe to grind.

338.

Ua lauiloa e pili ma se. It is known by every lizard and grasshopper.

Upu fa'aulaula. Same meaning as No. 261, which is a choicer expression.

339.

O le tautasi, a lima matua. The solitude of the thumb.

The thumb stands alone, but it is the strongest of all the fingers; splendid isolation.

Same meaning as Nos. 63, 161.

340.

E tino fa'atasi, 'ae tulialo 'ese'ese. Many men, many minds.

It is said that a former Tamaseu of Apia is the originator of this saying which illustrates the disunion of the Samoans.

341.

Ia malu le vai i lou finagalo. May your mind be like cool water.
Used to ask an offended person for forgiveness.

342.

O le to'oto'o sinasina. A white staff.

The staff is the orator's badge of office. *Sinasina* is here used in the sense of new, unused.

Upu fa'amaulalo or *faijai* applied to a young talking chief.

343.

O le to'oto'o ululi. A black staff.

Upu vivi'i; an old experienced talking chief.

344.

Vagavao. A quarrel in the bush.

345.

Vagatai. A quarrel at sea.

Samoan custom forbids that a quarrel started in the bush over plantation boundaries, etc., or while fishing in the sea, be continued or renewed in the village. Should this be likely to happen, a third person will say: *Aua tou te amana'ia, o le vagavao (vagatai) lea*—don't carry any grudge; it was a quarrel started in the bush (at sea). *Upu taofiofi.*

346.

Vagato'oto'o. The quarrel between the orators' staffs.

i.e.—A quarrel between talking chiefs. Nobody should interfere and make matters worse.

347.

Nofo i le pala gatete. To sit on a shaky swamp.

Same meaning as No. 301.

348.

Ou te nofo atu nei, a ua o le la le mumu i fafo. I sit here before you like the sun that shines outside.

Upu fa'amaulalo: I cannot cover up the wrong I did to you; it is as clear as the sun.

349.

Aua nei po'pona le toa i lou finagalo. May your mind be without knots like the toa tree.

The toa is the casuarina with a high, slender stem. Pratt: *Ua po'pona le toa i le fetala'iga nei*—This speech is of such a nature that one can only feel angry about it.

356.

O le gogolo a ua po. The rustle of the rain that falls at night.

In the stillness of the night noises are heard better than in daytime. When a shower falls during the night and a person judges of its intensity by the noise it makes, he will notice in the morning that he has made a mistake.

Upu fa'aulaula or *faifai*: Much ado about nothing. To make a mountain out of a molehill.

357.

E tetele a Pesega, 'ae matua i le Oo. There is much water flowing past Pesega, but it disappears in Oo.

Pesega is an *alia*, a mountain brook, near Apia, that is mostly dry. It disappears in a swamp called Oo.

Same meaning as No. 356. Similar to No. 358.

358.

Ua fa'aofo a gata. It is the threat of the snake.

When a snake is surprised by a man, it will rise and make a hissing sound. It is not to be feared, however, because the snakes in Samoa are harmless.

Applied to a thing that looks threatening but is quite harmless.

359.

Na o le gata e fasia, 'ae pupula. Only the snake looks at its slayer.

The Samoans say that the snake is the only animal which when about to be killed, will neither defend itself nor try to escape. It simply gives its enemy a look. Thus it resembles a man who bears patiently the wrong done to him without seeking revenge.

Upu fa'amaulalo or *fa'anoanoa*. Pratt: "Said of one blamed before his face."

According to another explanation the saying refers to a fight between the owl and the snake, which a certain Tasi ended by killing the snake (Turner).

360.

O le isi le momo'o. To praise is to beg.

He who wants something from another person but is ashamed to beg, will give a broad hint by praising the thing he wants. *Upu fa'aulaula*.

361.

Laga 'upu popo. To bring up old stories.

(*Popo* here means "dry.") To revive old family quarrels or political strife. See also the following:

350.

E mu'a le vao. The wood is green yet.

Used by a young person to excuse his mistakes committed through inexperience.

351.

Tau ina ta ma fa'apoi. May it end with threats, but not come to blows.

Asking pardon for wrongs committed. Compare No. 146. Pratt translates: (It is of children) to strike and threaten.

352.

Soa laupule. To share the authority with one's colleagues.

To invite all the *matai* to a discussion of village affairs. *Ua le se'i soa laupule upu o lo tatou nu'u?* Why have we not discussed the matter in council?

353.

E le 'ese le aitu, le 'ese le Mo'omu. There is no difference between the devil and Beelzebub.

Mo'omu is the name of an *aitu* about whom little is known. Six of one, half a dozen of the other.

354.

Ua aofia i le futiafu e tasi. All gathered in one pool.

Futiafu is the pool below a waterfall where dry leaves, fruits, sticks, etc., collect.

Applied to the meeting of a number of relatives or friends, like Nos. 2, 251, 263. Also applied to a unanimous decision, like No. 253.

Variant reading: *Ua ta'ape moli, 'ae aofia i le futiafu.* The wild oranges are scattered in the bush, but they will come together in the basin of the waterfall.

Pratt: When the river dries up, water is found only in the basin of the waterfall. Applied to all being of one mind in a council meeting.

355.

Ua se mo'o le sosolo. Like a gecko that is lying about.

Upu faifai: A lazy fellow. The gecko (*mo'o*) is a small species of lizard often seen in the houses. Its habit of remaining a long time in the same spot, may have led to the assumption that it is lazy.

Pratt: Disobedient.

362.

Laga tagati oti. To raise the dead.

Same meaning as No. 361.

363.

Ua e sopo utu. You are stepping over the ditch (boundary).*Upu faifai:* You are meddling with things which do not concern you. Used mostly in the form of a warning. *Aua e te sopo utu.* See also the following:

364.

Ua e vaelá'a. You are trespassing.

Same meaning as No. 363.

365.

Fa'atagi timu. To pray for rain.

In pagan times the Samoans prayed to their gods for rain. One such prayer went as follows:

*Timu timu tetele,*May the rain come down in torrents,
Timuia vai o fé'é
Apo fia ta'éle.
May it bring water for the octopus.
Quick, I want to take a bath.The Samoans believed that the god embodied in the octopus (*fé'é*) lived in a subterranean home and drank up the underground water.

366.

O lota lima e pa'ia ai lota mata. My eye was hurt by my hand.*Upu fa'anoanoa.* He who inadvertently hurts his eye with his hand resembles a person who gets into difficulties through his own fault.

Compare with Nos. 76, 367.

367.

Ua feanu i le matamatagi. To spit against the wind.

So that the saliva is driven back into one's face.

Upu faifai. Same meaning as No. 366.

368.

Ua pulapula a la goto. Like the glow of the setting sun.

Applied flatteringly to very old persons.

Compare with No. 73. Pratt translates erroneously: To be in the prime of life.

369.

O le popo pa'u po. Like a coconut falling in the night.When a coconut falls in the dark, it should not be picked up because, according to an old superstition, an *aitu* (demon) is lurking there.Same meaning as Nos. 256, 315. When untrustworthy persons come to the village with news about war or other exciting events, a wise talking chief will warn his people not to act precipitately: *Aua le tufia le popo pa'u po:* Don't pick up the fallen nut, but wait till morning brings further particulars. See also the following:

370.

O le pola tau fafo. The house shutters hang outside.

The coconut leaf blinds with which the Samoan house is enclosed, hang on the outside of the posts.

A figure of speech applied to a person who does not belong to the family. The following has a similar meaning:

371.

O le pola motu i tua. The torn blinds at the back of the house.

Passers-by see only the front of the house; therefore it is not considered necessary to pay any particular attention to the things at the back.

Applied to persons and things not worthy of one's notice.

O le a le mea tou te amana'ia ai le pola motu i tua?

372.

Fa'atoevai. Like standing water.

When stagnant water begins to dry up, little pools will remain here and there in the depressions of the ground.

Same meaning as No. 137. Used in the form of a request: *Aua ne'i fa'atoevai i lou finagalo;* or, *Ai ni mea ua fa'atoevai i lou finagalo, ia matua fa'até'a;* or in the same form as the following which has the same meaning:

373.

Ua fa'avai tu'uipu i lou finagalo. (Your mind is) like the water stagnating in coconut shells.

Both the above sayings are also applied to persons who refuse to take part in a general reconciliation.

374.

When war has been declared it is considered dishonourable if a family cannot furnish at least one fighting man and they will do their utmost to avoid this shame.

Tau ina taulia i vaega. As long as at least one is numbered among the forces.

The saying is used when at a council meeting a person says a few words just to show that he is entitled to speak; also if in a presentation of mats or food he brings some trifling thing lest the others think he does not belong to the clan.

Upu fa'amaulalo. Compare also Nos. 39, 43, 280.

375.

E toa e le loto, 'ae pa le no'. The will is strong, but the hips are broken.

The spirit is strong, but the flesh is weak.

Toa seems to be an adjective derived from the verb *to*, to remove, to move upwards, and signifies that one desires to go and participate in some activity.

376. Tutuila, a *tulafale* of Fasito'otai and Ape, a *tulafale* of Fasito'outa, stole and brought up the child Tamalelagi who later became *Tuia'ana*. Ape was the more zealous of the two. He thought about the task even during his sleep; hence the addition to his name "Moemanatu" (to think while asleep) which has now become an *upu vivi'i*. Tutuila allowed himself to become diverted from his duties by many things and used to visit the boy only at night.

E te Tutuila le mamate. You are negligent like Tutuila.

The saying is applied to a thoughtless and negligent person.

377.

O le gafa o le Tuia'ana ua o'o. The lineage (succession) of the *Tuia'ana* is assured.

King Muagatuti'a married Lady Fenuiuvao. As they had no children of their own, they adopted Fuiavailili, the wife's brother, who later succeeded to his foster father and became known as King Tupua.

The saying is used when an adopted son succeeds to a high chief.

378. In Fasito'otai there lived a lady of high rank by name of Sinafatunua. One day the villagers went on a fishing expedition with the *tatafa* net to catch the fish called *fa*. When the catch was distributed, Sina did not get her due share. Angered at this slight she cursed the river flowing through Fasito'otai and caused it to run to the opposite (south) side of the island, where it now enters the sea near Falease'ela.

Ua liua le vai Sinafatunua. Sinafatunua's river has turned around. Used when someone loses an advantage and another acquires it.

379. Falevai is a part of the village Falelatai belonging to Chief Fasavalu. One of the former chiefs of that name was very cruel and the poor people of Falelatai had to suffer much under his rule. The people finally decided to give him one of the village maidens for a wife, hoping that in the event they had a child, the chief out of love for his offspring would, perhaps, change his cruel ways, the baby thus becoming a *malu* (protection) for its relatives. The choice fell on Savea, the daughter of Tonumaivao, who in due time presented her husband with a daughter who was called Tutumanu. The hopes of the villagers, alas, were not realised. Fasavalu became more cruel than ever and when his daughter grew up, she was no better than her father.

Ua o le malu i Falevai. It is the protection of Falevai.

The saying is applied to disappointment at unfulfilled hopes. Also used as an *upu faifai*.

380. Tigilau had heard of the beauty of Sinaamutulei, the daughter of the king of Fiji, and longed to marry her. Sina was told this and she also was filled with love for Tigilau. So it came about that although the two had never met, they knew of their mutual love. The girl, unable to master her longing, finally went to Pata (Falelatai) in Samoa and entered Tigilau's house where nobody knew her. Her appearance was so strange, that Tigilau's servants Uluseleatamai and Uluselealea wondered whether she was an *aitu* or a human being. So they prepared some peeled *taro* and some unpeeled *taro*, likewise a plucked fowl and an unplucked fowl and presented these to her. Sina only partook of the properly prepared food and the servants knew that she was human.

Se'i muamua le moa le futia ma le talo le valua. First the unplucked fowl and the unscrapped taro.

Upu fa'aulaula or *fa'amaulalo* used when an unimportant or valueless thing is followed by something valuable or consequential; for instance, the complimentary phrases of a visitor followed by his announcing the real purpose of his visit; or a small collation followed by a big meal.

381. When Tigilau (see No. 380) saw the beautiful stranger, he fell in love with her and she returned his love. In order to test him, Sina did not reveal her name. The chief's first transports of love soon evaporated and his longing for the unknown Sina being re-awakened, he began to neglect his wife. However,

he travelled with her to Fiji in a fleet of many ships in order to attend the presentation of her dowry. They travelled in separate boats. When the Samoans reached the reef surrounding Sina's island, they scattered to look for the boat entrance. To prevent an accident, Sina called out:

A ai ni alofa fou i Futu. If you love me, try the passage of Futu.

Upu alofa: Follow my advice and you will reach the goal.

The Samoans obeyed and soon the whole fleet was safe in the lagoon. Sina thought it was now time to reveal her secret and she sang:

Tafi a'u ma nofo i va'a nei, Mournfully I sit in my boat,
Le Tui'iti ma Tuitoga e. Ye kings of Fiji and Tonga (Repeat)
Se'i foli mai ni 'ie o lelei, Spread out your most beautiful mats
Le Tui'iti ma Tuitoga e. So that the boats may glide on the
Se'i si'i atu ai va'a nei, dry strand.
Le Tui'iti ma Tuitoga e. We are on the boats, both I and
O Tigilau ma te i va'a nei, Tigilau,
Le Tui'iti ma Tuitoga e. My husband who has neglected me;
Le tane agaleaga agamasei, But now I will reveal my name to
Le Tui'iti ma Tuitoga e. him:
Se'i ta'u atu si ota igoa, I am Sinaamumutilei,
O ita o Sinaamumutilei,
Le Tui'iti ma Tuitoga e.

To elucidate this song (*fagono*) it must be remarked that on the mother's side Sina was related to the kings of Tonga. Her request that the boats be pulled ashore over the fine mats illustrates the wealth of her relatives.

Tigilau hearing Sina's song, was filled with joy and immediately rejoined her and they were happy together for ever after.

382. Titilimulimu, daughter of Tuia'ana To'opelu and wife of Chief Fiamē of Samatau, was pregnant. It happened that when her time was come she was bathing in the sea, where she gave birth to two lizards. She was so frightened that she ran home and told her husband. Fiamē ordered his servants (*soga*) Veve and Si'ipa to see if the lizards were still there. They found them sitting in the hollow of a rock and looking towards their father's house. The servants came back and said: *La e lava le fepulafi mai*, i.e., they are there, staring. Fiamē was angry at his servants' using the common word *fepulafi* (to stare) instead of the more polite *sisila* and corrected them: *Se, sisila*. When the servants still repeated *fepulafi*, the chief was so incensed that he killed them. The lizards died of sorrow at having been treated so discourteously and were buried between the middle posts of their father's house. That is why,

so the Samoan people claim, it is forbidden all over Samoa to pass between the middle posts of a Samoan *fale*.

Aitelea i Niupapai, 'upu le liliu. Great misfortune in Niupapai because the word was not changed.

Applied to a misfortune brought about through someone's stupidity.

Niupapai is the name of the *malae* of Samatau. The real meaning of *'aitelea* is to lose in the game of *lafoga* (see No. 248) because the opponents have many points—*tele 'ai*.

383. Leatiogie of Faleata (see No. 238) was sick, so he sent to Pata for his daughter Leatiatiegie (also called Ofu'ofumomo) to come and look after him. The girl, however, could not come as she was sick herself. When the messengers reported this to Leatiogie, he angrily sent them back with the words: *Se, a le mafai le teine, fasi mate*. If the girl will not come, kill her. The messengers went. The girl was still unable to travel and so the foolish men, thinking the chief had spoken in all seriousness, killed her. *Upu ua to ia tama vale*: or elliptically: *Upu to a valevale*. A message entrusted to fools.

Upu fa'aulaula, faifai or fa'amaulalo used when orders have been badly carried out through over-zealousness or lack of common sense. It can be used as a warning or a reproach.

384. Tuna and Fata, the sons of Leatiogie, together with their sister's son 'Uluamasui, prepared to deliver Samoa from the yoke of the Tongans. First, they stole the anchor of the Tongan king's canoe in order to make war clubs out of it. The anchor consisted of a pointed pole of *toa* wood (see No. 349) which was driven into the sea floor for the purpose of tying the boat to it. The young men could not decide whether to cut the pole lengthwise or crosswise, so they left it on the seashore to discuss the matter again on the next day. Hence the saying:

Se'i moe le toa. Let the *toa* pole sleep.

Upu taofiofi used when one cannot reach a decision and puts the matter off. Also used in the form of *Ua moe le toa*. (Compare No. 404.)

Next morning it was noticed that some mussels had fastened along the pole. This was considered a sign from heaven and the wood was cut lengthwise.

Under the leadership of Tuna, Fata and 'Uluamasui the Samoans defeated the Tongans and drove them to the west end of Upolu. Seeing there was no hope, the enemy decided to leave Samoa. From the cliff Tulatala near Cape Fatusofia,

the *Tuitoga* addressed these parting words to the Samoans assembled on the shore:

Ua malie toa, malie tau.

Ou te le toe sau

I le auliuli tau,

A o le a ou sau

I le auliuli folau.

Brave warriors, bravely fought.

If I ever return,

It will not be to wage war on you.

But to pay a friendly visit.

From the first words *malie toa* originates the name Malietoa, which later became one of the principal titles of dignity (*ao*). It is said that Tuna and Fata immediately started wrangling over the name and that both were so grievously wounded that they died. Through the intercession of Ulumasui the gods restored them to life. Both now renounced the title in favour of their sister's son. In the district of Tuamasaga it is claimed that Savea, a brother of Tuna and Fata, was the first Malietoa. The A'ana people maintain that this is a falsification of history and that Ulumasui was the first holder of the title.

385.

Talo lua Tuna ma Fata. To pray for both Tuna and Fata.

Not to restrict one's love to a single person, but to extend it to all those concerned; e.g., to pardon not only one but all the offenders. Used to request such a favour (*ia talo lua Tuna ma Fata*) and when the request has been granted (*ou te talo lua Tuna ma Fata*). See No. 384.

386.

The three clubs (see No. 384) were taken to Foga'a and preserved as a token of the common victory. Foga'a is a piece of land in Fale'ula where the house of Malietoa was built. *Moli la'au i Foga'a.* To take the clubs to Foga'a.

Applied to concord and union.

387.

In Fale'ula there lived a married couple, Tasi and To. They had ten grown-up sons, all called Tui and a boy by the name of Fatu (stone). The ten were the servants of Malietoa. The chief ordered them one day to bring fine mats. When they begged their parents for the mats, the latter replied the mats were reserved for Fatu. This filled the brothers with jealousy and anger and they determined to do away with the boy. They immediately accomplished the foul deed by throwing him into the sea.

Ua to i moana or *Ua tofatumoanaina.* Fatu perished in the sea.

Upu fa'anoanoa or *alofo* applied to a loss that excites our commiseration or to anything that has been lost or forgotten.

Variant readings: *Ua malemo le Fatu.* Fatu was drowned. *Fa'a mea goto i moana.* Like a thing sunk in the sea.

388. When the deed (see No. 387) was done, the Tui returned home, barricaded their house and did not leave it.

Ua nofofale Sa Tui ia ma'a. The Tui clan kept in the house because of the stone.

The saying is used when a person who has harmed another avoids meeting him. It is also used to imply that one will not forget an injustice suffered but keep it in his memory as the brothers kept to their house.

389. Tasi and To (see 387) noticing that Fatu had disappeared, were very sad and ordered their sons to search for him. The ten replied, "It cannot be done now because the tide is high." Tasi and To said, "Go nevertheless; we'll make it low tide here and back the water to A'ana." Immediately the water receded to A'ana and the tide was low in Tuamasaga.

Ua tu'u le tai i A'ana. The sea receded to A'ana.

Upu fa'amaulalo applied to a village that lacks experienced talking chiefs.

390. The youths then went to the reef (see No. 389) and looked for Fatu. They did not find him, however, and returned with a piece of coral.

Ua tu'u le ma'a, 'ae ma'a i 'a'au. The stone was left and a piece of coral was taken instead. Or: *Ua tu'u le 'au, 'ae ma'a i 'a'au.* To leave what is essential and replace it with a piece of coral.

Used to denote that something genuine, true, good, had to give way to something inferior, false, bad.

391. Tasi and To (see No. 389) noticed the substitution and made further attempts to recover their lost child. They ordered the crabs of the sea to look for him and to keep their legs well together lest the stone slip through them.

Se'i fono le pa'a mona vae. Let the crab take counsel with its legs.

Same meaning as Nos. 4, 88.

The crabs then set to work, but all they could find was another crab whose back looked like a stone. This they brought up (*sa'esae'e*) and it became the king of the crabs. (There is a species of crab called *sa'esae'e*).

392. Tasi (see above) also prayed to Tagaloalagi, the highest god, for help. Tagaloalagi put at his disposal the two *aitu*, Manu and Mala (Fortune and Misfortune), and warned them to treat Manu well as he had only a restricted authority over him and any ill-treatment would be revenged by Mala.

E le fa'apito Manu ia Tasi. Manu is not restricted to Tasi.

Application: (1) Fortune does not last; so don't be overbearing when you are lucky. (2) Don't give preference to anyone, but treat all alike: *Au ne'i fa'apito Manu ia Tasi.*

393. Nonoumafele of Falealili and Ali'amaia, the son of Fileitaga of Saluafata, each had a sister. They planned that each would court the other's sister. Nonoumafele was successful, but not so the other. When they met in the bush after having seen their girls, Nonoumafele asked, "How did you get on?" Ali'amaia replied:

Uatauale le mafua a pua na i Aganoa. The perfume of the *pua* had no effect in Aganoa.

The fragrant flowers of the *pua* (gardenia) are made into garlands and necklaces with the perfume of which the suitor hopes to please the girl of his choice. Aganoa is a place near Si'umu, where the Falealili people were wont to fish. The suitor is here compared to a fisherman; the girl is the fish and the gardenia, the bait.

Upu fa'anoanoa, alofa or fa'aulaula applied to an unsuccessful undertaking.

394. Nonoumafele (see No. 393) then said, "I have found a wife," and Ali'amaia replied, "You are lucky." Or:

Ua ala mai i pu'e o manu. You are coming with the fortune you have caught.

Upu fa'aaloalo used to congratulate a person on his success. As an *upu fiafia* it is applied to a common joy, such as felt at a meeting of friends.

395. Ali'amaia (see No. 394) added:
Ua ala mai i pu'e o mala. I am coming with the misfortune I caught.

Same meaning as No. 393.

396. Chief Tunavaetele of Tifitifi had a son, Ali'amaia, and a daughter, Gatoloaiolelagi. One day the boy saw his sister sleeping naked on the mats. He approached her quietly, plucked the pandanus fruits off his necklace and strewed them over her. The girl woke up and said:

A ua teu, ia ma teu; a ua fai, ia ma fai. If you want to cover me up, cover me well; if you want something else, do it thoroughly.

Ma is an abbreviation for *matua*.

Upu fa'alualu: Don't be irresolute. Do one thing or another and don't vacillate.

397. As a result of the above meeting the girl became pregnant. To hush up the affair she was quickly married to Malietoa Uituaagi. In due time she gave birth to Ali'amaia's child, who was called La'auli (a step in the dark) and later she had another boy by Malietoa, named Fuaoleto'elau. When the boys were grown up, Fuaoleto'elau went to court Gauifaleai, the daughter of Tuisamoa in Falealili. La'auli also went to Falealili to snare sea birds in the bush. While he was engaged in this sport near a brook, Lady Gauifaleai came into the forest with her maids and said to him, "Why are you sitting there, your hair all shaggy?" La'auli replied:

E valavala a tumanu. It is the shagginess of the young banana bunch.

The fruits of a young bunch of bananas are not well ordered like those of the mature bunch.

398. The lady said again, "My friend, you are very dirty." La'auli replied:

E lafulafu a tama seu gogo. It is the dirt of the youths catching sea birds.

Applied to things that look unpromising, but end well. Both sayings are similar in meaning to Nos. 63, 161, 339.

399. La'auli (see above) then took a bath. When Gauifaleai saw how handsome he was, she fell in love with him. The rejected Fuaoleto'elau returned home and La'auli eloped with the girl. When his brother heard about this, he said:

O le lau o le fiso o le lau o le tolo. A *fiso* leaf is a *tolo* leaf.

Fiso and *tolo* are two kinds of sugarcane. The expression means: Since we are brothers, it does not matter whether the lady marries me or him. The advantages our clan will derive

from the alliance in the way of fine mats and new family connections will be the same in either case; therefore, I will not be jealous.

Applied to persons belonging to the same family or village. Compare No. 147.

The brothers then came to an agreement that Fuaoleto'elau should live in Si'umu, while La'auli went with his wife to Malie, where the *faleupolu Aumatagi* (the body of chiefs) who at first had opposed him because of his illegitimacy, now recognized him as Malietoa.

400.

E o Ulu le tafe, 'ae sefefutia Vaisigano. The Ulu carries the water, but the Vaisigano sustains the damage.

The Vaisigano river which enters the sea at Apia is joined by the mountain brook Ulu just above Magiagi. The latter has its rise high in the mountains. It is usually dry, but after heavy rains it turns into a raging torrent and its waters often damage the banks of the Vaisigano.

Same meaning as Nos. 53, 281 (1), 24. Compare also Nos. 80, 185.

401. Tuitogama'atoe, the wife of Chief Salima Galemai of Fagali'i, fell in love with Lemafalimalelei, the son of Leota of Solosolo, and slept with him. When the affair became public, the Fagali'i people wanted to kill the offender. Leota obtained pardon for his son. Salima, however, advised the youth to retire to his house at Galagala inland of Magiagi, as it was to be feared that the Fagali'i people would still seek revenge. Lemafalimalelei did so and was saved because the houses of high chiefs were recognized sanctuaries (*sulufa'iga*) for criminals.

Ia tili i le papa i Galagala. Run for life to the rock of Galagala.

Upu alofa. Admonition to hurry because of threatening danger.

402.

O le sola a Faleata. The flight of Faleata.

After the death of King Faumuina his three children Fonoti, Samalaulu and Va'afusuaga fought for the leadership. Fonoti was the victor. His allies of Faleata (Tuamasaga) distinguished themselves in this war. Pretending to flee, they returned unexpectedly and defeated the enemy.

Applied to a messenger or to a traveller who returns quickly. Also used as an *upu fa'amafanafana* to promise a speedy return.

403. The sons of the *Tuifiti* (the king of Fiji) came to Samoa to wage war on Chief Vaea of Vaimauga. They landed at night in Faleata. Their boat was so big that it reached from Mulinu'u to Safune near Toamua. Vaea having heard of their arrival went down and lifted the boat on top of the trees growing on the shore. This exhibition of strength filled the Fijians with such terror that they offered him their sister Apa'ula if he would spare their lives. Vaea accepted. When Apa'ula was pregnant, she left with her brothers to give birth to her child in Fiji. Vaea stood in Savalalo, a section of Apia, and watched the departing boat. The wife gave birth to a boy on the high seas and, in memory of Vaea's standing in Savalalo, she named the youngster Tuisavalalo. Fearing her brothers would devour the baby, she hid him in the water and the fishes fed him. Thus the boy reached Fiji safely. For many years he lived in solitude, but finally he was discovered by his uncles who killed and devoured him. Apa'ula then returned to Samoa to ask her husband to avenge their child. Alas, she was too late. Vaea had changed into a mountain (Mt. Vaea). Only his head was still alive. The head spoke and said:

Ua sau Apa'ula, ua tautua. Apa'ula has come, but she is too late.

Same meaning as Nos. 70, 191, 215, 265. Compare also No. 269.

404. Vaea ordered Apa'ula (see above) to go to Savai'i and ask help of his brother Va'atausili. She did so. In Lealatele she met a youngster who was catching butterflies and grasshoppers. He was an insignificant little fellow, all covered with pimples. She asked him whether he knew Va'atausili and he replied that he himself was the man. Filled with many doubts Apa'ula went with him towards Falealupo. On the way she was assured by the people that he really was the man she sought, but she had little hope that he could help her. Her doubts, however, soon vanished. In Falealupo Va'atausili entered a cave to sleep. While he slept he changed into a handsome, gigantic man.

Ua moe'iino Va'atausili. Va'atausili slept to strengthen his body. Same meaning as No. 384. *O le a se'i moe'iino Va'atausili.* The question is not yet ripe for settlement and should be adjourned, "Let us sleep on it."

405. Va'atausili (see above) grew so big that he burst the cave. When he appeared before Apa'ula, she saw that he was well able to solve her difficulties.

Ua 'atoa le tino o Va'atausili. Va'atausili is full grown.

Applied to an undertaking for which full preparations have been made; also to a well attended meeting. Compare Nos. 2, 251, 263, 354.

Va'atausili pulled out a coconut tree and used it as a club to kill Apa'ula's brothers.

406. In Tuana'i there lived a couple who had a beautiful daughter, Sina, and a son, Masefau. Many were the young men who came to court Sina. The report of her beauty had even reached Fiji and the *Tuifiti* came to ask for her hand. Last but not least, Tagaloalagi, the highest god in heaven, sent his ambassadors with an offer of marriage. Sina, however, liked the *Tuifiti* best. Fearing the god's anger, her brother Masefau tried to make her change her mind, but in vain. She embarked with the *Tuifiti* and they left for the king's home. Tagaloalagi pursued them with thunder and lightning. Their ship foundered and all the travellers were changed into rocks.

This legend told by Stuebel is remembered in the place names Tuana'i (from *fa'atuatua*na'i, to reject) and Auva'a, to the west of Tuana'i. The rocks to seaward of Auva'a are also called Auva'a.

Ua 'uma ona ta lago a Masefau. The props for Masefau's boat have been cut.

Masefau's endeavours at mediation are here compared to a man preparing props to assure the safety of his hauled-up boat.

Applied to a person trying his best to prevent a misfortune. Also used as an *upu taifiofi*: *Se' mua'i ta lago a Masefau.*

407. Nonu, a *tulafale* of Safata, went to Tonga and became the king's talking chief. One day the two had an argument about the phase of the moon. Nonu maintained the moon was visible in the morning. The *Tuitoga* (King of Tonga) contested this. They finished up by making a bet and Nonu wagered his life. During the night his protecting *aitu* appeared to Nonu and said, "The king was wiser than you. The moon is not visible in the morning and you have forfeited your life."

E le tau masina ma tamaali'i. With high chiefs one does not argue about the moon.

"Yet, I will save you and in the morning I myself will take the moon's place in the sky." And so it came about. Because of his supernatural powers the deceit did not remain unknown to the king, but he pardoned Nonu.

Application: The weak always go to the wall.

408. The *Tuiatua* Mata'utia was urged by his orators Leifi and Tautolo ('Fuataga and Tafua) to marry his cousin Levalasi. The lady had another cousin, the *Tui'ana* Tamalelagi (see No. 376) whose adopted daughter she was. On her mother's side she had connections with the Gatoaitele and Tamasoali'i. Her marriage with the *Tuiatua* would, therefore, be a means of uniting the four highest titles under one head. This was the end the two *tulafale* were striving for, to say nothing of the fine mats they could expect in the event their plan succeeded. Samoan custom forbids the marriage between cousins; hence, Mata'utia at first refused. Leifi and Tautolo countered with the words:

Tau o se mea e ala ai. As long as the end is attained.

In olden times the high chiefs respected the customs of their country only insofar as they served their purpose. On this occasion, too, the end had to justify the means and Mata'utia married his cousin. Punishment was not long in coming. He was attacked by a loathsome disease and Levalasi gave birth to a clot of blood. For reasons of genealogy the clot had to be given a name and as Tuimavave it appears in the genealogical tables. A successor had now to be found. This was done by Levalasi's adopting Salamasina, the daughter of Tamalelagi, who as holder of the four titles became the first queen of Samoa. The story that the war-goddess Nafanua had the four titles in her possession and that it was she who gave them to Salamasina seems to be a legend invented by the Falealupo people for their own glorification.

Variant reading: *So'o se mea e ala ai.*

409.

O le lailalata a Faonu'u, 'ae le tu i le talaga. Faonu'u lives near the orators' stand, but he may not stand there.

According to the constitution of Falefa only the orators Moeono, Iuli and Tafloa, besides the few chiefs, have the right to speak at a *fono*. The *tulafale* Faonu'u whose house stands close to the *malae* Moamoa, may not speak in council.

So, also, a person may be close to a thing he strives for and yet not reach it.

If the above explanation is not very flattering to the Faonu'u family, the following one is the more so: Faonu'u lives near the *malae* where the club matches take place (see No. 237) but he never goes there as he cannot find an opponent worthy of him.

410.

O le latalata a Salei'a. The proximity of Salei'a.

Salei'a is the western end of Matautu, Savai'i. Close by the village there was a wood which contained valuable timber trees. As the Salei'a people permitted strangers to help themselves to the trees, the time came when there was no timber left for themselves.

Same meaning as No. 409.

411.

O le latalata a alafau. The proximity of the cheek.

Although the eye is close by the cheek, it cannot see the cheek.

Same meaning as No. 409.

412.

Ua laga taumulumuli le lauga a Vailalo. Vailalo spoke when the meeting was ended.

There was once a *fono* at Saleapaga (Falefa). When the meeting was ended, Vailalo stood up and began to speak. The people, however, dispersed and no one listened to him.

Same meaning as Nos. 70, 191, 215, 265, 403.

413.

Ua feagai Vini ma Tapana. Vini and Tapana lie opposite each other.

Tapana is the south-east cape of Upolu. To seaward of the cape is the small island of Nu'utele, a fallen-in crater. On the convex side of the crater there is a small strip of sandy beach known as Vini, which lies just opposite Tapana.

Similar to No. 145.

414.

Meleisea, Leilua and Tuatagaloa, the sons of Fanene (Falealili) were deliberating who should have the title of Fiamme (Samatau). Tuatagaloa's son Uluilile'ava was sitting by, but no one asked him his opinion because he was ill-favoured. Finally he complained:

Uliuli 'ae le po lago. I may be ugly, but I am not here to kill flies.

He was now invited to take part in the deliberation, the result of which was that the title was given to Lesa ma Tana of Lotofaga.

Used when one thinks that another is not taken sufficient notice of. Compare No. 64.

415.

Ua te'i ina ua tu i Fagalilo le Tonumaipé'a. There was alarm when Tonumaipé'a appeared in Fagalilo.

The title Tonumaipé'a is one of the highest titles (*ao*) in Samoa. Fagalilo is a bathing pool in Vaialua near Nofolii. It is said that once upon a time a Tonumaipé'a who wanted to take a bath in Fagalilo unexpectedly met a girl in the water.

Same meaning as No. 129. Compare also No. 36.

416. La'io'palolo, the wife of Aumua le Sigano of Aleipata, ran away and returned to her home in Falealupo. Aumua, the husband, complained of this to Malietoa. The latter asked, "Do you want to make this an occasion for war (*lauama tau*) or shall we try to settle the affair in a friendly way (*lauama to'oto'o*)?"

Lauama to'oto'o. To settle a dispute in a friendly way.

As *upu taofofi*: *Ia lauama to'oto'o.*

Their negotiations at Falealupo had the desired result.

417. When Aumua had recovered his wife (see No. 416) it was said:

Ua maua le fili o Aumua le Sigano. Aumua le Sigano has attained his desire.

Upu fiafia applies to hopes realised in spite of difficulties.

418.

Tau o se puipui 'au a Tuliamoev'a. Only the retinue of Tuliamoev'a.

Upu fa'amaulalo: The inferior chiefs surround the high chiefs to protect and honour them.

The saying relates to an *ifilele* tree called *Tuiamoev'a*, which, surrounded by a number of smaller trees, once stood in Saluafata and in which a god was incorporated; or it may refer to an *aitu* of that name who lived in Tufu Gataivai and to whom young girls were offered in order to obtain his goodwill.

419.

Ua o Tapatapao e lealu'i. It is the habit of Tapatapao to wander about.

Mataiva, the nine-eyed chief of Safata, married Lady Olo. The wife being ashamed of his looks, ran away. In Safotulafai she gave birth to a number of mountains, Atuolo. One of them, Tapatapao, got into a fight with his brothers and left for the

north side of A'ana. There, too, he could not live in peace, so he changed his abode to Faleasé'ela and Lefaga.

Upu fa'aulaula applied to a restless person. Compare Nos. 106, 109.

420. A chief came with his retinue from Safune in Savai'i to Lepe'a to court the daughter of Faumuina. Being unsuccessful they set out on their return journey. As they passed through Puipa'a, they met the *tulafale* Paga (Aupagamalie) who, dressed in an old girdle (*pa'upa'u*), was working in his plantation. When the latter heard of the *'aumoeaga's* (courting party) ill-success, he offered to return with them for another attempt. They laughed him to scorn because of his dirty clothes. He replied:

E pa'upa'u 'ae o'o i Lepe'a. It may be only an old girdle, but it will bring results at Lepe'a.

His proposal was accepted and they returned to Lepe'a, where thanks to Paga's skill, the heart of the fair lady was won. Ever since that time Aupagamalie has been Faumuina's talking chief.

Upu vivivi. Same meaning as Nos. 63, 161, 339, 397, 398.

421. In the days when Samoa suffered under the yoke of the Tongans, there lived at Sili a married couple, Taomatamu and Mualepuso. When a son was born to them, they travelled with the child to Samsauga to visit the father's relatives. On their return they met a Tongan ship at Amoa. The crew were giving night dances (*poula*) and the parents looked on. Having spent the rest of the night under the sail of the Tongan vessel, they set out again at daybreak. The child was left behind, for each parent thought he was with the other. When the Tongans prepared to sail on, they discovered the boy under the sail and took him along. He was given the name of Samoa-na-galo, the Forgotten Samoan. The Tongans made a call at Muli-fanua. As it was raining, the child sought shelter under a coral rock (*puga*). The spot is called to this day Falepuga, the house of coral. After a while the Tongans set sail for Samatau and the boy was forgotten again. He ran after the ship and between the promontories of Tulatala and Tulivae near Samatau, he managed to attract the crew's attention. This place is called Le-one-sa'a (the sand where the boy danced about). The ship now sailed to Tonga. After many days the travellers reached the first island of the group (Vavau) where they were the guests of High Chief Le Sa. When they left for Toga-mamao (Tongatabu), where the *Tuitoga* ruled, the boy

was forgotten for the third time. Because of his stay with Le Sa, he was later called Sanalala (he who spent the evenings, *alala*, with Le Sa). The reigning *Tuitoga* was married to a lady from Safata, Upolu, who had born him two daughters, Paitoitogamau and Tunaifitimaupologa. The latter heard of the Samoan youth who lived with Le Sa and wished to marry him. One evening, as the sun was setting, she said to her father: *Se'i e va'ai, Tuitoga, i le ataata ua ta'olo mai nei, o le ataata o le tagata manuia, o la'u tane lava lea*—See, O King of Tonga, the evening glow sparkling on the waters; it is the reflection of a handsome youth who shall be my husband. The king consented. He sent for the boy and married him to his daughter. A son was born of this marriage, also called Sanalala, who later played an important role in the history of the Samoan kings. A second son was named I atuivai.

Ua ta'oto le ataata o Taulelei. The reflection of Taulelei lies on the waters.

Upu fiafia: The joy of expectation.

Taulelei is an honorific designation for the expected bridegroom and means: *Ua taunu'u lelei le gafa i le Tuitoga*—The *Tuitoga* will have handsome descendants.

Samoa-na-galo ripening from an infant into a youth on the trip to Tonga, is meant to illustrate the great distance between the two island groups.

Another explanation: Chief Le Saclagi of Tutuila set out to wage war on Tupumamoe of Atua, Upolu. Before going to meet the Tutuilans, Tupumamoe said to his people, *Afai, e tau mai le ataata mu, ua ou oti; 'ae afai e tau mai le ataata felo, o le ataata o Tulelei lena, ua ou ola.* "If the sun sets red, I have fallen in battle; but if the sun sets yellow, it will be a sign that I am alive." The yellow glow of the setting sun showed the people that their chief had gained the victory.

422.

O le pupulu a Valomua. The intercession of Valomua.

This is said when one is doing a thing half-heartedly or when a person pretends love and friendship. *Upu fa'aulaula* or *faifai*.

Tupuivao, a son of Queen Taufau, suspected his wife Iliganoa and his brother Toilolo of having illicit intercourse, so he banished his brother to Tutuila. When Toilolo left Satupaitea to go into exile, Chief Valomua—a relative—met him. Feigning friendship for Toilolo, he took him by the shoulders and pretended to intercede (*pulupulu*) for him.

423. Toilolo's canoe (see above) sailed past Vaie'e, Upolu, where Tupuivao's house stood. When the exile saw his brother on the beach, he called out to him:

E o'u le aso, 'ae o oe taeao. Today my turn, tomorrow yours.

As an *upu fa'amafanafana*, the saying is used in a good sense; for instance, at a distribution of fine mats: Take patience; your turn will come. *E le pine atu.*

Toilolo's prophecy was fulfilled. Because of his cruelties—he was a cannibal—Tupuivao was later banished to Tutuila.

424. Vainafa is a place in the bush, inland of Falevao. Tupuivao (see above) often went there to catch pigeons. Chief Mata'utia of Saleaamua, who had a secret understanding with Tupuivao's wife Iliganoa, one day came to the spot. Tupuivao was engaged in his sport. So the visitor took the opportunity and had a little walk with Iliganoa. As he was afraid of her husband, the woman said:

O tua o Vainafa i nei. We are far away from Vainafa.

Same meaning as Nos. 29, 207, 239. Also used to stress an assurance.

425. Tupuivao returned with Iliganoa (see above) to Vaie'e, where they were followed by Mata'utia and his *tulafale* Leausa. The latter two reached the village in the depth of night when the couple were asleep. Mata'utia crept to the back of the house. His talking chief posted himself in front and awakened Tupuivao with a song. Iliganoa understood the situation and urged her husband to take the *tulafale* to a neighbouring house and offer him a drink of kava. While the kava ceremony was going on, the other two had a happy lover's hour. Mata'utia had asked his companion to take the last drink and to call it out in a loud voice as a signal that the ceremony was ended.

Ua malele le 'ava a Leausa. The kava call of Leausa has been heard.

The saying is addressed to a straggler who comes late.

Same meaning as Nos. 70, 191, 215, 265, 403, 412.

- 426.

Ua gase i le vao le tagata o Tupuivao. Tupuivao's man has perished in the bush.

A slave who was taken as a food offering to Tupuivao (see above) escaped into the bush and never returned.

Applied to a person who, in a fit of anger, leaves his home and severs all relations with his family.

427. Tupuivao (see above) went to Satupaitea where he met some old men beating coconut fibre to make sennit. He asked them one after the other, "Are you *sina'aiuga* or *sinamatua*?" i.e.—Are you a foolish or a wise oldster? The first ones humbly answered, "We are *sina'aiuga*." The others were so filled with fear that they could not answer at all, but began chewing the coconut fibre.

O le vale 'ai 'afa. Like the fools eating coconut fibre.

Applied to a foolish fellow. Compare No. 383.

Note: The Samoans believe that those who eat *uga* (hermit crabs) will get grey hair. Therefore, a *sina'aiuga* is a foolish old man who got his grey hair from eating *uga* and a *sinamatua* is a wise old man.

- 428.

Ua tino le soifua, ua to i tua Apolima. Life is assured. Apolima has been passed.

For some time Tupuivao (see above) lived near Papa, Savai'i. At a place still called Apolima, between Papa and Satupaitea, he had stretched a string across the road. When a traveller touched the string, Tupuivao would rush out and kill and devour him.

U'pu fiafia used when some danger has been avoided.

429. Saveasi'uleo, *aitu* and ruler of the underworld (Pulotu) ate up his brothers and sisters. The parents wishing to save their last-born, a boy by the name of Ulufanuase'e, took him far inland because Savea, who was half-man and half-eel, lived in the sea. One day Ulufanuase'e amused himself by sliding down a hill on the midrib of a coconut leaf. While he was doing this, his *ususu* call rang far and wide over land and sea. Savea, who was just then riding the breakers, *fa'asese'e*, on the reef, heard it and was filled with fear at the strange sound.

Ua se'e lili'a Saveasi'uleo. Saveasi'uleo glides over the waves in fear.

U'pu fa'amaulalo applied to a person who is filled with fear lest his undertaking miscarry.

430. Despite his parents' warnings Ulufanuase'e went to the sea and there met his cruel brother. The latter was going to devour him, but suddenly he changed his mind and swam away, addressing these parting words to the youngster: We separate for ever, but our race will live in our children.

O le mavaega nai le tai e fetaitai i i'u a gafu. The farewell at the seashore with the promise to meet again in the children.

The saying is used by persons who, when taking a last farewell of each other, express the hope that their descendants will meet some day.

The place on the strand at Falealupo where the farewell took place is called *Le One*; hence: *O le mavaega nai i le One*. The farewell at *Le One*.

431. Uluvaluasese'e married Sinalalofutu, the daughter of Tagaloa i Pata of Falelatai, who bore him twin daughters. The girls, Taema and Tilafaiga, were grown together. One day the twins set out to swim to Tutuila. On the way they called one morning at Namu, Solosolo. A number of orators and chiefs who were assembled there, laughed at the unusual pair. This made the girls so angry that they jumped up, Taema rushing on one side to punish the offenders and Tilafaiga, on the other. Thus it came about that their bodies were severed. The Namu men tried to seek safety in flight, but the girls, who were half *aitu*, caught up with them and devoured them. From this the place had its name (*fa'ananamo*—general death).

O le taeao nai Namu. The morning in Namu.

The saying is applied to a day on which an unhappy event occurs. As mentioning cannibalism is considered bad manners, the saying is often used thus:

O le taeao na a'e ai le i'a sa. The morning on which the holy fish (turtle) arose.

The twins are likened to turtles.

Frequently the following three expressions are heard at a big *fono*:

O le taeao nai Saua (see No. 236).

O le taeao nai Samana (see No. 236).

O le taeao nai Namu.

The last phrase refers to the twins' unusual appearance out of the sea. The expression together means: It is astounding how so many people have come from great distances to meet here.

432. Taema and Tilafaiga (see above) then swam on towards the east. To this part of their travels, between Upolu and Tutuila, refers the following:

Ua le i Pau, le i Vau. It is neither in Pau nor in Vau.

Pau and Vau may be forgotten place names or they may stand for Upolu and Tutuila, just as the names Pai and Lafai are used in the sense of, "every Tom, Dick and Harry."

Applied to a person who, in order to reach his goal, has to give up an advantage already gained and fears that he has made the sacrifice in vain.

433. Late at night Taema and Tilafaiga (see above) reached Afono in Tutuila. The daughters of the *Tuitfono*, who were torch fishing on the reef, welcomed them and took them to the village.

Na si'i le faiva o se alili, a ua maua ai le puaili'i. They were looking for shellfish, but caught ladies of rank.

Used when one meets with unexpected success.

- 434.

Ua 'a'au 'a'au taunu'u i le nu'u o le 'Ape. They swam and swam until they reached 'Ape's village.

U'pu fiafia: A difficult and wearying undertaking has ended successfully.

I have not been able to obtain an explanation of the name 'Ape. It probably refers to the village of Afono.

435. Taema and Tilafaiga remained for some time in Tutuila. One day they sat in the house and painted themselves with *lega* (turmeric). The Tutuila girls asked them for some of the dye. When the twins gave them only a small piece, the girls grumbled but the others said, "Take it; it will be enough." Behold, when all the girls had used it, there was still some left.

E ititi a lega mea. It is only a little *lega*.

Applied to a strong-willed, wise, outstanding person; also to a short but significant speech. Similar to Nos. 63, 161, 359, 397, 398.

436. While the Tutuila girls were bathing and painting themselves (see above), Taema and Tilafaiga were sitting by and looking. Usually when a *taupou* is busy at her toilet, her companions wait until she is through with the cosmetic (*lega*). In Tutuila, at that time, there was no *taupou* and the girls painted themselves without regard to priority. The twins who were ladies of high rank, wondered at this and said, *Ua sama o se mago*, 'ae le fa'atali se'ia muamua le tama'ita'i—She who is dry applies the cosmetic without waiting for the lady of rank.

Ia sama o se mago. Let him who is dry paint himself.

Upu fa'aulaula. Similar to No. 275. Treat everybody alike.

437. There was a famine in Tutuila. Taema and Tilafaiga went with a small basket into a house and begged for *masi* (fermented breadfruit; see No. 216). When the people saw that they had only a small basket, they did their bidding. The basket (*mugagi*), however, was enchanted and could not be filled, however much was put in. The result was that the whole supply of *masi* was exhausted.

O le 'aisila a Mugagi. The begging of the Mugagi.

Applied to a person who is continually begging. Compare Nos. 172, 224.

438. Tilafaiga eventually married her uncle Saveasi'uleo in Pulotu and bore him two daughters, Nafanua, the famous war goddess (see No. 43) and Suaifanua. Thus the prophecy of Saveasi'uleo was fulfilled (see No. 430).

In those days Falealupo, Tilafaiga's home town, suffered under the yoke of Salega. The victors took delight in ill-treating the vanquished. *Tulafale* Tai'i, for instance, was forced to climb a coconut tree feet foremost and pluck nuts. When he reached the top, breathless from the effort, he emitted a whistling sound such as the Samoans are wont to do at a heavy job. The sound penetrated to the twins in Pulotu (the underworld) and, taking pity on their poor relatives, they asked the war-goddess to avenge them.

O le mapu a Tai'i. The whistling of Tai'i. Or:

Ua logo mai ia Pulotu le mapu a Tai'i. The whistling of Tai'i is heard in Pulotu.

Applied to a person who may expect help in his difficulties.

439. To prepare for this war (see above) Nafanua had two clubs and a paddle made out of a *toa* tree. The clubs were called Fa'aululito and Fesilafa'i; the paddle, Ulimasao (*uli*, to steer; *sao*, to escape from danger).

Ia Ulimasao le la'au a Nafanua. May there be a happy ending to Nafanua's undertaking.

440. Through Chief Matuna and his wife, also called Matuna, Nafanua ordered the Falealupo people to prepare for war (see above).

Ua tonu mai ia Matuna. The orders came from Matuna.

The orders of those in authority must be carried out. Also used in the form of: *Se'i logo ia Matuna*—Put your trust in Matuna and take his orders.

441. The Falealupo people, unable to stand their oppressors' arrogance any longer (see above), urged the couple to begin the war. Matuna and Matuna replied:

Talisoa le i'a a Nafanua. Wait for the fish (help) of Nafanua.

Talisoa is derived from *fa'atali* and *fesoasoani*. *Le i'a a Nafanua* is a figure of speech for war.

Upu taofofi: The right moment, the favourable opportunity has not come yet; the preparations are not completed. Likewise:

442.

Taliifiti le toilalo o le A'easisifo. The vanquished of the west (Falealupo) are looking towards Taliifiti.

Taliifiti was the name of Matuna's dwelling house.

443. Before the battle started Nafanua killed with her clubs (see above) the two children of Matuna and Matuna. According to the Polynesians the effectiveness of a weapon is guaranteed only when a man has been killed with it. So it is also said of a fish net: *Ua ola le 'upega*—"the net lives" after the first fish have been caught with it.

Ua ola i fale le la'au a Nafanua. Life was given in the house to Nafanua's war club.

"In the house" is used figuratively for "through the death of relatives."

Upu fa'alumaina applied to a *matai* who wrongs one of his relatives, particularly to one who has illicit intercourse with a girl of his family.

444. The *Tuiatua* Fotuitama'i married Utufa'asili, the daughter of Funefe'ai of Safune. All Savai'i came with fine mats to the wedding at Aleipata. On their return they sailed past Lufilufi, where talking chief Matuainu stood on the shore and invited them in. They could not accept his invitation as their highest *tulafale* Lavea had already travelled on. Angry at this Matuainu called out to them:

E lala Salafai, a o soa o Lavea. Salafai (Savai'i) has many branches, but they are all the servants of Lavea.

Upu fa'amaulalo: Obey him to whom obedience is due.
Upu faifai: Don't boast; you are not entitled to say anything.

445.

Ua faagai Vana ma Lolua. Vana and Lolua lie opposite each other.
 Vana and Lolua are the names of two stones lying on the bottom of a bathing pool in Samauga, Savai'i. According to legend they were a married couple turned into stone. The section of Samauga lying near the pool is now called Vana; Lolua is the name of the land on which stands the house of the village chief Malaita'i.

Same meaning as Nos. 145, 413.

446.

Near Samauga there used to be a small village called Nu'uletau. No one had ever seen its houses, nor did the inhabitants have much intercourse with outsiders. Only on very special occasions would they make an appearance and then vanish as mysteriously as they had come. One day there was a big *fono* at Samauga to which Nu'uletau came, too. An old *tulafale* of Nu'uletau delivered a fine speech which was loudly applauded. The real speaker, however, was not he, but his daughter Vala. She sat close beside him and whispered to him phrase after phrase. While she was doing this, she noticed her father's eyes filling with matter. So she said: *To le somo le i lou mata*—Wipe the matter out of your eyes. Obediently the old man repeated the words as part of his speech. The people understood and said:

Ua sala ia Vala. It is Vala's fault.

She should have known that the old man would repeat her words. Same meaning as Nos. 76, 366, 367.

447.

In Sasina there lived the legendary couple Faga and E'e who gave their names to the village section Fagae'e. They kept a big sea bird from Fiji which they had tamed. One day they set out on a journey to westward and took the bird along with them. Near Cape Utufia, between Sasina and Asau, a big flock of seagulls appeared overhead. Immediately the Fiji bird attacked them, but as there were too many of them he was defeated and killed.

Ua fa'aosofia le manu i Utufiu. Like the attack of the bird at Utufiu.

Applied to a person who, excited by the success of others, tries to emulate them but without success. *Upu faifai* or *fa'amaulalo*.

448.

Anini, Anini, Aveavai.

This saying, as well as the next one, refers to the volcanic eruption which occurred in Savai'i about 125 years ago and caused the destruction of the village A'opo. A'opo, which now consists of only a few houses, then had a hundred subdivisions. (This need not be taken literally; it simply means that the town was very populous and important.) Only five sections of A'opo escaped destruction; that is why the orators often refer to the town as Falelima (the House of Five). Among the destroyed sections were Anini and Aveavai. Both lay to the north of the road leading to Sasina, the former a little more inland than the latter. Near Aveavai there is a spot where the old coral reef is still visible under the lava. Pratt, without mentioning the location of the villages or the volcanic eruption, has this to say: "The town Anini was burned and Aveavai said it served them right for they were thieves, but the fire spread to Aveavai and they, too, were burned out."

My informants did mention the thievish proclivities of the Anini people, but it appears that when Aveavai saw Anini burning, they still thought themselves safe and took no further precautions.

The saying, therefore, would just relate to the unconcern people feel for the misfortunes of their neighbours and is a warning to the unwary lest misfortune befall them, too.

449. Maupenei of Tufu Gataivai married the king of Tonga. When she left Samoa, the strand of Tufu was sandy and shallow, but during her absence a volcanic eruption turned the coast into a solid wall of lava rock (iron-bound). When Maupenei returned from Tonga and saw the change, she said:

Na ta alu foi o tai lelei, a ua ta sau ua tai pupu. When I left the coast was shallow; on my return I found it iron-bound.

Used by a person who, having left a place in peaceful circumstances, finds it, on his return, full of strife and dissension.

450. *Tagaloalagi* (see Nos. 197, 392) offered to the village of A'opo the choice between a spring of fresh water and a *paepae lei*. (*Paepae* is the stony platform on which the Samoan house is built; *lei*, whale's teeth.) A'opo chose the *paepae lei* and for ever after suffered from a dearth of water. The spring was given to Saleaula and became then known as Vaitu'utu'u (*tu'u ijo mai le lagi*—brought down from heaven).

Ua mele le vai e A'opo. A'opo rejected the water.

Same meaning as No. 169.

451. In 'Auala, a section of Vaisala, there lived a warrior known for his strength and fierceness. A certain chief challenged him to a spear fight. The challenge was accepted and a day appointed for the match. The 'Auala man prepared his weapons and trained diligently. Finally he ran the spear through his father and carried the pierced body about the country, in order to frighten his opponent. The people were terrified at the sight and said:

O le vale mai 'Auala. It is the mad man from 'Auala.

Same meaning as No. 427.

452. Aumua and Maninoa, a married couple from Fiji, came to Samoa to search for their son who had left their home on the back of a turtle. They landed in Pa'au (see No. 47) where they were made welcome by Ututu and Faitau. The visitors said: *Ua malie mea taumafa, ua malie ma le faga i Pa'au;* or elliptically:

Ua malie ma le faga i Pa'au. (We are satisfied with the food and) the reception at the bay of Pa'au.

Upu fiafia. Gratitude for benefits received.

Ututu and Faitau are the names of two *tulafale* of Sataua.

453.

E nana fua le tetea, 'ae le lilo. The albino was hid in vain; she did not remain concealed.

A woman in Papa near Sataua bore a girl who was an albino. The parents being ashamed of the child, hid her in a cave between Papa and Pu'ava and left her to her fate. Years later, her grown-up brother went fishing and sought shelter in the same cave. He met the girl and slept with her. He then went home and told his parents about the albino. The parents understood it was their abandoned daughter.

Same meaning as Nos. 104 (2), 159.

454. Sina becoming tired of her husband, Chief A'afi'a of Falealupo, gave ear to the solicitations of Fatutoa of Aleipata. When the latter came to Falealupo she was ready to elope with him. Her husband was so enraged that he struck the rocks on the coast with his staff and burst them asunder. Sina was terrified and returned to A'afi'a. Profiting by another opportunity she made another attempt at flight. A'afi'a, however, followed her and said:

Né'i galo A'afi'a i lona vao. Lest you forget A'afi'a in his bush.

Used at a parting: Remember me and come back.

Sina was persuaded and rejoined her husband. The cleft rock is known as Avata, which is also the name of a section of Falealupo.

455. Fatutoa seeing that his prospects were hopeless (see above) planned to return to Aleipata. As he rounded Cape Pu'ava, the west wind, like a messenger from Sina, struck his back.

Ua tata i tua o Fatutoa le la'i o Pu'ava. Fatutoa's back is struck by the wind from Pu'ava.

Same meaning as Nos. 70, 191, 215, 265, 403, 412, 425. According to legend Fatutoa was changed into a rock at Pu'ava.

456. On the land of Chief Fagalele of Falealupo there grew two valuable trees, an *ifilele* and a *pau* (used for making *kava* bowls). The chief loved them dearly and called them his daughters. The *Tuimanu'a* having heard that Fagalele had two beautiful daughters, came to Falealupo with the intention of courting one of them. When he inquired where the girls were, Fagalele said, 'In the bush.' The *Tuimanu'a* expressed his desire to meet Ifilele; so the chief ordered the *ifilele* tree to be cut down and brought to him.

Ua oia le vao i Fagalele. Fagalele's tree is doomed.

Used when a person sacrifices a valuable object in order to deliver himself or another from a difficult situation; such as offering a fine mat in the ceremony of *ifoga* (abject submission).

457. The *Tuimanu'a* would not take the tree (see above).

Ua mele faga. He rejects the (tree on the) beach.

Elliptical for: *Ua mele i le faga, ua tu'u i le faga.* Same meaning as Nos. 169, 450.

458.

Fagalele (see above) accepted the *Tuimanu'a's* invitation to visit him in Manu'a. On the highest point of Manu'a there was a kava plant in which the king took great interest. Just as Fagalele had sacrificed his *ifilele* tree for the *Tuimanu'a*, so the latter now had to give up his kava plant. As the visitor was digging it out, the Manu'a people asked: *Po o ai ua ana pei le taualuga o Manu'a?* Who is that breaking the roof of Manu'a?

Ua peia le taualuga o Manu'a. The roof of Manu'a is broken. Same meaning as 456.

459.

E lumafale i le moana, 'ae tuafale i le papa. In front of the house is the sea; in the back is the rock.

So it was with the war goddess Nafanua's house in Pulotu; that is, there was no room for a plantation.

Same meaning as Nos. 228, 229.

460.

The trade wind *to'elau tuafanua* blows on every point of the south coast with the same gentleness. Only in Tufutafoe is it boisterous.

O le puta i Tufu. The strength (of the trade wind) in Tufu.

Applied to a person who is arrogant with his own people, but cowardly with outsiders. Pratt translates: Only a threat.

461.

O le ua na fua mai i Manu'a. The rain came from Manu'a.

As the prevailing wind comes from the east, the people of the western isles of the Samoan group can tell whether it rains in Manu'a and whether the rain will spread to them. The following story will elucidate the saying:

The *Tuimanu'a* had two daughters, Sina and Aolele. Without her father's consent Sina had married Chief Lemanunu of Le Manunu, between Si'uvaio and Falelima, Savai'i. The king sent his second daughter to Savai'i with orders for the couple to separate if they loved their lives. Fearing the *Tuimanu'a's* supernatural powers, the two could not but obey. Sina said to her husband: We must leave each other; but we shall meet again in my tears. I shall return to Manu'a and weep and my tears shall fall upon you.

When it rains in Manunu, the people say that Sina is weeping.

462. The following is another saying based on the above legend:

E tauja a le Manunu. It is the rain of Le Manunu.

According to the people of Falelima, Le Manunu never gets any torrential rains but only gentle showers. The saying is applied to an event that gives no cause for worry.

463.

A similar saying refers to the dry north coast of Aana (Itu Alofi).

O le fa'aua a le Alofi. Like the rain on the Alofi coast.

464. In Manu'a there was a boy by the name of Umatagata (trunk) who had no legs. His relatives carried him about the islands with the purpose of finding a pair of legs for him. The party finally reached Falelima where Chief Folasale *le 'i'ite* (the prophet) lived with his wife Maile'ia. The chief was ready to give up his son Tapuna, but the mother said: *O manava (loto) O Maile'ia ia avatu a'u, 'ae sao le tama*—I request that you take me, Maile'ia, but leave the boy. Folasale would not listen to her. He cut off his son's legs and gave them to Umatagata. The body he buried. Sorrowing, the mother followed the Manu'a people as far as Vaisala where she was changed into a stone.

O manava o Maile'ia. The request of Maile'ia.

Upu alofa used to express sympathy for another person's troubles and regrets at being unable to assist him.

465.

In Falelima there lived a chief by the name of 'A'au to whom his wife 'Upega had presented ten sons. One day the chief was bathing in the village pool. Having scrubbed his body with some coconut fibre, he laid the fibre aside. A gecko (*mo'o*) came along and nibbled at the fibre, with the result that she became pregnant and in due time gave birth to two boys, Filo and Mea. As she feared the ten sons of 'A'au, she kept her children constantly at home. However, when the twins were grown up, they ran away into the bush where they met their half brothers. A fight ensued and the ten got a thrashing. They immediately proposed a game of *tagati'a* (see No. 243) as a return match. The twins said, "All right, but *se'i logo ia Mo'o*—we have to inform the *mo'o* first." Following their mother's advice, Filo and Mea made their darts (*ti'a*) of *mamala* wood and won the match. The ten then proposed a cock fight. Again the twins answered, *Se'i logo ia Mo'o*. Their mother gave them a pair of *tiotala* (kingfishers) which were far superior to the cocks of the others. It was now arranged they would have a club match. Mo'o showed her sons a certain palm tree, the midrib of whose leaves they were to make into clubs. For the fourth time the victory was theirs. The ten now wondered who those two champions were. Learning they were their brothers, they made peace and carried their clubs to Foga'a, the house of 'A'au (*moli la'au i Foga'a*, see No. 386).

Se'o logo ia Mo'o. Take advice of Mo'o.

Same meaning as No. 440.

Another explanation: Pili, the lizard (called in Manu'a Pili'p'u—fallen from heaven) set out on a trip without first advising his sister Mo'o, the gecko. Mo'o prayed to the winds to send her brother back to her and the winds granted her request.

466.

Ua matua i le foaga. He has a whetstone for father.

When Pulele'i'ite was still a small boy, he went alone from his father's home in Asau to Samata where he played with the children. After the games, food was served. Each child sat with his father and got something to eat. Only Pule sat apart on a whetstone lying on the *malae*, just as if the whetstone were his father. He had nothing to eat.

Same meaning as Nos. 106, 109.

467.

In Samata there was a beautiful spring of fresh water between the rocks on the sea beach. The people were not contented because the cleft between the rocks was rather narrow. So they set about bursting (*foa, foai*) the rocks in order to widen the opening. Finally the sea rushed in and the spring was spoiled for ever.

Foai foai mai. Burst and burst; saltwater.

To content oneself with what one has.

468.

Chief Tagaloaimalo of Vaipu'a had sent for the carpenters of Atea (*o le 'autufuga o le 'Atea*) to build him a boat. They asked an exorbitant price besides insisting on being given the chief's sister Nia for breakfast. Tagaloaimalo could not resist their demands. He enticed Nia under a coconut tree and, climbing up, he dropped a nut on her head. The body was packed into a basket and laid before the carpenters; but behold, a gentle shower of rain fell upon the girl and brought her back to life.

O le sau o le ola. The coming of life. Or, the life-giving dew.

Used to express one's gratitude on escaping from a peril. Pratt: Said when the rain falls after a drought.

This variant explanation is doubtlessly given to avoid the mention of cannibalism: When at the first presentation of food the various gifts were enumerated, such as taros, pigs, chickens, etc., the carpenters asked after the mention of each eatable, *Ma ni a?* What else? Tagaloaimalo thought they wanted his sister Nia and killed her as related above. Although the girl came back to life and the misunderstanding was cleared

up, the chief was still much incensed. When the carpenters tested the boat on the high seas, he prayed to his *aitu* to avenge him. A terrible storm destroyed the ship and crew and they were never heard of again.

Leatitioie, the daughter of Leatigie, is also said to have been resurrected by a shower from heaven. (See No. 383.)

469. The blind chief Leaifale'ava had promised his daughter to the *aitu* Taemanutava'e who lived in Sili. Father and daughter, accompanied by the *aitu* Vave, who was incorporated in the bird *manuali'i*, set out for the bridegroom's home. They reached a village where *ufipoa*—a pungent yam—was being cooked. The smell (*poapoa*) of the yam was everywhere and they called the place Fogapoa. Soon after, they found a banana leaf covered with the fatty sauce of *fa'ausi* (scraped taro with coconut). The bird having eaten of it, took a bath (*fui*) in the water that had collected in a hollow stone (*fatu*). This is the origin of the names Fatausi, used euphemistically for *fa'ausi* and *fui'fatu*. The three names now designate subdivisions of Safotulafai. The travellers finally reached Palauli, the home of Vave. All the foods in the village had been made taboo for Vave's benefit and so many eatables were served to the *aitu*, that no one thought he could dispose of them all. During the night, however, the bird got up and swallowed everything.

Ua gutu ia Vave le sa o Vave. Vave ate up all that had been made taboo for Vave.

Upu fa'aulaula or *fai'fai*. At a distribution of food, mats, etc., an outsider should be appointed as distributor; a relative might be tempted to act like Vave.

Compare No. 268.

470. Vave remained in Palauli (see above). The other two went to the place usually haunted by Taemanutava'e. On the way the blind man struck his staff against a stone, so that the stick stood higher (*sili*) than the surrounding ground. From this the place had its name Sili. Taemanutava'e was bathing and gliding about (*fa'ase'e*, see No. 429) in the river, but he was not visible. The travellers' attention was attracted to some hairs by the river bank and a voice coming from a *fau* tree (*hibiscus*) asked them to tie these fast to the nearby bushes. Thus the *aitu* was secured.

Ua noanoatia lauao o Taemanutava'e. Taemanutava'e's hair was bound fast.

Upu fa'afiti used when one is unable to grant a request or keep an appointment (*fa'alavelavea*).

471. The *fau* tree near Sili (see above) henceforth became an oracle. When its roots were scraped, it would answer the questions directed to it.

Valuvalusia a'a o le fau. Scraping the roots of the *fau* tree.

U'pu fa'amaulalo. To address a request to a person in authority.

472.

O talu o Sili ma Vaiafai ua mai ai vai o le Tagaloa. Because of Sili and Vaiafai the water of Le Tagaloa became saline.

The inhabitants of Sili and Vaiafai of which Le Tagaloa was the chief, ill-treated Fa'atuliaupolu, a boy from Salemuliaga. This led to a war with the boy's home town. Sili and Vaiafai were defeated and Le Tagaloa had to suffer through the fault of his people.

Same meaning as Nos. 76, 366, 367, 446.

473. Whenever Chief Valomua of Saua, Satupaitea, desired tribute from his villages, he sent to the people of Matautu'a'ai, who had the privilege of appointing the tax-gatherer. The latter made it a point to ask double the quantity in pigs, chickens, etc., that the chief had requested and, of course, he kept half the contributions for his own village. When the people murmured Valomua said:

E tasi mai i Saua, 'ae fa'alua'ina i Matautu'a'ai. One thing was ordered by Saua, but Matautu'a'ai made it two.

Another explanation: The *Tuimanua'a* La'a, who with his wives lived in Saua, Manu'a, came to Aleipata where he married the pretty Lagilefuli. She became the mother of Samatauanu'u, who later acquired the title of *Tuiatua*. The *Tuimau'a* loved Lagilefuli so much, that he transferred the name of his Manu'a house, Matautu'a'ai, to his new home in Aleipata, thereby signifying his intention to make it his permanent home. One day, however, a quarrel arose between him and his new wife, as a result of which he returned to Saua. Once again he gave all his love to his family in Saua, while in Matautu'a'ai it had been divided.

Applied to a person who tries to thwart a decision.

474.

Ua naumatia Vailoa. Vailoa is destitute of water.

The saying is based on an obscene episode in the life of Lilomaiaava who married Samalaulu, the daughter of *Tuia'ana* Faumuina. Vailoa is near Palauli, Savai'i.

Same meaning as Nos. 228, 229, 459.

475. Even to this day the Samoans try to protect their plantations against theft by hanging up taboo signs (see No. 197). There are many such signs as, for instance, two coconuts tied together, a plaited piece of matting, etc. The hope for protection is based on the belief that the family or village whose *aitu* is represented by the taboo sign, may count on the demon's assistance. The village of Amoa has a thunder taboo. The trespasser is expected to be killed by thunder (i.e., lightning). When a plantation owner hangs up this taboo, he walks about his land and shouts: *Faititili e, ou te se Amoa lava a'u*—O Thunderer, I am a man of Amoa. This precaution is necessary so that the demon may become acquainted with the owner and not kill him by mistake. When the owner brings in his harvest, he also uses the cry: *Ou te se Amoa lava a'u*. I am a man of Amoa.

U'pu fa'afiti: I am innocent; I have nothing to do with the affair.

476. In a cave near Pu'apu'a, Amoa, there lived a lady with a crippled body and a loathsome skin disease named Meto. One day some young men from Amoa were playing *tagati'a* (see No. 243) near the cave. The *tifa* of Alo, son of Na'i, happened to fly into the cave. When Alo entered to retrieve his dart the cave closed up through Meto's supernatural powers. The lady had observed the handsome young man and fallen in love with him. Alo repulsed her in disgust, but Meto threatened not to open the cave till he had done her will. The young man surrendered, but he was unable to rid himself of the woman. She first asked him to build a house for her, which he did with the assistance of the family of his mother Sinafatu'moa. Then she wanted a *paepae lei* (see No. 450). From Tigilau (see No. 380) Alo got a whale's tooth which had the power to produce other teeth and he was thus able to fulfil this second wish, too.

Meto tagivale. Meto requests one thing after another.

Same meaning as Nos. 172, 224, 437.

477. A legend relates that Chief Losi went to god Tagaloa in heaven and obtained many useful things there. On his first visit he stole a taro shoot and hid it in a secret recess of his body. The celestials searched him, but not finding the plant, they gave him a thrashing and chased him off. Losi swore to be revenged and with some *aitu* made his preparations. First he sent his servant Vaeau, who was noted for his speed, to spy out the heavens. Vaeau went there and returned the same day. Hence the saying:

Ia e vae o Vaeau. May your legs be like those of Vaeau.

Upu fa'aualu inviting one to hurry.

478. When Vaeau (see above) returned with a favourable report, Losi had some stingrays caught as a gift for Tagaloa. He then went with his companions to the heavens where they arrived before daybreak and laid the fish between the door posts. When the celestials stepped on the fish, they slipped and hurt their heads.

'Ai ma le foa mea a Losi. They ate Losi's food with sore heads. Same meaning as No. 212.

479. The celestials now planned to revenge themselves on the humans (see above). They invited Losi and his men to float with them down a river which tumbled over a waterfall. This was without any danger to the immortals but was supposed to bring the others to grief. However, Losi's *aitu* Fulufuluitolo posted himself near the waterfall and caught the terrestrials one by one.

O le lave a Fulufuluitolo. Saved by Fulufuluitolo.

Used when someone has assisted another in a difficult situation. Compare No. 468.

Losi then stole kava, breadfruit and coconuts. The story ends with a fight in which the celestials are defeated and Tagaloa has to surrender six high titles (*ao*) which were divided as follows: Tagaloa to Falelatai (Pata), Fetafune to Sanauga, Lavasi'i to Lefaga, Tuifa'asisina to Satumalufilufi, Taimalelagi to Mulifanua, Fiaame to Samatau.

480. Mosopili received a message that his wife was seriously ill. He was hindered, however, from seeing her immediately. When he finally reached her she was dead.

O le fotuga a Mosopili. The appearance of Mosopili.

Same meaning as Nos. 70, 191, 215, 265, 403, 412, 425, 455.

481. Two brothers, Ve'a and Mu, went to the war. When Mu got a spear wound in the leg, he called: *Ve'a e tu, Ve'a e tu; ua lavea le vae o Mu*—Ve'a stand by me; the leg of Mu is hurt. Ve'a came to the rescue and killed the enemies that surrounded Mu.

O le taimalie a Ve'a. The opportune appearance of Ve'a.

Used when one meets some unexpected success.

482. Foaga met some people who were fighting. He approached too close and got a thrashing, although he had nothing to do with the quarrel.

Ua fasia lua Foaga, e le'i fai misa. Foaga got a thrashing although he was not fighting.

Same meaning as Nos. 53, 181 (1), 294, 400. Compare also Nos. 80, 185, 236.

483.

Ua mele le manu e Afono. Afono spurned its fortune.

The *Tuiafono* of Afono, Tutuila, sent his two sons to Fiji to get him a talisman. The *Tuifiti* gave them an *'aulosoloso* (the stalk from which the coconuts have been picked), but they could not see anything very bewitching in the thing and on their return to Afono they threw it into the sea where it was lost.

Same meaning as Nos. 169, 450, 457.

484.

E tasi le po 'ae ogaoga. Only one night, but a long one.

Sagatea had two daughters who both were named Sina and were both married to the *Tuimanu'a*. In accordance with the custom of the country, he slept with them turn about, but he liked the one better than the other. That is why he called the former Sinaavi (*avi*, desired) and the latter Sinalaevi (undesired). Sinalaevi complained to her father who promised to help her. He said, "The next time your husband sleeps with you I will hold back the sun and make the night longer." So it was done and Sinalaevi became pregnant.

Same meaning as Nos. 63, 161, 339, 397, 398, 420, 435.

485. The *Tuitoga* had two wives, a Tongan and a Samoan by the name of Leutogitupa'itea. The Tongan bore a child, but Leutogi murdered it out of jealousy by piercing its head with the midrib of a coconut leaflet. The king condemned her to death by fire. A heap of firewood was prepared under a *fetau* tree and the woman was tied into the fork of the tree. Then the fire was lit and the executioners went away. But a flock of flying foxes came along and sprinkled their water on the fire until it was extinguished. When the *Tuitoga's* servants returned, they found the woman alive. She said:

Ua tatou fetai'ai i le magafetau soifua. We meet alive under the fork of the *fetau* tree.

An expression of joy frequently used on meeting relatives and friends in good health.

486.

Ta te nofo atu nei, a o a'u o 'Ae. Here I sit; I am 'Ae.

A request for pardon based on the following story: 'Ae went from Samoa to Tonga where he became the talking chief of the *Tuitoga*. After a while he felt homesick and begged the king for leave of absence. The request was not only granted, but the *Tuitoga* also gave him two turtles on which to ride to Samoa. When he arrived, the people killed one of the "sacred fish" and ate it. The other escaped to Tonga and told the king what had happened. The latter was so angered at 'Ae's negligence, that he prayed to his gods to send him back that he might punish him. The gods heard his prayer. They took hold of 'Ae while he slept and carried him back to Tonga. In the morning, between sleeping and waking, it seemed to 'Ae that he heard the crowing of the king's roosters. Thinking it to be a dream, he slept on. When he awoke and found himself in his master's house, he was speechless with terror. All he could say was: *Ta te nofo atu nei, a o a'u o 'Ae.* Here I sit; I am 'Ae.

487.

The people of the island Atafu-mea were much oppressed by their king, the sun. One day some girls sat together, talking about the sad situation and abusing the ruler. They thought they were alone; but in the corner of the house there was a boy named Tufugauli, who was a relative of King Sun. He pretended to be asleep but his ears were wide open and he reported everything to the ruler. The sun was very angry and inflicted a heavy punishment on the village. As the boy was exempt, everybody knew that he was the informer. The girls said:

Ua tafa'o taliga o le Tufugauli. Tufugauli's ears go wandering about.

Upu tafa'ofiofi: Beware of traitors. Compare No. 333.

Atafu is probably not, as Percy Smith says, Kandavu in Fiji, but Atahu (Duke of York Island) in the Tokelau group. According to tradition some Atahu people fled from their island because of the cruelties of their ruler, who was a cannibal, and settled in Malie, Upolu. Compare Newell's *Notes on Tokelau*.

488.

Pulotu is a land in the east from which the Samoans originate. The king of Pulotu had a son Fali (grass), and a daughter, Lagi. The two once visited Papatea, but had a

very bad reception. Lagi (heaven) was spat upon (*anu, feanu*). Hence the saying:

Ua anu Lagi. To designate unbecoming behaviour against a person in authority.

489. Fali (grass) was trampled underfoot (*soli*).
Sosoli Fali.

When the *Tuipulotu* heard about the insult to his children, he vowed revenge and declared war on Papatea. Ever since, the words *sosoli le fali* designate a declaration of war.

490. Pulotu was victorious (see above). Papatea was devastated and its inhabitants exterminated. When a village has been razed in war, one says:

Ua fa'apapateaina. It has been made like unto Papatea.

491. In this war (see above) one of the *Tuipulotu*'s warriors, named Elo, distinguished himself particularly. When he had slain his opponent, he ran amok and attacked his own companions.

Ua o le tomai o Elo. It is like the coming of Elo.

Applied to a person who suffers persecution at the hands of his own relatives.

The war between Papatea and Pulotu led to the settlement of Samoa. A few of the Papateans sought safety in flight. They were pursued by the warriors from Pulotu and the pursuit led past Samoa, where four couples of the attacking party settled down as they liked the islands. Sava and I'i remained in Savai'i, U and Polu, in Upolu, Tutu and Ila, in Tutuila. The fourth couple went to the eastern isles. Arrived there they laid their newly born child on the beach while they went in search of some food. When they returned, they found the baby's back wounded (*manu'a*) by the pebbles on the shore and they named the country Manu'a.

492.

Ua logo le na i ama, logo le na i atea. He feels a bite on both the outrigger side and the starboard side.

Application: (1) *Upu fiafia* referring to an undertaking that was concluded successfully; (2) Same meaning as Nos. 261, 338, insofar as the bite of a fish is known immediately by its pull on the line.

493.

Ua sau le va'a na tiu, 'ae tali le va'a na tau, o lo'o mamaulago i le va'a na faoafolau. One boat returns from the catch; the other is tied to the strand; the third one is propped up in the boatshed.

Upu fiafia with which the travellers are welcomed by those who stayed at home. The boat returning from fishing is compared with the travellers; the anchored boat refers to the chiefs, orators and young men; the third boat is likened to the old people staying at home.

494.

O le foe tafea. The oar carried away (by the sea).

Compare with No. 39. When an oar has been carried away by the waves it is of no further use. Same meaning as Nos. 39, 280, 281, and the following:

495.

O le ago e tafia. The obliterated tattooing design.

The tattooer draws first the design on the skin with a piece of charcoal. If he does not like it, he wipes it off again. Similar to 494.

496.

Lepa ia i le foe. Keep the boat still with the paddle.

Thus says the fisherman to the rower when he wants to begin fishing. The expression is also used in a *fono* when one wishes to interrupt a speaker. Failure to use the apology shows lack of manners. If a *fono* takes place on the *malae*, where the speaker stands up and leans on his staff (*to'oto'o*), the interrupter says: *Mapu i lou to'oto'o*—rest on your staff. *Feao* (protector, companion) is a more respectful paraphrase for *to'oto'o*.

497.

Ua suluia le pagi. The bait is lit up (by the rising sun).

Pagi is a bait of coconut kernel used for catching the *malolo* (flying fish). The fishing takes place before sunrise. With daylight the bait becomes visible to the fish.

Same meaning as Nos. 140 (2), 159, 453.

498.

Ua tete'a le lupe ma le upega. The pigeon has been taken out of the net.

Used when one thing being done, one wishes to proceed with another; for instance, in a visit the speeches of welcome are followed by the kava, the meal, etc.

Similar to Nos. 70, 191, 215, 265, 403, 412, 435, 455, 480.

499.

Ua siliga tali i seu. They would not wait for the end of the hunt. Same meaning as No. 498.

500.

In peace and war signals used to be given with the *lali* (wooden drums). Smaller drums (*patē*) are used for beating time at dances. Wooden drums still call the Samoans to church and school.

Ua tata lali lapopo'a. Beat the big drums.

The problem is so weighty and difficult, that only an experienced chief or orator can solve it; and inferior chiefs should abstain from expressing an opinion and await the decision. A big drum is heard farther than a little one; so also a high chief will have more listeners than one of lower rank.

501.

Ua leai se ulu e ala. There is not even time to scratch one's head. Refers to a job that keeps one's hands busy.

502.

Ua se va'a e lalago. Like a propped-up boat.

Applied to a reliable, upright person; also to a family or village in which peace and union reign. *Upu vivi'i*.

503.

When there is a shortage of food, particularly of taro, the taro leaves are eaten. Hence, when a village finds itself in a difficult situation and lacks experienced chiefs, one says:

Ia saosao lautalo. Collect the taro leaves.

i.e.—We are in a critical situation; therefore every *matai* should attend the meeting and express his opinion, so that the right solution may be reached.

504.

Ia 'oso 'ati'ati. Dig out even the small pieces (of yam).

'*Oso* is the Samoan planting stick used both for planting and digging up yam.

The saying is used when there is a food shortage. Compare No. 352.

505.

E le au le pule po i le pule ao. A decision reached in the evening is changed in the morning.

(The change being necessitated by intervening circumstances). Used after the change has been made; or as *upu taofiofi*: Don't act yet upon what you have decided.

506. When a person has made a mistake, such as a slip of the tongue at a council meeting, or forgotten someone at a food distribution, he excuses himself with:

O le po malae. On the *malae* one feels as in a dark night.

i.e.—At night one easily makes a mistake because of the dark; at a big gathering of people one is nervous and easily distracted.

507.

O le uta a le poto e fetala'i. The wise man thinks before he speaks. Compare Nos. 4, 88, 391.

508.

O le fafaga ma le feuna'i. Constantly increasing the load on the back.

Same meaning as Nos. 172, 224, 437, 476.

509.

E ala i aso. Some days one is lucky.

The literal meaning of *ala* is to be awake. *E ala le faiva.* The fishing expedition was successful.

Upu fiafia used when a fishing expedition, a hunt or another undertaking has been successful. Also used as an *upu fa'amafanafana* in cases of ill-success.

510.

E le se fe'e na tu tula. Not like the octopus that sits wounded in its cave.

Upu vivii used to welcome a high chief: You are in our midst, honoured and respected by all. You are not like the octopus that hides in its cave when it has been wounded by another fish. In the positive form: *O le fe'e na tu tula*, it is used as an *upu faifai*.

511.

Fa'alau le tutu. Like a net that is too short.

The saying refers to *lauoa* fishing explained in No. 25. When a net, with which a certain area is to be surrounded, is too short, the fish will escape.

Applied to an unsuccessful undertaking. See Nos. 164, 393, 395.

512.

Fa'atolo le tutu.

The saying refers to *seu* fishing explained in No. 21. *Tutu* here means that the net is not deep enough; *tolo*, to move the net forward in order to surround a certain area. Similar to No. 511.

513.

Fa'atagitagi ula. To call intently like the crayfish.

Crayfish are caught in the lagoon by means of lobster baskets. If only a little crayfish is found in the basket at the early morning visit, it is left there until evening. According to the Samoans it will cry loudly until its big companions come to keep it company in the basket.

Upu fa'amaulalo. Same meaning as No. 365. *Matou te o mai nei fa'atagi timu, fa'atagitagi ula.* Compare also No. 471 and the following:

514.

Fa'atagitagi niu malili.

The married couple mentioned in No. 169 sat under a coconut tree and waited until the nuts fell down, as they were too lazy to pluck them.

515.

O le faiva aulima tautala. With speaking it is as with hauling in the fish line.

Used to beg pardon for having given offence in a speech. The *alafaga* fisher (see Nos. 5, 11) hauls in the line with a backward motion of his hand (*faiva aulima*). An incorrect movement will lead to the loss of the fish. Pratt explains: A reference to a club-match, in which blows were given at random.

516.

Ua lata le tau laumea. It will soon be evening.

Same meaning as No. 368.

517. When an approaching shower changes direction and falls in the bush, people say:

O ua 'ua to i vao. 'The rain falls in the bush.

Applied to something a person expected or feared and which does not happen. Compare No. 461.

518. When the decisive battle has been fought and the victors are about to exterminate the vanquished, a wise and humane chief will say: Remember they are our brothers and spare them. The brave young warriors will die and be forgotten, but the clemency we exercise will be remembered by future generations and may some day be to our advantage.

E gase toa, 'ae ola pule. The warriors die, but the (clemency exercised by our) authority will live for ever.

The vanquished begging for their lives or expressing their thanks for having been spared, will say:

Ee manatua pule, 'ae le manatua fa'alaleo. Clemency will be remembered, but destruction will be forgotten.

He who has been spared will not forget to say to his heir on his death-bed: Remember the chief to whom I owed my life.

519.

O le va'a e le'i mau le malali. Like a boat on which the gum of the breadfruit is not fast yet.

The gum of the breadfruit tree is used to calk boats.

Same meaning as No. 350. Also used as an *upu faifai*.

520.

Ua tu'ua i le to'oto'o pa'epa'e. It was left to the white (unused) orator's staff.

To'oto'o pa'epa'e or *sinasina* refers to a young talking chief (see No. 342).

Applied to a village that has a young inexperienced *tulafale*. Used as an *upu fa'amaulalo* or *faifai*; also used as an *upu alofa* to excuse the mistakes made by the talking chief. *Ua tu'ua i le to'oto'a pa'epa'e le nu'u nei.* See No. 389.

521.

Musumusua a puiali'i. The whisperings of the chiefs.

Used when the chiefs discuss their affairs in a low voice so that the women, young men and children will not hear what is being said. Applied like Nos. 29, 113, 207, 239, 424.

522.

Ua ou nofo ma le mama lomi. I sit with a ball of food in the mouth.

The decoy pigeons used to be fed with small balls of kneaded taro or breadfruit.

Used to express thanks for benefits received, especially for food served to a travelling party.

523.

Lama tuapola. To watch behind the house shutters.

In pagan times assassination did not occur infrequently.

To have a secret design; to meditate evil.

524.

Several proverbial sayings are based on the legend of the Sasa'umani's fishing expedition. Pugai and Lealali had ten sons all named Sasa'umani and the whole family, including a sister, were known as the Sasa'umani. Pulelei'ite (see No. 466), the son of Punapunavai and Lefe'e, joined the brothers and was named Sasa'umani *af'ese* (i.e., of a different stock). One day he was fishing with the brothers between Tutuila and Manu'a. They were trying to catch a wondrous turtle whose shell sent forth a luminous red glow.

O le melomelo a Manu'a. The red glow of Manu'a.

Applied to occurrences known by everyone.

525.

The fishermen (see above) succeeded in catching the turtle in a net; but it was so heavy that they could not lift it into the boat. One after the other of the Sasa'umani tried in vain. Finally it was Pulelei'ite's turn. He asked: *Pe tele a lalo, pe tele a luga?* Shall I push it from above or from below? His words were meant to confuse the brothers. They replied:

Tele a lalo le i'a a Sasa'umani. Push the fish of the Sasa'umani upward.

Used in the same sense as No. 521 with the additional meaning of: Let the preparations remain secret; the final result may be made public.

526.

Pulelei'ite (see above) then pushed the fish to Savai'i and landed it between Si'uva'o and Falelima. The spot is remembered to this day. The turtle was cooked in the oven but, through negligence, the carapace was allowed to burn. Only a small piece of the precious tortoise shell was saved. This happened at Sagone. Hence:

Sina toe o Sagone. A small piece left at Sagone.

Used when asking for a favour: I will appreciate even a little.

527. The remaining piece of shell was buried in the mountains of Savai'i. Pulele'i'ite went to Malie in Upolu and lived with Malietoa.

On a fine afternoon Savai'i could be seen distinctly and, as the buried shell glowed even through the covering earth, the island with its broad back resembled a huge turtle sleeping on the waters. Malietoa said:

Ua se i'a e moe mauga o Savai'i. The mountains of Savai'i look like a sleeping fish (turtle).

Compare No. 71.

528. Malietoa was keen on possessing the tortoise shell (see above). In return Pulele'i'ite asked for a perch for his decoy pigeon. This was only a figure of speech. What he really wanted, was a girl. Malietoa, who was not very adept at solving riddles, brought him several kinds of wood suitable for making a perch. To draw the chief's attention to his error, Pulele'i'ite then gave him a:

Lau'ava mu'amu'a. A young kava shoot (a worthless thing).

Upu fa'amaulalo or *fai'fai*: Be contented with this trifle; I have nothing better.

529.

O le sala e tau'ave i le fofoga. Sin is carried in the mouth.

Many sins are committed through slander and angry words. Used as an *upu taofiofi*; also as an expression of satisfaction when the evil-mouthed person has met with punishment.

530.

Na o le taeao o faiva. One should go fishing (hunting) only in the morning.

The early morning hour is the most suitable time for sport. The saying is also applied to other things that should be done in the early morning, such as setting out on a journey. A similar saying refers to the *poula* (night dance): *Na o le afiafi o faiva (siva).*

531.

Ua tu'utu'u solo fa'afuamamusina. Lying about like the eggs of the *manusina*.

The *manusina* (a white seagull) does not build a nest, but lays its eggs anywhere on the ground.

Applied to persons who are related to one another, but live in different localities; also to the scattered islands belonging to the same group or the scattered houses of a village.

532.

Sa'ili 'ese fa'atavau. To look for another place like the leech.

The leech does not stay on the part of the body where it happens to drop, but looks for a better, softer spot where it can suck the blood.

Pratt: Applied to those who, not content with what they have, seek for things too high.

533.

Ou te fa'atu'a'iato. I am like the one sitting behind the outrigger boom.

The saying relates to the big outrigger canoe *sotatau* which the Samoans used for long voyages before they had learned from the Tongans and Fijians how to build the double canoe '*alia*'. The outrigger booms served as seats for the paddlers. Those who sat behind the booms (*tu'a'iato*) assisted neither in paddling nor in bailing out the boat (*taliu*). From time to time the steersman called out: *Fa'afetai alo* (thank you for rowing) and *fa'afetai taliu*. The others replied: *Fa'afetai tautai*, *fa'afetai fa'auli* or *fa'afetai folau* (thank you for steering). The inactive ones were not taken any attention of.

Upu fa'amaulalo similar to No. 83. The saying is also used by a stranger entering a house where a *fono* or a distribution of food takes place.

534.

Ua fa'aluma tupu i fale. The disgrace had its origin at home.

Applied to a person who, through his bad behaviour, exposes his relatives to people's criticism.

535.

Ua fa'aseumataina. To watch the sport of pigeon-catching.

Also: *Ua mataina le seu*, abbreviation for *ua fa'apei le seu ua mataina*.

One of the hunters tries to catch a pigeon; the others watch whether he is successful or not. Same meaning as Nos. 261, 338.

536.

E le la'ai mo'o i liu o va'a. The gecko does not walk about in the bilge of the boat.

Because the gecko is a land animal. Same meaning as No. 216.

537.

Ua muli mai ni oli, a o ni foli? How will there be anything to boast about when there is no semblance of ability?

Oli (not to be confused with '*oli'oli* (to rejoice)) means to be proud of, to boast about something one has done; *foli* (*foliga*) is to be like unto, to resemble.

Upu faifai applied to vain boasting. Compare No. 133.

538.

High chief Tamasoali'i (Safata) has two *tulafale*, Fuga and Mau'ava, who sit to the right and left of him. They are called *tafa'i*. When kava is about to be served, Mau'ava stands up and, having laid a stone in the place vacated by him, he sits near the kava bowl and calls out the cups. Last of all he calls out his own cup and the cup-bearer will pour it over the stone. Tamasoali'i must not be without his two *tafa'i* during the ceremony; that is why the stone takes Mau'ava's place.

An orator sitting next to a high chief, will often introduce his speech with the words:

Tafa'i ma'a Mau'ava. Let a stone occupy Mau'ava's place.

i.e.—As it would be unmannerly for me to speak so close to the high chief, I place, so to speak, a stone between us. The following are also heard: *Tafa'i ma'a le na liu fatu* and *Tafa'i ma'a le tamaloa na i le Alataua* (the eastern parts of Safata).

539.

Molia tai o'o. Carried along by the flood tide.

The flood tide carries the salt water fish into the rivers. When the tide recedes, the fish, in the belief they are in the sea, remain behind and are often stranded (*pa'ulia*).

Applied (1) to a person who thoughtlessly rushes into an undertaking and then finds himself in trouble. *Upu fa'anoanoa* or *aloa*: *Talofa, ua molia a'u* ('oe, o ia) *i tai o'o*. Also used as an expression of satisfaction when one has acted with prudence and discretion: *Fa'afetai, e le molia ita i tai o'o*; (2) as an *upu famaulalo* it is used to wave off compliments and congratulations: *E le molia a'u i tai o'o*.

540.

E tasi le fa'aafi, 'ae felatilati.

The explanation is not quite clear. Pratt translates *fa'aafi*, the sheet and boom of a canoe. *Felatilati* (or *felasilasi*) is not found in the dictionary. The word is said to be borrowed from the Tongan or Fijian and seems to have the meaning of: sufficient, adequate. The saying, then, could be translated: To turn about only once, but it is sufficient. It pictures a boat that reaches its destination with a single tack.

According to another explanation the saying relates to fire-making by rubbing together two pieces of wood. *Fa'aafi*, then would be the last effort that produces the spark and *felatilati*—*ola*, burn.

541.

Tuiaana i Lotoa was defeated by the Tongans and fled with his family to the region where later was founded the village of Palapala, Savai'i. There they built a house behind a breast-work of felled wood. Pipili, one of the sons, stood guard on the outside. The other two boys and their sister Lelauoi looked after (*tausi*) their parents. Hence, *fa'amatua i vao*, or abbreviated:

Fa'amatuvao: To look after the parents in the bush.

To do a thing conscientiously: *Ia fa'amatuvao* or *ia fai ma le fa'amaoni, aua le fa'ataga ona fai; ua ou fa'amatuvao*.

Lelauoi later acquired the title of Tuiaana. In recent times Palapala was transferred to Patamea. The *faleiupu* (see No. 201) of Patamea is known as Fale a'ana.

542. The following has a similar meaning:

Fa'amatualautalo. As if it were wrapped in an old taro leaf.

As related in No. 477, Losi stole a taro plant in heaven. He wrapped it in an old taro leaf (*lautalo matuatua*) and secreted it on his body. Had he not taken every precaution, he would have been discovered.

543.

Chiefs Olo of Falelatai and Tigi of Amoa courted Lady Lau. She preferred Tigi, but, because of the opposition of her *fale-upolu* (see No. 201) she had to marry Olo. After the wedding Tigi visited their home and gained Lau's favour. When she became pregnant, he returned to Amoa. Lau had a boy. When he was grown up he went fishing with Olo. Being disobedient he was scolded by Olo who said "You are not my son." The boy told his mother and she admitted that Tigi was his father. The boy ran away to Amoa where his mother

rejoined him. One evening Tigi and Lau were discussing what name they would give to the boy. They did not know that Olo, who had followed his wife, sat outside and overheard the conversation. When the lovers decided on the name of Tigilau, Olo said: *A ua ta'ua Tigi ma Lau, a mea ta'u ane ma Olo*; or abbreviated:

A ua Tigi ma Lau, ta'u ane ai ma Olo. If he is to be called after Tigi and Lau, why not add the name of Olo?

Applied to a person who insists on having his share.

The boy was given the name of Tigilauma'olo, but is usually called Tigilau. Tradition relates that he murdered two women because they had killed his *manini* fish. The saying, *Ua initia lau manini* or *i lau manini*, is not a proverb but simply an expression of scorn applied to a disobedient child.

544.

Ia fa'afao le va'a o mala. Upset the ship filled with calamities.

A call to quarrelling parties to become reconciled. See No. 372. The evil suffered should be loaded on a ship and sunk in the sea.

545.

Before a club-match (see No. 232) took place, an *umu* (Samoan oven), was made for the purpose of cooking food and hardening the *lapalapa* clubs. Those who took part in the sport were bound to the observation of certain rules, for instance, they were not allowed to touch the food. Transgressions of a rule were punished by the gods and the trespasser was sure to lose the match. People then said:

Ua tautalagia le umu lapalapa. He has trespassed on the *lapalapa* oven.

Applied to an undertaking that miscarries through the fault of a participant; for instance, when one reveals something that should have been kept secret. Also used as a warning: *Aua ne'i tautalagia le umu lapalapa*.

546.

Pe na o le 'utu e vaelua? Can only a louse be divided?

Just as in the story related in No. 483, two young men were sent to Fiji by their father to get him a talisman. The *Tuifiti* gave them a closed basket full of bugs and ants. Despite the prohibition, they opened the basket on their way home and the insects escaped. Shame-facedly they returned to the *Tuifiti* who, having scolded them gave them a louse which he divided in the middle so that each should have his share.

Used as a warning against avarice: *Aua le limavale*. If even a louse can be divided, why should not you be able to share what you have?

547.

E tu manu, 'ae le tu logologo. The town-crier is reliable, but a rumour is unreliable.

When a *fono* is to be held, the town-crier (*manu*) is sent to advise the chiefs. If they have knowledge of it only through hearsay, they cannot be certain.

Another explanation relates to *tapa* making. To apply the dye, the cloth is stretched on a frame called '*upeti*'. The most common design, known as *logologo*, is set out in parallel lines with *manoa* (string). Another design is called *manu*. "If a woman does not like the *logologo* design, she will take the *manu*."

Applied to the different aspects of a question, only one of which is to be recommended.

548.

Tali i le tualima. To wave off with the back of the hand.

This is what a father does when his children try to approach him while he is in conversation with his fellow chiefs.

To give a person a cold welcome. To refuse to lend one's ear to friendly advice. *Pe se a le mea ua e tali ai a'u i le tualima?* (*Pe se a le mea ua e fa'alemana'ia ai a'u?*) *Aua e te tali a'u i le tualima*.

549.

E fa'atata i Malie, 'ae fa'aofo i Palalaua. In Malie is made public what was discussed in Palalaua.

Palalaua is the *malae* of Siumu. The district *fono* for Tuamasaga was held in Malie. The different villages first had their private discussions at home, before they sent their delegates to Malie where the final decision was reached and made public.

Applied to matters settled long before they were made public.

550.

The brothers Fuialao, Ma'oma'o and Pili had a sister named Sina who was married to the *Tuifiti*. When they heard there was a famine in Fiji, they planned to go to their sister's assistance. As they had the form of animals (the first two being birds and the other a lizard) they could not appear in her presence, fearing to shame her. So they thought of a stratagem. In their hiding place in the bush, they planted a *palai* yam and directed its growth towards Sina's home. When Sina saw the

yam, she daily broke off a piece until she finally came upon her brothers.

Ia tulituli matagau. Follow the direction of the broken yam.

Strive towards your goal and do not allow yourself to be diverted from it.

551.

Tu'itu'i malofie. The tapping at the club-match.

At a club-match the opponents form lines opposite each other. To challenge his opponent, a fighter will tap the ground in front of him with his club. The challenge will be either accepted or refused with the words: *Sema sou nafa*. The opposing lines are called *fa'amalofie*, because youths about to be tattooed (*malofie*) are also ranged in lines.

Same meaning as Nos. 365, 371, 513, 514.

552.

Fa'amatagi. From the direction of the wind.

Matagi is *matamatagi*. Applied to the first cause, the origin of things; as all things have been created by God; the laws being made by the government; to tell a story from the beginning.

553.

Pu'ega is a handle on the gunwale of the bonito canoe, just behind the rear outrigger. While the fisherman swings in the rod with his right hand, he steadies himself with his left by taking hold of the *pu'ega*. The rowers have to paddle hard, lest the fish drop the hook. The assistance given by the paddlers is called *malu*.

Malu i le pu'ega. Assistance given when the fisher holds himself on the *pu'ega*.

To lend assistance in an undertaking. *O le avatu nei malu i le pu'ega.*

554.

Fa'ava'amatagia. Like a ship fighting the wind.

Same meaning as Nos. 129, 415. When those threatened with a danger begin to quarrel and blame one another, a wise man will say: *Aua le fetau'i fa'ava'amatagi*, but take steps to save yourself.

555.

Sao amo.

The villages of Anoama'a (Atua) had to make food offerings of 'ava'ava fish to Chief Lemana of Luflufi. The offerings were called *amo*, the literal meaning of which is "carrying-stick." When the chief was satisfied, the people said: *Ua sao amo*—It went well with the *amo*.

Used as an *upu fiafia* after difficulties have been overcome, a job completed, etc. Also used in the form of: *Ia sao amo* and *Ua le sao amo*.

556.

O le tai e pisi nu'u malolo. A conquered village is like a splashing sea.

When a wave splashes into a boat and one occupant gets wet, the others do not know whether the same thing will not happen to them.

Used to reply to scornful, sneering remarks: *Aua le mimita*. Compare Nos. 423, 448, 281.

557.

E fana le fatu, 'ae tu'u le manu. To hit the stone, but miss the bird.

This relates to the hunt with bow and arrow of the *Manuali'i*. See Nos. 122-124.

Applied to one who misses an opportunity or suffers defeat.

558.

Ua u ifo tau i le pa'u. The pain penetrates only as far as the skin.

Used when granting forgiveness; also as a request: *Ia u ifo*, etc. Similar to Nos. 325, 336. Pratt: Of family quarrels, as if only piercing the skin.

The saying may be based on the following: The *Tuiatua* Polailevao was angry with the *Tuisamoa*. The latter sent his two sons, whose mother was related to the *Tuiatua*, to ask forgiveness. When the *Tuiatua* saw the youths, his anger arose anew, but remembering they were his relatives, he sent them back with a full pardon for the father.

559.

O uta ia i Olo. Inland near Mount Olo.

Oloalii is the mountain near Neiafu where Lefaoseau and Ulumu once had their contest in pigeon catching (see No. 103). Their *tia* (cleared space in the bush) could be used by none but experts.

Upu fa'alumaluma applied to a person who attempts more than he can manage. Compare No. 128.

It is said that on the *tia* Oloalii, Ulumu was killed and cut up like a pig by Chief Tapuso of Sataua who was jealous of his reputation as a hunter. A relative of Ulumu, by the name of Pei Tautala'ai then treated the murderer in a like manner. On this is based the saying: *O ula i Olo*, applied to "retaliation."

560.

Ifo i le ti, a'e i le nonu. (To take it) off the *ti* plant (and hang it) on the *nonu* tree.

The saying relates to the history of the *Tuiatua* Mata'utia (see No. 408). When he and Levalasi had made up their minds to adopt a child, they had offers from every side. One candidate for adoption was Tuagasi'i of Satunafono (Safata), who was brought along with numbers of fine mats to make a good impression on the Tumua (the speakers of Leulumoega and Lufilufi). The mats were first hung on the trees. When the time came to show them, a mat was taken off a *ti* tree, carried around for inspection and then hung on a *nonu* tree. Tuagasi'i being rejected, the mats could not be accepted. Thus only the *ti* and the *nonu* trees had, so to say, their share of the mats, while the orators went empty-handed.

The saying is used to refer to discontent and envy. Pratt: Applied to family quarrels.