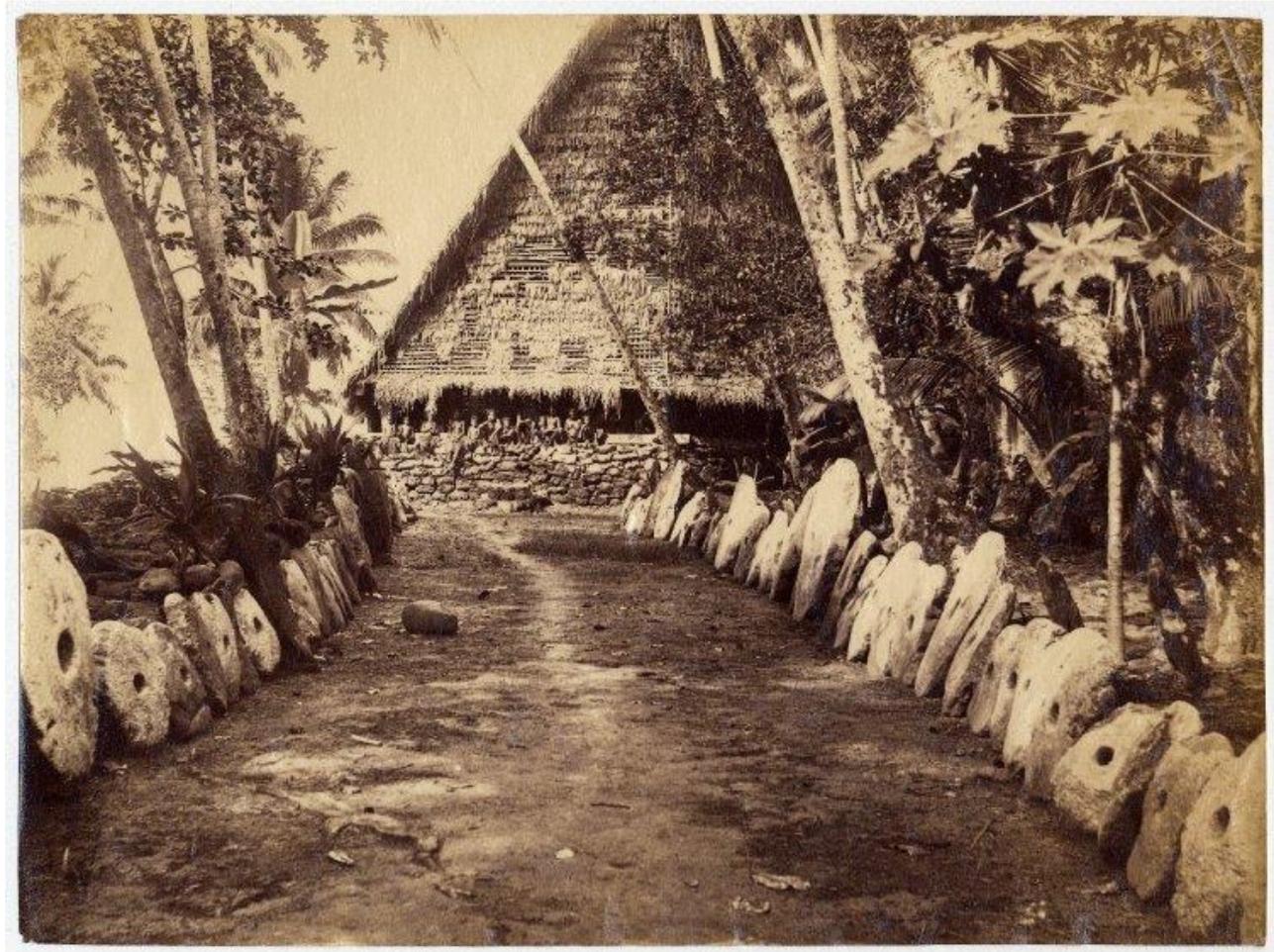


Report on an Archaeological Survey of Five *Malal* Complexes, Yap Island, Micronesia



Possible *malal* in front of a meeting house in Rull in 1884 (British Museum, Oc,B31.3, [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3084510&partId=1&searchText=Oc,B31.3&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3084510&partId=1&searchText=Oc,B31.3&page=1)) (reproduced in Christian 1899, facing p. 290)

Takuya Nagaoka, Ph.D.  
NGO Pasifika Renaissance

December 2017

## ***ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS***

The completion of this project would not have been possible without various forms of assistance from many people. I would like to thank the Yap State Historic Preservation Office for inviting me to undertake this important project and providing me with subsequent logistic support. Yap State Historic Preservation Officer Francis Reg provided needed guidance throughout the project and his humor, introduction to Yapese culture and kind assistance both at work and elsewhere led to a wonderful experience during the entire stay for me and my family. In addition, it was a true pleasure to work alongside the entire HPO staff. Annjanette Pugruw, Clement Moharal, Falownug Kenmed, Jacqualine Duraen, Joey Ungred Yinmed, John Runman, Leo Thineyog, and Michelle Chugen were all very cooperative and made for a very pleasant working environment. I especially thank Joey, Clement and Leo for their hard work and good cheer in the field. Likewise, I must personally also thank John who patiently shared his knowledge both in the office and through numerous emails during the preparation of this report.

Community field workers Felix Figir, Edwin Fanouay, Joe Giltug, Henry Tithin Enungel and Sergius Yowleg also diligently assisted us in the survey. Furthermore, this project would not have been successful without the generous assistance of elders Cyprian Manmaw, Peter Ruechugrad, Gabriel Minginmar, Henry Tithin, Sergius Yowleg and Victor Magey who kindly shared their valuable wisdom and knowledge with us.

Akatsuki Takahashi (UNESCO Office for the Pacific States) was also instrumental in her guidance throughout the project. Additionally, Bruce Robert (College of Micronesia-FSM), Danko Taborosi (Island Research & Educational Initiative), Rosalind Hunter-Anderson (University of Huddersfield), Scott Fitzpatrick (University of Oregon) and Wakako Higuchi (University of Guam) provided key resources and information. And finally, I thank Ashley Meredith (Yap State Historic Preservation Office), Stefan Krause (Beacon College), and especially Rosalind Hunter-Anderson for proofreading the draft. *Kammagargad!*

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Archaeological Training.....	1
3. Background of <i>Malal</i> Sites.....	2
4. Archaeological Survey.....	3
4.1. Methodology.....	3
4.2. Balayat <i>Malal</i> Complex.....	4
4.3. L'ayniga' <i>Malal</i> Complex.....	11
4.4. Pe'gachpar <i>Malal</i> Complex.....	20
4.5. Musgow <i>Malal</i> Complex.....	29
4.6. Gallas <i>Malal</i> Complex.....	36
5. <i>Malal</i> Complex Typology Based on Spatial Patterning.....	41
6. Conclusion.....	43
References.....	44
Appendix 1. Yap State Historic Preservation Office Historic Site Recording Form.....	46
Appendix 2. Oral Traditions of Surveyed <i>Malal</i> Complexes.....	49
Appendix 3. Legend of Le'ebirang.....	79
Appendix 4. Inventories of Stone Money and Backrest of the Surveyed <i>Malal</i> Complexes.....	86

## LIST OF FIGURES

1. Location of five surveyed <i>malal</i> complexes in Yap Island.....	4
2. Aerial photo of Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	6
3. Plan of Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	7
4. Malal nu Balayat.....	8
5. Two slab <i>rorow</i> and two tall <i>magrey</i> on both sides on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	8
6. The northern section delineated by rows of <i>magrey</i> on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	9
7. The row of <i>rai</i> along the northern end of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Balayat, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	9
8. The sacred stone “Malngen Le’ebirang” on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Balayat, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	10
9. Wunbey ni Rumdey, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	10
10. Incised <i>magrey</i> (M56) on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	10
11. Wunbey ni Tagil’ yu Meerur, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	10
12. Wunbey ni Tagil’ yu Gilfith, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	10
13. Wunbey ni Tagil’ yu Ma’, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	10
14. Vertically grooved <i>magrey</i> (M1) at the northwestern corner on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	11
15. Vertically grooved <i>magrey</i> (M12) at the northeastern corner on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat <i>malal</i> complex.....	11
16. Aerial photo of L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	14
17. Plan of L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	15
18. Malal nu L’ayniga’.....	16
19. Row of <i>rai</i> along the northern side of Malal nu L’ayniga’.....	16
20. Rows of <i>magrey</i> , eastern side of Wunbey ni Thum’uth, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	17
21. Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L’ayniga’, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	17
22. Two-tier wall of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L’ayniga’, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	17
23. Row of large <i>magrey</i> on Tagil’pirba’ on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L’ayniga’, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	18
24. Fireplace in the northern front of Dayif ko Pebaey nu L’ayniga’, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	18
25. Plate coral wall of Wunbey ni Fite’ach, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	18
26. Hexagonal <i>dayif</i> on Wunbey ni Fite’ach, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	18
27. Concrete cistern (right) and rectangular <i>dayif</i> (left) on Wunbey ni Fite’ach, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	18
28. Small calcite “stone money” found on Wunbey ni Fite’ach, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	18
29. Pearl shell money ( <i>yar</i> ) found on the surface of Wunbey ni Fite’ach, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	19
30. Stone paved path between Wunbey ni Tanerowel and Wunbey ni Thum’uth, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	19
31. Path-like structure between Wunbey ni Thum’uth and Wunbey ni Thum’uth ni Ngol, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	19
32. The eastern set of large <i>rai</i> and wide slab on the southern end of Wunbey ni Thum’uth, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	19
33. Incised <i>rai</i> (R45) at the northwestern corner on Wunbey ni Fite’ach, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	20
Detail of the incision on the <i>rai</i> (R45) at the northwestern corner on Wunbey ni Fite’ach, L’ayniga’ <i>malal</i> complex.....	20

34. Incised <i>rai</i> (R52) on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' <i>malal</i> complex.....	20
35. Cast iron gunnade on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' <i>malal</i> complex.....	20
36. Aerial photo of Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	22
37. Cordy's sketch map of sites in Gachpar village (based on Cordy 1986:65, Figure 25).....	23
38. Plan of Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	24
39. Malal nu Pe'gachpar.....	25
40. Large <i>rai</i> erected at the end of Malal nu Pe'gachpar.....	25
41. Tanea'r delineated by rows of <i>magrey</i> on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	26
42. Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex. Note that the first (M22 [Figure 51]) and third <i>magrey</i> (M24) on the first row (from left in this photo) are two carefully flaked <i>magrey</i> .....	26
43. Stone pavement and a row of <i>magrey</i> on the southern half of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> comple.....	27
44. The western <i>rorow</i> on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	27
45. The eastern <i>rorow</i> on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	27
46. Stepped edging stones on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	27
47. Schematic view of cross section of stepped edging stones at Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	27
48. The northern <i>rorow</i> on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	28
49. The southern <i>rorow</i> on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	28
50. Shaped edging coral blocks on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex....	28
51. Carefully flaked <i>magrey</i> (M24) on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	28
52. <i>Rorow</i> on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	29
53. Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Binaw, Pe'gachpar <i>malal</i> complex.....	29
54. Aerial photo of Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	30
55. Faluw nu Musgow ("Musgou" in this map) in southern Balabat (based on Cordy 1986:49, Figure 18).....	31
56. Plan of Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	32
57. The two <i>wunbey</i> , two upright stones and Malal nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	33
58. Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	33
59. Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	34
60. Surface of Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	34
61. Sheet coral wall and stepping stone of Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	35
62. Northern <i>suwmur</i> on Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	35
63. Southern <i>suwmur</i> on <i>faluw wunbey</i> Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex...	35
64. Incised post bases at the western corner on Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow <i>malal</i> complex (shown by arrows).....	35
65. Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow and fireplace near the <i>dayif</i> , Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	35
66. Japanese pillbox and <i>rai</i> , Musgow <i>malal</i> complex.....	35
67. Aerial photo of Gallas <i>malal</i> complex.....	37
68. Plan of Gallas <i>malal</i> complex.....	38
69. Malal nu Gallas.....	39
70. <i>Sumruw</i> on Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas <i>malal</i> complex.....	39
71. Row of <i>rai</i> along the southern end of Malal nu Gallas, Gallas <i>malal</i> complex.....	40
72. Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas <i>malal</i> complex.....	40
73. Typhoon-damaged Faluw nu Gallas, Gallas <i>malal</i> complex.....	40

74. Entrance stairs on Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas *malal* complex.....40

75. Stone edged coconut tree for the chief of Relach estate on Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas *malal* complex.....40

76. Wunbey nib Pin, Gallas *malal* complex.....40

77. Schematic plan view of four *malal* complex types.....42

**LIST OF TABLES**

1. Surveyed *malal* complexes and their attributes.....41

2. Summary of four types of surveyed *malal* complexes.....42

## ABBREVIATION AND CONVERSIONS

HPO		Historic Preservation Office
cm	centimeter	0.39370 inches
m	meter	3.28084 feet
km	kilometer	0.62137 miles

## GLOSSARY OF YAPESE TERMS

Yapese is a language with different colloquial speech patterns and dialects differing from one locality to another (e.g., Jensen 1977). Pronunciations provided by informants are used in this report.

- a'r* – a kind of small tree
- Ba'an Pagal – one of two opposing village political alliances
- Ba'an Pilung – one of two opposing village political alliances
- bulche'* – the highest ranking villages of the Ba'an Pilung alliance
- churu'* – dance, to dance
- daboch* – sedimentary rock
- daotu* – partner
- dayif* – stone house foundation
- faluw* – men's house
- gogyal* – calcite
- guywol* – performance
- kanawoq* – pathway
- maawat* – slab-lined fireplace
- makath* – to engage in secret politics, to conspire
- makyung* – peridotite
- malal* – dance ground
- magrey* – backrest
- mathban* – the second highest ranking villages
- mitmit* – ceremonial exchange
- nify* – slab-lined fireplace
- nug* – political network
- pebaey* – meeting house
- rai* – stone money disc
- rorow* – elevated flat stone and raised stone platform for placing tribute
- rumdey* – type of sea crab
- sumruw* (or *simruw*) – raised stone platform for placing tribute
- tabinaew* – land estate, household, dwelling house
- taliw* – sacred place, taboo place
- tam'* – begging dance
- tayor* – a kind of women's dance
- tha'* – channels of communication
- ulun* – the highest ranking villages of the Ba'an Pagal alliance
- waer* – greenschist
- wunbey* – meeting platform
- yar* – pearl shell money

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Yapese display stone money discs (*rai*) at various places in their settlements, including meeting houses (*pebaey*), men's houses (*faluw*), dwelling houses (*tabinaw*), pathways (*kanawoq*) and dancing grounds (*malal*). To show village wealth, *rai* are often accumulated at dancing grounds or so-called "stone money banks," which are predominately attached to meeting houses and men's houses to comprise a *malal* complex. Despite importance in Yapese social life, *malal* complexes have tended only to be briefly described in settlement pattern studies (e.g., Adams 1997, Cordy 1986, Hunter-Anderson 1982, 1983).

Together with the Historic Preservation Office of the Republic of Palau, the Yap State Historic Preservation Office (hereafter "Yap State HPO") submitted a transboundary serial nomination of stone money sites in Yap and stone money quarry sites in Palau to UNESCO to be inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2010. This nomination effort was unfortunately deferred in 2011. One of the main reasons for this deferral was that there were not sufficient comparative studies to justify nominated sites (UNESCO 2011). Since then, to strengthen the nomination for future resubmission, Yap State HPO has coordinated a series of efforts to inventory stone money sites (Thompson 2012, Hunter-Anderson 2014) and excavate test pits at two *malal* sites for radiocarbon dating in order to understand the chronology of this undated site type (Christophe Sand, pers. comm.). The current project also aims in supporting this endeavor, by holding a training program for surveying and inventorying those sites for Yap State HPO staff and by accumulating archaeological and ethnographic data on *malal* sites.

## 2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING

To build Yap State HPO staff's capacity and to assist in their efforts in the World Heritage nomination, the objectives of this project as follow:

1. To develop the inventory system, including a database template, with Yap State HPO staff.
2. To conduct hands-on workshops to teach Yap State HPO staff and community field workers how to survey and inventory *malal* sites both in the field and in the office.
3. To record *malal* sites for comparative analysis in the World Heritage nomination.

Two aspects, appropriate technology and sustainability, were taken into major consideration during the project. In addition to initial emails communications with the Chief of Yap State HPO Francis Reg prior to the arrival, the discussions with other HPO staff were conducted for the first week of Nagaoka's stay to fully understand their current situation.

In the field, Joey Ungred Yinmed (Registration Coordinator) and Clement Moharal (Surveyor) lead the archaeological documentation of historic sites with occasional assistance of Leo Thineyog (Registration Coordinator), while John Runman (Oral Histories Coordinator) collects oral traditions of those sites. The archaeological survey team's methods and techniques are largely based on Yinmed's experience gained through his participation in Dr. Rosalinda Hunter-Anderson's (2014) project in 2013 at the initial period of his employment. In addition, Yap State HPO selected two community field workers in each municipality to train and carry out archaeological survey work in 2015.<sup>1</sup>

Yap HPO staff maintain survey results in standardized forms that include maps, inventories of stone money and backrests, and transcriptions (with English translations) of oral traditions. The Yap State Registry of Historic Properties Nomination Form and its database are used in anticipation that a site will be registered. Since there was no database for other surveyed sites, the Yap State Historic Preservation Office Historic Site Recording Form was developed during this project with consultation with Yap HPO staff to inventory historic sites, including both their tangible and intangible aspects (see Appendix 2).

---

<sup>1</sup> They surveyed four historic sites at each municipality, among which *malal* would be put preference due to the preparation for the resubmission of a World Heritage nomination, as Yap State HPO's project.

During archaeological survey, to improve Yap State HPO staff's survey techniques, the following technical suggestions were given to them:

- (1) Produce a larger scale map in a larger paper.
- (2) Draw features more accurately in a survey map.
- (4) Make correspondence between an inventory of stone money and backrests and a survey map.
- (3) Describe archaeological features in more details (e.g., morphological traits, dimensions).

### 3. BACKGROUND OF *MALAL* SITES

Archaeological and ethnographical backgrounds of *malal* sites are briefly described here.<sup>2</sup> A village's or estate's dancing ground (*malal*) is generally associated with such structures as meeting houses (*pebaey*), men's houses (*faluw*), and meeting platforms (*wunbey*), which comprise a *malal* complex. A long narrow unpaved dancing ground, which often comprises a part of pathway network in a village (Snead 2014), occupies the central part of Yapese ceremonial life. Since numerous stone money discs (*rai*) are displayed at one or both sides of a *malal*, it is often referred to "stone money bank." Traditional sitting and standing dances (e.g., *tayor*, *churu'*, *tam'*) are performed at *malal* on such ceremonial occasions as ritual exchange (*mitmit*), inauguration ceremonies of new chiefs and *pebaey/faluw*, and funerals of chiefs (e.g., Hunter-Anderson 2014:2, Appendix 2).

Most *malal* are associated with *pebaey* and/or *faluw*, while those used only for dance practices are not (Hunter-Anderson 2014:3). *Pebaey*, which are generally located in villages inland, are the center of political activities and are used for community meetings. *Faluw*, which are situated near or on the coast, were used by unmarried men for eating and sleeping. Both *pebaey* and *faluw* are constructed on an elevated stone foundation (*dayif*). Slab-lined fireplaces (*maawat*, *nifiy*) are located inside and around *pebaey/faluw* (Morgan 1988, Chapter 2).

*Wunbey*, which are stone paved platforms, are located at one or both sides along the long axis of a *malal* (Hunter-Anderson 2014:3). They are generally reserved for participants from a particular (generally allied) village (or estate), which is signified by its name as "Wunbey ni Tagil' yu ..." (literally, 'meeting platform reserved for ...') and are used for meeting, viewing dances at a *malal*, and performing dances there.

Backrests (*magrey*) in the form of upright stones were set up on *wunbey*. Some *magrey* are reserved for high ranking persons. Facing direction of a backrest user, which is inferred by observing the direction of *magrey*'s lean, provides useful information to understand the user's behaviors such as viewing performances at a *malal* or attending a meeting. Particular areas on a *wunbey* are often partitioned by rows of *magrey* for a meeting by selected persons. One of such places is called *tagil' e makath* (literally, 'place for engaging secret politics'), which was used by the chiefs or their representatives to conspire (*makath*). *Magrey* were occasionally grooved vertically to record and commemorate village service in battle (Hunter-Anderson 2014:11).

Elevated flat stones and raised stone platforms, both of which are called *rorow* and are used for placing tribute (e.g., fish, betel nuts) for chiefs, elders and communities before distribution, are situated on *wunbey*.<sup>3</sup> The former form is generally used in northern Yap partly due to the availability of large slabs. In contrast, the latter, which is called *sumruw* (or *simruw*), is used for the same purpose in southern Yap. Both forms are considered special sacred areas in a *malal*.

According to Yapese oral traditions (e.g., Hunter-Anderson 2014:129, Krause 2016:257, Uag and Molinski 1968:15, Appendix 3), some *malal* well go back to a very early period of Yap history,

---

<sup>2</sup> See Hunter-Anderson 2014: 2-14 for detailed descriptions of the *malal* sites. See also Lingenfelter 1975 and Ushijima 1986, 1987 for Yap's complex political system to fully understand individual *malal* complexes' significance.

<sup>3</sup> *Rorow* are also constructed inside *pebaey* and *faluw* buildings to serve the same function (John Runman, pers. comm.).

although radiocarbon dating of excavated materials from a *malal* is generally difficult due to continual use and periodical maintenance and restorations of the sites through time. Production of stone money discs in Palau probably began by 400 years ago or so (Fitzpatrick 2002). Large stone money discs (especially those larger than 1.8 m in diameter [Gilliland 1975:8]) currently displayed at *malal* sites, however, are known to have been newly added to the sites in the mediation by white traders, especially an Irish-American ship owner Captain David O’Keefe, during the mass production phase in the historic period (e.g., Gilliland 1975). We need to wait for future studies on the origin and transformation of *malal* sites.

#### **4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY**

Takuya Nagaoka arrived in Yap on April 29, 2015. After spending his first week for consultation with Yap State HPO staff, due to Typhoon Noul’s passing and clearance from May 5 to 7, the fieldwork started on May 9 and ended on May 22 before Nagaoka’s departure from Yap on May 24.

##### **4.1. Methodology**

The survey team members were Takuya Nagaoka, Joey Yinmed, Clement Moharal, and occasionally Leo Thineyog in addition to community field workers from individual municipalities. John Runman interviewed knowledgeable elders on oral traditions associated with individual sites, which are provided in Appendix 2.

Two sites were selected in Tamil, Gagil and Rull municipalities by community field workers to survey during the project. Due to time constraint, clear sites were chosen for the survey to save time for clearing. Thus, we surveyed the following five *malal* complexes: Balayat, L’ayniga’ (Tamil municipality), Pe’gachpar (Gagil municipality), Musgow and Gallas (Rull municipality) (Figure 1).<sup>4</sup>

During the survey, a tape and compass method, which has been used by Yap State HPO staff, was used to produce plan view maps. Limited vegetation was cleared for mapping and photography only at Pe’gachpar *malal* complex, while other sites were very clear. GPS coordinates were taken at particular spots at each *malal* complex. The site was described in writing, and all the *rai* and *magrey*, to which individual identification numbers starting with “R” and “M” respectively were assigned at each site, were measured to compile inventories (Appendix 4).<sup>5</sup> Photographs were taken to document various features of the sites. Most of Hunter-Anderson’s (2014) recording items, that is, GPS coordinates, *malal* dimensions, number of *rai* at *malal*, number of *magrey* recorded, site dimension, site description, were used below for a future comparative purpose.

---

<sup>4</sup> The community field workers could not locate another suitable site in Gagil municipality. Those three municipalities are high ranking ones, and we also planned to survey sites in medium and low ranking municipalities for a comparative purpose, but could not do that due to limited time.

<sup>5</sup> Identification numbers of individual *rai* and *magrey* in site maps (Figures 3, 17, 38, 56 and 68) correspond with those in Appendix 4.

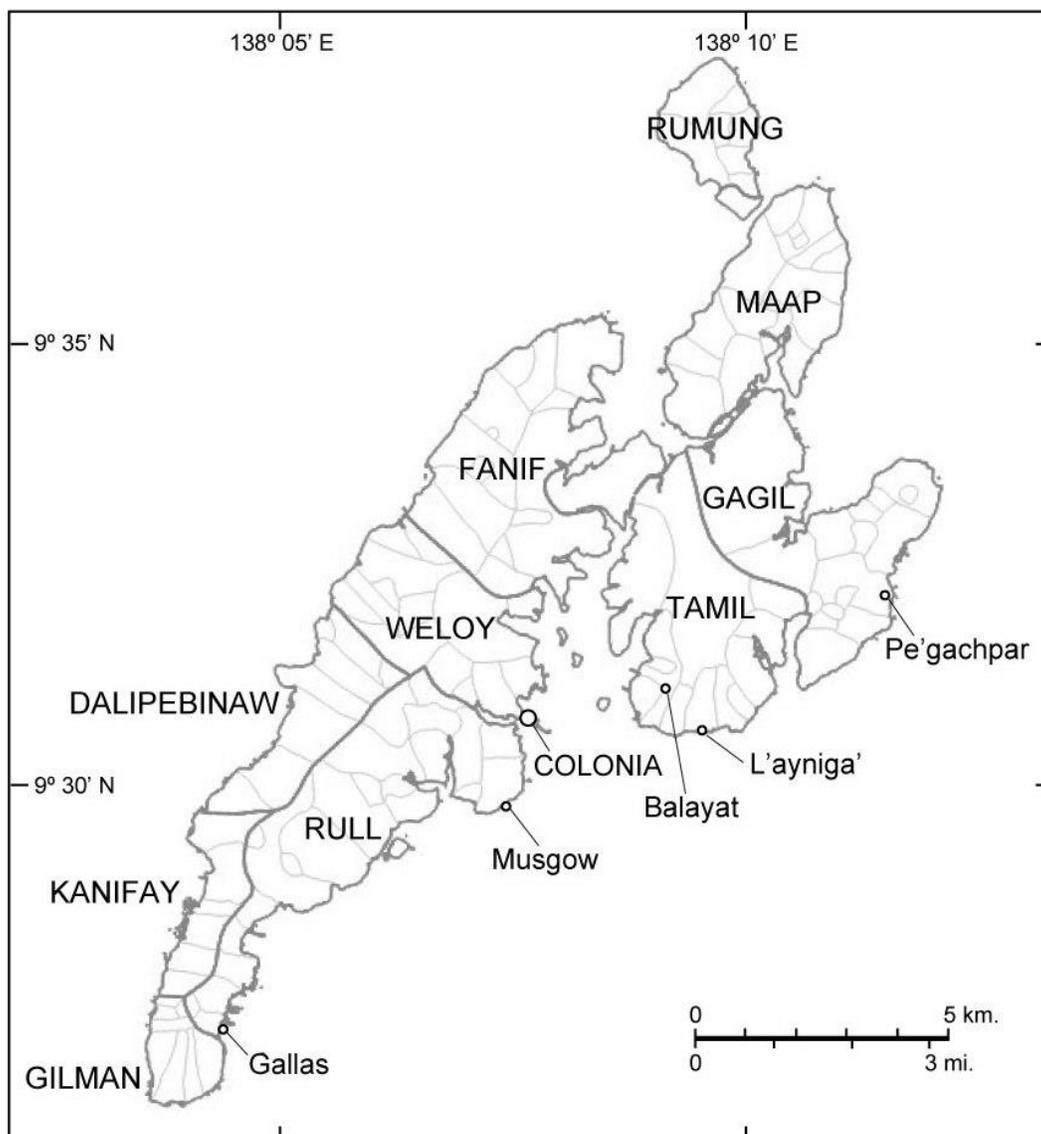


Figure 1. Location of five surveyed *malal* complexes in Yap Island.

#### 4.2. Balayat *Malal* Complex

GPS coordinates: 9° 31' 20.5" N, 138° 08' 53.4" E

Malal dimensions: 61.6 m long 6 m wide

Number of rai at malal: 37

Number of magrey recorded: 157

Site dimensions: 36 m N-S 78 m E-W

Site Description: Balayat *malal* complex is located within a flat area on a gentle ridge stretching from northeast to southwest, in Teb village,<sup>6</sup> Tamil municipality (Figure 2). The complex was surveyed by Takuya Nagaoka, Joey Yinmed and a community field worker, Felix Figir, on May 9, 2015 and by the former two on May 11. This *malal* complex is associated with a meeting house (*pebaey*) called Pebaey nu Balayat (Figure 3).

The Malal nu Balayat is built along an east-west axis, perpendicular to the coastline (Figure 4). Both ends of the *malal* connect to stone-paved paths that pass through the village. The extent of

<sup>6</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*bulche'*) of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (Lingenfelter 1975), among which Teb is considered one of four "bases" of the *bulche'*.

the *malal* is signified by a broken *rai*, facing the *malal*, at the western end and possibly by an upright stone at the eastern end. Due to intrusion of eroded soil, especially from the northern part (Nimath and Maniw estates), the *malal*'s level is currently same as the stone-paved paths, although the *malal* is said to have once been about 30 cm lower than the stone paths.<sup>7</sup> *Rai* are densely arranged at the southern end of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Balayat and on the northern end of the *malal*, where the largest one (R13) is placed in front of the sacred stone Malngen Le'ebirang, indicating the importance of this feature (see below). The size of *rai* gradually decreases toward each end. Large ones are also placed at Miniw estate side in front of Wunbey ni Rumdey.

There are six *wunbey* associated with the *malal*, which are separated from each other by unpaved paths. Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Balayat, on which the *pebaey* is situated, is a stone-paved platform (Figure 7). The *pebaey* is a concrete structure with a corrugated iron roof and lumber framing. There is a lower terrace at the northern side of the *wunbey*, where a small section is delineated by upright stone slabs to designate a sacred area for a consecrated stone called Malngen Le'ebirang (literally, 'Le'ebirang's grave'<sup>8</sup>) (Figure 8). According to a Yapese legend, a female ghost, Le'ebirang's mother Muchugom, changed herself into a rat and stole sugarcane from the garden of Le'ebirang's husband, Rigog, the highest chief of Yap, during her sojourn in Teb village.<sup>9</sup> Rigog killed Muchugom by using this stone as a trap, triggering a catastrophic flood called "*Day ni Bol* (literally, 'flood of the rat') (Appendix 3). The family of Le'ebirang, including her demigod children, who originated from Teb, settled in different areas of Yap to restart Yapese society after the flood, as the name Balayat literally means 'origin story (John Runman, pers. comm.).<sup>10</sup>

Wunbey ni Rumdey<sup>11</sup> is a narrow platform whose deteriorated condition makes its original shape impossible to infer (Figure 9). More *magrey* are located on its northern side than its southern side, where there is a wide *magrey* with incised marks (M18). Wunbey ni Balea'r, which is a trapezoid-shaped platform, consists of a narrow, higher southern side and a lower northern part. Both the higher part and two elevated slabs on the southern edge of the lower part are sacred *rorow* – a stone one on the east and a calcite (*gogyal*) one on the west (Figure 5). Two tall *magrey* (M32 and M34) stand on each side of the two-slab *rorow*. On the lower part, many *magrey* are arranged so as to divide the area into small sections (Figure 6). Two vertically grooved *magrey* (M1 [Figure 14] and M12 [Figure 15]) have been arranged at the eastern and western corners of the northernmost line of *magrey*. *Magrey* with such markings are said to indicate village service in battle (Hunter-Anderson 2014:11). A wide *magrey*, on which three arcs and vertical lines have been incised (M56), is located at the center of the second northern line of *magrey* (Figure 10). The north-south centerline of the *wunbey* was probably intentionally set up to run on the wide incised *magrey* (M56) and in the middle of the two-slab *rorow* and further to extend to the wide incised *magrey* (M78) on Wunbey ni Rumdey and the stone path to a men's house, Faluw nu Bal.

---

<sup>7</sup> A Yap HPO funded-restoration project was conducted to lower the *malal*'s level to its original level after the survey in 2015.

<sup>8</sup> The stone was named after the incident that Le'ebirang's mother Muchugom was killed by this stone, as Le'ebirang was not buried here and the name can imply that it is a grave of Le'ebirang's relative (John Runman, pers. comm.). It is possibly the sacred place (*taliw*) of the god Magaragoy, Le'ebirang's son upon which shell money is said to have been offered eight generations ago, since it is located at a *pebaey* in Balayat, Teb village according to Ushijima (1986:72, 1987:187).

<sup>9</sup> According to a Yapese elder, Muchugom possibly stayed in Pebaey nu Balayat at that time (Appendix 3), although more oral accounts are needed to confirm this.

<sup>10</sup> Since Teb village is one of the early post-flood settlements, it is considered the "elder of the island" (*pilibthir ko nam* or *pilibthiren e nam*) (Ushijima 1986:69).

<sup>11</sup> *Rumdey* refers to a type of sea crab, although the reason for the naming is unknown to contemporary elders (John Runman, pers. comm.).

The other three *wunbey* are reserved for participants from particular villages. *Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Meerur*, on which rows of *magrey* divide the northern half into small sections, is reserved for Meerur village<sup>12</sup> in Tamil municipality (Figure 11). *Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gilfith*, which was recently restored, is reserved for Gilfith village<sup>13</sup> in Fanif municipality (Figure 12). *Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Ma'*, on which are located three *magrey* and a broken piece of *rai*, is reserved for Ma' village<sup>14</sup> in Tamil municipality (Figure 13). The smaller size of this *wunbey* compared to the other two *wunbey* designated for the highest ranking villages (*ulun* and *bulche'*), is probably due to its lower position in the Yapese village ranking system (Lingenfelter 1975:138, Figure 15).

The three villages associated with a *wunbey* are high ranking villages, to which Teb village connects through channels of the network (*tha'*) of the Ba'an Pilung alliance.<sup>15</sup> The villages of this alliance used this most important *malal* complex in Teb, one of the highest ranking villages (*bulche'*) of the alliance. Due to the Le'ebirang's legend, Balayat *malal* complex is significant to all of Yap society (John Runman, pers. comm.).

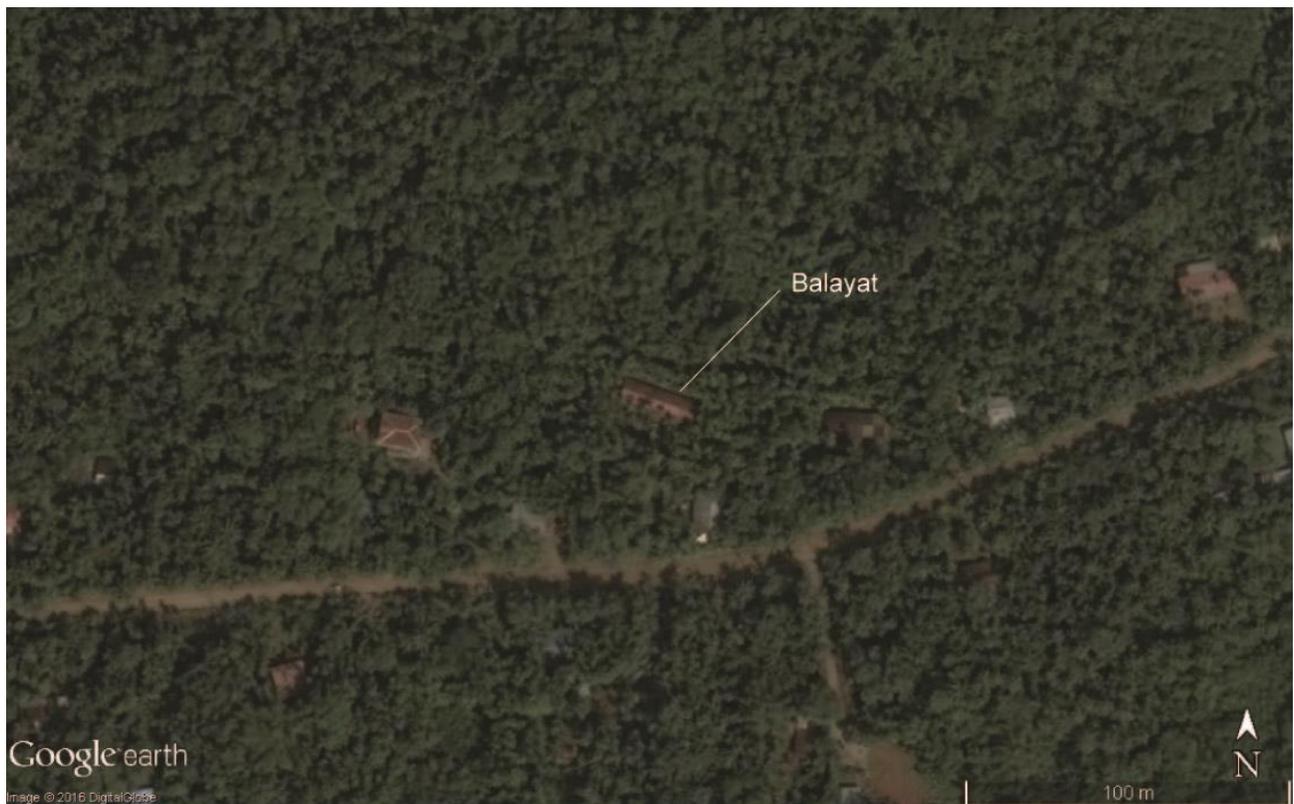


Figure 2. Aerial photo of Balayat *malal* complex. Source: Google Earth Pro V 7.1.2.2041. (December 19, 2014). Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. 9° 31' 20.39" N, 138° 08' 53.08" E, Eye alt 338 m. DigitalGlobe 2016. Accessed May 19, 2016 at <http://www.google.com/earth/>.

<sup>12</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance, but is also in the opposing Ba'an Pilung network (*tha'*) (Lingenfelter 1975:138, Figure 15).

<sup>13</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*bulche'*) of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (Lingenfelter 1975). Among the *bulche'* villages, Teb village and Gilfith village are partners (*daotu*) (Ushijima 1987:185).

<sup>14</sup> It is one of the second highest ranking villages (*mathban*) of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (Lingenfelter 1975:138, Figure 15).

<sup>15</sup> Although Meerur village belongs to the Ba'an Pagal alliance, it has a position in both alliances' *tha'* networks (Lingenfelter 1975: 138, Figure 15).

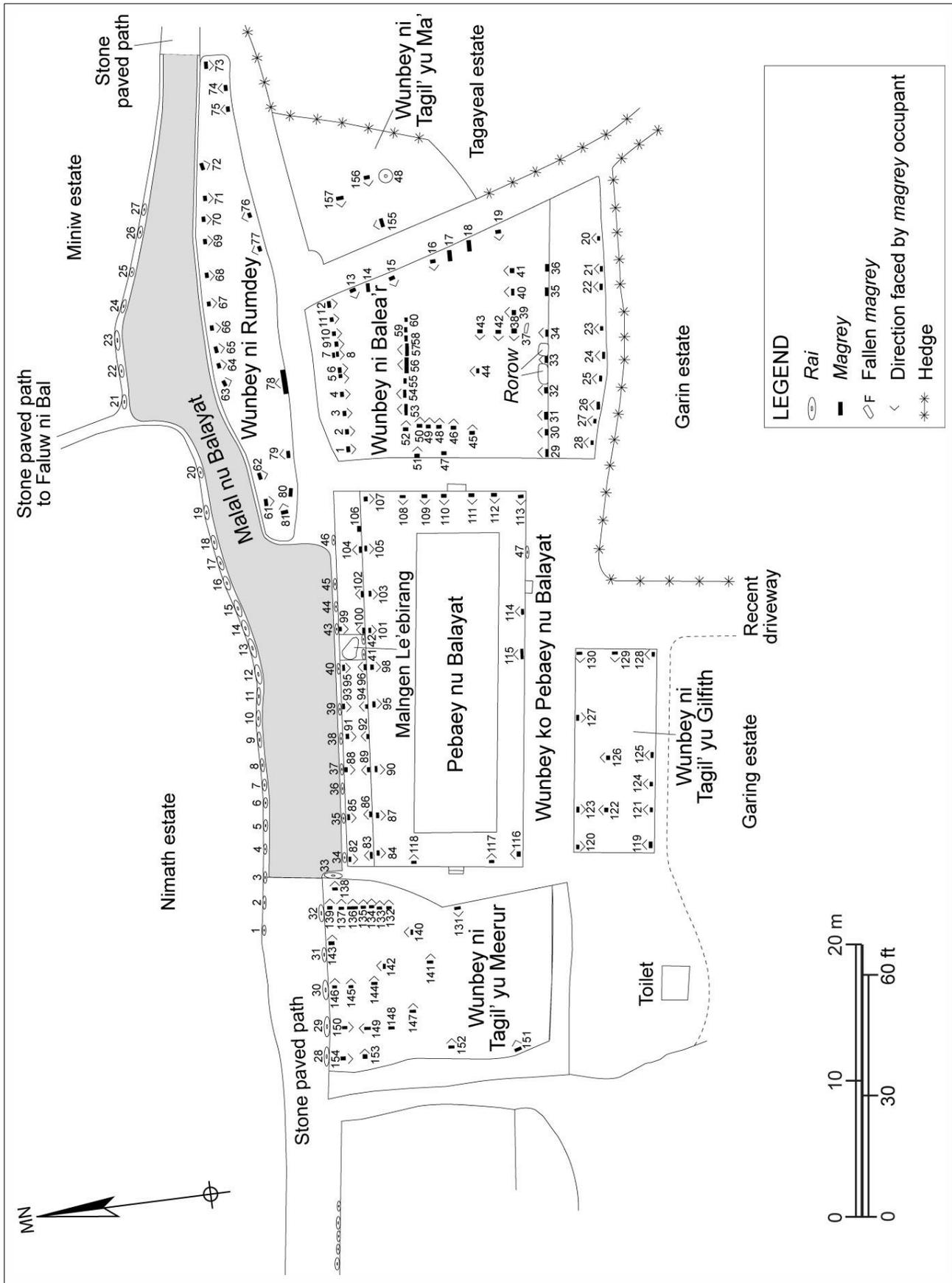


Figure 3. Plan of Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 4. Malal nu Balayat.



Figure 5. Two slab *rorow* and two tall *magrey* on both sides on Wunbey ni Balea'r, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 6. The northern section delineated by rows of *magrey* on Wunbey ni Balea'r, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 7. The row of *rai* along the northern end of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Balayat, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 8. The sacred stone “Malngen Le’ebirang” on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Balayat, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 9. Wunbey ni Rumdey, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 10. Incised *magrey* (M56) on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 11. Wunbey ni Tagil’ yu Meerur, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 12. Wunbey ni Tagil’ yu Gilfith, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 13. Wunbey ni Tagil’ yu Ma’, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 14. Vertically grooved *magrey* (M1) at the northwestern corner on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat *malal* complex.



Figure 15. Vertically grooved *magrey* (M12) at the northeastern corner on Wunbey ni Balea’r, Balayat *malal* complex.

### 4.3. L’ayniga’ *Malal* Complex

GPS coordinates: 9° 30’ 58.4” N, 138° 09’ 21.3” E

Malal dimensions: 50.2 m long 7 m wide

Number of *rai* at *malal*: 46

Number of *magrey* recorded: 186

Site dimensions: 75 m N-S 14 m E-W 52.4 m

Site Description: L’ayniga’ *malal* complex is located on the narrow coastal flat at the bottom of an inlet in Balea’r, Bugol village,<sup>16</sup> Tamil municipality (Figure 16). It was surveyed by Takuya Nagaoka and Joey Yinmed on May 12 and 13, 2015 and by Takuya Nagaoka, Leo Thineyog and Clement Moharal on May 14, 2015. This *malal* complex is associated with a meeting house (*pebaey*), Pebaey nu L’ayniga’ (Figure 17).<sup>17</sup> The coastal side of the *malal* is said to have been reclaimed during in the prehistoric period.<sup>18</sup>

The *malal*, Malal nu L’ayniga’, lies along an east-west axis, parallel to the coastline (Figures 18 and 19). Both ends of the *malal* connect to paths that pass through the village. The lengthwise extent of the *malal* is signified by upright stones on both sides of the *malal* at both ends. There are five *wunbey* facing to the *malal*, Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L’ayniga’ and Wunbey ni Fite’ach at the

<sup>16</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba’an Pagal alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

<sup>17</sup> A men’s house (*faluw*), Faluw nu P’egochol, is located on the coast at the mouth of the inlet, 75 m southeast of the L’ayniga’ *malal* complex.

<sup>18</sup> This is manifested in the names of those two *wunbey*, Thum’uth and Thum’uth ni Ngol, refers to ‘promontory’ and ‘western section of promontory’ respectively.

southern side and Wunbey ni Tanerowel, Wunbey ni Thum'uth, and Wunbey ni Thum'uth ni Ngol at the northern side.

Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga' (Figure 21) consists of the main part, on which the *pebaey* is situated, and the southern lower part. The coral cobble walls of the former, which include large, shaped coral blocks, comprise two tiers (Figure 22). The top surface of the *wunbey* is paved with coral and stone cobbles. The *pebaey* is a modern structure with a concrete foundation and posts, with wooden roof framing and a corrugated iron roof. On the *wunbey*, the western side of the *pebaey*, named Tanechurwo', is also called Tagil' yu Aff, since it is reserved for people from Aff village in Tamil municipality. The eastern side, named Tagil'pirba', is also called Tagil' yu Marba' (literally, 'place for those from Marba'), since it is reserved for Marba' (the northern section of the main island of Yap, that is, Fanif, Weloy, northern Rull and northern Dalipebinaw municipalities). There are four very large stone slabs used as *magrey* in the latter section (Figure 23), suggesting the importance of Marba' chiefs. Three other, similarly very large slabs are also present at the southern lower part of the *wunbey*. Three fireplaces were located on this *wunbey* as well (Figure 24).

Wunbey ni Fite'ach is a platform with plate coral walls (Figure 25) and stone pavements on top. Hexagonal (Figure 26) and rectangular *dayif* and a concrete cistern (Figure 27) are located on the *wunbey*. The cistern, which probably collected rainwater from the roof of the nearby house on the rectangular coral cobble platform via through a connecting trough, was built by Ruechugrad (Ruecho'), older brother of Thighthen (see below), as a government's project during the German period. In addition to some artifacts found on the surface (Figures 28 and 29), a few red bricks and scatters of Japanese beer bottle sherds were observed on the *wunbey*.

The main *wunbey* area for viewing dances on the *malal* audience is located on a gradual slope at the northern side, overlooking the *malal*. Wunbey ni Tanerowel and Wunbey ni Thum'uth are divided by a stone path (Figure 30), while Wunbey ni Thum'uth and Wunbey ni Thum'uth ni Ngol are also separated by an earthen path-like structure (Figure 31).

Particular parts of the three *wunbey* are reserved for participants from a particular village or a village section. First, Wunbey ni Tanerowel is divided into the upper section called Tagil' yu Madwor for Madwor section of Ma' village and the lower section called Tagil' yu Dechmur for Dechmur village both in Tamil municipality. Second, Wunbey ni Thum'uth (Figure 20) is divided into four divisions: Tagil' yu Ariyap (a section<sup>19</sup> in Gachpar village in Gagil municipality) in the southeast, Tagil' yu Tho'olang (a section<sup>20</sup> of Gachpar village) in the northeast, Tagil' yu Meerur (a village<sup>21</sup> in Tamil municipality) in the southwest, and Tagil' yu Okaw (a village<sup>22</sup> in Weloy municipality) in the northwest.<sup>23</sup> A small sacred section in the middle of the *wunbey*, which is delineated by stone alignments, is called Balea'r or Tanea'r.<sup>24</sup> Since this area was used by the chiefs or their representatives to conspire (*makath*), it is also known as Tagil' e Makath (literally, 'place for engaging in secret politics'). A *rorow*, which is a rectangular stone platform, is located on a flat area north of

---

<sup>19</sup> It is one of the highest ranking *ulun* of the Ba'an Pagal alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

<sup>20</sup> It is one of the highest ranking *bulche'* of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

<sup>21</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance. Among the *ulun* villages, Bugol village and Meerur village are partners (*daotu*) (Ushijima 1987).

<sup>22</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

<sup>23</sup> This seating arrangement has no definite boundaries but the proper seating sequence can be utilized. For example, if many people from one group participate in an occasion, they will take up a larger area in the *wunbey* sections and the next group will be seated in the proper sequence (John Runman, pers. comm.).

<sup>24</sup> These two names refer to a small tree *a'r*. *Balea'r* means 'the trunk of the *a'r* tree,' while *tanea'r* means 'under the canopy of the *a'r* tree.' There are also a *wunbey* named *Balea'r* at Balayat *malal* complex and a small sacred place named *Tanea'r* at Pe'gachpar *malal* complex. *A'r* trees grow naturally on many *wunbey* sites throughout Yap (John Runman, pers. comm.).

the *wunbey*. Third, Wunbey ni Thum'uth ni Ngol is divided into Tagil' yu Aff (a village in Tamil municipality) and Tagil' yu Teb (a village<sup>25</sup> in Tamil municipality).

The features in the northern *wunbey* area are arranged symmetrically along the north-south axis of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga' and the boundary between eastern and western *wunbey* divisions on Wunbey ni Thum'uth. First, two *wunbey* are situated at both sides of Wunbey ni Thum'uth. Second, on Wunbey ni Thum'uth, two sets of *wunbey* divisions are located at both sides. Third, a set of one large stone slab, one large *rai* and the entrance to the *wunbey* area marked by a stepping stone are located at both sides of the southern end of Wunbey ni Thum'uth (Figure 32). Fourth, the sacred place called Balea'r/Tanea'r and the *rorow* are located on the centerline of the division.

Large *rai* were purposefully placed at important locations along the *malal*, such as the corners of two platforms at both sides of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', three northern corners of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', and two entrances of Wunbey ni Thum'uth. The name of a Yapese man "ZIGZEN" (Thighthen) was incised by him on both sides of the largest *rai* (R45, Figures 33 and 34). After it was carved by him in Palau, it was transported by David O'Keefe's ship during the German administration.<sup>26</sup> There is also a small *rai* (R52) on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', on which Japanese words have been incised (Figure 35). The upper and middle lines go "ヤ ッ プ / 石 貨" (literally, 'Yap / stone money'), while what appear to be three letters of the lower line are unintelligible due to weathering. This *rai* was given by a man from Meerur to Bugol, where those Japanese words were incised by a Yapese man named Fillimew' during coconut toddy drinking and was thrown in the sea until its recovery after the World War II.<sup>27</sup>

A cast iron gunnade<sup>28</sup> (Figure 36) is located on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga'. The measurements of the gunnade are; 133 cm long, 9 cm bore diameter, 13 cm muzzle diameter and 29 cm breech diameter. It is said to have been originally used by the Germans and to have been presented to Bugol by Meerur men after a celebration in Meerur during the German period.<sup>29</sup>

The very large stones used at Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga' and Wunbey ni Thum'uth and many *wunbey* and *wunbey* sections reserved for the Ba'an Pagal alliance villages all suggest the importance of this *malal* complex, as it is the most important one in Bugol village, one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance. Those villages are known to have close social ties with Bugol village. Ariyap section, Okaw and Meerur villages, for example, are the same *ulun* and connect to Bugol through channels of the network (*tha'*) (Lingenfelter 1975:139, Figure 16). Ma' (Madwor section), Dechmur and Aff villages are of the village alliance of Tamil (called *darippebai*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance, over which Bugol village has jurisdiction (Ushijima 1987:192). Bugol also connects to those Ba'an Pagal villages in Fanif and Weloy municipalities of Pirba' through the *tha'* network. Thus, the Ba'an Pagal alliance used this *malal* complex, although Teb village and Tho'olang section of the highest ranking village/section (*bulche'*) of the opposing Ba'an Pilung alliance are also represented at the complex.

---

<sup>25</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*bulche'*) of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

<sup>26</sup> This *rai* was broken into two pieces by Japanese soldiers who were asked to do so by a Teb villager and push it into the ground during the Japanese period. Later it was re-erected by men of Bugol (see Appendix 2).

<sup>27</sup> Due to the writings on these two *rai*, which violate Yapese custom, they are valueless without any ownership recognition (see Appendix 2).

<sup>28</sup> The vast majority of gunnades were commercially made in the United Kingdom for exporting abroad well into the 1850s and they were commonly used by the smaller merchant ships and coastal communities (Kay Smith, pers. comm.).

<sup>29</sup> The gunnade is said to have been carried by two Bugol men, Goofgir and Ruecho', to a canoe for transporting to Bugol (see Appendix 2).

Those *wunbey* and *wunbey* sections seem to be spatially arranged within the complex in a meaningful way. The *wunbey* sections for Madwor section of Ma' and Dechmur of the village alliance of Tamil are both located on Wunbey ni Tanerowel. Their small size may be related to their lower village ranking (Ushijima 1987:193, Figure 5). Those for Ariyap and Tho'olang sections of Gachpar village, which comprise one of three political centers of Yap, pairing *ulun* and *bulche'* sections under Bulwol estate of Gachpar in Gagil municipality (1987:185), are situated in the eastern half of Wunbey ni Thum'uth, while those for Okaw and Meerur of inter-connected *ulun* villages are located in the western half. This *wunbey* is centrally located in front of the *pebaey*; accordingly, spaces were reserved here for the highest ranking villages and sections (*ulun* and *bulche'*). The two villages, Teb and Aff, which possess reserved spaces on Wunbey ni Thum'uth ni Ngol, are connected each other through the *tha'* network of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (1987:192, Figure 6).



Figure 16. Aerial photo of L'ayniga' *malal* complex. Source: Google Earth Pro V 7.1.2.2041. (December 19, 2014). Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. 9° 30' 58.84" N, 138° 09' 21.18" E, Eye alt 338 m. DigitalGlobe 2016. Accessed May 19, 2016 at <http://www.google.com/earth/>.

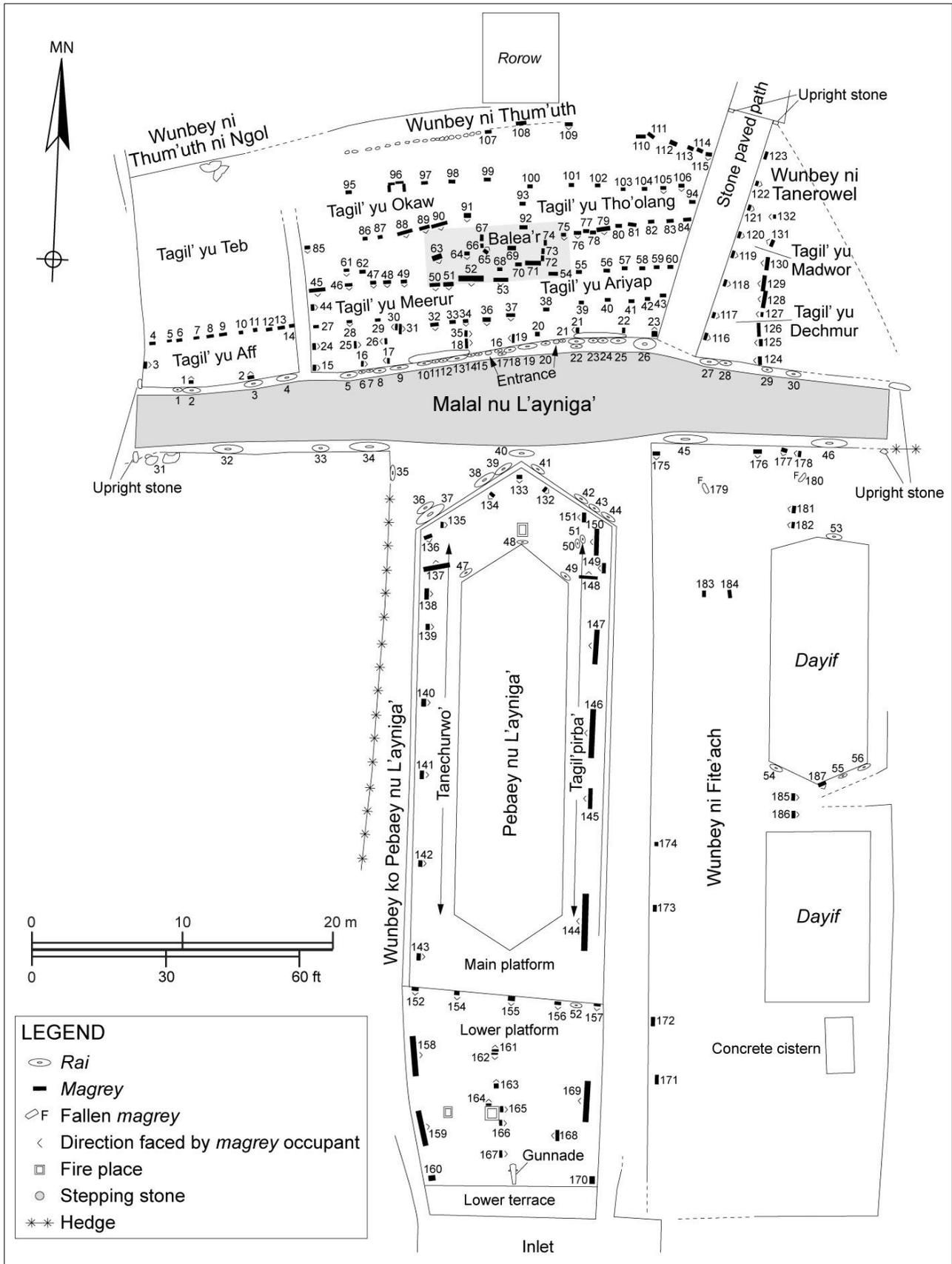


Figure 17. Plan of L'ayniga' malal complex.



Figure 18. Malal nu L'ayniga'.



Figure 19. Row of *rai* along the northern side of Malal nu L'ayniga'.



Figure 20. Rows of *magrey*, eastern side of Wunbey ni Thum'uth, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 21. Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 22. Two-tier wall of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 23. Row of large *magrey* on Tagil'pirba' on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 24. Fireplace in the northern front of Dayif ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 25. Plate coral wall of Wunbey ni Fite'ach, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 26. Hexagonal *dayif* on Wunbey ni Fite'ach, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 27. Concrete cistern (right) and rectangular *dayif* (left) on Wunbey ni Fite'ach, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 28. Small calcite "stone money" found on Wunbey ni Fite'ach, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 29. Pearl shell money (*yar*) found on the surface of Wunbey ni Fite'ach, L'ayniga' *malal* complex. The middle and right shells are called *yar ni thiloy*.



Figure 30. Stone paved path between Wunbey ni Tanerowel and Wunbey ni Thum'uth, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 31. Path-like structure between Wunbey ni Thum'uth and Wunbey ni Thum'uth ni Ngol, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 32. The eastern set of large *rai* and wide slab on the southern end of Wunbey ni Thum'uth, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 33. Incised *rai* (R45) at the northwestern corner on Wunbey ni Fite'ach, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 34. Detail of the incision on the *rai* (R45) at the northwestern corner on Wunbey ni Fite'ach, L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 34. Incised *rai* (R52) on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' *malal* complex.



Figure 35. Cast iron gunnade on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu L'ayniga', L'ayniga' *malal* complex.

#### 4.4. Pe'gachpar *Malal* Complex

GPS coordinates: N 09° 32' 29.3" E 138° 11' 19.0"

Malal dimensions: 82 m long 8 m wide

Number of *rai* at *malal*: 28

Number of *magrey* recorded: 134

Site dimensions: 83.6 m N-S 68.2 m E-W

Site Descriptions: Pe'gachpar *malal* complex is located on the coastal flat in Aryap section,<sup>30</sup> Gachpar village, Gagil municipality (Figures 36 and 37). It was surveyed by Takuya Nagaoka, Joey Yinmed, Clement Maharal, Leo Thineyog, and two community field workers, Edwin Fanouay and Joe Giltug on May 15 and 16, 2015. This *malal* complex is associated with a meeting house (*pebaey*), Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar (Figure 38). As Pe'gachpar literally means 'the face of Gachpar,' this complex is the largest and the most important one in Gachpar.

The *malal*, Malal nu Pe'gachpar, lies along a north-south axis, parallel to the coastline (Figure 39), while the road runs east-west across the *malal*. Both ends of the *malal* connect to paths that pass

<sup>30</sup> It is one of the highest ranking *ulun* of the Ba'an Pagal alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

through the village.<sup>31</sup> The long extent of the *malal* is indicated by two large, upright *rai* at both ends; they face toward the *malal* (Figure 40).<sup>32</sup> There are four *wunbey* facing the *malal*, Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar at the eastern side and Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch and Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Binaw at the western side.

Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, on which the *pebaey* is located, is a stone-paved platform with coral cobble walls (Figure 43) and belongs to Gachpar. The *pebaey* is a concrete structure with a corrugated iron roof and lumber framing. Two *rorow*, low stone platforms, are located at the northwest (Figure 44) and northeast corners (Figure 45). The former is for placing betel nuts and coconuts. *Magrey* are arranged at the eastern, western and southern sides of the *wunbey*.

Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, which is reserved for Wanyan village, Gagil municipality, is a low, stone-paved platform (Figure 41). Its eastern end is edged with shaped stone blocks of peridotite (called *makyung*) (Figure 41). The upper end of the edging stones at the eastern end of this *wunbey* has been cut away to create a step-like form, likely by metal tools (Figures 46 and 47). Although the exact function and meaning of the edging stones are unknown, it may have had a decorative function, to indicate the significance of this *wunbey*. There is a sacred place called Tanea'r in the center of this *wunbey*, which is surrounded by rows of *magrey* (Figure 41). It is also known as Tagil' e Makath (literally, 'place for engaging in secret politics'), since it is a place for plotting and or scheming (*makath*) by the Ba'an Pilung alliance. There are two *rorow* on this *wunbey*. The northern one of peridotite, is broken and is abandoned (Figure 48), while the southern one, of greenschist (called *waer*), is for the Pebinaw estate (Figure 49).<sup>33</sup> A possible stone-edged hearth is situated at the southwestern corner of the *wunbey*.

Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, is reserved for Gal Nguch (literally, 'two islands'), Maap and Rumung islands/municipalities.<sup>34</sup> It is a low, stone-paved platform (Figure 42). Its eastern end is edged with shaped coral blocks (Figure 50). There is a *rorow* of schist on the *wunbey*, which is not only for the Miryang estate but also for Gal Nguch depending on the occasion or type of activities taking place (John Runman, pers. comm.) (Figure 52). The tallest *magrey* (M27) on this *wunbey* is reserved for the chief of Cho'ol village<sup>35</sup> in Maap municipality. Two carefully flaked *magrey* (M22 and M24 [Figure 51]) are located on the eastern row of *magrey*, while one vertically grooved *magrey* (M81), which markings are said to mark village service in battle (Hunter-Anderson 2014:11), is situated on the southern row.

Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Binaw, which is reserved for Gal Binaw (literally, 'two villages'), Leng and Lebinaw villages in Gagil, is a low, stone-paved platform (Figure 53). There are three lines of *magrey* in the center and at the eastern and western ends.

The Ba'an Pagal alliance village mainly used this *malal* complex in Ariyap section, one of the highest ranking villages/section (*ulun*) of the alliance. Those villages, to which *wunbey* are assigned, connect to Ariyap section through the alliance's network (*tha'*). Gachpar village, for instance, has a

---

<sup>31</sup> Malal nu Filsew, which is the only *malal* for Yapese outer islanders, is located 110 m north along the path (Figure 36, "Filse'o" in Figure 37). See Hunter-Anderson (2014:62-68) for a description of this *malal*.

<sup>32</sup> The southern *rai* is said to have been brought from Nimgil, the southern section of the main island of Yap; this region consists of southern Dalipebinaw, southern Rull, Kanifay and Gilman municipalities (see Appendix 2).

<sup>33</sup> It is the head of Tho'olang section, one of the highest ranking *bulche'* of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (Ushijima 1987:193).

<sup>34</sup> Cordy's (1986) oral data conflicts with ours. According to Cordy (1986:63, 118), this *wunbey* is reserved for Okaw village in Weloy municipality, one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance (Lingenfelter 1975), and two other *wunbey* on the coast, which were not mentioned during our survey, are reserved for Rumung and Maap municipalities (59 and 60 in Figure 37 respectively).

<sup>35</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance and connects to Ariyap section through the alliance's *tha'* network (Lingenfelter 1975).

close relationship with Wanyan village to control over outer island tributes (Lingenfelter 1975, Chapter 7). Ariyap section has the jurisdiction over local Leng and Lebinaw villages in Gagil and the alliance of Ba'an Pagal villages called *galigochi* in Maap, Rumung and Gagil (Ushijima 1987:192, 193, Figure 5). In addition, two facilities for the Ba'an Pilung alliance, Tanea'r and the southern *rorow*, are located on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, probably because Wanyan village is in both alliances' *tha'* networks (Lingenfelter 1975: 138, Figure 15). In addition to the above four *wunbey*, Cordy (1986:63) records two more *wunbey* associated with this *malal* complex seaward of the *pebaey* (59 and 60 in Figure 37). The number of the associated *wunbey* suggests the importance of this *malal* complex.

*Rai* were placed at both sides of the *malal*, but most densely at Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar. Large *rai* are situated at significant locations such as both ends of the *malal* and corners of *wunbey*. Three large *rai* on the eastern side of the *malal* spatially correspond with (1) the *rorow* for Gal Nguch, (2) the axis of a tall *magrey*, the *rorow* for Pebinaw and a possible stone-edged hearth, and (3) Tanea'r on the opposite *wunbey* area. Three large *rai* in front of the western end of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar belong to Gachpar village, while the other smaller pieces in the *malal* belong to individuals or individual estates (John Runman, pers. comm.).

The *malal* complex was severely damaged by Typhoon Sudal in 2004, and the Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, especially at the eastern side, has been extensively restored.



Figure 36. Aerial photo of Pe'gachpar *malal* complex. Source: Google Earth Pro V 7.1.2.2041. (December 19, 2014). Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. 9° 32' 29.33" N, 138° 11' 20.84" E, Eye alt 338 m. DigitalGlobe 2016. Accessed May 19, 2016 at <http://www.google.com/earth/>.

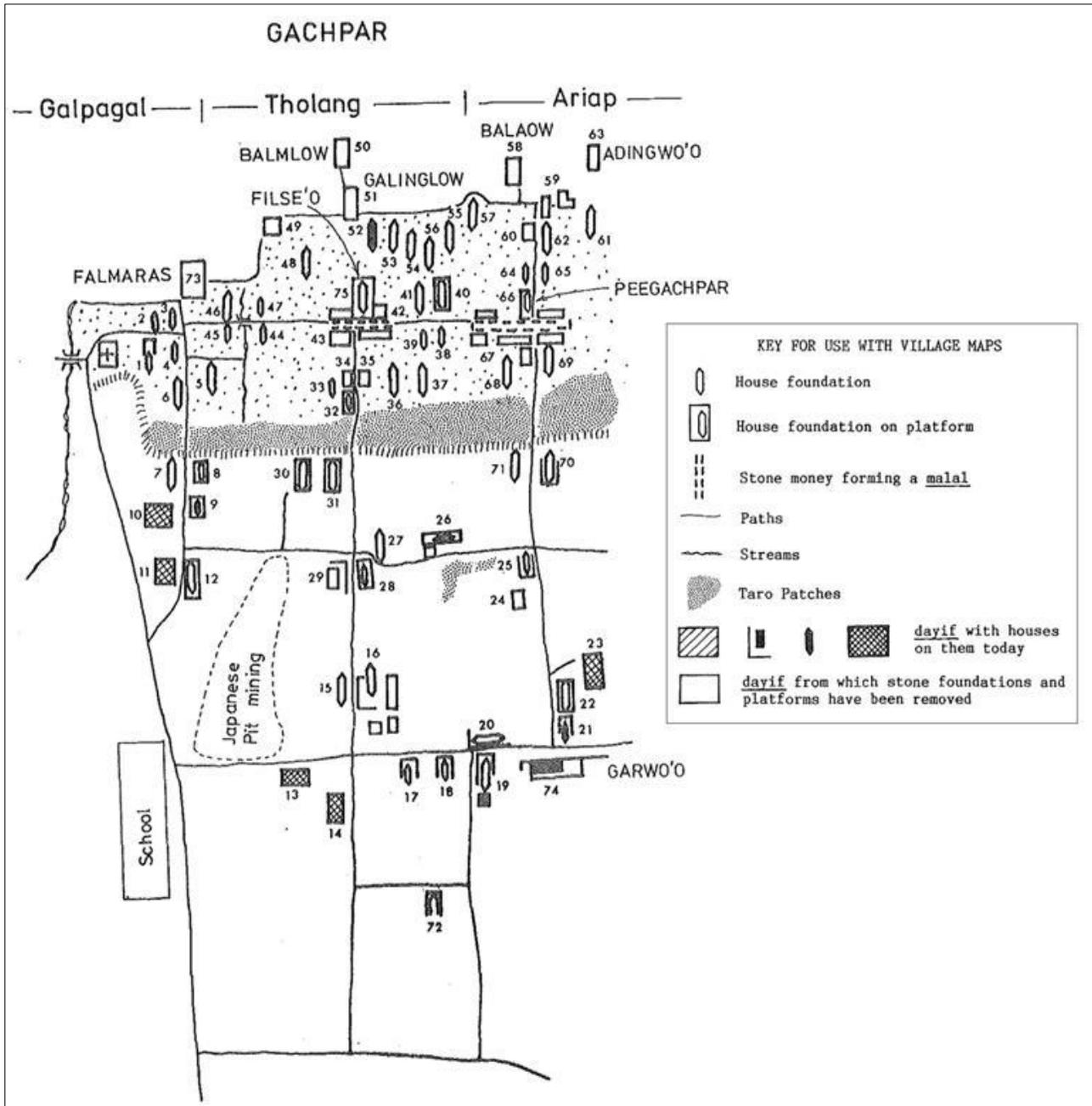


Figure 37. Cordy's sketch map of sites in Gachpar village (based on Cordy 1986:65, Figure 25). Note that Pe'gachpar is spelled "Pee-gachpar."

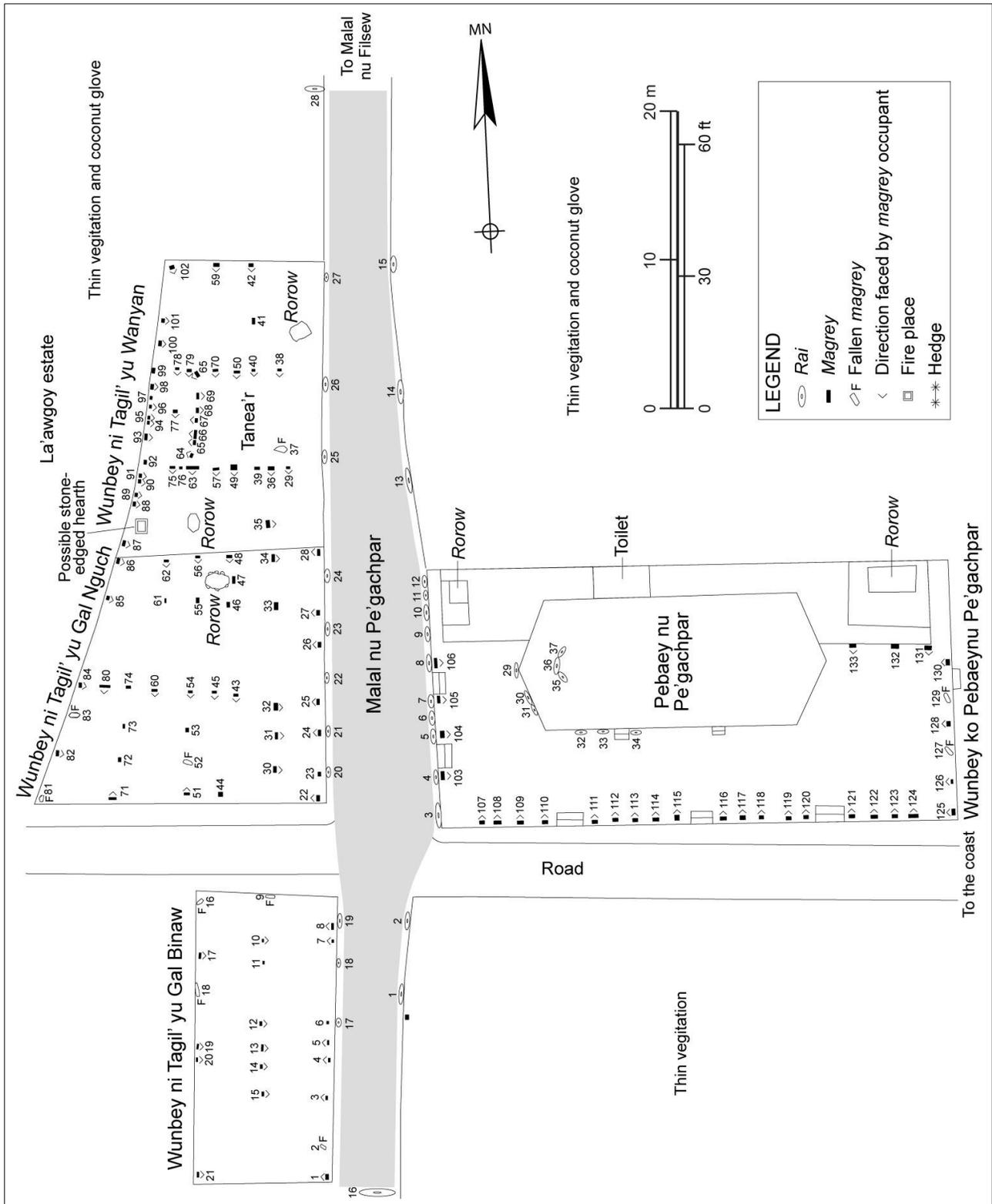


Figure 38. Plan of Pe'gachpar malal complex.



Figure 39. Malal nu Pe'gachpar.



Figure 40. Large *rai* erected at the end of Malal nu Pe'gachpar.



Figure 41. Tanea'r delineated by rows of *magrey* on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex. Note stepped edging stones in the front.



Figure 42. Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex. Note that the first (M22 [Figure 51]) and third *magrey* (M24) on the first row (from left in this photo) are two carefully flaked *magrey*.



Figure 43. Stone pavement and a row of *magrey* on the southern half of Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, Pe'gachpar *malal* comple.



Figure 44. The western *rorow* on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.



Figure 45. The eastern *rorow* on Wunbey ko Pebaey nu Pe'gachpar, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.



Figure 46. Stepped edging stones on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.

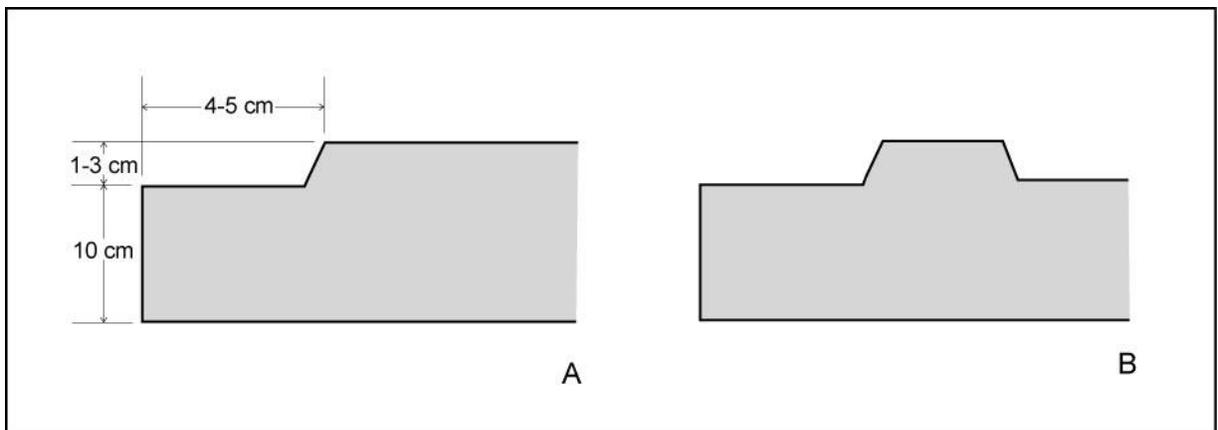


Figure 47. Schematic view of cross section of stepped edging stones at Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex: A, majority examples; B, minor examples.



Figure 48. The northern *rorow* on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.



Figure 49. The southern *rorow* on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Wanyan, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.



Figure 50. Shaped edging coral blocks on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.



Figure 51. Carefully flaked *magrey* (M24) on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.



Figure 52. Rorow on Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Nguch, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.



Figure 53. Wunbey ni Tagil' yu Gal Binaw, Pe'gachpar *malal* complex.

#### 4.5. Musgow *Malal* Complex

GPS coordinates: N 09° 29' 58.4" E 138° 07' 11.7"

Malal dimensions: 34.4 m long 3.6 m wide

Number of rai at malal: 2

Number of magrey recorded: 27

Site dimensions: 97.2 m N-S 14 m E-W 93.2 m

Site Descriptions: Musgow *malal* complex<sup>36</sup> is located within a coastal sandy area on a small promontory in the Nel section of Balabat village,<sup>37</sup> Rull municipality (Figures 54 and 55). It was surveyed by Takuya Nagaoka, Joey Yinmed, Clement Mohoral and two community field workers, Henry Tithin Enungel and Sergius Yowleg, on May 20, 2015. This *malal* complex, which was associated with a men's house (*faluw*), Faluw nu Musgow, was probably constructed on reclaimed land (Figure 56).

The *malal*, Malal nu Musgow, lies along the northwest-southeast-trending axis of the small promontory that is perpendicular to the coastline (Figure 57). The northwestern end of the *malal* connects to a path that passes through the village, while the southeastern end leads to the *faluw*. The extent of the *malal* is indicated by two upright stones at the northwestern and southeastern ends; each is 140-150 cm high. These upright stones are said to be the "guards" who ward off evil spirits. The *malal* level is lower than the adjacent areas due to its use as a path to the *faluw*.

There are two small, low *wunbey* located immediately outside of the two upright stones at the northwestern end of the *malal* (Figure 57). They were used by visitors who arrived early for a celebration.

Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, located at the southeastern end of the *malal*, is a rectangular platform with sheet coral walls and a stone pavement (Figures 58 and 61). Rows of *magrey* are arranged along the northwestern and southwestern sides and around Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow. There are two sacred *sumruw* (coral cobble) platforms on the northern (Figure 62) and eastern corners of the *wunbey* (Figure 63). The southeastern end of the *wunbey*, including the southern *sumruw*, was severely damaged by a recent typhoon.

<sup>36</sup> Cordy (1986:48) surveyed Faluw nu Musgow ("Musgou" in his report), but does not mention the presence of a *malal*.

<sup>37</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance (Lingenfelter 1975). Another *malal*, Malal nu Nel, which is said possibly to have been associated with a *pebaey* (Cordy 1986:36), is located 110 m northwest of Musgow *malal* complex along the path (Figures 54 and 55).

Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow is coral cobble platform whose walls include some shaped cobbles among natural ones (Figure 59). Stepping stones of coral cobbles are placed on the *wunbey* around the *dayif*. Shallow square or rectangular depressions for posts were cut into the surface of the upper wall stones (Figure 64). There are four post holes for the central posts, four post holes possibly for lateral supporting posts at both sides, and one large piece of a post on the *dayif* (Figure 60). There are three stone-lined fireplaces on the *dayif* and one outside (Figure 65).

The *faluw* is said to have been constructed by a chief of Balabat village named Gargog, originating from Ru'away estate,<sup>38</sup> with the assistance of Gitam villagers,<sup>39</sup> who are under the jurisdiction of Balabat village (Ushijima 1987:193, Figure 5) (see Appendix 2). In Balabat village, if people want to perform a traditional dance, they must perform it first at Malal nu Msugow. This custom is called *pilig e churu*, literally 'bring down the dance' or 'un-hang the dance' (from the spirits in heaven). If the dance is later performed at another *malal* and is hung up or given back to the heavenly spirits there, which is called *moto churu' ngalang*, a dancer's decorative ornament (e.g., lei) must be brought to Musgow to complete the *moto churu' ngalang* ritual. This is a unique practice only performed at this *malal* in Yap (John Runman, pers. comm.).

There are four small pillboxes (Figure 66) and one larger possible bomb shelter in the western side of the promontory. They were coarsely made of coral cobbles and concrete, by the Japanese military during World War II; they used coral cobbles from the nearby platforms, stone path, and seawalls. This site probably was of strategic importance due to its location between two reef passages, the northern one of which leads to Tamil Harbor and Colonia.



Figure 54. Aerial photo of Musgow *malal* complex. Source: Google Earth Pro V 7.1.2.2041. (May 21, 2014). Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. 9° 29' 59.56" N, 138° 07' 11.32" E, Eye alt 338 m. DigitalGlobe 2016. Accessed May 19, 2016 at <http://www.google.com/earth/>.

<sup>38</sup> It is the head of the Ba'an Pilung alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

<sup>39</sup> They belong to the same Ba'an Pagal alliance as Balabat village (Ushijima 1987:193, Figure 5).

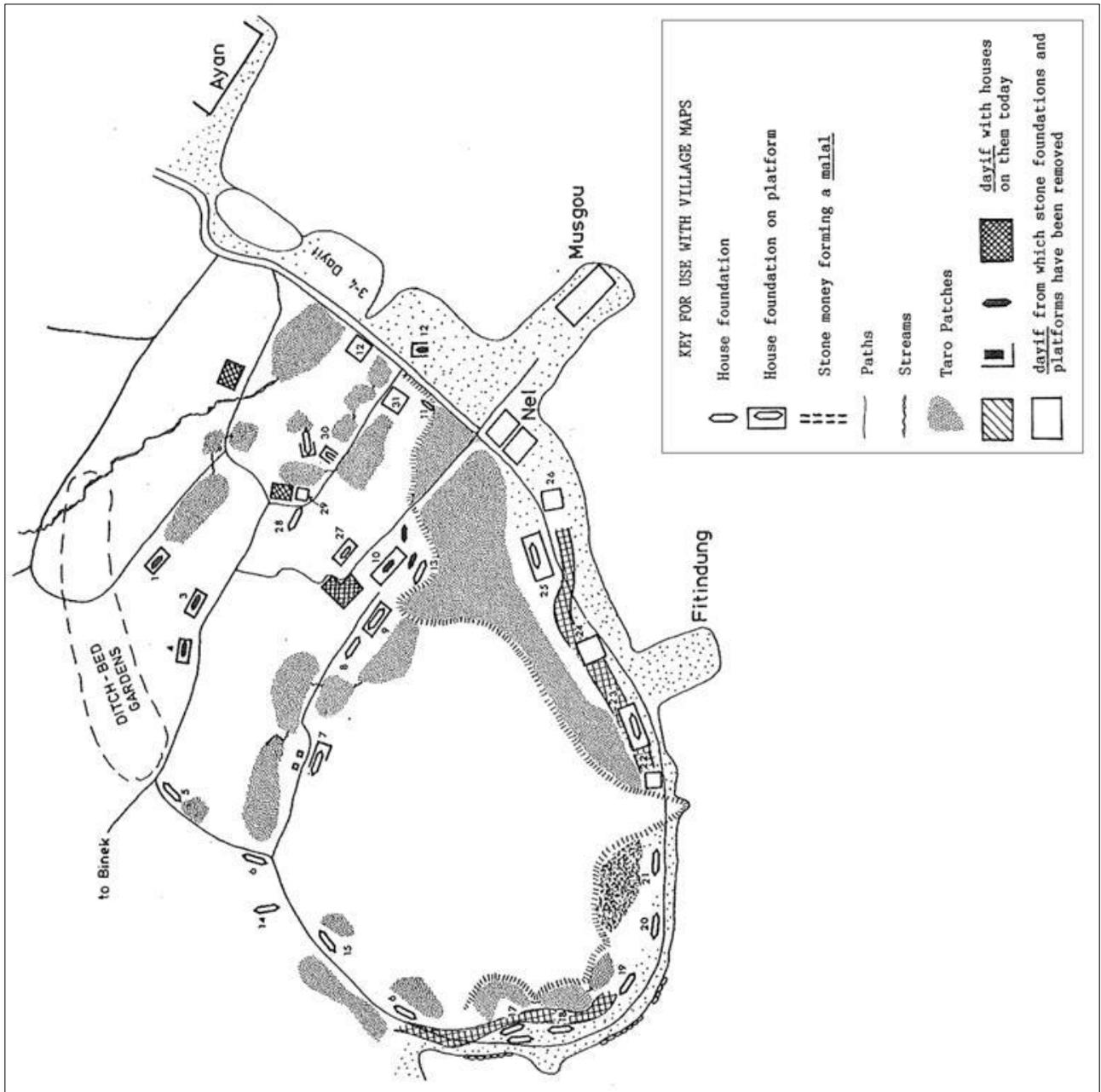


Figure 55. Faluw nu Musgow (“Musgow” in this map) in southern Balabat (based on Cordy 1986:49, Figure 18).

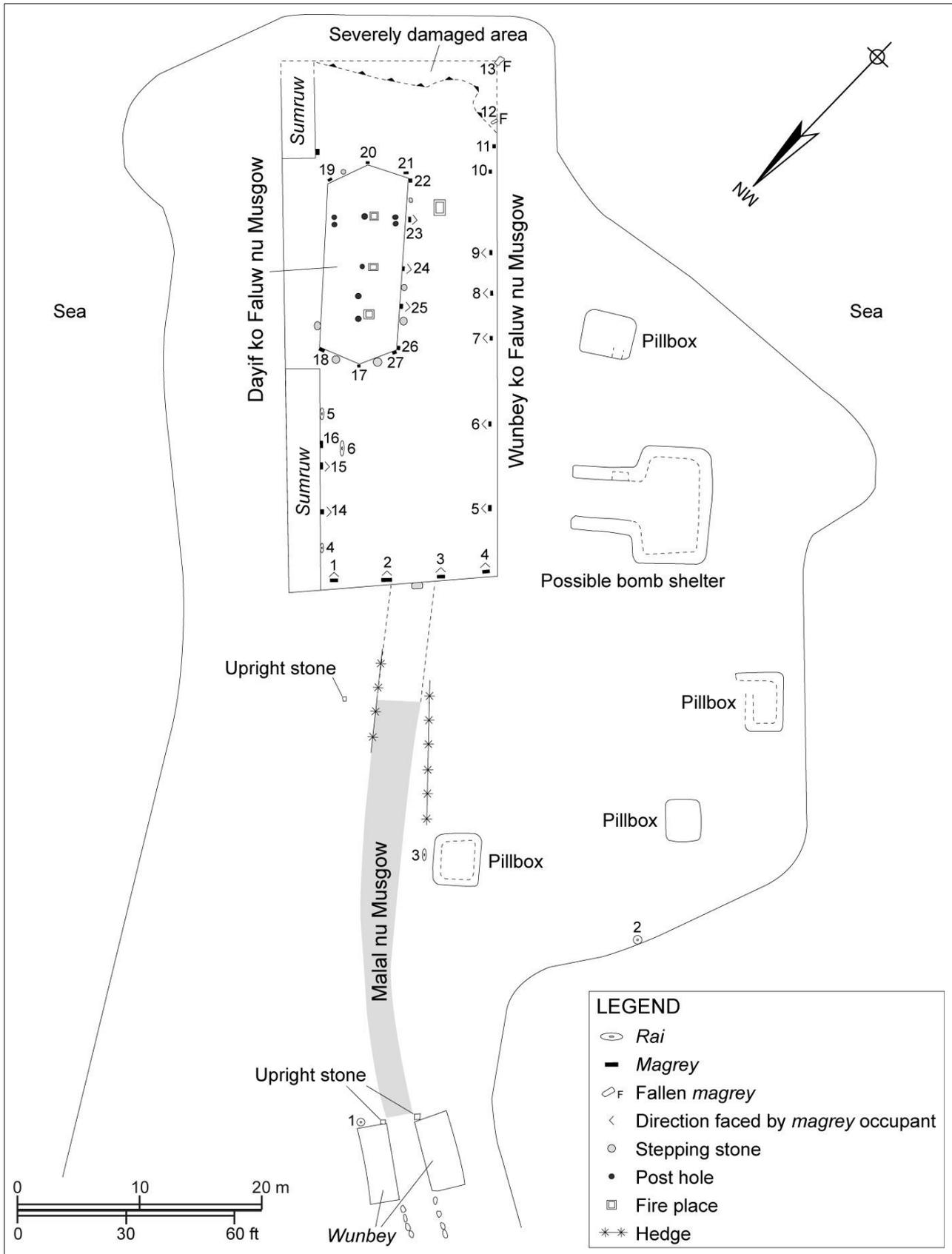


Figure 56. Plan of Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 57. The two *wunbey*, two upright stones and Malal nu Musgow, Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 58. *Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow*, Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 59. Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 60. Surface of Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow *malal* complex. Arrows=post holes, circles=fireplaces, square=remains of a post.



Figure 61. Sheet coral wall and stepping stone of Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 62. Northern *suwmur* on Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 63. Southern *suwmur* on *faluw wunbey* Wunbey ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 64. Incised post bases at the western corner on Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow, Musgow *malal* complex (shown by arrows).



Figure 65. Dayif ko Faluw nu Musgow and fireplace near the *dayif*, Musgow *malal* complex.



Figure 66. Japanese pillbox and *rai*, Musgow *malal* complex.

#### 4.6. Gallas *Malal* Complex

GPS coordinates: N 09° 27' 18.9" E 138° 04' 03.9"

Malal dimensions: 31.6 m long 4 m wide

Number of *rai* at *malal*: 11

Number of *magrey* recorded: 28

Site dimensions: 30.6 m N-S 14 m E-W 63.6 m

Site Descriptions: Gallas *malal* complex is located within a coastal sandy area at the bottom of an inlet in Ngariy village, Rull municipality (Figure 67). It was surveyed by Takuya Nagaoka, Joey Yinmed, Clement Mohoral and a community field worker, Sergius Yowleg, on May 21 and 22, 2015. This *malal* complex is associated with a men's house (*faluw*) called Faluw nu Gallas (Figure 68). The *malal* complex is said to have constructed by reclaiming this part of the shoreline.<sup>40</sup> Due to the severe damage caused by Typhoon Hagupit in December 2014, the complex was still under restoration by local residents during our survey and therefore, we need to note that some *rai* and *magrey* had not yet been placed at their proper positions.

The *malal*, Malal nu Gallas, lies along an east-west axis, perpendicular to the coastline (Figure 69). There are two *wunbey* facing the *malal*, Wunbey nib Pum'on (literally, 'wunbey for men') at the northern side and Wunbey nib Pin ('wunbey for women') at the southern side. The coastal road is located at the western end of the site, while the inlet terminates at the eastern end. The extent of the *malal* is indicated by the ends of the two *wunbey* at the western end and an upright stone (M24) erected at the eastern end on Wunbey nib Pin. At the *malal*, *rai* are leaning toward Wunbey nib Pin. The largest one is situated in the middle of the row, and the size of *rai* gradually decreases toward both ends (Figure 71).

Wunbey nib Pum'on, on which Faluw nu Gallas is situated, is a long, rectangular stone platform (Figure 72). The *faluw* is built in traditional style on a *dayif* with low, shaped coral block walls (Figure 73). There are three entrance stairs at the northern side (Figure 74), while stepping stones of coral cobbles up onto the *wunbey* were placed along the southern wall. Three fireplaces were recently built on the *malal* side for night activities for tourists. *Magrey* are predominately located on the northern and western ends. A *rorow* of greenschist (*waer*) is placed on a sacred *sumruw* platform, on which is leaning a *rai* (R12), presented by the current chief John Moon of Dulkan village in Rull municipality as a gift during the open house ceremony (Figure 70). The chief of Lay village in Rull municipality and the chiefs from two estates, Relach estate in Ngolog village, Rull municipality and Nimath estate in Teb village, Tamil municipality,<sup>41</sup> own *magrey* on this *wunbey*. A coconut tree surrounded by coral cobbles on the *wunbey* is also reserved for the chief of Relach estate (Figure 75) (Appendix 2).

Wunbey nib Pin is a trapezoid-shaped platform, whose irregular shape was due to the presence of a nearby stream (Figure 76). It was used by women to stay and prepare dancers' decoration before performing at the *malal*.

The *malal* complex is associated with the Ba'an Pagal alliance, as it is said to be have been constructed under the leadership of its three chiefs, from Man'ol estate in Balabat village,<sup>42</sup> Rull municipality, Bulemangiy estate in Dulkan village, and Lil estate in Lay village, Rull municipality. Ngariy village had close ties with those three villages, since Balabat village controls Likaychag

---

<sup>40</sup> The complex is said to have been built by carrying red soil in baskets from inland to mix with calcareous sand and used as fill for the *wunbey* and *dayif*. Coral cobbles were gathered from nearby reef and lagoon. Sedimentary rocks (*daboch*) were transported from Benik village in Rull municipality and Yabach village in Dalipebinaw municipality for use as *magrey* and for paving the surface of the *wunbey* (see Appendix 2).

<sup>41</sup> These two villages are some of the highest ranking villages (*bulche'*) of the Ba'an Pilung alliance and are considered the "base" of the *bulche'* with the other two villages (Ushijima 1987:192).

<sup>42</sup> It is one of the highest ranking villages (*ulun*) of the Ba'an Pagal alliance (Lingenfelter 1975).

political network (*nug*), where Dulkan village is the head village over lower ranking Lay and Ngariy villages (Ushijima 1987:192, 193, Figure 5). Among the three, the Lil chiefly estate of Lay village, which is higher ranking than Ngariy village, had and has the most authority over the *malal* complex and owns it. No dance can be performed at the *malal* without the chief from Lil estate's consent or acknowledgement (Appendix 2).<sup>43</sup>

Due to this association, in the prehistoric period, Faluw nu Gallas was burned along with Lay village by the opposing Ba'an Pilung alliance during a war between two alliances, while the rest of Ngariy village was not destroyed (John Runman, pers. comm.). After the burning, both the *faluw* and the *malal* ceased to be used until they were restored around 2012 to be open to tourists. Most *magrey*, which had been lying down at that time, were restored to their proper upright positions, and the *wunbey* and the *malal* were raised higher to prepare for anticipated future sea level rise. The site was registered in the Yap State Historic Site Registry by YSHPO in 2010.



Figure 67. Aerial photo of Gallas *malal* complex. Source: Google Earth Pro V 7.1.2.2041. (May 21, 2014). Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. 9° 27' 18.71" N, 138° 04' 04.45" E, Eye alt 338 m. DigitalGlobe 2016. Accessed May 19, 2016 at <http://www.google.com/earth/>.

---

<sup>43</sup> Ngariy villagers have their own separate *malal* in their village for their village dances and *guywol* ceremonies. Protocols for dancing at the *malal* required that the first dance must be performed by Ngariy village's ally, Thabeth villagers of Gilman municipality. The subsequent dances may be performed by either Ngariy or Thabeth villagers (Appendix 2).

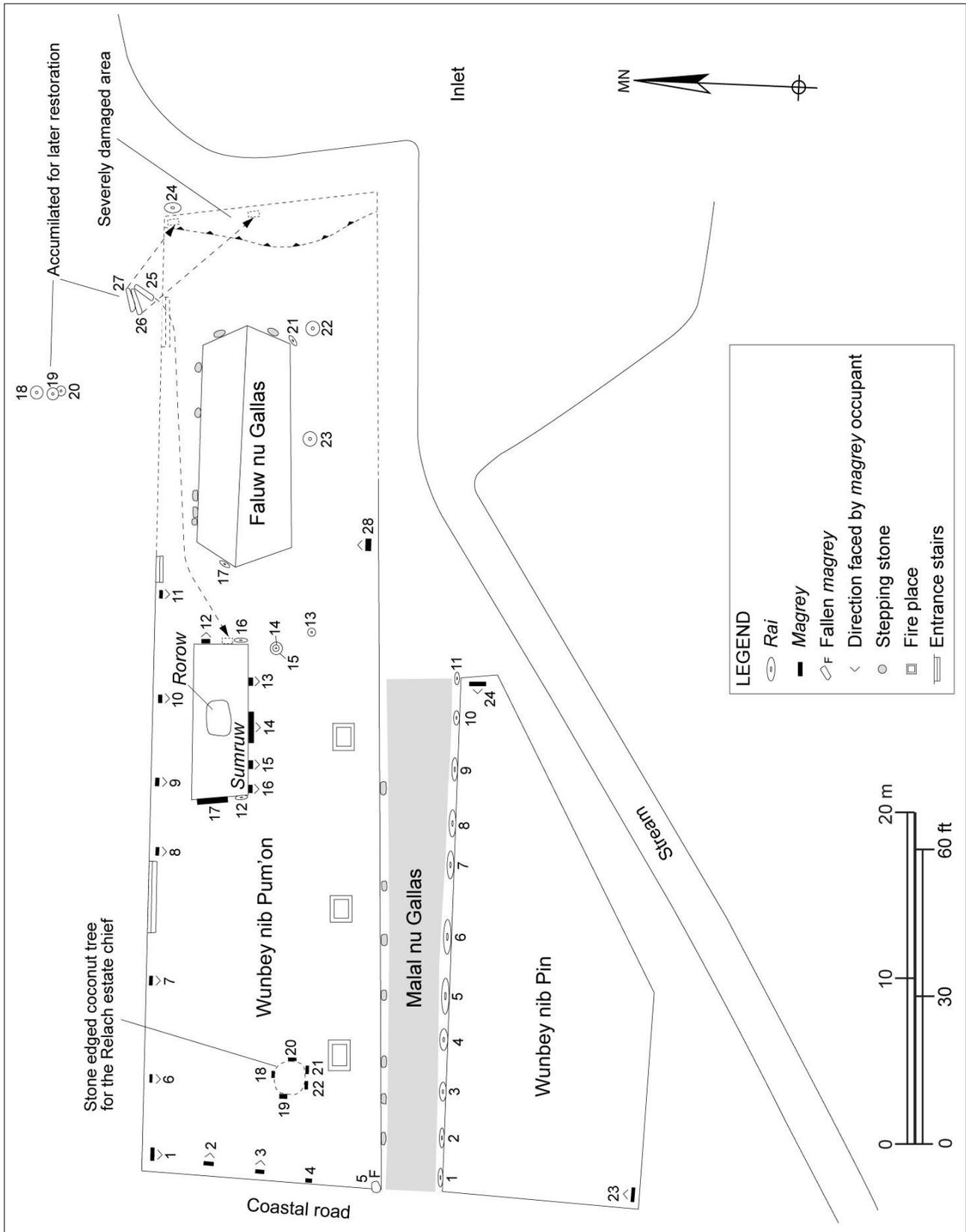


Figure 68. Plan of Gallas malal complex.



Figure 69. Malal nu Gallas.



Figure 70. *Sumruw* on Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas *malal* complex.

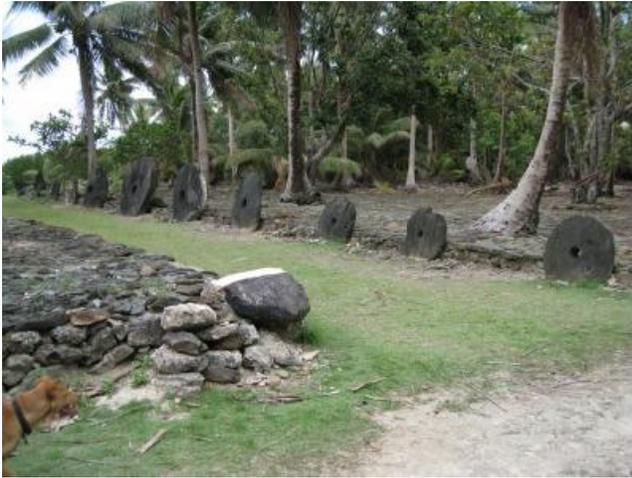


Figure 71. Row of *rai* along the southern end of Malal nu Gallas, Gallas *malal* complex.



Figure 72. Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas *malal* complex.



Figure 73. Typhoon-damaged Faluw nu Gallas, Gallas *malal* complex.



Figure 74. Entrance stairs on Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas *malal* complex.



Figure 75. Stone edged coconut tree for the chief of Relach estate on Wunbey nib Pum'on, Gallas *malal* complex.



Figure 76. Wunbey nib Pin, Gallas *malal* complex.

## 5. MALAL COMPLEX TYPOLOGY BASED ON SPATIAL PATTERNING

The surveyed *malal* complexes show considerable variability among them in terms of size, numbers of features (e.g., *wunbey*, *rai*, *magrey*), and layout of components, as noted by earlier studies (Hunter-Anderson 2014, Thompson 2012). However, similar spatial patterns at some sites indicate the feasibility of creating archaeological typology, based on spatial configurations of major structures. Here, in addition to the five *malal* complexes surveyed during this project, we have included 14 *malal* complexes surveyed by Hunter-Anderson (2014) in this preliminary typological analysis.

Directional relationship between axes of *malal* and *pebaey/faluw* and location of *malal* in relation with *pebaey/faluw* are used as indices to divide them into four types (Table 1). Type I sites are defined by the axes of the two structures being aligned and the *malal* connecting to the end of a *pebaey/faluw*. Type II sites are defined by the axes of the two being parallel and the *malal* located landward of the *faluw*. Type III sites are defined by the axes of the two being parallel and the *malal* located in front of the *pebaey*. Type IV sites are defined by the axes of the two being perpendicular and the *malal* located in the front of the *pebaey* (Figure 77).

Table 1. Surveyed *malal* complexes and their attributes.

<i>Malal</i> complex	Type	Directional relationship of the axes of between <i>malal</i> and <i>pebaey/faluw</i> <sup>1</sup>	Location of <i>malal</i> in relation with <i>pebaey/faluw</i>	Association with <i>pebaey/faluw</i> <sup>2</sup>	Location <sup>3</sup>	Source <sup>4</sup>
Musgow	I	AL	connecting to the end of a <i>faluw</i>	F	C	N
Fanekan	I	AL	connecting to the end of a <i>faluw</i>	F	C	H
Yugbey	I	AL	connecting to the end of a <i>pebaey</i>	P	C	H
Gallas	II	PA	landward of <i>faluw</i>	F	C	N
Ayen	II	PA	landward of <i>faluw</i>	F	C	H
Balayat	III	PA	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	N
Diyagil	III	PA	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H
Yorlap	III	PA	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H
L'ayniga'	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	C	N
Pe'gachpar	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	N
Balal'	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P and F	I	H
Baloyliy	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H
Falow	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H
Faltamol	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P and F	I	H
Faltarow	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H
Filsew	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H
Guywar	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	C	H
Mangyol	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H
Uloch	IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	H

<sup>1</sup> AL=aligned, PA=parallel, PE=perpendicular. <sup>2</sup> P=*pebaey*, F=*faluw*. <sup>3</sup> C=coast, I=inland. <sup>4</sup> Sources: H=Hunter-Anderson 2014, N=this report.

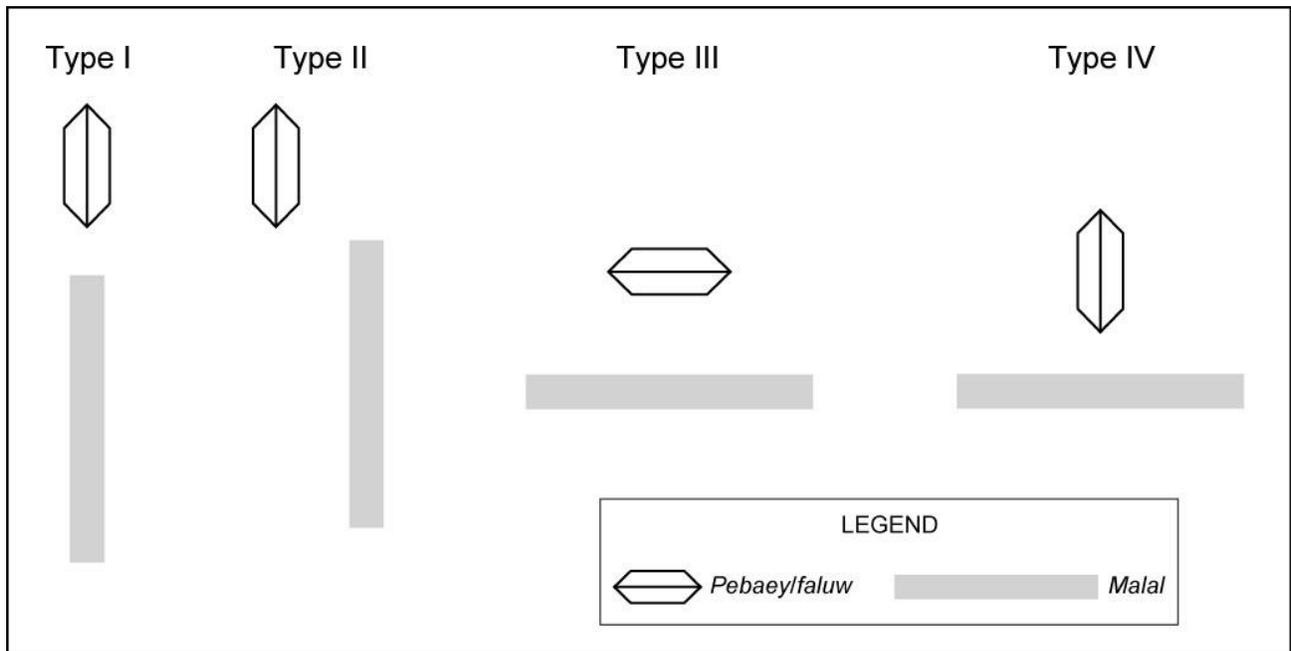


Figure 77. Schematic plan view of four *malal* complex types.

The four types and their correlation with associated structure (i.e., *pebaey* or *faluw*) and location (i.e., coastal or inland) are summarized in Table 2. This shows meaningful correspondences among different attributes, suggesting the feasibility of this tentative typology. Types I and II sites, for example, are typically located on the coast and are predominantly associated with *faluw*, except for Yugbey. At the two Type II sites, the *malal* are characteristically located landward of *faluw*. In the future, we may find some examples that the *malal* is located in front of a *faluw* (or *pebaey*), which is similar to Type III sites, but they can probably be distinguished from Type III sites based on their coastal location and association with *faluw*. Type III sites are typically located inland and are associated with *pebaey*. Type IV sites are all associated with *pebaey*. Although two *malal* complexes of this type, Balal' and Faltamol, are associated with both *pebaey* and *faluw*, the role of *pebaey* seems to be primary in these *malal* complexes.

Thus, it is possible to hypothesize that Types I and II were reserved for *faluw* on the coast, while Types III and IV were reserved for *pebaey* inland. The contrasting locations of two communal building types originated from each *faluw*'s association with coastal activities and *pebaey*'s association with settlements generally located inland. The basic spatial patterning of Types I and II sites emerges by placing a *faluw* on the coast and building a *malal* adjacent to the *faluw* at the end of a path. In contrast, the basic spatial patterning of Types III and IV emerges by constructing a *malal* cut from one segment of a village path running adjacent to a *pebaey*.

As Types I and II sites are mainly associated with *faluw*, their spatial pattern is less complex, associated with a few *wunbey*. In contrast, the spatial pattern of Type IV sites, the most numerous type for *pebaey*, was probably considered as a most basic pattern for *pebaey* and is more complex, associated with more *wunbey* and are the most developed form among these types.

Table 2. Summary of four types of surveyed *malal* complexes.

Type	Directional relationship of the axes of between <i>malal</i> and <i>pebaey/faluw</i> <sup>1</sup>	Location of <i>malal</i> in relation with <i>pebaey/faluw</i>	Association with <i>pebaey/faluw</i> <sup>2</sup>	Location <sup>3</sup>	Example
I	AL	connecting to the end of a <i>pebaey/faluw</i>	F (two sites), P (one site)	C	Musgow, Fanekan, Yugbey
II	PA	landward of <i>faluw</i>	F	C	Gallas, Ayen
III	PA	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P	I	Balayat, Diyagil, Yorlap
IV	PE	in front of <i>pebaey</i>	P (nine sites), P and F (two sites)	C (two sites), I (nine sites)	L'ayniga', Pe'gachpar, Balal', Baloyliy, Falow, Faltamol, Faltarow, Filsew, Guywar, Mangyol <sup>44</sup> , Uloch

<sup>1</sup> AL=aligned, PA=parallel, PE=perpendicular. <sup>2</sup> P=*pebaey*, F=*faluw*. <sup>3</sup> C=coast, I=inland.

The basic spatial arrangement of most Types I, II and IV sites is that *pebaey/faluw* are located seaward of the *malal* while the main *wunbey* area is situated landward.<sup>45</sup> This pattern was probably to facilitate occupants of *pebaey/faluw* access to the sea,<sup>46</sup> to assure a sea breeze inside the buildings and to minimize storm damage (Nunn *et al.* 2017:966). It is possible to assume that a *pebaey/faluw* was built on the coast first and other associated structures such as *malal* and *wunbey* were subsequently constructed landward. This spatial pattern on the coast was also applied to some inland Type IV sites (i.e., Pe'gachpar, Baloyliy, Faltamol, Filsew, Mangyol).

The spatial layout of some *malal* complexes is very similar. For example, Gallas and Ayen complexes of Type II share similar spatial patterns of *malal*, rows of *rai* and rectangular *sumruw*. This can possibly be explained by a regional “style” since the two are both located in Rull municipality. L'ayniga', Pe'gachpar and Uloch complexes of Type IV also share similar spatial distributions of *pebaey* and three *wunbey* on the both sides of *malal*. This phenomenon indicates the presence of “mental templates” that guided the spatial patterning of *malal* complexes. This regularity warrants more detailed studies in relation to locality, ranking, social relations (e.g., alliances) and chronology.<sup>47</sup>

## 6. CONCLUSION

The political significance of individual *malal* complexes appears to be closely related to their histories, communal functions (e.g., associated ceremonies), village ranking, and social relations with allied villages (e.g., Hunter-Anderson 2014:3). It is archaeologically manifested in the numbers of *rai* and *magrey* to some degree (2014:101-113), since those two numerical indices indicate village wealth

<sup>44</sup> Mangyol *malal* complex, which consists of two *malal* intersecting at right angles, is tentatively included in Type IV, by considering one of them called Mangyol *malal*'s primary position (Hunter-Anderson 2014:80).

<sup>45</sup> The exceptions are Faltarow and Uloch of Type IV and Type III sites do not follow this pattern. It is possible to assume that this is because those sites are located relatively inland, where those possible practical reasons discussed below were not relevant.

<sup>46</sup> Fishing and canoe equipment are stored inside the buildings (e.g., Morgan 1988:53).

<sup>47</sup> Ushijima (1986:55-56), for example, reconstructs four phases of settlement history in Rang village, Fanif municipality based on oral traditions. According to this model, settlements moved from inland to coast and coastal reclamation is relatively new phenomenon (Phases III and IV).

and the number of important participants respectively. This idea appears confirmed by their abundance at three surveyed *malal* complexes associated with *pebaey*, Balayat, L'ayniga' and Pe'gachpar; they are the most important ones in those high ranking villages, compared to their scarcity at two *malal* complexes associated with *faluw*, Musgow and Gallas. This also corresponds well with the owner villages' mobilization of considerable labor in *malal* complex construction, evident in the use of very large stones and large structures at those three *malal* complexes.

The importance of *malal* complexes associated with *pebaey* is marked also by their architectural complexity. A simple index for this is the number of *wunbey*. Since *wunbey* are often reserved for particular villages, their higher numbers indicate the owner villages' large scope of political activities. Similarly, another index might be the number of ordered seating arrangements — delineated by rows and groupings of *magrey* on *wunbey*. To fully understand the meaning of the variability among *malal* complexes, more detailed studies on the relationship between village ranking and *malal* complex variation are needed.

The *malal* complex is a highly politicized, public space where the owner village not only earns prestige through the display of amassed valuables and food and generous distributions of same to their allied village during ceremonial exchanges but during these ceremonies the owner village recognizes its political relationships with allied villages. Throop (2009:187) notes “[t]raditional relations between villages are in fact concretely manifest in the regulations concerning which villages can present which dances on which specific *maalal*. Such regulations further mandate the occasions on which each of the dances may be performed.” This study demonstrates that social relations and ideological principles are deeply embedded in spatial arrangement of various features in this political arena and that detailed documentation of oral traditions, especially relationships with villages represented in *malal* complexes (e.g., the reason for the presence of a *wunbey* reserved for a particular village), is vital to fully understand the role of *malal* complexes in Yapese society.

## REFERENCES

- Adams, William H. (ed.), 1997. *Micronesian Resources Study: Yap Archaeology: Archaeological Survey of Gachlaw Village, Gilman Municipality, Yap, Federated States of Micronesia*. San Francisco: Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation, Federated States of Micronesia, and U.S. National Park Service.
- Christian, Frederick W., 1899. *The Caroline Islands: Travel in the Sea of Little Islands*. London: Methuen.
- Cordy, Ross, 1986. *Archaeological Settlement Pattern Studies on Yap*. Saipan: Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office.
- Fitzpatrick, Scott M., 2002. A Radiocarbon Chronology of Yapese Stone Money Quarries in Palau. *Micronesica*, 34(2):227- 242.
- Gilliland, Cora Lee C., 1975. *The Stone Money of Yap: A Numismatic Survey*. Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology 23. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Hunter-Anderson, Rosalind L., 1982. *Settlement Pattern Studies in Nlul Village, Map Island, Yap, Western Caroline Islands*. Saipan: Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office.
- 1983. *Yapese Settlement Patterns: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*. Agana, Guam: Pacific Studies Institute.
- 2014. Report on an archaeological survey of 14 *malal* complexes (“stone money bank sites”) in the Yap Islands, Micronesia. Manuscript on file at the Yap State Historic Preservation Office.
- Jensen, John T., 1977. *Yapese-English Dictionary*. Honolulu. University Press of Hawaii.
- Krause, Stefan M., 2016. The Production of Cultural Heritage Discourses: Political Economy and the Intersections of Public and Private Heritage in Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of South Florida.

- Lingenfelter, Sherwood G., 1975. *Yap: Political Leadership and Culture Change in an Island Society*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Morgan, William N., 1988. *Prehistoric Architecture in Micronesia*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Nunn, Patrick D., John Runman, Margie Falanruw and Roselyn Kumar, 2017. Culturally grounded responses to coastal change on islands in the Federated States of Micronesia, northwest Pacific Ocean. *Regional Environmental Change*, 17(4): 959–971.
- Snead, James E., 2014. “Roads of social responsibility”: Landscapes of movement in the Western Carolines. Paper presented at the 20th Congress of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, Siem Reap, Cambodia, June 12-17, 2014.
- Thompson, Adam, 2012. An inventory of the stone money banks on the island of Yap. Manuscript on file at the Yap State Historic Preservation Office.
- Throop, C. James, 2009. ‘Becoming beautiful in the dance’: On the formation of ethical modalities of being in Yap, Federated States of Micronesia. *Oceania*, 79(2): 179-201.
- Uag, Raphael, and Frank Molinski, 1968. *A Legendary History of Yap*. Yap: Yap Good News Press.
- UNESCO, 2011. Decisions adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 35th session. Document: WHC-11/35.COM/20. Accessed April 13, 2016 at: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-20e.pdf>.
- Ushijima, Iwao, 1986. Yapputo no dentoteki seiji kozo to sonrakukan no kairo: Fanihu kanku no jirei wo chushin ni (The traditional political structure and transmission networks on Yap Island: Focusing on the case of Fanif Municipality) (in Japanese). In Fumio Kusakabe (ed.), *Mikronesia no Bunka Jinruigakuteki Kenkyu: Nishi-Karorin no Gengo, Bunka, Senshi Bunka*. Tokyo: Kokshokankokai, pp.41-108.
- 1987. Political structure and formation of communication channels on Yap Island: A case study of the Fanif district. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 21:177-203.

**Appendix 1. Yap State Historic Preservation Office Historic Site Recording Form**

**YAP STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE HISTORIC SITE RECORDING FORM**

1. Site No.: \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Municipality/Atoll: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Village: \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Estate: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Common Name(s) of Site: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Historic Name(s) of Site: \_\_\_\_\_

7. Components:  Single Component  Multi-component

8. Cultural Component(s) (check all that are appropriate):

- Prehistoric  Early Historic  Spanish  German  Japanese  
 WWII  TTPI  Post-independent  Known Date \_\_\_\_\_

9. GPS Data: Easting \_\_\_\_\_, Northing \_\_\_\_\_, Elevation \_\_\_\_\_

10. Site Function:  Single Function  Multiple Function

11. Prehistoric/Historic Site (Indigenous) Type(s):

- Men's house (*Faluw*)  Meeting house (*Pebaey*)  House Foundation (*Dayif*)  
 Dancing Ground (*Malal*)  Platform  Grave  
 Sacred Place  Legendary Place  Stone-paved Pathway  
 Agricultural Feature  Surface Scatter  Subsurface Deposit  
 Object  Other \_\_\_\_\_

12. Historic Site (Non-indigenous) Type(s):

- Structure  Object  Landmark  Surface Scatter  
 Subsurface Deposit  Agricultural Feature  Other \_\_\_\_\_

13. Archaeological Feature Type and Number:

- Stone Money \_\_\_\_  Back Rest \_\_\_\_  Fire Place \_\_\_\_  Rorow \_\_\_\_  
 Other \_\_\_\_\_

14. Description (add additional pages as necessary): \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

15. Site Dimensions: \_\_\_\_\_

16. Approximate Site Size (sq. meters): \_\_\_\_\_

17. Site Slope: \_\_\_\_\_

18. Vegetation: \_\_\_\_\_

19. Environmental Zone:

Lagoon  Sandy Shore  Mangrove Swamp

Managed Secondary Forest  Primary Forest  Grassy Savanna

20. Topographic Setting:

Main Island:

Outer Island:

Mangrove Swamp

Coastal Beach

Coastal Flats

Coastal Flatlands

Stream/River Valley

Interior Swamp

Gradual Slope Zone

Rocky Coral Rim/Coast

Mountain Sopes, Ridges, and Plateaus

21. Depth and Character of Deposits: \_\_\_\_\_

22. Type of Soil Visible on Surface:

Sand  Clay/Silt  Humus  Other \_\_\_\_\_

23. Artifact and Cultural Material Observed or Reported:

Prehistoric Pottery  Shell Implements  Stone Implements  Food Refuse

Human remains  Historic Ceramics  Metal  Glass

Others \_\_\_\_\_  None

24. Artifact/ Cultural Material Collected: \_\_\_\_\_

25. Type of Previous Research

Name/Principal Investigator

Date

Reconnaissance Survey \_\_\_\_\_

Intensive Survey \_\_\_\_\_

Surface Collection \_\_\_\_\_

Subsurface Excavation \_\_\_\_\_

26. Bibliography for Previous Research:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

27. Radiocarbon Dates (if any): \_\_\_\_\_

28. Site Condition:  Disturbed  Undisturbed



## Appendix 2. Oral Traditions of Surveyed *Malal* Complexes

To collect oral traditions on surveyed *malal* complexes, a questionnaire was prepared by Takuya Nagaoka (see below). Based on this questionnaire and Nagaoka's additional specific questions on individual sites drawn from his surveys, interviews of knowledgeable elders in the individual areas were conducted by John Runman. Runman also translated the recordings of interviews into English so they could be included in this report. In one case, for the Balayat *malal* complex, elders chose instead to provide written answers to the questionnaire. Their answers written in the Yapese vernacular were then also translated into English by Runman.

### Questionnaire

1. Date
2. Recorder
3. Names of interviewee(s):
4. Place of interview (village, municipality)
5. Time of interview
6. *Malal* name and its meaning
7. Location (e.g., section/ part of the village)
8. Do you know the stories and legends associated with the origin of this *malal*?
9. When was this *malal* created? Before or after foreigners' arrival?
10. Who was in charge of creating this *malal*? How is this founder related to the present people (e.g., genealogical connection to estimate the time period)?
11. Where did the materials (e.g., stones) used to build this *malal* originated from?
12. Can you tell the history of this *malal*? For example, modification (e.g., expansion, addition), changes in usage through historic periods, and more recent restoration (which particular parts)?
13. When did this *malal* stop being used?
14. What are the names of *wunbey* and *dayif* beside this *malal*? Their functions or associated stories?
15. Does any *rai* have a name and associated story?
16. Was any *wunbey* or *wunbey* used by particular individuals, estates or villages?
17. What was the function of *rorow* in this *malal*?
18. Are there special plants that should be present on the *wunbey* associated with this *malal*? If so, what are their names?
19. Can you tell functions/stories of other particular features/objects in this *malal*?
20. On what occasions, what kinds of activities were taken place at this *malal*?
21. Is this *malal* reserved for only certain dances or only certain villages to perform dances? If so, which dances and villages?
22. How did this *malal* function in inter-village relations (e.g., construction, alliances, ceremonial activities)?
23. What makes this *malal* significant compared to others in the village or municipality?
24. Do you have anything to add to this interview?

### Balayat *Malal* Complex

1. Date:
2. Recorder: John Runman
3. Names of interviewee(s): Leonard Pagal, Rodol Ruethin, Peter Tharngan, Steven Mar, Tom Feten, Cyprian Manmaw, and other village men.
4. Place of interview (village, municipality): Balayat, Teb village.
5. Time of interview:

6. *Malal* name and its meaning: Balayat and it refers to the origin (*bala* or *bulen*) of the story (*yat*) that started Yap society's beginning politically, socially and economically. Teb, where Balayat is located, is one of the three Nguchol and it is considered as elder of Yap (*pilbithir ko nam*).
7. Location (e.g., section/ part of the village): Center of the village. Three sections of Teb and Balayat are located in the center of the central section.
8. Do you know the stories and legends associated with the origin of this *malal*?: Cannot give an accurate answer.
9. When was this *malal* created? Before or after foreigners' arrival?: Cannot give an accurate answer, but the *malal* was created at about the beginning of Yap's civilization (formation of Yap society) and it was done so for various ceremonial events relative to political, social and economic wellbeing of the people Yap society. It was created way, way before any foreigner or foreign power arrived Yap.
10. Who was in charge of creating this *malal*? How is this founder related to the present people (e.g., genealogical connection to estimate the time period)?: Cannot give an accurate answer, but the founder(s) were ancestors of the current population of Teb.
11. Where did the materials (e.g., stones) used to build this *malal* originated from?: Cannot give an accurate answers, but most of stone monies (*rai*) decorating the *malal* came from Palau with one or so from Guam. They were brought over by people of Yap and allied villages in the form of tribute or for other customary reasons. Some stone pieces were from various Teb estates. For the other stone materials (*taaling*), it is likely that they were brought from Rumung and Fanif, as Teb and other allied villages in Tamil didn't have the materials. For the makyung materials, it's likely that they came from a village or so in Tamil or Gagil or both, which had the materials.
12. Can you tell the history of this *malal*? For example, modification (e.g., expansion, addition), changes in usage through historic periods, and more recent restoration (which particular parts)?: Cannot give an accurate answer, but answers to Question Nos. 6 and 9 can probably give reasonable indication of the history of the *malal*. For modification, changes in usage through historical periods, our best estimation is that the *malal* modification was more on restoration or upkeep, something which has taken place up to the present.
13. When did this *malal* stop being used?: The *malal* has been in use for many of its traditional purposes, but to a lesser degree in recent time and for obvious reasons—foreign influences and people's inability to sort things properly.
14. What are the names of *wunbey* and *dayif* beside this *malal*? Their functions or associated stories?: Certain stone platforms were designated (still and will continue to be the case) for certain allied villages, e.g., one platform as “Tagil yu Ma’”, another as “Tagil yu Gilfith”, and the third as “Tagil yu Meerur.” Ma’ and Meerur are also protectors of Teb, so the Ma’ platform is located just east with Meerur platform just to the west of the *pe'ebay* near the *malal*. One other platform is called “Rumdey” and it's likely there for food and other resources brought as tribute to Teb. The *malal*, *pe'ebay*, platforms, Rumdey, etc. in the area go together. (Joey's inventory includes Balea'r wonbey)
15. Does any *rai* have a name and associated story?: Cannot give an accurate answer, but some of the stone monies have names which cannot be recalled.
16. Was any *wunbey* or *wunbey* used by particular individuals, estates or villages?: Cannot give an accurate answer, but we believe that certain *wunbey* on the platforms mentioned and how the *wunbey* are located as well as other platforms near the *malal* are the seats of certain estate leaders or representatives and estate spoke persons of the villages mentioned in Question No. 14. For the other *wunbey*, our best guess is that they were for elders of the same allied villages or other villages which may visit Teb by invitation or by permission of Teb. For the *wunbey*, see Question No. 14.
17. What was the function of *rorow* in this *malal*?: The *rorow* is not in the *malal*, but on the southern platform near the *malal*. It's a place where food items (fish, turtles, or other food items),

even nuts and pepper leaves for betel-nuts, are placed. Its elevation is higher as the case with the purpose of *rorow* located elsewhere in Yap—signifying “*tabgul*.”

18. Are there special plants that should be present on the *wunbey* associated with this *malal*? If so, what are their names?: Cannot give an accurate answer.

19. Can you tell functions/stories of other particular features/objects in this *malal*?: There may be other features, but one important feature next to the *malal* is a sizeable stone piece—Leebirang’s stone (Malngen Leebirang). Leebirang was a ghost and the stone was the trap that captured her. As a ghost, she would turn herself into a rat at night to eat certain crops of nearby families and so the plan to trap her. The stone piece is next to the *malal*. It’s a taboo (*machmach*) piece and folks shouldn’t sit or walk over it.

20. On what occasions, what kinds of activities were taken place at this *malal*?: Inter-village ceremonial affairs for an important purpose or deceased of high estates, e.g., Chath, and the activities may be in the form of “*mit*” or “*mitmit*” (ceremonial display and presentation of Yapese monies—*yar*, *gaw*, *m’bul*, etc.—or dances or both in recognition or honor of the affairs or deceased people. There may have been other activities, but they were not done in our time.

21. Is this *malal* reserved for only certain dances or only certain villages to perform dances? If so, which dances and villages?: Not reserved for certain dances, but dances by certain allied villages, unless Teb invites or gives permission to other villages to dance in the *malal*. In our time, the dances have been those of Teb and Meerur ladies.

22. How did this *malal* function in inter-village relations (e.g., construction, alliances, ceremonial activities)?: See Question No. 20. Also, if it should be decided by the village, inter-village connections, e.g., Nguchol or Bulche’ alliance, ceremonial events like *mit* or *mitmit*, even dances, could be performed. As to construction, etc., but it’s not done in our time, certain villages most likely did the work. In our time, Teb men have been doing the work to keep the *malal* in good order.

23. What makes this *malal* significant compared to others in the village or municipality?: It’s the main *malal* of Teb. Each Teb section has a *malal*, but Balayat *malal* is the main *malal* for the entire village. And it’s one of the main *malal* the Nguchol or Bulche’ may be invited for certain ceremonial activities. As mentioned, Teb is the “*pilbithir ko nam*” so it’s purpose is to serve in that capacity—*pilbithir* capacity. *Malal* in other villages have their own respective functions and purposes and Teb cannot say that Balayat *malal* is more or less important, i.e., all the *malal* are important in their respective ways because Yap is one society with each village doing its aspects of things for the common good.

24. Do you have anything to add to this interview?: Nothing to add other than that our ancestors chose an oral way of passing on historical things, but unable to properly pass historical and cultural things orally and we think foreign occupations and religions (other things also) tried as much as they could to end traditional and cultural things so they could effectively govern and convert the Yapese people. It’s why some people in our time can cook up things about traditions and cultures get away with it sometimes. And they get away with it because honest folks can’t say for lack of good information that it’s cooked up stuff. So, the act of trying to ascertain the truth is always a delicate thing and can only be done by honest and sensible folks who were able to learn much from their elders and village elders. And it’s why the government found that creating HPO was necessary—to try and preserve things.

### L’ayniga’ *Malal* Complex

**Runman:** Today is May 21, 2015 at 10:30 in the morning. Ruechugrad is with me at Tamor. Ruechugrad is going to talk about L’ayniga’ dancing ground. I am John Runman recording the history from Ruechugrad. Peter Ruechugrad is the whole name of the informant. Thank you Ruechugrad, tell me about you for the recording.

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Runman. I am from Bugol and L’ayniga’ is also in Bugol.

**Runman:** Excuse me Peter Ruechugrad, how old are you?

**Ruechugrad:** I am 66 now. I don't work anymore. I am now retired. HPO was the last office I work at.

**Runman:** Why is the term L'ayniga' used as the name for the dancing ground known as L'ayniga'?

**Ruechugrad:** L'ayniga' refers to the village community house or the main house and the grounds surrounding it in the village. It has nothing to do with men's houses.

**Runman:** Where along the shore is L'ayniga' located? Is it in one section of the village?

**Ruechugrad:** L'ayniga' is the main village house in Bugol located somewhat at the middle of the village shore. There are two sections in the village. The eastern section is called L'ayniga' and the western section is known as Ba'an Ngol.

**Runman:** I guess the Ba'an Ngol is the western section and the eastern section is Ba'an L'ayniga'?

**Ruechugrad:** Ba'an L'ayniga' is the eastern section and Ba'an Ngol is the western section. Ba'an Ngol has connections to some villages to the west of Bugol while Ba'an L'ayniga' has connections to some villages east of Bugol.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. What stories or histories of L'ayniga' could you add to our history collections?

**Ruechugrad:** Like in other villages lands along the shores are added or formed lands. L'ayniga' used to be far inland and away from the shore. It used to be next to the Nek which was and still is the chiefly estate of Bugol. As lands were extended into the waters, the main house of Bugol was moved and built on a piece of land by the shore and was named L'ayniga'. A reason for moving the main house to the shore was to make it easier for the allied villagers to find and use the house. Another reason was that canoes were the only transportation vessels in Yap and there were no cars. Everyone travelled by canoe, thus people from allied villages would be provided easier access to the village main house where most meetings were held.

**Runman:** Thank you. So, L'ayniga' is the village community house? Are there village men's houses close by or separate from L'ayniga'?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Runman, thanks and there are three men's houses in Bugol village. One is called Yimuch and it is for the western section of Bugol or Ba'an Ngol. A second one is known as Ruamaw' and it is for the eastern section of Bugol or Ba'an L'ayniga'. The third one is P'egochol which belongs to the whole village or the two sections of Bugol, Ba'an L'ayniga' and Ba'an Ngol.

**Runman:** Can you give the locations of the men's houses, especially for visitors who are not familiar with the shores of Bugol.

**Ruechugrad:** The men's house of P'egochol is right next to L'ayniga'. It is just a bit into the water from the main house. East of P'egochol is the men's house of Ruamaw'. West of P'egochol is the location of Yimuch men's house.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. Let us go back to the dancing-ground of L'ayniga'. You mentioned that it was somewhat new because of a land that was formed instead of being original. What time was this *malal* created?

**Ruechugrad:** This *malal* as well as others from other villages were created long before foreigners discovered Yap. Many *malal* used to be far inland but were moved to the shores so that allied villagers would have easier access to them. The *malal* were moved to the shores along with their respective main houses.

**Runman:** So, it was created before the arrival of foreigners?

**Ruechugrad:** Before their arrivals. The *malal* was created before Spanish arrived. Like the main houses of other villages which were created prior to the arrival of outsiders.

**Runman:** Who created the *malal* of L'ayniga'?

**Ruechugrad:** The men of Bugol got together a long time ago to figure out a way to make it easier for allied visitors from Gagil, Weloy, Rull and Gilman to use the main house and its assets. It was agreed

on to move everything from Ten, the name of the piece of land it used to be on, to a place close to the water. After the move it was given the name L'ayniga' but prior to the move it was called Ten.

**Runman:** Ten is a different place from the piece of land that we now call L'ayniga'?

**Ruechugrad:** The location of L'ayniga' now is at the shore, right next to the water. Ten is far inland and far away from L'ayniga'.

**Runman:** Thank you. Were the people who created L'ayniga' from Bugol? The creators were our relatives or our ancestors long ago?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Ruw and you are correct. They were our long ago ancestors. But the ancestors created the places for the sake of connections to other villages. The places enabled villages to get together to discuss strategies in forming peace all over Yap.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. Ruw, you mentioned Gagil and Weloy. Can you elaborate on the type of connection to and from those municipalities?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Ruw. I'll try. The connections to Gagil from Bugol are those of the Ulun alliance for Bugol is one of the seven Ulun villages of Yap so the connections are with Ariyap – a section in Gachpar. Another connection is to Cho'ol village in Map'. Bugol has connections to Okaw village in Weloy. Another connection is to Balebat' in Rull and another one to Anoth village. Bugol has connections to Meerur village, even though Meerur is also in Tamil. These villages are the seven Ulun villages in Yap.

**Runman:** Thank you. Let's go back to L'ayniga'. Where did the materials used for the *malal* and the *wunbey* of L'ayniga' come from?

**Ruechugrad:** The upper places of L'ayniga' were made from a land point called Thum'uth by the water. The place was leveled by digging it in a way somewhat slopping toward the water. That was how the upper platforms remained slopping down toward the *malal* after creating them. Corals and coral dirt from the waters of Bugol were used to make the sitting platforms or *wunbey* and foundation of the main house as well as the *malal*. So, dirt and corals from the water around Bugol were used to form the platforms and house foundation on the shore side of the *malal*. Dirt from the land point was used to create the platforms on the land side of the *malal*.

**Runman:** Thank you: Can you tell me how the L'ayniga' was created? How the platforms are and how the house foundation is and how the *malal* was formed? Who sits where?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Ruw. There are three pieces of sitting platforms on the land side or upper side of the *malal*. The piece farthest east is for Madwor, Madwor is a section of Ma' village, and Dechmur. West of it is a stone path. West of the stone path and close to the *malal* is a platform for Ariyap of Gachpar, and behind Ariyap is for Tho'olang of Gachpar. West of Ariyap and next to the *malal* is for Meerur. Okaw seats are located behind those for Meerur. West of Meerur is seats on the third platform for Aff village. Behind Aff and west of Okaw is a place for Teb village. The platform on the sea side of the *malal* and west of the main house is a platform for Aff. East of the main house and sea side of the *malal* is called Tagil'pirba', literally means the position for Marba'. It is for the people from the main land of Yap – Fanif, Weloy, Rull, Dalipebinaw, Kanifay and Gilman.

**Runman:** Clarify the name of the platform.

**Ruechugrad:** The pronunciation of the name is Tagil'pirba'. The meaning of the name is position for those from Marba'.

**Runman:** Thank you. So, there are three platforms on the side of the *malal*?

**Ruechugrad:** Three platforms of the inner side and two platforms on the sea side.

**Runman:** On the upper platforms, are there back rests for individuals or sets of back rests that are important to be included in our record?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Ruw, there is not a special back rest for a special chief or a special family.

**Runman:** There are some special back rests on the middle platform of the upper three platforms that seem to be different from the rest. What are they for or who sits there?

**Ruechugrad:** Back rests like those are found in many villages. They are found in Bulche' villages, Ulun villages, Mathiban and Tathiban villages. Whenever there is a need to discuss secret issues, the somewhat circular back rests are used. The back rests are closer together. The village chief sits at the taller one which is set at the center of the circle, the others closely surround it. The men who sit at the places only gather there at night and never during the day time, they talk almost in whispers. Night time is used so that no one would know who is sitting at the back rests and they discuss in whispers so that no one would know what is being discussed, until the group decides to make public what they had been keeping confidential. Assassinations and other types of secrecy are discussed here. Secret messages are sent or received from the same types of secret places in other villages.

**Runman:** Thank you Ruw. You're talking about village back rests, are the villages from Tamil or do men from other villages participate in the secret discussions?

**Ruechugrad:** If a village has these types of *wunbey*', only the residents of that village use the place to talk about things regarding that village and only that village. No body from other villages or municipalities may join the types of discussions going on at the place. Spies are not allowed to join in the discussions, like the CIA, they try to keep information from leaking and they keep the information to themselves.

**Runman:** Thank you. Can you give the names of all the *wunbey* around known as L'ayniga'?

**Ruechugrad:** The piece farthest east of the upper platforms is called Tanerowel and contains seats for Madwor and Dechmur, followed by the biggest platform called Thum'uth which has seats for Ariyap and Tho'olang on the eastern half and seats for Meerur and Okaw on the western half. The platform farthest west is for Aff and Teb villages. The platform on the sea side of the *malal* and west of the main house is for Aff and is called Tanechurwo'. Tagil'pirba' is located east of the main house and is known as for Marba' residents.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. Is there a *rorow* or food place for the *malal* or what the *rorow* is for and whose things are placed on the *rorow*?

**Ruechugrad:** Somewhere close to the boundary of Okaw's and Tho'olang's platforms and a little bit north of the platforms is the location of the *rorow*. The *rorow* like those in other villages is for placing of consumable things for men. When an allied village is to visit us, the *rorow* serves as the stage to place edible stuff for that village. Things like betel nuts and coconuts, fish, turtle meat and other stuff that could be consumed. *Rorow* is reserved for edible materials.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. Is there some kind of trees, plants or grass that should be planted on the platforms, like coconut palms?

**Ruechugrad:** No. Nothing is required to plant on the sitting platforms of L'ayniga'. Few platforms in some villages fall under the planting of some sort of plants that are used for medicinal or magical purposes, but not L'ayniga'. Everything grows at L'ayniga'. Things like noni, guava, coconut palms, betel nut palms, chestnuts and football trees.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. We talked about things around the areas, what about the *malal*, what is it used for?

**Ruechugrad:** Similar to other grounds for dancing in villages throughout Yap, the *malal* are for the celebrations like competition of dances. The dances contribute in the celebrations in remembrance of past heroes and chiefs. The celebrations are also held for the purpose of returning local money that we received from other villages during celebrations held in those villages, for local money is rotated eventually. One way of rotating is from a village to a village to a village in a way more like a circle.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. Can you give me the reasons for celebrations in the *malal*, and are there certain dates that celebrations should be conducted?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Ruw. We celebrate by dancing and by the presentations of wealth after the completion of the building of a main house. But before the celebrations, we need to send words to allied villages for them to attend the ceremonies so that they can be happy as well as enjoying what is taking place. Thus, those who needed to dance would perform in dancing as a competition. Another

purpose of the *malal* has to do with the remembering of past chiefs or to remember an allied village. Ulun would recognize ulun village while Bulche' recognize bulche villages. Bulche' and Ulun also recognize their chiefs, so do Mathiban and Tathiban. Each level of villages recognized their villages as well as their chiefs. But the main reason for mit celebrations is get the local currency to be circulated.

**Runman:** For the *malal* of L'ayniga', what kind of dances are performed there?

**Ruechugrad:** All kind of dances can be performed in the *malal* but the exotic or *gaslew* type. Women can perform, so could men and children. L'ayniga' *malal* can't be used for rehearsals or practices. There is a place for practices and rehearsals called Nek the estate of the chief of Bugol. Rehearsals and practices can be conducted inside the main house of L'ayniga' but never in the *malal*. Only during celebrations or hanging up of dances could be done in the *malal*. The people of Ulun villages are informed of celebrations to be held in the *malal* as they have seats around the *malal*. They are obligated to observe the dances.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. You are talking about dancing in the *malal* of L'ayniga'. Is Bugol the only village that can dance in the *malal* or are there other villages that can perform dances there and if there are, name the villages and the type of dances they can perform in there.

**Ruechugrad:** When a mit occasion is to be conducted in Bugol, Ba'an Ngol and Ba'an L'ayniga' get together to do the same dances. Villages of other municipalities that bring or perform dances are Okaw, Anoth dances with Okaw. Balebat' and Meerur don't dance there. Cho'ol join Gachpar in doing the same dances. Ariyap perform regular dances as well as *tam'* and so does Okaw. Only Gachpar and Okaw perform the kind of dancing called *tam'*. Only Teb among the seven Bulche' villages perform *tam'* at L'ayniga' according to my grandfather. No other Bulche' could perform *tam'* in here.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. When a *tam'* dance is performed, what is a *tam'*?

**Ruechugrad:** One type of *tam'* dance is prepared and performed by members of a chiefly estate other village members do not join. This type is called chiefly *tam'*. The second type of *tam'* is rehearsed and performed by village members chosen by village elders because they could perform well. The third type is referred to as *tayor* and is rehearsed and performed by common members of a village. *Tayor* is designed to ask for wealth as well as consumable goods. Materials asked for from *tayor* should be provided by appropriate villages. *Tam'* praises and criticizes chiefs, heroes and villages while *tayor* asks for things to keep and things for consuming. Good pieces of money are used as presents during the performing of *tam'* and not necessarily on *tayor*.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. Can the chiefly *tam'* and common *tayor* be performed in the L'ayniga' *malal*?

**Ruechugrad:** The last *mit* celebration in Bugol was in 1947. *Tam'* was performed by the villages of Gachpar, Okaw, and Bugol. Teb did not perform a *tam'*. During Gachpar's *tam'*, it was mentioned that the sitting platforms of Bugol were sloping down, the *malal* was muddy and a house-ground beam came from a coconut trunk. Bugol was criticized so that they could improve their village.

**Runman:** I asked the question seeking to find out whether *tam'* and *tayor* are performed in the *malal* or on the platforms.

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you, Ruw, and it is important to clarify that because *tam'* and *tayor* are performed on the platforms. Each village presenting a *tam'* or *tayor* gathered at its platform to get the dancers ready. The performers would stand in line on the platform and perform the *tam'* right there. They would sit down after performing but still on the same platform. Residents of a village keep to their platform they don't mingle into others. *Tam'* and *tayor* are not performed in the *malal*. If a village presents a *tam'* or *tayor* in the *malal*, it would be cited for it. Only common dances are performed in the *malal* of L'ayniga'.

**Runman:** For clarity purposes, I'm going to go over it ones more. When a village is ready to present its *tam'*, does the village performs the *tam'* on its sitting platform?

**Ruechugrad:** That's right. On the celebration day, women, children and men of Meerur would come and occupy their designated sitting platform. They wouldn't wonder onto others platforms for they

might be trespassing. On their platform, they get ready, stand up and perform the *tam'* or *tayor* then sit down. All the stuff that needs to be given to them would be taken to the designated platform.

**Runman:** *Kemmagar*. Other than dances and *mit*, what else is conducted in the *malal*?

**Ruechugrad:** Dodging practices are also conducted in the L'ayniga' *malal*. Young men from Aff, Dechmur and Madwor join with young men of Bugol, not old men, to practice by dodging from thrown fern fruit called *uyol* in Yapese, old coconut yolk or *bul* in Yapese and unsharpened dried hibiscus sticks.

**Runman:** When you say *magilgil*, what does it mean? What is the meaning of *migilgil*?

**Ruechugrad:** We divide ourselves into two groups, each groups throws props trying to hit members of the other group. We are imitating the dodging from spears during wars. Long ago real local spears were used. So now, we are practicing dodging. Practices give us the ability to dodge and to move away quickly from unsuspected objects. An example is if you are in the shade of a coconut tree and a coconut falls, you have the quickness and capability to get yourself out of the place before the nut hits.

**Runman:** Excuse me. You probably mentioned it but I did not catch it. What villages do the young men come from to practice dodging at the *malal* of L'ayniga'?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you. Young men come from the villages of Aff, west of Bugol; young men of Bugol; Dechmur, east of Bugol; and Madwor, east of Dechmur and part of Ma'.

**Runman:** Thanks. Let us talk about stone money on the platforms and in the *mala* of L'ayniga'. Are there pieces of stone money with names or outstanding pieces or pieces with histories that you could talk about?

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you. There's not a piece that has a name. L'ayniga' *malal* doesn't contain pieces of stone money that have names. There is no stone money on any of the platforms. Most of the money is in the *malal*. Few small pieces are leaning against the front of the present village community house of L'ayniga'. A big and thick but broken piece is in the *malal* and might have some sort of history.

Teb asked Japanese soldiers to break stone money in the *malal*. The soldiers pushed the piece of stone money. It fell down broke into three pieces. Men of Bugol re-erected the stone money by putting back the three unglued pieces. A person's name was carved on the stone money.

The carved name is of Thighthen. Thighthen was the name of the person who carved the stone money. It was carved during O'Keefe's time in Yap for it was smooth revealing that metal tools were used in carving it. The man carved his name on the stone money in Palau then it was put on O'Keefe's boat and was brought to Tarang where it unloaded onto a raft then taken to Bugol. Carvers were not supposed to carve their names on stone money. So men of Bugol did not appreciate the stone money. The village didn't accept the piece of money because of the name on it. The name is still on the money today even though it broken into three pieces.

I would like to add that the name was of a person who was a grandfather of mine. So, the stone money was not as old as others, it was transported to Yap sometime during the German administration of Yap. Thighthen was one of three brothers. The eldest was Chugrad. The second was Ruechugrad and the youngest was Thighthen. Ruechugrad was a wrestler during the German time and because of wrestling local magic was bestowed on him, therefore the name was changed to Ruecho'. He wrestled in favor of Gagil, Map', Rumung and Tamil and never lost a round. Black spell from Marba' and Nimgil was bestowed on him as Ruechugrad. That was the reason for the name change.

**Runman:** You mentioned that there were three brothers namely Chugrad, Ruechugrad and Thighthen. So, you were named after your grandfather Ruechugrad? Thank you, Ruw. There is still the writing on the piece of money. According to the Japanese who had just surveyed the *malal*, the character on the money is Japanese meaning "Yap Stone Money."

**Ruechugrad:** That character is on another piece of stone money. This piece is way smaller. The Japanese character was carved by a Yapese man named Fillimew', the father of Rutmag and you know of Rutmag.

**Runman:** So, it was somewhat more recent ...

**Ruechugrad:** Somewhat more recent. That small piece came from Meerur. Given by someone from Meerur, put on a canoe and taken to Bugol while drinking tuba, the man using an adze carve the Japanese character on the stone then sank it into the water. We are the ones who took it out of the water and set it on the end of the house foundation facing the sea. It is small, about 2 feet in diameter.

**Runman:** Is it in the same situation as the one with Thighthen's name on it, that it is not acceptable to ...

**Ruechugrad:** That is correct. Names are not carved on the stone money. Those pieces are valueless according to Yapese custom and culture. The village never owned neither did Thighthen. The village didn't own it nor did Fillimew', the pieces stand there like a flower or a necklace doing nothing but as decoration. But neither could be used for pleading, for exchange or for excusing; they have lost the pride of stone money.

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. There is something on a platform that resembles a water tank?

**Ruechugrad:** In that area is an estate known as Fite'ach and that is where that thing is. It used to be a water tank long ago. German government provided money for water tanks in the villages all around Yap. This water tank was made by the Ruecho' we mentioned before.

**Runman:** Thank you.

**Ruechugrad:** Thank you and thanks to Takuya who noticed the tank and bringing up this information.

**Runman:** He thought it has become historical and wanted to know how long ago it was made, but you mentioned that it was made during the German time in Yap.

**Ruechugrad:** It was during the German time.

**Runman:** Wasn't it during the Japanese time?

**Ruechugrad:** It was not during the Japanese and not during the Spanish time.

**Runman:** Were the estates foundations on the eastern side of the village community house made quite recently or were they made around the time the p'ebay estate was made?

**Ruechugrad:** All the new lands were made at the same time of that of L'ayniga'. This extension of land into the waters is called *gasang* in Yapese. This was the time the two estates were made and the one next to the *malal* is called Tagil'pirba' which has to do with an area for visitors from Marba' and the estate next to the water is known as Fite'ach. The long platform at the area extends from Tagil'pirba' through Fite'ach. The rocks used to pave all the platforms of L'ayniga' were taken from Ga'ana'un village in Rumung municipality. None of the rocks came from around Tamil. The small and big rocks all came from Ga'ana'un in Rumung.

**Runman:** You mentioned that the stones used here are corals?

**Ruechugrad:** They are stones from or of corals.

**Runman:** Ok. Thank you.

**Ruechugrad:** Sea materials came from Bugol and land rocks came Rumung and thanks to Rumung. If it wasn't for Rumung, L'ayniga' platforms wouldn't have been realistic.

**Runman:** Was that the reason Rumung was getting smaller?

**Ruechugrad:** Wopo! Bugol took away a part of it!

**Runman:** Thank you, Ruw. I am going through my notes. You said that the two estates were made before the arrivals of foreigners?

**Ruechugrad:** Before the Spanish, before anyone who was not Yapese came to Yap, the estates preceded whoever came first. Not just L'ayniga' and not only Bugol but it is true of all the villages here in Yap. This is just for the lands that were extended (*gasang*) into the sea waters.

**Runman:** What was that word?

**Ruechugrad:** *Gasang*.

**Runman:** *Gasang*?

**Ruechugrad:** *Gasang*.

**Runman:** Throwing (extending) into the water?

**Ruechugrad:** Throwing into the sea.

**Runman:** Throw!

**Ruechugrad:** Throw. He who throws well and his would ....

**Runman:** Whose would go farthest.

**Ruechugrad:** Whose would be far. It is also referred to as farther, farthest. Went very far.

**Runman:** I am looking at this map made by Joe Ungred and Takuya seeking something for us to talk about. Look, here is a *rorrow* on a foundation next to the p'ebay, are these foundations for families or not?

**Ruechugrad:** These foundations are Tagil'pirba' and Fite'ach as I said.

**Runman:** Ok.

**Ruechugrad:** Just a bit shorewards of Fite'ach is the tank. Here it is. The platform ends next to the water tank and lands extends seawards to the men's house of P'egocho. The men's house is for the whole village.

**Runman:** What about the platform around the house of L'ayniga', isn't there a name for it?

**Ruechugrad:** No. L'ayniga'. There's only a small platform at the sea end of L'ayniga' and it is called L'ayniga'. Following that platform is a narrow piece of land that serves as a walkway for women for low caste people and women are not allowed to walk through the *malal*.

**Runman:** So, women walk around the *malal*?

**Ruechugrad:** They walk around. Women only enter the *malal* during dances and when they are cleaning. Those are the only times. Carrying things on shoulders in the *malal* is also forbidden. If you are carrying things on your shoulders and you have to walk through the *malal*, then you have to follow all the curves on the sea side of the *malal* and the platforms. You would need to face the house and bow from the waist as Japanese do, as you get to middle of that side of the *malal* and front of the building. Otherwise you would need to get the stuff off your shoulders and carry them in your hands with your arms hanging on your sides. This needs to start at either the eastern or western end of the *malal* and continue up to the opposite end.

**Runman:** That symbolizes respect.

**Ruechugrad:** Symbols for respect. This is a way of showing respect to our *malal* and p'ebay. Same thing as we sail in the sea, when we get to a place across from this p'ebay we need to stop the canoe by letting go of the sail rope and letting the sail sway by the wind. This is the way of showing respect to p'ebay from the sea. The same is done when we are poling a canoe. We need to pole the canoe sitting down as we cross in front of L'ayniga'. We show respect to p'ebay when sailing as well as poling canoes. This respect is also shown during sailing in the open waters outside the reefs. This respect from canoes is performed for all the p'ebay at the shores of Yap.

**Runman:** Thank you and go over that word again, *gapopow*?

**Ruechugrad:** *Gapopow* is when the sail sways with the wind and the canoe is halted. Only when the sail rope is pulled on would it catch the wind and the canoe would move forth.

**Runman:** Thank you. We have to go back to L'ayniga', there something there somewhere, where did that cannon come from, does it have a history, was it used in fighting in Yap, explain.

**Ruechugrad:** That thing is called cannon and is one of the old ones. It is all metal and heavy. Meerur gave Bugol the cannon. After a celebration in Meerur, the cannon was presented to Bugol. It was offered because it was big and heavy and that it would be for Bugol but it is in Meerur. But Goofgir and Ruecho', just the two of them, lifted the cannon and carried it to a *thowa'ab* canoe and it was transported to Bugol. That is the only short history of the cannon. It was offered because it was impossible to move it but Bugol managed to carry it do to showing off after drinking so much tuba. The cannon was never used.

**Runman:** Was the time during Spanish or German time?

**Ruechugrad:** During German time.

**Runman:** During German time.

**Ruechugrad:** Cannons did not get to Yap during Spanish time. Germen brought cannons to Yap and that was the time this cannon got here. Can't be sold for it is too heavy.

**Runman:** Thank you. Do you have something to add to our collection?

**Ruechugrad:** **Runman,** I can think of nothing else after all the questions that you asked? Ask a question if you have another one. Use a regular phone, a cell phone or email the question.

**Runman:** I have nothing else but if something comes to your mind that we didn't talk about today, let me know and I will take it.

**Ruechugrad:** I would like to say a big thank you and let us go to the store for a beer.

**Runman:** I can do that. Thank you.

### **Pe'gachpar Malal Complex**

**Runman:** Today is June 10, 2015 at 1:45 pm, I am John Runman with Gabriel Minginmar, we're here at Pe'gachpar. Thanks to Minginmar, who would be telling us what he knows about Pe'gachpar, mostly with regard to the *malal* (stone money bank). However, it's difficult to talk about *malal* without talking about the *wunbey* (stone platforms). Thanks Minginmar, tell me your birthday today.

**Minginmar:** March 15, 1941.

**Runman:** We are at the west *wunbey* looking at the *pe'ebay* (meeting house), Pe'gachpar, thanks Minginmar and tell us the meaning of "Pe'gachpar."

**Minginmar:** "Pe'gachpar" is 'the face of Gachpar.'

**Runman:** "Pe'gachpar" is the face of Gachpar?

**Minginmar:** Yes, because it is the (representative) face of Gachpar.

**Runman:** We are at Pe'gachpar in Gachpar, Gagil; we're at which section of the village?

**Minginmar:** We're in Aryap.

**Runman:** We're in Aryap. Is there a history, a story about Pe'gachpar that is prominent on your mind, a *mitmit* (ceremony) or things that were done in the past?

**Minginmar:** There was a *mitmit* I witnessed that took place here, but I can't elaborate on it because I was still small. That people from Wanyan came here for the ceremony (*mitmit*).

**Runman:** In your life time, you have witness a ceremony taken place here?

**Minginmar:** I saw it and the people from Wanyan came here for the ceremony.

**Runman:** Suppose when was this *malal* created, before western contact or post contact?

**Minginmar:** Aha, this I can't say, cannot. When I think of it, I do not know when...aha!

**Runman:** But, when you think of it, you would suppose before or after western contact?

**Minginmar:** When I think of it, it's before western contact. Because there were established obligations and villages relationship.

**Runman:** Things which were ancient?

**Minginmar:** Yes.

**Runman:** Suppose, when this *malal* was created, who was in charge of its creation? If, you could remember or have heard.

**Minginmar:** I think the person from Togbuy estate.

**Runman:** The person from Togbuy estate, why do you think it was the person from Togbuy estate?

**Minginmar:** The person is the high chief of this section in Gachpar, all of it. The one from Togbuy estate is the high chief here (Aryap village section of Gachpar) and the chief from Bulwol estate is the high chief from the Tho'olang village section.

**Runman:** Is there someone today from that estate?

**Minginmar:** Which one?

**Runman:** The Togbuy estate.

**Minginmar:** Perhaps, maybe, but the way I'm going to say is, it's supposed to be Faney. But I'm not sure whether he is representing the estate or not. Many people have passed away and he is the one left.

**Runman:** And the Bulwol estate you have mentioned is there someone representing it now?

**Minginmar:** It's supposed to be me.

**Runman:** Why, explain?

**Minginmar:** Due to only Waloy clan can be a representative of that estate.

**Runman:** And are you of the Waloy clan?

**Minginmar:** Yes, there is no more Waloy clan left in Gachpar. I'm the only one left.

**Runman:** The materials used to build the stone platforms creating the space for the *malal*, do you know where the materials came from, the stones? Let's first start and see which type of stone and materials are here. Those of the northern section of the stone platform west of the *malal*, what type of stones are there?

**Minginmar:** *Ta'aling* (sedimentary stone) and *ngawachog* (a rock made of fused red pebbles).

**Runman:** Ngawachog. This *wunbey*, who is it belong to (for whom)?

**Minginmar:** For the people from Wanyan (village).

**Runman:** There is a row of *magrey* (stone backrest) near us (on the *wunbey* for Wanyan).

**Minginmar:** Here, this is the place, is one of these places belonging to the selected places in which participated in *makath* (to conspire), over there.

**Runman:** This row of *magrey* is for *makath*. There is a *rorow* (a raised stone platform on top of the *wunbey* or an elevated flat stone, a place used for the chief's offerings or for the people) near the row of backrests behind them, whose *rorow* is that?

**Minginmar:** Village *rorow*.

**Runman:** Which village?

**Minginmar:** Here, this village, Gachpar. When the Gal Nguch (Maap and Rumung municipality) and or the Gal Binaw (Leng and Lebnaw villages) arrive with fish (or other tributes), that is the place for it.

**Runman:** There are two *rorow* here, one which is one flat stone on the *wunbey* and there is one (on the stone platform south and adjacent to Wanyan's platform).

**Minginmar:** That's the thing, maybe, the things from Maap and Rumung get put there (on the *rorow* on Wanyan's *wunbey*) and the things from Leng and Lebnaw get to be put over there (on the *rorow* on the *wunbey* adjacent to Wanyan's *wunbey*).

(Note: The *wunbey* south and adjacent to Wanyan's *wunbey* belongs to Gal Nguch, Maap and Rumung and Chief Beeyan confirmed this. Another *wunbey* separated by a road south-west and at end of the *malal* belongs to Gal Binaw, Leng and Lebnaw villages.)

**Runman:** So, the *rorow* which is a single slab by its self, next to the *rorow* north of it, which is located on Wanyan's *wunbey* where Gal Nguch put their tributes. What about the adjacent *wunbey*, who does it belong to?

**Minginmar:** Gal Binaw.

**Runman:** Belongs to Gal Binaw? When they bring their tributes they would place them on the *rorow* (on the *wunbey* adjacent to Wanyan's *wunbey*)

**Minginmar:** They have their own *rorow*.

**Runman:** There is a row of stones in a line clearly dividing this *wunbey* (large *wunbey* on west side of the *malal*). What is the difference between these sections of the *wunbey*?

**Minginmar:** This section belongs to the northern villages and the adjacent section belongs to the southern villages.

**Runman:** You said, "Northern villages", meaning the place belonging to whom?

**Minginmar:** Wanyan and Riken villages.

**Runman:** You said, "Southern villages", meaning belonging to whom?

**Minginmar:** Leng and Lebnaw villages.

**Runman:** (The *wunbey*) went all the way to the road and on the east side of the *malal* in front of the *pe'ebay* (meeting house) is another *rorow*, whose *rorow* is that?

**Minginmar:** Ay, you shouldn't have asked me about that one because I don't know.

**Runman:** Where is Gachpar's place (*wunbey*)?

**Minginmar:** On that *wunbey* over there.

**Runman:** On the *wunbey* next to the *pe'ebay*?

**Minginmar:** The southern side of the *wunbey* all the way around to the front of the building.

**Runman:** Where is the place for Gal Nguch?

**Minginmar:** When they arrive, they would mix with Gachpar.

**Runman:** On the *wunbey* of the building! This *malal* is different from others I have seen, there are two pieces of stone money at the ends of the *malal* (a piece of stone money at each ends), the stone money at the northern end of the *malal*, can you tell me its histories the ones you recalled. I'm guessing that is where the *malal* end?

**Minginmar:** It ends there, that is as I know it. I heard said that's where it ends and I am sorry I can't elaborate about the histories of the stone money (at the southern end of *malal*). I know it originate from Nimgil (southern Yap) but do not know how.

**Runman:** At the northern end of the *malal* is another piece of stone money?

**Minginmar:** And that is where the *malal* also ends.

**Runman:** That is also where the *malal* ends. What can you tell me about that piece of stone money, who or what village it belongs?

**Minginmar:** I cannot say.

**Runman:** In the *malal* are two large pieces of stone money that stand out among the others located on the east side of the *malal*.

**Minginmar:** Yes, two or three?

**Runman:** Two that I see now, is there another?

**Minginmar:** There are three, there is another piece in that bush at the very end (of the *wunbey*).

**Runman:** That piece next to the corner of the *wunbey*.

**Minginmar:** Yes, yes.

**Runman:** Ok.

**Minginmar:** Three pieces, all belonging to the village. The other smaller pieces belong to individuals but, I do not know who they are.

**Runman:** The same for the pieces located on the west bank of the *malal*?

**Minginmar:** Each piece of stone money is individually owned or belongs to individual estates.

**Runman:** The *wunbey* we're on is quite different and stands out, along the edge of the *wunbey* is beveled.

**Minginmar:** It is beveled.

**Runman:** Maybe started from one end and stop at the *wunbey* for Gal Binaw.

**Minginmar:** Gal Binaw.

**Runman:** Why was the edge beveled?

**Minginmar:** No. I don't know; it is at the edge of this place but I don't know why.

**Runman:** However, the beveled edge did not extend beyond (the Wanyan section).

**Minginmar:** No, it stops there.

**Runman:** It stops here where Gal Binaw *wunbey* start.

**Minginmar:** Yes, yes.

**Runman:** There is an estate Pebinaw not far from here, just north from here, and the tributes from the neighboring islands, where would it be placed if they have a place for it here?

**Minginmar:** The tribute goes there, to Falsew, that's where it goes. When the person from Pebinaw received the tributes then distribute it. Gives those belonging to this village section and keeps his share. I think Chief Fathingmow knows this.

**Runman:** So, Falsew is on the same road just north a bit from this *malal* and continue onto the Falsew *malal*.

**Minginmar:** When the trip from the neighboring islands arrived with both men and women, Falsew is where they would stay.

**Runman:** Thanks Minginmar but let's return to the *wunbey* adjacent and south to us, you said it's the place for Gal Binaw.

**Minginmar:** Tagil' Place for Gal Binaw and Gal Nguch.

**Runman:** There is a back rest that is just different among them.

**Minginmar:** Different among them.

**Runman:** However, you could not tell me which back rest.

**Minginmar:** Can't, cannot.

**Runman:** However, the back rest is for?

**Minginmar:** For the chief of Cho'ol (village, Maap).

**Runman:** For (the Chief of) Cho'ol village. Doesn't the Gal Nguch mixed up (with up with people from Gachpar) there on the *wunbey* of Pe'gachpar (meeting house)

**Minginmar:** Gal Binaw.

**Runman:** Gal Binaw? Thanks, lets return back to the *malal*, no, let's stay with the *wunbey*, what estates in charge of Pe'gachpar who looks after things that takes place at Pe'gachpar?

**Minginmar:** It's somebody from Miryang estate. The person from the Togbuy estate is higher ranked than the person from Miryang estate.

**Runman:** Somebody from Miryang estate is in charge here?

**Minginmar:** Yes, that's correct, he is in charge.

**Runman:** So, he's in charge and adds to the tributes if he saw it fit and also distributes?

**Minginmar:** If there is a shortage, he would contribute to add up to the excepted amount and distribute it to the people.

**Runman:** Let's go to the *malal*, what type of dance can be performed here, no, I apologize, let's stay with *wunbey*. Is there are types of dances called *tiyor* or *tam'*?

**Minginmar:** There is *tam' ni bulyol* (performs by young girls), there is *tam' ni diyen* (performs by young women), and *tam' ni puwelwol* (performs by elderly women).

**Runman:** And *tam' ni pilung* (for chiefs)?

**Minginmar:** It's called *dum'liw*.

**Runman:** What are the differences between one from the other?

**Minginmar:** There is a difference in what is given (distributed during the performance) and the language used. The *tam'* performed by the young girls and chants about things that are funny to hear and laugh at. The ones for the chiefs tell about legendary events, but mostly network relationships, ties with others.

**Runman:** I've heard that in other villages, like on this *wunbey* we're at, you are saying it's for Wanyan village, when Wanyan perform a *tam'*, they just stand up on their *wunbey* and begin to perform.

**Minginmar:** It's the same over here.

**Runman:** And the same for Gal Binaw?

**Minginmar:** Correct, you would be sitting on your *wunbey* then just stand up and perform your *tam'*.

**Runman:** The *tam'* dance, could it be performed by one, two or three or more dancers?

**Minginmar:** Can be one dancer or more, but the one referred to as *tam' ni pilung* would be performed only by a single performer.

**Runman:** The dance named *tam' ni pilung* could be performed only by a single performer?

**Minginmar:** Singularly, one performer coming from one of the higher ranked estates.

**Runman:** The *tam'* you mentioned that speaks of the relationship network that is between villages to other villages or estates to estates?

**Minginmar:** Correct, correct would be relating the relationship networks. After mentioning the relationships, ask the particular estate for something in return. The request must be satisfied. There

was a *mitmit* (ceremony) here, the one I witness. Let me tell you, there was *leleth* (coconut candy) that was exchanged, let me tell you, the size is from where we are to that coconut tree.

**Runman:** Almost two-yard diameter (round in shape)?

**Minginmar:** Yes, it's like that, about that big, each *leleth*.

**Runman:** It was rolled on the ground, you can't?

**Minginmar:** No, it was carried, each person gets a hold of a part and lifted it and carried it along. People from Wanyan and here in Gachpar gave such a *leleth*, people from Wanyan were the ones presenting the *leleth* for “*gan e arche*” (display of tributes during the dance performance).

**Runman:** After the displayed of the tributes, the tributes were given to whom, Gal Binaw or Gal Nguch or?

**Minginmar:** No, it was displayed with the dance and given to anybody, as a spectator sitting near the dancers, and that is the end of it. The visitors are smart. When they come they know that being near the dance is where they can receive things.

**Runman:** The visitors, what would they bring if they have a relationship with Gachpar?

**Minginmar:** When they arrive, they would go to Miryang estate and give whatever they have brought.

**Runman:** What is the name of whatever they might have brought?

**Minginmar:** It suppose to be a *ma'til pa'* (things for tribute).

**Runman:** What would be the word or name for that act, what is it called?

**Minginmar:** There is, wait, wait, there is but it just escapes my mind.

**Runman:** Think about it some, while we return back to the *malal*, what kinds/types of dances are performed in the *malal*?

**Minginmar:** The dances performed could be “*churu' ni gaslaw*” (men's standing dance) and “*churu' ni par u but*” (sitting dances for both men and women). *Tiyor* dances would be performed on the *wunbey*.

**Runman:** *Tam'* is performed in the *malal*, and *tiyor* is performed where?

**Minginmar:** No, *Tam'* and *tiyor* are the same. Both of them were performed on the *wunbey*. Men standing dance and both women and men's sitting dances would be performed in the *malal*.

**Runman:** *Gaslaw* is men's dance what about sitting dance. Do women perform sitting dance and also perform it in the *malal*?

**Minginmar:** They dance, they dance. See here, cannot have a *mitmit* here without Northerners dancing first. Wanyan first must open the *malal* with their dance.

**Runman:** You said “Northerners”, you mean the people from Wanyan village?

**Minginmar:** People from Wanyan village.

**Runman:** Who is responsible for closing the *malal*?

**Minginmar:** You folks (*Wanyan*), you folks close it.

**Runman:** What you are implying is there would be two dances.

**Minginmar:** Suppose to be two, performed one dance to open the *malal* and another to close it. You understand? How I witness it was like that. Wanyan opened the *malal* and in the end closed it.

**Runman:** This place (Pe'gachpar), I suppose it's the same as our *malal* in Wanyan named Pa' e Wanyan, correct?

**Minginmar:** I think so, it's the same. Because people went there first for *mitmit* and afterward came here. That's where the *mitmit* was held first.

**Runman:** Is that right?

**Minginmar:** Then came here next.

**Runman:** Suppose how old you were at that time, guess.

**Minginmar:** Maybe 15 years old at that time because I was in grade what? In grade three, I think, yes.

**Runman:** Before, children attend school at an older age.

**Minginmar:** I was six when I attend school, if not eight.

**Runman:** You mentioned before that Chief of Miryang estate is responsible to organize the activities and events on the *wunbey*, is that his duties?

**Minginmar:** When there is to be a meeting here and people have gathered, he would be the one to distribute the gathered tributes, for example...

**Runman:** For example, a string of fish on the *rorow*, whatever tributes there on the *rorow*?

**Minginmar:** ... He is the one who see to it and distribute to the people, and what? And, after the meeting and whatever is leftover/trash, he would collect.

**Runman:** What you referred to as “leftover/trash”, is whatever remains of the gathered tributes?

**Minginmar:** There is..., there is something. When people leaved, there would be something’s left for him to collect. He would collect and take the “leftover/trash”; it’s his share of the tributes.

**Runman:** We’re calling it “leftover/trash”, but not meaning it literally?

**Minginmar:** No, no, not at all.

**Runman:** He cleans and arranges the distribution of tributes and whatever takes place on the stone platform?

**Minginmar:** Also him, also him, that’s his responsibility.

**Runman:** The meeting house, I see that is built with modern materials, how about the traditionally built one in the past, is there somebody who is responsible to thatch its roof or build it?

**Minginmar:** People from the village of Makiy is responsible to build Pe’gachpar and the people from Gal Binaw village (Leng and Lebna) are responsible to thatch the roof of Pe’gachpar.

**Runman:** People from the village of Makiy is responsible to build Pe’gachpar and the people from Gal Binaw village (Leng and Lebna) are responsible to thatch the roof of Pe’gachpar. So, it seems Gagil municipality as a whole has some type of connections to Pe’gachpar which extends to Makiy village, what would be Makiy villages responsibility to Gachpar village during an occasion such as a *mitmit* to take place at Pe’gachpar?

**Minginmar:** When an occasion such as a *mitmit* or a meeting is to take place here at Pe’gachpar, a representative from Miryang estate would send words to Makiy, because he is their chief, for Makiy to harvest and gathered betel nuts to be brought here for the people to chew during these occasions. These obligations were just recently practiced not long ago. Thomas Ganang (from Miryang estate) asked me what to do when we were to have a recent meeting here that you people from Wanyan attended. And I told him to send words to Makiy. By next week, send words there to have Makiy harvest betelnuts for the people who would be here for the meeting. You’re responsible to give betelnuts for the people who would be here to attend the meeting. He sent words and on the day of meeting, a pickup truck load of betelnuts were delivered.

**Runman:** Now during the betelnut market season, can we hold a meeting and still send words to Makiy asking for betelnuts?

**Minginmar:** Now, I don’t know, just a few bunches perhaps, ha, ha, however, no matter what, we would send words to them and if we don’t, they would be happy because they would have no obligation to perform.

**Runman:** The betelnuts or other things in the forms of tributes to be given here from other villages, whom traditionally have that obligation to perform to Pe’gachpar, for example, a string of fish, or the betelnuts, I am guessing that when the tributes arrived, it would be placed there? I’m asking.

**Minginmar:** On that *rorow* over there...

**Runman:** On the *rorow* in front of the building?

**Minginmar:** Yes.

**Runman:** Is that the one for the public?

**Minginmar:** That is the one for the public.

**Runman:** And those two other *rorow*?

**Minginmar:** It is separate because they belong to the two estates, Pebinaw and Miryang.

**Runman:** The *rorow* on northern section of the *wunbey* for Wanyan, it belongs to Pebinaw estate?

**Minginmar:** Belongs to Pebinaw estate.

**Runman:** The *rorow* located on the southern section?

**Minginmar:** Belongs to Miryang estate.

**Runman:** Miryang estate, I understand.

**Minginmar:** The tributes on the *rorow* for Miryang estate belongs to only himself, while the chief from Pebinaw has a *rorow* at his Pebinaw estate, the tributes on that *rorow* at Pebinaw estate would be for himself and for others who is entitle to their share.

**Runman:** For the chief of Pebinaw to divide among them?

**Minginmar:** Yes, there are seven *chath* (noble estates serving Pebinaw estate's interests) here in Tho'olng (southern section of Gachpar village). The chief of Miryang estate share the tributes on the *rorow* with them.

**Runman:** I apologize, this has nothing to do with this *malal*, but could you name the seven *chath* (noble estates) for me?

**Minginmar:** The estate of Balerowol, Mathowreg, Pow, what is the name of the other place? Pow and Pow one belonging to us and the other belonging to Yow. There are two estates named Pow, not two, three, all three Pow estates are together and member of the *chath* estates. E'thow' estate and, finally Gubinaw estate belonging to Francis Faney. That's the seven *chath* in Tho'olang. Here in Aryap (northern section of Gachpar) there are seven *dawoch* estates.

**Runman:** That's the difference?

**Minginmar:** *Dawoch* and *chath*. *Chath* is ranked higher than *dawoch* because the village section of Tho'olang (thus *chath*) is ranked higher than village section of Aryap village section (*dawoch*).

**Runman:** Can you list for me the seven *dawoch* estates?

**Minginmar:** Hmmm.

**Runman:** I'm sorry, as I mentioned before, this line of question has no direct bearing on this subject matter, and you had mentioned it and I wanted to learn more about the subject.

**Minginmar:** I'm positive I can list all seven estates, Lul, Mangilngil, Talang, Mache'.

**Runman:** Sorry, you said Talang (above or up a ridge), is that an estate or a village?

**Minginmar:** No, Talang, over there (west of us) it's an estate.

**Runman:** Miryang (west of us)?

**Minginmar:** Near Miryang estate.

**Runman:** Is it an estate?

**Minginmar:** It's an estate (Talang) and Miryang estate not the Miryang Taliw (sacrosanct ground), Miryang estate next to Mr. Rikin's home. These are the *dawoch* estates. Aryap has *dawoch* estates and Tho'ilang have *chath* estates.

**Runman:** Thank you very much, it has no relationship with what we were talking about, but I really wanted to learn more about it. Is there anything more you would like to add to what we've already discussed about Pe'gachpar *malal* or site?

**Minginmar:** Aye, had we talked about these *magrey* (stone backrest) over here because it's the seat for *makath* (conspiracy, plot or scheme)? Whenever a meeting is take place at that place, its sole purpose is to plot or scheme. Also present should be a representative from Rull or Tamil municipalities.

**Runman:** Not both of them?

**Minginmar:** Both of them should be present, representatives from both Tamil and Rull.

**Runman:** I see quite a few stone backrests?

**Minginmar:** There is Bule'ar somewhere which serves the same purpose.

**Runman:** Located where, Tamil or Rull municipality?

**Minginmar:** Another place like this one that serves the same purpose, that's called Bule'ar, and this place here is called Tane'ar.

**Runman:** This place is called Tane'ar and there is another such place elsewhere called Bule'ar. I'll ask around so I'll know about it.

**Minginmar:** Search about it so you would know, this place is Tane'ar.

**Runman:** So, the name for these backrests here you said is a place for plotting and or scheming is called Tane'ar.

**Minginmar:** Tane'ar.

**Runman:** Thank you very much.

**Minginmar:** There is another place that serves the same function as this place named Bule'ar. When you leave, continue to ask about it, you'll find it.

**Runman:** Do you suppose, is this the place in which the most complicated and grandest plotting and scheming take place, or?

**Minginmar:** This is it, the grandest of them all.

**Runman:** Tane'ar, Bule'ar...

**Minginmar:** This place is Tane'ar, there is Bule'ar that I don't remember whether it's located in Rull or Tamil municipality. Ask around about it, I think it's located in Ngolog village in Rull.

**Runman:** I'll be looking for it when I leave. The *makath* (plotting or scheming), is it done by the Bulche' political alliance?

**Minginmar:** Correct, correct.

**Runman:** This is great. Thank you so much for this information.

**Minginmar:** Ulun political alliance does not participate in warfare. Bulche' goes to war, they are the Ulun's warriors, ha, ha, ha (laughed). Gachpar was in a dilemma. Gachpar was in a quandary, badly. It was said that there is nothing Gachpar could do about it. Gachpar needed to send word to Rumung Municipality and told a warrior named Lukan to burn down Balabat meeting house in Rull, historic example of *makath*, heh, heh, heh (chuckled). The similar thing happened between Balabat village and Yinuf village. Balabat watched Yinuf acquired a lot of stone money wealth and prestige. It became that Yinuf had more stone money than Balabat, and Balabat thought something had to be done, and words (*makath*) sent here, Gachpar. Gachpar sent word back saying "leave things to me. I'll take care of it." Gachpar sent words to Makiy village commanding them to go to Palau to quarry stone money, huh, huh, huh (chuckled). Makiy sailed off to Yinuf and carried off the pieces of stone money. Ha! Balabat got elevated in rank due to Yinuf not having as many pieces of stone money huh, huh, huh (chuckled).

**Runman:** Let us return to, is this *malal* the biggest in Gachpar?

**Minginmar:** This is the largest and biggest *malal*.

**Runman:** Is there another *malal*, one from Aryap or Tho'olang?

**Minginmar:** None, that side is Tho'olang and this side is Aryap of that stone money.

**Runman:** Wait I don't understand.

**Minginmar:** That stone money over there.

**Runman:** That stone money erected at the end of the *malal*?

**Minginmar:** Yes, that side is Tho'olang and this side is Aryap.

**Runman:** Is that the boundary of the two village sections?

**Minginmar:** For these two *malal*.

**Runman:** I see, I see. So Aryap when they dance, they would dance at Falsew *malal*?

**Minginmar:** How is that?

**Runman:** They would dance at Falsew *malal* Falsew, or not?

**Minginmar:** No, if Aryap were asked to dance, they would dance here at Pe'gachpar. If Tho'olang were to dance, they would dance at Falsew *malal*, on the other (northern) side of that stone money (at northern end of Pe'gachpar *malal*) is the Falsew *malal*. On this side (south of the stone money and Falsew *malal*) is the *malal* for Aryap. I heard that stone money belongs to Wanyan.

**Runman:** The stone money at the northern end of the *malal* and erected in the *malal*?

**Minginmar:** Correct.

**Runman:** This is a large *wunbey*. Does it extend all the way to the swamp west of here?

**Minginmar:** Close, close to the swamp. Next is a *wunbey* of Mr. Fanacho's estate which was added to this *wunbey*.

**Runman:** And over here to the north?

**Minginmar:** It extends north then stop. There was a swampy pool of water at the end of the *wunbey*. The US Sea Bees covered it up with dirt/soil from Wilingir.

**Runman:** I noticed that this place is clean and the *wunbey* is well maintained, perhaps a few tree roots have made the flat stone on the platform a little uneven, but it is weeded regularly.

**Minginmar:** Mr. Francis Faney comes and cleans regularly this place. He's the owner of that estate, La'awgoy. He watched over things here, if something occurs here he would report it or...

**Runman:** So, what is the difference between him and Miryang, what the difference in their roles?

**Minginmar:** There is a difference because the representative of Miryang estate has a higher rank/title. The Pe'gachpar meeting house is the responsibility of Miryang estate. The *wunbey* sections and the *malal* are the responsibilities of La'awgoy estate.

**Runman:** What is the name of Mr. Faney's estate you mentioned?

**Minginmar:** La'awgoy. There is the foundation of it (*dayif*).

**Runman:** Directly west of us?

**Minginmar:** West of us.

**Runman:** West of that row of *magrey*' (stone backrest)?

**Minginmar:** Yes, that is La'awgoy. Mr. Faney's estate.

**Runman:** Is there anything else more you'd like to add to what we've talked about? If nothing now however if something comes to mind later, please call me.

**Minginmar:** Thanks Runman, but nothing more now.

**Runman:** No, thanks to you for telling me more about this place.

**Minginmar:** You've recorded this information confirm if they are correct or not.

**Runman:** I'll take it and transcribe it and give it to you for your review, if there is something in it that you think is incorrect how I understood it then let me know. Or if there something to add let me know.

**Minginmar:** Ok. Kam magari.

**Runman:** No, you're the one to thank, thank you for these information's.

**Minginmar:** Danga'.

### **Musgow *Malal* Complex**

**Runman:** I'm John Runman, and am in Balebat' in Rull to interview Henry Tithin here at Musgow. We are going to talk about a *malal* at Musgow which is at the men's house of Musgow. Do you know of a history regarding this *malal* of Musgow?

**Tithin:** I don't know a history of the *malal* but I know a history of the men's house.

**Runman:** So, give the history of this men's house.

**Tithin:** This men's house used to for a chief of Balebat' who was called Gargog. A person who did not care much, he did not join in activity doing but he let others worked too hard. He slept at Eyan. He went to Eyan to sleep at nights. One night as he went to Eyan his sleeping materials were in the water (sea). Before he got to Eyan, someone threw the stuff into the water. As he got to his sleeping place his sleeping mat was not there and he asked, "Where is my mat?" Nobody answered but someone pointed a finger to the water. He looked and saw the mat floating westward in the water as the wind was from the east. He jumped in the water after the materials and followed them until he got to this area.

**Runman:** This area was called Musgow?

**Tithin:** No. I don't know what it was called at the time. I don't know the name of this place a long time ago. His sleeping materials floated up to this place, so he came up on land here. As he came on land he figured to have a men's house at this area.

**Runman:** A men's house for himself?

**Tithin:** One men's house for him. He sent words to Gitam and there were good young men in that village. The men of that village initiated and built the house. And the area became to be known as Kadmusgow instead of Musgow as it is referred to these days.

**Runman:** Why was it given that name?

**Tithin:** It referred to the man in Eyan, it says, "We are separated." He used to sleep there and his sleeping things were thrown into the water so he built house here as his men's house. And he named it, "Kad mus gow." It is now shortened to Musgow but it used to be Kadmusgow.

**Runman:** What estate was Gargog from?

**Tithin:** Ru'away.

**Runman:** A person from Ru'away. Was he a chief?

**Tithin:** Yeah, he was a chief.

**Runman:** Was this *malal* create after the completion of the men's house?

**Tithin:** I don't know how it was constructed but this is the way it looked. No men's house missed a *malal*.

**Runman:** Was the area created before foreigners came here?

**Tithin:** It was created before foreigners.

**Runman:** It was created before foreigners. Don't you remember the ...?

**Tithin:** We are guessing a time of the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century.

**Runman:** So, Gargog was the man who created the *malal* and the men's house?

**Tithin:** Gargog.

**Runman:** Are there relatives of the man now?

**Tithin:** I don't know if there are still some. As is for Yap, when a chief passes away, someone steps in and when residents of a family die, another family fills in.

**Runman:** Is there someone representing that estate?

**Tithin:** There is.

**Runman:** Who is representing Ru'away estate?

**Tithin:** Ranganbay. Ranganbay who is the store owner.

**Runman:** Let us talk about this *malal*. I see two stones at the western end of the *malal*?

**Tithin:** Those stones were there when I grew up and saw the place. They are now worn out and are a bit smaller due to wind, rain and sun.

**Runman:** There is another stone at the eastern end making the *malal* extend from the west to the ...?

**Tithin:** Extends up to the platform.

**Runman:** Is that the platform for the men's house?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** Where did the stones used for ...?

**Tithin:** They came from here I assume.

**Runman:** Tell me about the *malal* from then until now, has anything change?

**Tithin:** The *malal* now looks as it did before. Not much has changed. Coconuts palms and others have grown around it. But it is still as it was long ago. Rain, wind, and sea water washes the dirt away. Long ago the tides never got to the *malal* but it does now.

**Runman:** Was the changes during the German or Spanish, I guess the changes started to occur during German and Japanese times.

**Tithin:** Japanese did changes and not the Geman and Spanish.

**Runman:** No changes. Tell me what changes took place when the Japanese were with us here.

**Tithin:** During the Japanese time, the stones were taken for the caves. Stones from the platforms, the stone path ways, the sea walls and others were taken and used for the caves [shelters].

**Runman:** Stones from them were taken away?

**Tithin:** To use for, look one, two, three, four ...

**Runman:** Five caves?

**Tithin:** Five caves.

**Runman:** For the caves you mentioned, what were they for, were they for hiding from ...

**Tithin:** There was war. They weren't for hiding but for Japanese to live in.

**Runman:** Japanese lived in them?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** They used them for security purposes?

**Tithin:** Security purposes. I think they were keeping watches on the channel.

**Runman:** I can tell that the two big rocks are indicators showing both sides of the *malal*.

**Tithin:** Two small sitting platforms, one on each side of the *malal*, and that is the inland end of the *malal* as indicated by the big rock. It used to be for visitors who would come here but there would be no one here then they sit there and wait for someone to arrive.

**Runman:** Can you estimate the size of that platform?

**Tithin:** It is not big. It is about three fathoms on each end and four fathoms on each side.

**Runman:** Are they the same size?

**Tithin:** Both platforms. A path way to the shore separates them.

**Runman:** Was the path way paved with rocks?

**Tithin:** No. The one going upland was paved with rocks.

**Runman:** ?

**Tithin:** Just the sand. Then, how do we say it?

**Runman:** What was it called, *samag*?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** The thing in the *malal*. Does it extend to the platform of the men's house?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** Is this *malal* still in use?

**Tithin:** It is not often used these days. It was used a lot long ago. Only the exotic dances were performed here a long time ago. It is not often used for dancing these days.

**Runman:** What is another important thing about the *malal*? You mention that dances are started here?

**Tithin:** This was the place the dances of Balebat' were started (getting it down again). Hanging up of dances was also done here. If a dance is hanged up somewhere else then some leis are brought here and set on the *samag*.

**Runman:** To restart a dance, how many people can restart one?

**Tithin:** Does not matter how many persons, one or two persons could restart a dance.

**Runman:** Thank you. The number of people required to restart a dance doesn't matter?

**Tithin:** One or two people and no matter what section the dance was from; this place was for restarting dances.

**Runman:** If a dance was to be performed at Eyen, was it to be restarted here? If a dance was for Balebat', would it be required to restarted here? Was this for female and male dances? Is this for all types of dances?

**Tithin:** All kinds of dances were restarted here. Only *gaslew* are performed here on celebrations.

**Runman:** Aside from the regular types of dancing, only *gaslew* are performed here. All the regular dances were restarted here?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** Are they restarted here in the *malal* of Musgow?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** Rull presents dances on occasions like Yap Day, do the dances get restarted in this *malal*?

**Tithin:** That is right.

**Runman:** Do they get restarted here?

**Tithin:** Yeah. It was set a long time ago and it is still like that now.

**Runman:** I think that is still followed these days. There aren't so many dances like the one I mentioned, but they still come to restart the dances of Balebat' in Rull here. What about the name if there is one, the first is in regards to platforms and foundations of this *malal*, what is it called?

**Tithin:** What is what?

**Runman:** What's the name of it or whose seat is it or...?

**Tithin:** Is it like back rests, different seats for whoever?

**Runman:** I'm asking about the platforms. You know, the *malal* is usually between two platforms. This one is different because two small platforms are at the western end and the men's house platform is at the eastern end.

**Tithin:** Those at the western end have no names and are for resting and waiting.

**Runman:** They are for resting. Does this *malal* have a *rorow*? *Rorow* or *Sumruw* on the men's house platform?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** How many *rorow* or *sumruw* are for the men's house?

**Tithin:** Two. One at the inland end and another at the shore end.

**Runman:** Is there a reason for having two *sumruw*?

**Tithin:** There's no reason that I know of. They might be for decorations as well as when someone is coming from the waters, he uses the *sumruw* at the shore end and if a person brings something from upland, he uses the *sumruw* at the inland end.

**Runman:** I saw a fire place on the men's house platform. I thought fire places are usually in the men's houses but this one is outside the house, why is that?

**Tithin:** Someone created it a long time ago so that he could use it for cooking fish over fire after coming back from fishing.

**Runman:** We couldn't cook fish in the house for the reason that we might attract animals to enter the house.

**Tithin:** Yeah. We couldn't cook fish in the house. After I grew up and while the house was still standing, the fire place was already there by itself (only one).

**Runman:** So all your life the men's house was here?

**Tithin:** It was older than me. When I became old the *faluw* was standing good.

**Runman:** Did you use the *faluw*?

**Tithin:** I seldom came here due to being afraid. A *gorgor* used to stay here.

**Runman:** A *gorgor* was called a firefly.

**Tithin:** Firefly it was.

**Runman:** *Gorgor* in Yapese referred to something else, what was that something?

**Tithin:** It was a ghost that lived at the *faluw*. That firefly did not twinkle.

**Runman:** So it was like a light that moved.

**Tithin:** Yeah, it is more like a cigarette left burning and you would see it when you look its way.

**Runman:** Moving as fireflies did.

**Tithin:** Yeah. It did not go away and elders of long ago like Famaw, Wag, Farapin, Ga'ag and others talked to it as it tries to follow them when they left the house, "Go back, go back to the men's house, take care of the house until I come back from home." Then it disappeared.

**Runman:** Can you provide an answer to this person's question asking of plants or some important facts regarding the *malal* and platforms in here?

**Tithin:** No. But some of the coconut trees were planted a long time ago, and now the tides had scattered the coconuts around that they are growing in disordered formation.

**Runman:** Is there anything that you want to say regarding the construction of the *malal* or some histories you learned that had to do with activities and celebrations that were held here or restarting of dances that caused some kind of attractions?

**Tithin:** Oh, nothing more.

**Runman:** So, the *malal* is necessary for restarting of dances ...

**Tithin:** And to hang up dances.

**Runman:** And the hanging up of dances. Dances are restarted here, where ever the dances are presented and when a dance is ready to be hanged up, it should be taken here for that purpose?

**Tithin:** No. Wherever a dance is hanged up, a head lei or a neck lei should be brought here.

**Runman:** Where is it brought to in here?

**Tithin:** It used to be inside the house. But now, just bring them here and leave them somewhere for there are no more houses.

**Runman:** You explained that exotic dances are performed here. Do the exotic dances belong to the village of Balebat'?

**Tithin:** Yeah. Only Balebat' perform exotic dances here.

**Runman:** Does this *malal* participate in the celebrations between villages like Balebat' and Ngolog or Balebat' and ...

**Tithin:** No. No.

**Runman:** In your mind, what outstands in this *malal* in comparison to others in Balebat'?

**Tithin:** There is nothing in this *malal* that is outstanding, this *malal* was formed because someone felt bad after his mats were thrown in the waters at Eyan.

**Runman:** The outstanding thing is as you mentioned, dances are restarted here and dances are ...

**Tithin:** They are not hanged up but leis are brought to ...

**Runman:** Yeah. Anything we have forgotten to mention and you want to add?

**Tithin:** No more for I don't know enough, this is all that I know about this *malal*.

**Runman:** Well thank you, while I'm still here I will ask questions about this *faluw*...

**Tithin:** Throughout the village?

**Runman:** No, here. This *faluw* here and we are at Musgow. You stated that the *faluw* is for the estate of Ru'uway ...

**Tithin:** For Ru'uway.

**Runman:** Ru'uway. Who is the chief overseer of the *malal*?

**Tithin:** Now? These days?

**Runman:** From now on or yesterday.

**Tithin:** The area remained a *faluw* even though Gargog passed away, so I think no particular person has the role of overseeing the place. The *faluw* lost its value as it was not original. Eyan and Balebat' remained more important.

**Runman:** I am trying to understand if Ru'uway had all the responsibility of this area.

**Tithin:** Yes, not yes, that was it a long time ago but it is not anymore now.

**Runman:** What section of the village is the *faluw* located?

**Tithin:** It is in the southern section of Balebat'. The section named Nel.

**Runman:** Does this *malal* do the *athing* (a type of fishing using canoes, big nets and many men to catch big fish) fishing techniques?

**Tithin:** No. May be it was like that a long time ago but nothing is required of the *faluw* these days. I remember that when I was a child there were no nets here, all the nets were at Eyan. If *athing* or other kinds of village fishing was to be performed, all the nets were up on beams at Eyan. The nets were made of coconut strings and threads, along with pieces of bamboos tied together in the shape of the letter "T" which were used to carry the nets.

**Runman:** Is that right? I did not know that method.

**Tithin:** After arranging the nets on the T-shaped bamboo floats, we pull along the floats by holding the straight ends of them, when we are ready to release the nets we turn the floats around so the nets are released from the straight end.

**Runman:** Do you arrange the nets in small circles on the bamboo floats?

**Tithin:** As we are ready to lay the nets, hold the T-end of a float so that the net would slip off the open end of the float. When the next net is to be connected to the first one, another bamboo float with net is brought and the two nets get connected and the process is continued.

**Runman:** I want to ask you about path ways. The two roads come all the way to the *malal*?

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** If this road has a name, what is it?

**Tithin:** I don't know the name of the one that extends from the platform at Nel and comes here to Musgow. The one that goes up land is called *wol' e nig* (fish path). Fish is taken from here to Mana'ol estate.

**Runman:** Fish caught from here?

**Tithin:** Yeah. I think the fish was trapped either from sea grass beds or from groups of mangroves and some of the fish had to be carried thru the path way to the estate of Mana'ol. Thus, the path way for carrying fish became established.

**Runman:** The path goes to Mana'ol and returns?

**Tithin:** No, it continues on.

**Runman:** Where does it continue on to?

**Tithin:** It goes past on to Balebat' where it joins the main road, do you know the stone path that goes up land from the far end of the *malal* of Balebat' and goes to Ngolog then back to Mola'ab then continues on through the grass. Then finally back to this main road. The road leads upland where it forks. A fork continues up to Benik and beyond. The other extends through Mana'ol then on to Ngolog, then from there to Bale'aw where it joins the shore main road. Do you know Bale'aw? It is the place where a small store is and Head Start is next to the water across the road from the store.

**Runman:** The reason I am asking about roads is that some roads in one village or in others are paved with rocks and have some kind of relationship to other things, so does that road have a name?

**Tithin:** Yeah. That road is for the carrying of fish. Thus, *wo'en e nig* (fish path).

**Runman:** *Wo'en e nig* (fish path).

**Tithin:** However, it is the road for the line of fish which is carried through the path to Mana'ol. And that remained the name of that path until today.

**Runman:** And so that line of fish is not brought here to Musgow?

**Tithin:** No. The fish is taken here because this area is closer and this is the place the line of fish is prepared for delivery to the estate of Mana'ol. The fish nets are all kept in Eyan. There is also an estate which belongs to Falngin and it is called Nguchol. That is the estate that is responsible for the salt waters of Balebat'. There are several stone paths in Balebat' and I can name only two of them. There are many sections of the stone paths at the upland areas that I can't name.

**Runman:** Some parts of the paths are given the name of land parcels the path goes through and that idea is sectional.

**Tithin:** Even this one that goes from here to Mana'ol is the only section I can name as Wol'enig, but I can't name the sections after Mana'ol. It continues up to another one coming from Balebat' which is called Wal'chagey. The path from Balebat' is called Wal'chagey referring to a ghost by the name Chagey. That ghost still exists today. My house, the main foundation of our home is next to the path way. So, in the evenings around eight or eight thirty, I hear it walking down to the shore. I cannot tell when it walks back to the inland section.

**Runman:** What does it sound like?

**Tithin:** Sounds like someone walking.

**Runman:** Is that right ...

**Tithin:** Yeah.

**Runman:** Can't you see anyone when you look?

**Tithin:** You can't see any one. But it goes through to the shores then back, yet I don't know the time it comes back from the waters. However, from eight to eight thirty in the evening you would hear it walking down to the shores.

**Runman:** You can hear him stepping on dead leaves from breadfruit and other trees?

**Tithin:** The only thing I can't say is the time he comes back inland. I am telling the truth. Now that I came back from Guam, I live in the house for it still stands good. And that is the way it is.

**Runman:** Is that so?

**Tithin:** Yeah. While I am laying down doing reading in the afternoon, then I thought some one is coming. My house is right next to the path, so it makes me think that some body is entering the gate, but it is him walking on the path. I would then get up but there is no one and I can hear the steps going away.

**Runman:** Thank you now.

**Tithin:** Thank you and this is the end of our interview, right?

**Runman:** Yeah. If you figure out something that we didn't cover ...

**Tithin:** Aha. I'll ask around if there is something else.

**Runman:** And we can get together again.

**Tithin:** Aha. We can get together again.

**Runman:** Thank you.

**Tithin:** You're welcome. I need to get a ride with you.

**Runman:** We'll go together.

**Tithin:** Drop me at Fitepal. Go on to Colonia and I'll go home and prepare feed for my chicken.

**Runman:** Yeah. We'll go.

### **Gallas *Malal* Complex**

**Runman:** Sirow, my name is John Runman with Leo Thineyog coming from YSHPO to interview Mr. Sergius Yow and Victor Magey about the *faluw* (men's house) named Gallas. Today is July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2015, we are at Migilruw meeting house (*pe'ebay*) located inland. Thanks to these two gentlemen, Yow and Magey who would elaborate and share with us what they know about Gallas and the *malal* at Gallas. The time for our interview is at 10:10am.

**Runman:** The *malal* called Gallas, what's the meaning of the name or word Gallas, what does it mean?

**Magey:** Garras not Gallas, Gallas is commonly used pronunciation because it is easier on the tongue to say. The correct way to say it is Garras, Garras.

**Runman:** If the correct name or word Garras, what is the meaning of Garras

**Magey:** Garras is a word with perhaps two meaning. To wake up somebody in the *faluw*, you would not call out their name. You would shake him and make the sound shush, shush, but not call out or mention his name at all. The reason people get awakened is to go for a type of fishing called *yarrow* (using a type of rectangle shape scoop net used on sea grass beds with a numbered of fishermen strolling in a line formation to herd and catch schools of fish). When the fishermen were to be awakened, it was done in that fashion, shushing and or shaking him, but never calling his name out loud. The person who didn't wake up was left behind. Early dawn is the time for this type of fishing. *K'ef* is the name of smaller type of scoop net, the larger scoop nets used for *yarrow* is called *mislal*. This type of fishing is almost like net fishing in which the schools of fish would be coming toward you. That is the meaning of Garras as such.

**Runman:** That is the name used today, Gallas, a *faluw* with *wunbey* and a *malal* located between these *wunbeys*. Gallas is used also to refer to the *malal*.

**Magey:** Yes, correct.

**Runman:** Where is this *malal* located, in which village section?

**Magey:** It is located in the south section of Ngariy village

**Runman:** Here in the village of Ngariy how many village sections are there?

**Magey:** Four.

**Runman:** Yimuch village section is the southernmost village section then which next?

**Magey:** Next is Petong to the north of Yimuch, and then next is Miniy and Wornguf near Dulkan village

**Runman:** Next question is that No. 8, do you know of any oral traditions about who created that *malal* at Gallas?

**Magey:** No, I cannot say anything about it, I do not know. If you know Yow then explain, what you have heard from the elders.

**Runman:** Thank you both, think about it, if something comes to mind we'll return back to No. 8. The No. 9 question is asking whether the *malal* was created before or after western contact.

**Magey:** No, created before. Westerners arrived after.

**Runman:** The Westerners arrive after, the No. 10 question, who could be in charge with the work to create the *malal*?

**Magey:** Explain Yow how it was, the things discussed earlier.

**Runman:** Wasn't there an estate or a chief in charge, if it was a chief, chief of where?

**Yow:** Thank you. I think the work started, the way we understand things done in past and also understand them today, it was started by three chiefs, one from Man'ol estate (in Balabat village), Rull municipality, and one from Bulemangiy estate in village of Dulkan, Rull municipality and the one from Lil estate in the village of Lay, also in Rull municipality. Those are the three chiefs (*pilung*).

**Runman:** The three chiefs today, who has the most authority here at Gallas?

**Yow:** The chief from Lay.

**Runman:** Chief from Lay, of which estate?

**Yow:** Lil estate.

**Runman:** Lil estate, thank you, very good answer, there is another part to the No. 10 questionnaire, those people who created Gallas, are these people or their descendants or representatives still have connection to Gallas.

**Yow:** Thank you, they are still around and they still have connections to Gallas. If one died, another family member inherited the responsibilities and connections to Gallas.

**Runman:** Thank you. On question No. 11, where was the materials used to create the *malal* came from? I realize that the *wunbey* (stone platform) on each side of the *malal* defined the *malal*, what materials were used to create the *wunbeys* and where did they come from?

**Magey:** Explain it, Yow.

**Yow:** The *binfiy* (coral stones) were gathered from the reef and the lagoon. *Daboch* (sedimentary rocks) that is tiled along the surface of the *wunbey* came from Benik village. A bamboo raft would be made and tugged by canoe back to Ngariy village loaded with *Daboch* rocks.

**Runman:** Thank you, Yow. Is that all the materials used at Gallas in the ancient time, or?

**Yow:** Thank you very much, that is a good question, I almost forget one type of the material used. Dirt were dug up here, up landward, put in baskets and carried to the coast and used as backfill (*mo'ob*) for the stone platforms. If you were to dig up a place on the *wunbey*, you would find a mixture of sand and red soil present.

**Runman:** In what?

**Yow:** *Mo'ob*. *Mo'ob* is the materials used as backfill to support and filled the void created by constructions of stone walls or ledges.

**Runman:** Can you tell me more about this *malal*, such as, what kind of alterations if any had been done to the *malal*, whether it was it extended or reduced in size that had taken place in the recent past or up to today. Was it recently restored or was there any alteration done?

**Yow:** I understand, no, thank you, there was nothing changed about its locations, the same size. The only thing we've improved on it is we raised the *wunbey* higher due to sea level rising and has the site

registered in the Yap State Historic Site Registry with YSHPO. All tradition ceremonies and functions that were done in the past remains still the same today. There is an exception, now we entertain tourists and have pictures taken of the place. All traditional roles and functions remains the same, thank you.

**Runman:** Was the use of the *malal* ever stopped at one time or another? You were telling me that the site was recently restored. Was there a time the use of *malal* stopped?

**Magey:** What you're asking is from ancient time to today?

**Runman:** Yes, from ancient time to present

**Magey:** The time that the use of the *malal* ceased was when the *faluw* (men's house) was burned down (during an ancient war).

**Runman:** During the time the *faluw* was burned, was it before or after the arrival of Westerners?

**Magey:** Before the Westerners arrival.

**Runman:** After the burning of the *faluw*, it was then rebuilt, and was the *malal* used after or not?

**Magey:** No, the use of the *malal* was only recently, I don't know, maybe as recently as 2012.

**Runman:** At the time you've just completed rebuilding the *faluw* and the restorations of the associated *wunbey* was the time the *malal* was reused again?

**Magey:** Correct.

**Runman:** This question No. 14, what are the names of these *wunbey* and *dayif* (house stone foundation) near the *malal*? What are the ceremonial things that take place on the two *wunbey* sections, the oral traditions about these *wunbey*? I noted from the survey map that the southern *wunbey* is smaller than the other on the southern side of the *malal*. The larger *wunbey* north of the *malal*, what do you do?

**Yow:** Thank you, and the layout is like that with two *wunbey* sections. The *wunbey* located at the back of the *malal* (southern section) is at a lower elevation, it is the location for women to stay and perhaps prepare and decorated dancers before the dancers come on stage in the *malal*.

And the larger and more elevated *wunbey* is the location for men with *magrey* (stone backrest) for those with titles, ranks and authorities or have reserved places with backrests. Located on the same *wunbey* is a *rorow* (an elevated single stone slab or a raised stone platform, a place for tributes) for coconuts or betelnuts for those with titles and in authority who is due a share of the tributes. His share would either be given to him or take it when he leaves.

**Runman:** Those two *wunbey*, can you elaborate more about them. Is there a special name used or is it just called *wunbey* at Gallas?

**Yow:** It is called Wunbey Nib Pin (*wunbey* for women) and Wunbey Nib Pum'on (*wunbey* for men). Wunbey nib pin has no *magrey* on it.

**Runman:** However, that's just the names for the two *wunbey* sections, the whole site is called?

**Magey & Yow:** Gallas!

**Yow:** Including *malal*, *wunbey* and all, Gallas!

**Runman:** The No. 16 question is the next. Is there a *magrey* or a place on either *wunbey* that is reserved for an individual or an estate or a particular village?

You have explained about the women's and men's two *wunbey*, but if there is a *magrey* that it is important that we know about, please let us know.

**Yow:** Thank you. What we have learned when we had become more knowledgeable is we have learned that there are reserved places for the chiefs from two estates, Relach (Ngolog, Rull) and Nimath (Teb, Tamil). For a purpose they both have *magrey* at this place.

**Runman:** Over there at the *wunbey*?

**Yow:** On the men's *wunbey* at Gallas.

**Runman:** You don't know which *magrey* or its location?

**Yow:** Sorry, like we said, the place was in disrepair. Most, if not all the *magrey* was laying down which we restored to its proper positions, only that we don't know which *magrey* belongs to whom and to whom.

**Runman:** You knew that the *magrey* existed

**Yow:** According to the elders and oral traditions, the chiefs from Nimath and Relach estates each have a *magrey* at Gallas.

**Runman:** Sorry, before our interview we were chatting about Gallas, the way I understood it, Gallas *faluw* belongs to Lay village not Ngariy village, doesn't Lay have a *magrey* at Gallas?

**Yow:** As I said, Lay village has a *magrey* at Gallas, however, we just could not tell which one. It is for certain that he'll have a place at Gallas to sit a take a rest.

**Runman:** Let's move to the next question No. 17. Tell me about the *rorow* located on the *wunbey* for men. Explain how the *rorow* is utilized during events that would take place in the *malal*?

**Yow:** The *rorow* would be utilized like any other *rorow*. It is a reserved place for tributes for chiefs and the village men. The tributes could not be left anywhere else.

**Runman:** Is there another name used here in Ngariy for *rorow*? I heard the name *simruw* used by other villages.

**Yow:** *Simruw*? Mostly at this end of the island, we used the name *rorow*. We also used the name *simruw*, but not as much.

**Runman:** The way you understand, *rorow* and *simruw*, it's one and the same thing?

**Yow:** Same thing.

**Runman:** Siro', I apologized, this was not part of our questionnaire, but I asked about it for my own curiosity. The No. 18 question is there a special type of tree growing on the *wunbey* that is related to the *malal*. I know there are a mahogany tree and a coconut tree and other plants on the *wunbey*. What tree must be on the *wunbey*?

**Yow:** Thank you. There is a coconut tree on the *wunbey* which is reserved for the chief of Relach estate in Ngolog village.

**Runman:** Thank you. Does the coconut tree still exist today, or is there another coconut tree reserved exclusively for?

**Yow:** The original coconut tree is not there anymore, however, a coconut tree on the *wunbey* was designated by the elder men to be the replacement of the older coconut tree. Should the chief of Relach estate visit it would be waiting. It is the only coconut tree on the men's *wunbey*.

**Runman:** Wow, is that right, only one coconut tree on the larger men's *wunbey*?

**Yow:** One coconut tree left on the larger *wunbey*?

**Runman:** How about the smaller *wunbey*?

**Yow:** The smaller *wunbey* have a lot of coconut trees on it.

**Runman:** The larger *wunbey* is for men?

**Yow:** *Wunbey* for men.

**Runman:** Located in front of the *faluw*?

**Yow:** Yes, there is a young coconut tree there that the elder men said to leave it along. The coconut tree would be regularly cleaned but have never been harvested. It always has coconuts.

**Runman:** The No. 19 question is what is so different about a section of, or nearby structures, or a feature, of the *malal* that stands out and is different from other *malal*?

**Yow:** Would you answer this one Magey, about our ceremony.

**Runman:** The ceremonial relation with Thabeth village.

**Magey:** As discussed earlier, we celebrate during a *guywol* (ceremonial occasions, with traditional dances and showcasing of inter-village relationships and alliances). In Ngariy, we cannot have a *guywol* without sending words first to Thabeth. It is Thabeth's right to come at that times to perform the first dance at Gallas *malal* thus opening the *malal* for Ngariy to dance and followed by other performances.

**Runman:** The dance that Thabeth uses to open the *malal*, what kind of dance is it?

**Yow:** *Tam*' (a type of dance performed on the *wunbey* with one or more women and with different age groups)

**Runman:** Mostly *tam*’?

**Yow:** A small *tiyor* (*tam*’ and *tiyor* are similar both performed on the *wunbey*).

**Runman:** Once the *malal* was opened, what types of dance Ngariy would perform if Ngariy was to be next dance or would there be another village that suppose to follow Thabeth dance in the *malal*.

**Magey:** No, no one.

**Yow:** For Ngariy and Thabeth, Thabeth is responsible to only open the *malal* and rest while we *guywol* with other dances. They may have other dance to perform, but that would be of secondary requirement.

**Runman:** What sort of dance would be performed in the *malal*, *gaslaw* (men’s standing dance), *par u but*’ (sitting dance performed by women or by men)?

**Yow:** I’m thinking that...

**Runman:** During the historic time.

**Yow:** I think we do not have the type of men’s dance like *gaslaw* here.

**Magey:** No, we don’t.

**Yow:** So, the type of dance performed would be sitting dances and *tam*’ or *tiyor*.

**Runman:** Women’s and men’s sitting dances?

**Magey/Yow:** Yes.

**Runman:** How about now, could all types of dance be performed there?

**Yow:** Yes, because we have become more westernized. All types of our Yapese dances are performed there for the tourists now.

**Runman:** This No. 20 question, what are other activities take place on the *wunbey* at Gallas or the *malal*, I suspect there might be other activities taken place on the *wunbey* but related to the *malal*? You’ve explained that Thabeth opens the *malal* during *guywol*...

**Yow:** Thank you. We can’t think of anything more, maybe we have not heard of it, but when you think about it, perhaps there is still more things that were done. One of the things that take place other than dances is when we received words from Lay village via way of Tarongwol estate to perhaps hold a meeting, and then we’d go to Gallas and listen to what the chief of Lay village.

**Runman:** When a message arrives from Lay village, what estate here in Ngariy is the recipient. You mentioned the name but it wasn’t clear to me.

**Yow:** Tarongwol, Tarongwol is the estate in the Yimuch village section of Ngariy village. That is where the words get sent to. Afterwards, words get relayed to the other estate and told the sub-chiefs what the chief from Lay said. Usually, the chief from Lay wanted a string of fish or to work on something at Gallas, like to renovate, or things of this nature.

Thineyog: Siro’, what was the name of the couple of estates, Tarongwal?

**Magey:** Fanuglay estate...

**Yow:** Tarongwol, Fanuglay, and Aleb, Aleb correct?

**Magey:** Hum.

**Runman:** Question No. 21, is the *malal* reserved for certain type of dance? I think this question is in reference to what we discussed earlier in the beginning.

**Yow:** I understand, this *malal* in Gallas is reserved for occasions that declared by the chiefs, if the chief said to hold a *guywol* or make something at Gallas it would be done, but the people from Ngariy cannot use Gallas for their affairs because the chiefs would be angry at Ngariy. There are things more important that needs to be done.

**Runman:** Next question No. 22 is somewhat related to Nos. 21 and 20. What function does the *malal* serves between villages and villages relationship? Lay is a village and Thabeth is another village that has relationship here, could you go over what other villages relationships existed with Ngariy and Gallas in particular?

**Yow:** Nothing how is it, Magey? I think that would be all the functions. After we gathered for a *guywol* at Gallas, and then on the next *guywol*, we would go to the west side (Thabeth village) for the *guywol*.

A meeting would take place to decide what to do next on the next *guywol* occasion or the chief from Lay would tell us what to do such as for us to go fishing for him. Then we'd go fishing.

**Runman:** I want to clarify some more about the *guywol*, you've explained that Thabeth villagers opens Gallas *malal* for a *guywol*, and that Ngariy villagers go to Thabeth, can you clarify it a bit more?

**Yow:** OK. The villages of Ngariy and Thabeth are two villages who are liked two brothers. They help each other's when at times of needs. When one of them is in need, the other helps out.

**Magey:** Not the same as friends, they are brothers, same as two brothers.

**Yow:** So, Ngariy and Thabeth have *guywol* ceremonies, each *guywol* occasion would be hosted by the other alternatively. At a *guywol* ceremony in Thabeth, it would be us, Ngariy who would perform a *ta'm* dance to open their *malal*. And the same here at Gallas, it would be Thabeth who would perform *ta'm* dance to open the *malal*.

**Runman:** When you go to Thabeth, which *malal* would you have the *guywol* ceremony?

**Yow:** What was the name of the place, Magey?

**Magey:** That's where they're laying out the stone platform, 'Uloch?

**Yow:** 'Uloch.

**Runman:** So then 'Uloch and Gallas serves the same *guywol* ceremonial functions?

**Yow:** Yes.

**Runman:** Let's summarize what we have been talking about, the question No. 23 is asking what is different about the *malal* at Galls that is not common with other *malal* in Ngariy village, other villages in this municipality? Thank you.

**Yow:** It's like, the way it is different is this *malal* location is a place for chiefs. We in Ngariy cannot just dance in the *malal* just for our own purpose, only during *guywol* occasions or the chief have decreed that we could.

**Runman:** The chief of Lay village?

**Yow:** Yes, the chief of Lay village.

**Runman:** Is there a *malal* for the villagers in Ngariy that Ngariy could dance?

**Yow:** There is a small one in the middle of the village, north from us in Miniw village section. The name of that *malal* for our own *guywol* is Fanm'uw.

**Magey:** Fanm'uw.

**Runman:** Thank you very much, that is all the questions that Takuya asked to ask you, however, if there is anything you'd like to add to what we have discussed today, please do so.

**Magey:** Thank you, but I don't anything more.

**Runman:** Anything at all that may have any connection to Gallas or something that we've discussed that you might want to review to clarify it more?

**Yow:** Thank you, we can't think of anything to detail more. We're thinking that is all, but if you think of anything you'd like to detailed more, we'd try our best.

**Runman:** I can't think of anything more to ask you. I would like to thank the both of you for availing you time for us to talk. When we leave and you remembered something about Gallas you'd like to add to our record, call us at the office and we'd discuss it. Leo, do you have any question for the two?

Thineyog: No, I think they have answered all the questions.

**Runman:** In this case, thank you very much, thanks to you both.

### Appendix 3. Legend of Le'ebirang

Today is September 4, 2004. I am John Tun<sup>48</sup> from HPO in Ma' village in Tamil talking with William Yowtamag who will tell us what he knows about Le'ebirang. Whatever he tells us will be recorded for future generations to read and learn of our culture long ago and how we deal with it today.

Thanks to Yowtamag for giving us the information. Yowtamag, thank you.

I'm going to talk about a time that Yapese referred to as "Girimun" or an era preceding Rigog's period which is the current time period. There was a home in Alog village in Weloy municipality where a very old man lived but the other members wanted to get rid of him. They thought he was no good for anything. The old man had sores all over his body. They took man and left him near a stream. The stream started in Alog, joined one from Firaf then flowed down to Ma' and finally to the sea. He slept on the bank where he was left. One night as he was sleeping he dreamed that a man was telling him, "I have come to ask you to gather men for a dance here in Alog."

The old man said, "I can't pass out the words and I can't dance, my body is full of sores."

Dream man said, "I'm giving you the names of the ingredients of medicine for the sores and use the noni leaves for its wrapper. Prepare the medicine tomorrow morning, take it to the stream and use it as you wash your body. Do it again in late afternoon then keep using it then on. On the seventh day, we will show up for dancing."

Getting up the next morning, he started gathering the ingredients then prepared the medicine which he took to the stream and used it while showering. He repeated the procedure in the afternoon and the sores started to heal up. Then he became able to walk. He then went from house to house telling men to gather in a certain place on a certain date and that some people would come and a dance would be taught and learned. He also mentioned that decorations for the dance would be wild pepper leaves and coconut fronds. On the seventh day, the men of the village gathered at the place. The old man was also present with some spirits who accompanied him. The learning of the dance started that day and continued until the villagers had mastered it. The name of the dance was Totmoy. It was then hanged up.

The spirits left after the hanging up of the dance. They didn't come back any more. But the men of Alog performed the dance they have learned from the spirits whenever they needed to. One time while they were practicing the dance, two very pretty women came to watch the dance. They watched the dance as long as the men were practicing but just before dawn, they would disappear without anyone's knowledge. One of the dancers was Mara'alog who was a young man and a son of the chief of Alog took careful glimpses at the women and one of them interested his heart so much. Goney was one of the women and Gusney was the other. They came from a layer of very high cloud called Erach in Yapese. After practice one day, Mara'alog secretly followed them. He followed them up to the stream where the man with sores was cured. There, they picked up their (*m'uw*) coats resembling squids' floats and contained colors of the rainbows. They got into the coats and disappeared. The next day while the dance practice was still going on, Mara'alog sneaked out got the coat for Goney and hid it. At dawn that morning, the women wanted to leave but Goney's coat was gone. They looked and looked but could not find it, so they decided for Gusney to leave before day light broke in and Goney remained at the place. So Gusney left for Erach, their home cloud.

Goney remained at the spot crying when Mara'alog appeared to her from his hiding place. Mara'alog asked, "Why are you crying?"

Goney replied, "I'm crying because I couldn't find the coat that would take me back home."

He proposed, "Would you marry me?"

She answered, "Yes, I would marry you for there's nothing else for me to do."

---

<sup>48</sup> He was the Yap State Deputy Historic Preservation Officer at that time.

So, they left for Mara'alog's house in marriage. The coat-like material had been hidden by Mara'alog in a section of the house and asked Goney not to go to that end of the house which Goney agreed to. On a day, Mara'alog told her that he was going to go away for some time. While he was gone, she decided to investigate the place to find out the reason that she was asked to stay away from the spot. She dug under the thick coverage and found the coat. After observing it for a while she returned it to the hiding place and went back to his end of the house feeling somewhat sad due to her discovering of the coat.

Mara'alog returned and she told him that she was home sick and wanted to see her mother. Her husband agreed and a date was set to meet the mother. As the date got closer, she made a grass skirt in preparation for the meeting occasion. However, it was taboo to wear greenish skirts on canoes for it would bring storms. Even though green grass skirts were like poison on journeys, the two walked all the way to Thowenifeng hill where Mara'alog said, "Shall we stop for a chew and some rest?" They rested for a while. The woman sat on the wind side of the man. He then smelled the greenish skirt as well as woman's odor which made him aroused causing them to get closer and ended up making love.

They finally continued on the trip. They travelled all the way to the north east part of Rumung, a place known as Athaba'ol. She said, "We rest here and await the coming of my mother." As they were waiting, a storm formed in the horizon, wind started to get stronger, and the waves got bigger and hitting harder on the shore. He said, "We have to go back or we are going to die here."

She said, "No, we can't leave for that's my mother."

He said, "What, have you seen someone's mother as a storm?"

They argued for a while then the man told her that he wanted to go and he left running with the destinations of Alog in his mind. The woman ran after him. They ran and ran until a toe of the man hit a rock. He fell, hit his forehead and died. The place came to be known as Ma'anmit (hitting the face). The woman sat down beside him and wept. The mother came looking for them.

The mother's name was Muchugom. She came to Rumung and couldn't see them. She encircled Rumung with her arms and looked carefully but could not find them but the encircle separated Rumung from Map. She did the same with Map and it became separated but did not find the couple. She enlarged the circle by encircling Tamil and Gagil at the same time, she almost cut off those municipalities from the rest of Yap when she located the daughter and the dead husband. (The Germans cut off the land for the canal but it was connected.) Goney became angry.

She said, "See what had happened! Why didn't you come realistically? This one is dead!"

She replied angrily, "It was the two of you who caused it. Why didn't you stay away from temptation?" It was like the rule set by Gilear (?). "Why did you bend in to temptation? Am I not good for anything?" She scolded her. Then they hugged each other and she left.

The woman lived at the place. She changed herself into a rat so that she would be able to hide under the rock. This rock became known as Tamalangan - Bol. There used to be a section in Dabach village called Be'ethow. Young men from the section sometimes went to the savannah area to fly kites. The lady enjoyed the kites so much that she sang songs for them. When the boys got close to her she would change into a rat and got under the rock. But whenever she was outside the rock she was so beautiful. Residents of Be'ethow planned to catch the lady. A man named Luwer lived in the section. He made a scoop net. One day as the young men were flying kites, the rat changed into a very pretty young woman and came out of the rock to watch and sang songs for the kites.

Luwer moved his long hair from the back of the head to the front so that his face was completely covered and walked slowly toward her. She saw Luwer as she was singing but thought he was looking the other way since she could see only the hair and not the eyes. Luwer got closer to her then quickly scooped her with the net. Others walked with him to the village of Teb to the home of Rigog which was called Tagayel. Rigog was home when they arrived. The scoop net was untangled and as the rat fell down it turned into a pretty lady facing Rigog. They started talking in a spirit

language about getting married. She told Rigog that her name was Le'ebirang. She actually was called Goney in Erach, Margigy in Alog and now Le'ebirang in Tamil.

The men from Dabach were still there standing. They had been forgotten. They were never thanked. They were now mad at Rigog. They moved further to a place called Nimath and they shouted a song of cursing, "*A motho' a, motho' a, kurun rigog, kurun rigog.*" Then they dissolved right there on the ground and became seven stones. These stones were there long ago but probably disappeared by now. The other two became a married couple and became parents of many children. The children swam at a channel branch known as Chen which was close to a men's house in Teb named Bileybuw.

Each time they came home from swimming, one of the children was missing. That happened every day. One day as they were swimming, Wuthrey changed into a white bird, flew up high and looked down on the children. Soon, Yanglab swam away from the others, changed into a shark then swam back and ate some of the children. When they came back home to Le'ebirang and Rigog there were only seven of them. Wuthrey explained what had happened in the water. "You must stop going to that place for swimming", said the parents. The children stopped going to the place. So they were stopped from swimming and there were seven of them. Yanglab was the oldest, Wuthrey was the second, Ya'ol was the third, Ngul was the fourth and the only female, Paga'ath was the fifth, Tama'ir was the sixth and Magargoy was the youngest. The children were asked to put a stop to the swimming.

After stopping the swimming, the children were sent to live at different places in Yap. Magargoy was to go to Gagil but he refused the offer and chose to remain in Tamil, for he foresaw that he would in the long term become higher in title to others. Yanglab was then sent to live in Tho'olang, a section of Gachpar in Gagil. Wuthrey went to Ngolog in Rull. Ya'ol was sent to Tabiywol, Ngul to Makiy, Paga'ath to Alog, Tama'ir to Toruw in Map' and Magargoy remained at Teb in Tamil.

Dancing grounds and sitting platforms were divided among them. Ba' platform was given to Yanglab. Wuthrey received Wodeben and its platform was Bileybuw. Ngul got a crossed - dancing ground which also the four major directions, north, south, east and west. Bile'ayrech, the name of Le'ebirang's country, was the one pointing east and west. Mangyol was the branch pointing north and south. There was a platform for Mangyol. Madulkan was for Paga'ath. Tama'ir received Lug dancing ground and platform. Walgamuw and gay' ground and platform in Fara' village were for Magargoy.

After receiving the cultural dancing grounds and platforms, they were given their eating ranks titles. There were seven titles. *Daguchol* was the highest, *matha'eg* was the second, *yangach* was the third, *lan malal* was the next, *tan malal* was lower, *wuther* was even lower and *dumoliliy* was the lowest. They were also given seven magical rituals. They were *ganiniy*, *yaw*, *tabongoch*, *tarul*, *paluw*, *sabuw* and *sininiy*.

Seven levels of the caste system were bestowed on them. The seven cast levels starting from the top were *bulche'*, *ulun*, *mathiban*, *tathiban*, *daworchig*, *milngay* and *yagug*.

Le'ebirang and Rigog lived at the estate of Tagayel. One day Le'ebirang said to Rigog, "My mother misses me, so she is going to come for a visit."

Rigog replied, "Good, let her come."

She asked, "Where would she stay when she arrives?"

He answered, "You are worried about a place for her to stay? There is the house Balayat." At that time that land name Balayat was old, it came from another era. "There's that house there. She can stay in it." He was being sarcastic.

On the day her mother was arriving, Le'ebirang went to the shore. She looked and the whole bay all the way to Rull and to the horizon was full of lots and lots of floating debris.

The mother said to Le'ebirang, "I am very sorry. This is all the food I am bring and they might not be enough."

Le'ebirang told the mother, "Look, we don't eat those in here."

Mother asked, "Huh, not edible?"

Le'ebirang said, "No, let go of them."

She let the floating stuff go and the women came in land. Le'ebirang asked her to go into the house Balayat and stay there. She went into the house to stay. She filled every part of the building. Whichever corner, or, opening of the house, a part of her body was there.

Rigog was the highest chief in Yap at the time. He sent words to a municipality to provide food. Food was brought in but by morning all the food was gone. The next municipality would bring food the next day and by the next morning there was no more food.

People got so tired of the bringing of food that they began to gather whatever they set their eyes on, threw them in the water and brought them to the shore of Teb but by the next morning, everything was gone or eaten. Then the people got so angry they decided to stop bringing anything to the lady. She became very hungry. At nights she changed into a rat and ate the sugar canes Rigog's farm. Rigog got mad and told his wife, "A rat is eating the sugar canes. I'm going to kill that rat."

Le'ebirang replied, "Don't kill it. Don't kill it for it is my mother."

He said, "Your mother? The rat is your mother?" He didn't listen to her. At night he prepared a trap for the rat then he went back home and they went to sleep. In the middle of the night, they heard a rat screaming or crying and Le'ebirang wept. Rigog asked, "Why are you weeping?"

She sadly said, "You have just killed my mother."

"What, your mother? That is only a rat", he replied. In the morning, it was evident the mother lady was not in the village house. Then she was found with a crashed head.

Her reddish organs were taken and saved as a sacred attribute at the sacred place Amun. Her teeth were given to Fitewar estate to be kept as a sacred tribute but would never be taken to the sea for it would cause a sea flood over land. The body was buried at Pil'uy which was another sacred place. She was called Mochugum.

After a while, Le'ebirang told Rigog, "There will be a flood. You need to build a tree house for us at the Pil'uy where the body of my mother was buried." So, a hut was built in a huge tree at the place. We call the tree "*aw*" these days but we don't know what it was called at that time or era. The sea started to rise. There was no wind. It was calm but the sea water kept rising and there was a man of Aff checking on his fish trap. He found and picked an oyster shell then he got some fish out of the trap and dove to set it on the bottom. He had to dive several times as he was making sure the trap was set up correctly. The last time he dove he couldn't reach the trap for the water had risen up quickly. He looked toward land and could see only the top leaves of some trees. He got on his raft and paddled back toward the leaves of the big tree at the Pul'uy.

He presented the oyster shell to the couple when he arrived at the place. He asked them to do something to the flood water so that it would recede for the land, women and children had been effected badly. Le'ebirang had brought some stuff with her from the upper world when she arrived. She brought a female and a male grass, a female and a male monarch bird called achgigi in Yapese and a turmeric plant which the couple used in doing magic causing the flood to go back to normal.

That was "the Flood of the Rat" (*Day ni Bol*) derived from the name Mochugum, which turned into a rat. This was the end of that one era. We are now in the era of Rigog. That was Grimun era.

After the flood receded, lots and lots of sand had piled on the southern part of Yap called Nimgil. It was so white. Rigog asked the man from Aff to see if there was any human alive or not on Yap then check out that white part and report back to me. When he reached the sand part he saw foot prints and he followed them. Soon, he found a piece of stick with greenish coconut fronds tied around it as a symbol.

He knew then that someone was already there. He walked up backwards. He came back with a brownish piece of fronds which he hid in the sand. On his way back, he found a man of Wanyan village. They argued on which of them was first to the new place. The place they were on doing the arguing was Lay village. The man from Wanyan argued that he was first and had a symbol for it. The

male from Aff mentioned that he was first and had a symbol for it. So, they matched the symbols and because the brownish symbol seemed to precede the greenish one, the argument was settled. Then they left the new place together.

Both came to Rigog in Tamil and explained what had taken place and the person from Aff pointed out that he was first to the place. The two men had names from the prior era. Rigog gave them new names. The man from Aff was renamed Tiliw - mistakes could be resolved but when something is Tiliw it could never be resolved. The man from Wanyan was renamed Laafen to mean that he found it first. Then he pronounced their lineages or clans by saying, "My clan is Ngolog." To the man of Aff he said, "Yours is Nikan Bol or the Clan of Rats." To the man from Wanyan he said, "Yours is *Day Ni Bol* or Flood of the Rat." That was how the fathers' clans came to exist.

(Note: Clans inherited from fathers are called "*ganong*" in Yapese and explained by Yowtamag and clans inherited from mothers are referred to as "*nik*" in Yapese which is more common.)

The man from Aff kept surveying the island and came upon a road next to Madal' and Molreyow estates where he found a liver in blood. He stepped over it and small black ants (*aporgog*) appeared, re stepped over it and small lizard (*atilgog*) appeared, he stepped over it again and small greenish lizard (*atraw*) appeared then the next step brought common lizard (*galuf*). The final step made a very pretty woman appeared and they became a married couple.

Tiliw and Afen each had a son. They came to Rigog to give names and clans to the sons. For the clan of the sons, each would carry the clan of his land. He named Tiliw's son as Faneyathog and Afen's son as Fanechigi. Faneyathog came from a long string of coconuts (*marew*) prepared in Nimgil then towed through the water as "*yathog*" and the string got cut in front of Aff. The towing from Nimgil is "*yathog*" and the half going to Wanyan is referred to as "*chagiy*." Thus, one son was named Fanechigi.

After surveying the land, Tiliw came to Rigog who wanted to acknowledge him for the surveying. Rigog asked him of what he wanted as a reward and he mentioned the savannah area. The area covering Tamil and Gagil was given to him. It was named Fanekan to mean something like property of Le'ebirang and Rigog. The savannah area extending from Tafnith to Ron'uw was named Galted imitating the first savannah. Thus, Tiliw from Madal' became the sole owner of the Fanekan savannah.

The two savannahs were important long ago for they were used for drying food. There was no other way of cooking food at that time. But after a long time Rigog and Le'ebirang died. Rigog's skeleton was found but not that of Le'ebirang for she was a boneless spirit. Then, a canoe was lowered down at Gacham from heaven, but it didn't touch the ground, it remained hanging in the air. Yapese used to gather at the place trying to decide on what to do with it and it was watched days and nights.

At this time, the people of Yap were coming to this part of Yap to look the soil which used to reflect the light and contained all colors like those of the rainbows. Abay was the place that Yapese gathered on at the time. Jealousy was common at the time. Handsome men and beautiful women were getting killed because of jealousy. Men could marry as many wives as they wanted to which became a problem in finding food. When food was found the husband would eat it first then the first wife next. Many times the last wife would end up starving. Then the wife ran away to join another group - that was customary practice at that time of that era.

There were no villages, just some groups of societies in Yap at the time the canoe was lowered down from heaven and left hanging in the air at Gacham while the residents of Yap were trying to agree on what to do with it. Even some people were connecting poles that could reach the canoe in the air.

In the village of Fara', there was a man named Gildubung and a man named Yaloth in the village of Lamer. These men wanted the people of Nimgil to see the canoe, so Gildubung instructed

Yaloth to inform the people of the south to go see the canoe and that Gildubung would find the local attire for Yaloth and himself. The men set a date.

On the set date, Gildubung came with a threaded together betel nut sheaths called thilbuch in Yapese. That was the first time for anybody to see a thilbuch. He also was carrying two prepared hibiscus fibers for attire. The attires were red from the color made out of a type of trees called “*mangal’uweg*.” He and Yaloth went somewhere, changed into the new attire then everyone was excited when they came back, for the red attires had never been worn before.

Gildubung led and got the line of men, women and children moving again. When the line reached Mer village he asked them to stop for rest while he identify and gathered some magical props along the pathway. He got some real young (*chalaw*) bamboo. He stored the magical prop in the *thilbuch* then the procession continued.

The procession reached Gacham and people already at the place started to say sarcastic phrases about Gildubung and Yaloth. “Here come the experts, the skillful and they know how.” Yaloth got so ashamed that he asked Gildubung to make the line of people go back.

Gildubung replied, “Come don’t listen to them.” Both men led the procession again. Gildubung, as he got underneath the canoe set the thilbuch down and asked Yaloth and the other in the procession to come closer and sat by him. One of the other men got up and voiced his thinking of what was to be done with the canoe, then another would voice his concern. This fallowed up for sometime before Gildubung stood up and announced to Yaloth, “I’m going to lower the canoe.” At the time, different people were trying to lower the canoe by lengthening their poles. Some of the poles were not long enough to reach the canoe or too long that the wind made them fell down.

Because Gildubung wanted to do an announcement to everyone, Yaloth tried to shut him up, “Please, stop talking.” But Gildubung refused and made the announcement, “I could get the canoe down. Would it be good or bad for me to do that? You want me to do that don’t you?” Someone sarcastically said, “You are handsome, chiefly and ably, so get it down.”

Gildubung brought the young bamboo stick, did some magic rituals with it then pointed it to the south as he said magical phrases, then pointed it to the north, then the east finally to the west and the canoe got lower to a level that poles from the ground could reach it. A man from Tagay’, Rigog’s village name at that era, who has a short cutter at the end of his pole, used the cutter to cut off the string holding the canoe from touching the ground. The canoe then fell down and landed upside down. Someone shouted angrily, “Beat up that man, where is he from?” There was argument back and forth.

Gildubung asked for silence and everyone listened. He lifted some soil from around the canoe and said, “So much knowledge was in the canoe but now it has spilled out. Only a few skills remained on its outside and I’m going to say them out loud.” He then fingered the audience as he talked about the skills in making fish weirs, canoes, houses and other social arts and crafts of Yap.

Before talking of the skills, he had asked everyone to cover their eyes with their hands and the persons from Aff village covered their eyes well while the others were peeking through their fingers. So, after wards, he asked them to repeat the skills he had mentioned ... (END OF SIDE ONE) ... but the people of Aff were not able to say anything for they never saw anything as they completely covered their eyes.

Those were the skills that were put together and the “*gawel*” type of canoe was able to formed or carved. The types of canoes were thowa’ab, chugpin and popow. The skills then were put together to enable the making of weirs, houses and other cultural structures. The place became known as the canoe of Gildubung.

Tiliw divided the savannah areas among societal groups since there were no villages at that time. Each group was given a section so that everyone would be able to have a place for drying food. The same thing was done for the savanna areas on the western side of Yap for the purpose of drying food since there were no pots and fire at the time.

One night, there was big rain, it rained all night. By morning the rain stopped and a woman from Gitam took her food to the savannah area for drying it. She found a thunder stuck in the leaves of a pandanus tree. The thunder begged of the woman, "Please I need your help. I am stuck here and can't go home. Please, get me down."

The lady took the thunder out of the tree. The thunder thanked the lady and gave her a pot and fire for cooking. That was the time that cooking over fire started and the drying of food was stopped.

## Appendix 4. Inventories of Stone Money and Backrest of the Surveyed Malal Complexes

### Balayat Malal Complex

#### Rai

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Condition	Remarks
R1	92	75	15	Good	
R2	82	76	16	Good	
R3	92	88	14	Good	
R4	78	80	16	Good	
R5	119	109	19	Good	
R6	112	89	11	Good	
R7	102	96	18	Good	
R8	125	122	12	Good	
R9	152	133	18	Good	
R10	172	156	12	Good	Beveled.
R11	195	138	20	Good	
R12	156	144	15	Good	
R13	150	145	27	Good	Two holes.
R14	152	144	12	Good	
R15	120	133	17	Good	
R16	110	100	16	Good	Very large central hole.
R17	104	93	18	Good	
R18	95	101	19	Good	
R19	74	91	15	Good	
R20	118	174	18	Good	
R21	135	128	29	Good	
R22	150	115	27	Good	
R23	138	173	23	Good	
R24	126	129	23	Good	
R25	81	76	14	Good	
R26	124	111	28	Good	
R27	86	78	11	Good	
R28	206	149	24	Good	
R29	170	135	16	Good	
R30	170	140	30	Good	
R31	120	100	18	Good	
R32	80	105	17	Good	
R33	80	125	10	Cracked	
R34	62	49	13	Good	
R35	70	58	13	Good	
R36	56	58	9	Good	
R37	70	75	13	Good	
R38	81	69	5	Good	
R39	50	38	12	Good	
R40	75	72	12	Good	

R41	66	63	14	Good	
R42	75	67	14	Good	
R43	88	74	16	Good	
R44	48	53	19	Good	
R45	56	52	6	Good	
R46	70	64	13	Good	
R47	70	59	10	Good	
R48	134	116	17	Good	

*Magrey*

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Remarks
M1	34	28	15	Vertically grooved.
M2	64	32	15	
M3	34	27	8	
M4	32	24	14	
M5	57	32	12	
M6	42	36	11	
M7	61	36	14	
M8	42	25	15	
M9	60	23	13	
M10	72	27	17	
M11	49	27	17	
M12	52	23	12	Vertically grooved.
M13	45	34	20	
M14	44	33	15	
M15	48	22	20	
M16	45	34	14	
M17	30	24	13	
M18	50	20	16	
M19	54	22	10	
M20	55	52	16	
M21	57	49	15	
M22	70	39	13	
M23	54	27	14	
M24	40	20	18	
M25	102	19	14	
M26	57	100	11	
M27	50	38	12	
M28	38	44	14	
M29	68	40	12	
M30	115	46	22	
M31	84	32	14	
M32	131	54	20	
M33	38	30	11	

M34	132	39	13	
M35	76	23	12	
M36	63	34	18	
M37	60	23	12	Fallen.
M38	48	22	10	
M39	69	26	14	
M40	76	23	12	
M41	39	30	10	
M42	53	32	13	
M43	85	23	10	
M44	62	33	19	
M45	48	27	12	
M46	62	23	14	
M47	66	36	15	
M48	55	40	17	
M49	48	26	11	
M50	59	24	16	
M51	60	30	16	
M52	46	26	16	
M53	30	112	16	
M54	33	34	11	
M55	28	27	10	
M56	56	125	12	Incised.
M57	55	110	12	
M58	60	35	16	
M59	58	24	12	
M60	37	46	9	Made of a broken piece of <i>rai</i> .
M61	41	24	19	
M62	40	19	17	
M63	48	30	18	
M64	87	30	11	
M65	53	42	8	
M66	60	34	14	
M67	38	20	15	
M68	43	40	9	
M69	40	70	11	
M70	70	24	9	
M71	36	20	9	
M72	48	38	14	
M73	40	35	13	
M74	33	28	9	
M75	45	25	10	
M76	49	31	9	
M77	48	29	13	
M78	37	188	18	Incised.

M79	48	40	9
M80	39	33	8
M81	82	86	16
M82	58	41	12
M83	21	21	9
M84	44	20	8
M85	67	40	12
M86	35	22	16
M87	45	38	18
M88	30	20	14
M89	40	13	10
M90	65	45	16
M91	32	20	13
M92	28	26	7
M93	45	41	15
M94	35	20	17
M95	33	30	14
M96	65	32	12
M97	48	25	18
M98	26	24	12
M99	49	32	10
M100	25	36	18
M101	50	38	19
M102	45	27	15
M103	50	30	18
M104	46	35	21
M105	57	35	14
M106	35	21	10
M107	49	26	12
M108	46	45	15
M109	49	52	14
M110	122	45	32
M111	75	33	10
M112	50	41	15
M113	33	135	26
M114	67	38	12
M115	56	43	15
M116	32	20	18
M117	31	18	13
M118	25	19	17
M119	35	48	18
M120	41	18	19
M121	48	33	16
M122	36	28	18
M123	41	44	13

M124	38	38	11	
M125	41	31	25	
M126	38	20	13	
M127	36	38	11	
M128	50	23	10	
M129	45	38	17	
M130	46	20	14	
M131	66	28	14	
M132	42	26	17	
M133	34	21	9	
M134	68	43	20	
M135	64	53	47	
M136	44	100	17	
M137	68	24	19	
M138	56	30	13	
M139	74	30	21	
M140	48	38	28	
M141	60	15	10	
M142	53	23	19	
M143	47	25	15	
M144	38	30	16	
M145	60	17	13	
M146	30	23	14	
M147	48	28	22	
M148	56	30	10	
M149	58	19	14	
M150	57	30	9	
M151	60	30	10	
M152	56	27	17	
M153	32	28	13	
M154	43	15	13	
M155	76	67	19	
M156	80	68	13	
M157	56	45	15	

**L'ayniga' Malal Complex**

**Rai**

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Condition	Remarks
R1	74	64	12	Good	
R2	108	119	18	Good	
R3	165	125	29	Good	
R4	145	137	18	Good	
R5	95	100	20	Good	
R6	46	49	9	Good	
R7	46	47	7	Good	

R8	69	66	9	Good	
R9	120	112	19	Good	
R10	117	80	17	Good	
R11	42	40	7	Good	
R12	75	80	15	Good	
R13	145	124	22	Good	
R14	50	47	8	Good	
R15	50	60	8	Good	
R16	49	59	10	Good	
R17	50	57	9	Good	
R18	97	91	24	Good	
R19	140	125	18	Good	
R20	63	70	8	Good	
R21	55	42	6	Good	
R22	86	80	20	Good	
R23	120	128	18	Good	
R24	50	54	12	Good	
R25	75	79	18	Good	
R26	90	83	20	Good	
R27	166	145	21	Good	
R28	144	110	19	Good	
R29	70	83	13	Good	
R30	56	75	13	Good	
R31	97	103	13	Good	
R32	135	155	20	Broken	
R33	141	120	27	Good	
R34	162	191	25	Broken	
R35	80	100	12	Good	
R36	237	205	20	Good	
R37	96	112	22	Good	
R38	80	83	21	Good	
R39	150	154	23	Good	
R40	70	93	13	Good	
R41	100	59	15	Good	
R42	62	100	9	Broken	
R43	107	202	18	Good	
R44	198	230	26	Broken	
R45	147	123	30	Broken	Incised with the letters "ZIGZEN".
R46	147	77	12	Good	
R47	76	70	15	Good	
R48	80	72	12	Good	
R49	76	59	9	Good	
R50	59	47	8	Good	
R51	55	64	14	Good	
R52	69	85	16	Good	Incised with Japanese words.

R53	80	87	13	Good	
R54	93	55	10	Good	
R55	62	69	13	Good	
R56	64	56	15	Good	

**Magrey**

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Remarks
M1	43	15	10	
M2	47	30	6	
M3	50	46	2	
M4	58	32	10	
M5	63	30	9	
M6	78	32	13	
M7	40	36	8	
M8	54	30	2	
M9	47	45	10	
M10	54	14	9	
M11	49	17	5	
M12	38	23	6	
M13	40	25	11	
M14	55	30	7	
M15	31	43	7	
M16	50	34	13	
M17	33	29	10	
M18	53	43	12	
M19	50	55	14	
M20	33	26	8	
M21	64	35	8	
M22	29	35	7	
M23	63	29	11	
M24	47	31	12	
M25	44	33	4	
M26	57	29	5	
M27	32	6	6	
M28	40	32	10	
M29	34	36	7	
M30	25	40	4	
M31	32	37	5	
M32	53	55	5	
M33	33	39	6	
M34	36	29	7	
M35	45	18	6	
M36	62	46	9	
M37	40	50	6	

M38	36	29	12	
M39	45	28	8	
M40	27	23	7	
M41	53	28	5	
M42	49	40	6	
M43	46	45	8	
M44	69	25	9	
M45	79	73	12	
M46	50	40	4	
M47	59	42	6	
M48	53	25	7	
M49	60	30	5	
M50	43	68	4	
M51	46	60	13	
M52	50	170	29	
M53	57	60	5	
M54	71	50	4	
M55	54	35	7	
M56	45	33	10	
M57	40	30	3	
M58	62	28	9	
M59	53	37	9	
M60	30	45	5	
M61	58	40	10	
M62	30	24	9	
M63	58	105	9	
M64	46	8	8	
M65	37	23	6	
M66	35	36	4	
M67	43	23	9	
M68	53	29	9	
M69	94	41	7	
M70	50	33	6	
M71	47	108	8	
M72	47	35	5	
M73	43	36	4	
M74	81	49	8	
M75	49	22	9	
M76	80	63	5	
M77	39	24	10	
M78	42	38	13	
M79	38	92	10	
M80	35	38	8	
M81	38	45	13	
M82	34	38	9	

M83	80	30	12	
M84	44	30	5	
M85	55	29	4	
M86	56	40	6	
M87	40	37	10	
M88	32	102	5	
M89	48	74	4	
M90	50	110	8	
M91	88	45	10	
M92	50	40	10	
M93	40	26	8	
M94	50	36	8	
M95	49	30	11	
M96	50	150	14	
M97	46	38	12	
M98	53	52	15	
M99	43	40	10	
M100	39	24	14	
M101	42	28	10	
M102	49	35	12	
M103	46	24	13	
M104	57	38	12	
M105	60	30	15	
M106	43	38	9	
M107	94	28	17	
M108	44	90	33	
M109	75	32	19	
M110	110	63	11	
M111	145	56	12	
M112	35	73	10	
M113	33	27	41	
M114	30	52	18	
M115	48	26	17	
M116	33	27	13	
M117	37	39	10	
M118	42	54	15	
M119	27	54	14	
M120	29	36	10	
M121	58	38	10	
M123	50	27	23	
M124	34	34	13	
M125	30	64	14	
M126	23	40	12	
M127	36	48	16	
M128	28	18	13	

M129	24	10	22	
M130	36	90	23	
M131	35	51	12	
M132	42	28	13	
M133	75	41	18	
M134	75	47	14	
M135	69	33	17	
M136	58	47	9	
M137	47	223	27	
M138	57	53	13	
M139	64	38	18	
M140	46	67	14	
M141	59	64	14	
M142	67	40	17	
M143	35	65	14	
M144	51	370	20	
M145	163	141	14	
M146	233	386	17	
M147	233	80	25	
M148	120	47	18	
M149	52	16	13	
M150	66	165	16	
M151	55	70	16	
M152	51	14	13	
M153	49	66	14	
M154	65	34	20	
M155	163	38	24	
M156	75	38	17	
M157	50	39	12	
M158	193	216	34	
M159	75	245	20	
M160	70	25	22	
M161	77	50	18	
M162	89	38	18	
M163	66	36	24	
M164	55	40	17	
M165	48	57	18	
M166	42	43	23	
M167	41	50	18	
M168	55	104	18	
M169	78	277	23	
M170	70	78	13	
M171	54	86	17	
M172	60	50	11	
M173	64	29	19	

M174	25	23	12	
M175	74	45	9	
M176	55	36	12	
M177	37	17	19	
M178	48	25	15	
M179	84	37	20	
M180	63	25	14	
M181	48	36	15	
M182	43	39	17	
M183	33	60	18	
M184	37	28	22	
M185	38	84	27	
M186	57	37	15	

**Pe'gachpar Malal Complex**

**Rai**

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Condition	Remarks
R1	104	100	24	Good	
R2	160	168	27	Good	
R3	225	220	35	Good	
R4	100	105	15	Good	
R5	100	91	8	Good	
R6	98	83	15	Good	
R7	107	106	19	Good	
R8	104	125	25	Good	
R9	132	104	18	Good	
R10	162	126	16	Good	
R11	130	69	17	Good	
R12	136	111	24	Good	
R13	220	203	14	Good	
R14	216	208	26	Good	
R15	158	135	30	Good	
R16	259	220	31	Good	
R17	62	60	13	Good	
R18	83	62	16	Good	
R19	128	102	22	Good	
R20	78	73	12	Good	
R21	80	74	15	Good	
R22	86	76	15	Good	
R23	95	97	11	Good	
R24	100	102	21	Good	
R25	90	84	13	Good	
R26	65	73	21	Good	
R27	59	54	7	Good	

R28	230	191	28	Broken	
R29	102	81	18	Good	
R30	83	67	14	Good	
R31	84	70	11	Good	
R32	79	69	12	Good	
R33	69	58	11	Good	
R34	77	60	11	Good	
R35	56	57	12	Good	
R36	77	77	12	Good	
R37	56	53	9	Good	

*Magrey*

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Remarks
M1	37	42	13	
M2	38	45	12	Fallen.
M3	52	16	12	
M4	40	58	9	
M5	31	16	7	
M6	36	28	6	
M7	58	16	12	
M8	46	16	11	
M9	62	15	19	Fallen.
M10	31	22	11	
M11	37	15	8	
M12	37	48	7	
M13	33	18	9	
M14	39	16	8	
M15	19	22	7	
M16	67	27	4	Fallen.
M17	46	33	11	
M18	120	30	15	Fallen.
M19	40	17	9	
M20	34	14	9	
M21	42	23	10	
M22	105	24	13	Carefully flaked.
M23	54	35	22	
M24	52	34	17	Carefully flaked.
M25	76	41	13	
M26	61	41	8	
M27	154	32	9	Reserved for the chief of Cho'ol village.
M28	65	34	13	
M29	115	49	9	
M30	46	18	8	
M31	115	52	11	
M32	61	39	16	

M33	79	50	16	
M34	56	26	16	
M35	75	46	12	
M36	67	48	26	
M37	94	45	16	Fallen.
M38	36	41	9	
M39	94	45	16	
M40	43	20	15	
M41	88	35	8	
M42	47	19	9	
M43	86	45	10	
M44	72	20	13	
M45	31	37	4	
M46	51	45	9	
M47	54	20	12	
M48	47	48	7	
M49	54	25	13	
M50	82	43	30	
M51	52	18	15	
M52	46	39	13	Fallen.
M52	42	25	12	
M54	49	21	19	
M55	48	26	8	
M56	37	32	15	
M57	58	33	14	
M58	47	28	15	
M59	61	48	12	
M60	56	54	12	
M61	46	26	9	
M62	28	15	9	
M63	50	110	10	
M64	42	28	13	
M65	33	30	13	
M66	49	36	23	
M67	33	56	9	
M68	52	30	21	
M69	61	38	12	
M70	55	46	33	
M71	74	30	21	
M72	48	38	28	
M73	60	15	10	
M74	53	23	19	
M75	47	25	15	
M76	38	30	16	
M77	60	17	13	

M78	30	23	14	
M79	48	28	22	
M80	56	30	10	
M81	58	19	14	Vertically grooved. Fallen.
M82	57	30	13	
M83	60	30	10	Fallen.
M84	56	27	17	
M85	32	28	13	
M86	43	15	13	
M87	35	18	16	
M88	45	38	18	
M89	30	20	14	
M90	30	13	10	
M91	32	45	16	
M92	32	20	13	
M93	28	26	7	
M94	45	41	15	
M95	35	20	17	
M96	33	30	14	
M97	65	32	12	
M98	48	25	18	
M99	26	24	12	
M100	49	32	10	
M101	25	36	18	
M102	50	38	19	
M103	53	20	10	
M104	44	26	8	
M105	45	15	17	
M106	65	32	12	
M107	36	23	9	
M108	75	23	8	
M109	53	28	11	
M110	72	34	14	
M111	55	13	12	
M112	44	27	8	
M113	38	32	8	
M114	38	29	14	
M115	38	22	13	
M116	37	36	7	
M117	37	18	5	
M118	51	30	9	
M119	33	28	5	
M120	54	30	6	
M121	40	58	9	
M122	31	16	7	

M123	36	28	6	
M124	46	36	10	
M125	38	25	4	Made of concrete.
M126	38	16	9	
M127	38	14	8	Fallen.
M128	54	16	18	
M129	47	35	11	Fallen.
M130	58	39	12	
M131	75	31	7	
M132	43	25	5	
M133	52	26	9	

### **Musgow Malal Complex**

#### ***Rai***

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Condition	Remarks
R1	66	80	10	Broken	
R2	69	67	10	Broken	
R3	78	10	15	Good	
R4	94	104	20	Good	
R5	73	70	12	Good	
R6	110	96	14	Good	

#### ***Magrey***

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Remarks
M1	77	46	7	
M2	63	64	6	
M3	53	85	10	
M4	53	56	7	
M5	63	49	5	
M6	60	30	17	
M7	53	40	10	
M8	57	20	11	
M9	54	29	8	
M10	56	39	11	
M11	85	28	16	Fallen.
M12	26	93	23	
M13	79	18	10	
M14	63	65	8	
M15	57	87	8	
M16	74	80	13	
M17	66	30	10	
M18	56	30	7	
M19	32	47	12	
M20	56	50	13	

M21	71	21	8	
M22	50	69	10	
M23	47	50	9	
M24	53	40	15	
M25	50	60	13	
M26	50	39	9	
M27	70	30	10	

### Gallas Malal Complex

#### *Rai*

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Condition	Remarks
R1	48	49	23	Good	
R2	82	86	14	Good	
R3	84	94	22	Good	
R4	130	105	31	Good	
R5	147	149	33	Good	
R6	184	193	32	Good	
R7	156	192	15	Good	
R8	130	107	12	Good	
R9	90	84	15	Good	
R10	84	72	12	Good	
R11	76	20	15	Good	
R12	67	59	10	Good	Presented by the chief of Dulkan vllage.
R13	39	55	6	Good	Placed on the ground for later restoration.
R14	47	40	10	Good	Placed on the ground for later restoration.
R15	70	62	10	Good	Placed on the ground for restoration.
R16	90	51	17	Good	
R17	74	58	10	Good	
R18	63	78	9	Good	Accumulated for later restoration.
R19	65	51	10	Good	Accumulated for later restoration.
R20	63	30	12	Good	Accumulated for later restoration.
R21	63	60	13	Good	
R22	56	56	13	Good	Placed on the ground for later restoration.
R23	65	80	19	Broken	Placed on the ground for later restoration.
R24	108	100	20	Good	

#### *Magrey*

	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (cm)	Remarks
M1	102	60	19	Made of a broken piece of <i>rai</i> .
M2	87	37	10	

M3	87	40	10	
M4	88	77	11	
M5	71	57	18	Made of a broken piece of <i>rai</i> .
M6	84	54	13	
M7	82	67	12	
M8	66	30	16	
M9	82	38	18	
M10	61	40	17	
M11	102	30	13	
M12	92	30	13	
M13	80	33	19	
M14	108	34	14	
M15	109	50	10	
M16	53	33	10	
M17	68	38	12	
M18	64	27	20	
M19	64	53	18	
M20	69	34	10	
M21	64	90	11	
M22	51	33	17	
M23	74	76	12	
M24	110	39	7	
M25	76	140	6	Placed on the ground for later restoration.
M26	98	40	27	Placed on the ground for later restoration.
M27	102	33	13	Placed on the ground for later restoration.
M28	110	37	19	