

Precedence and privileges of
the clans in the maneaba.

Many clans had hereditary privileges or duties connected with the ceremonial of the maneaba, which they most jealously prized and guarded. Among these, the group of Karongoa-n-Hea (Karongoa-of-kings), as its name suggests, was faile princeps. Karongoa-n-Hea was King of the maneaba; at all ceremonial gatherings within the edifice, its chief man — that is to say, the senior descendant through eldest sons of the original ancestor — assumed "the first word and the last word" * in debate; which meant in practice that none would open the subject of discussion until he spoke the introductory word, while the summing up or judgment, as the case might be, was entirely in his hands. As a badge of supremacy in council and ceremonial, he wore a fillet about his head, made of a single Kakoko or coconut pinnule plucked from the ivory-white topmost shoot of the tree, and knotted above the middle of his forehead. This fillet must be made of a leaflet which had grown facing the sunrise on the eastern shore of the island, and was called bunna n taai, the amulet of the sun. It rendered the wearer Kamaraiia, which means that he would cause to be maraiia, (accused or in danger of sudden death) any person who contradicted him or otherwise

* Note. E bairaga te moa-n taaka ma te moti n taaka.
He was the first word with the judgment of words.

offended his dignity while he performed his ceremonial functions. It seems, however, that this quality of "perilousness" was attached to the person of the senior Karongoa-n-Hea man even without the presence of the amulet of the sun, as will be seen later. This amulet, ~~sometimes called~~ ^{sometimes called} alternatively, te bunnā ni Kamarāia, the amulet of making-accused, merely enhanced the sacredness which was already inherent in the individual as a consequence of his birth and function.

Having taken his seat in his boti a little in advance of the rest of his clan members, as was the practice of all seniors of clans in ceremonial gatherings, the elder of Karongoa-n-Hea first assumed his sun-amulet and then ~~in a low~~, ^{muttered} ~~the magico-religious~~ formula called taemataao, of which the object was to "make clean the path of his words".* I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this formula, but it is said to have been recited with the head bowed ^P while the hands were slowly ~~rubbed~~ ^{slid} together, palm on palm. After three consecutive repetitions, ~~the hands were~~ the hands were thrown out with palms upward and elbows against the body, and lifting his head the performer said, "Ana-ia, ba N na orgo" (Take it up, for I will hear). The debate on the

* Note.

Kaitiaka mani-n ana taha.
Make clean foot - of his words.

P Note.

The head was possibly bowed only to prevent those around him hearing the words of the formula, which in this position ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~heard~~ ^{heard} into the chest.

ceremony might then begin.

Attached to Karongoa-n-uea was a very clear-cut doctrine of infallibility concerning certain race-traditions. This clan is considered still to be the only genuine authority on the myths of the people, especially the creation-myth with its appendices, and on the legends of the immigration from Samoa. This does not mean to say that no other clans are in possession of myths and traditions; many people outside the Karongoa-n-uea group can give versions of the creation-story and the arrival from Samoa, which are the more interesting because they sometimes differ considerably from the Karongoa-n-uea rendering; but they would never ^{not venture to put} ~~dispute~~ ^{put} up their versions in competition with those of Karongoa-n-uea, nor indeed even of mentioning them in the presence of an elder of that clan. In the mere informal discussion of tradition that a little gathering of old men will often set going, it was, and still is, considered a grave impropriety to question a detail given by a member of Karongoa-n-uea, or to point out an omission, even though it may be glaringly patent to all present. To dispute such a matter in the past was considered to render a man maraiia, and liable to mental sickness; and this applied whether the discussion took place in the maneaba or in a private dwelling.

This infallibility in matters of tradition seems to indicate that Karongoa-n-uea

may have been an organisation closely allied to the wharekua of the Maoris, and the priestly colleges of Polynesia, which were also the repositories of such knowledge. It is very far from my purpose to oppose the idea that this was originally a priestly clan, but one of its principal differences from the sacred organisations of New Zealand and Polynesia is that it seems never to have performed the office of public genealogist. While ~~claiming~~ ^{pretending} to absolute knowledge of the names of the ancestors who arrived from Samoa, and of the social groups to which they belonged, it does not claim to be an authority upon the generations locally descended from them. Thus ~~the members of~~ ^{the members of} the clan will decide for ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} upon the validity of any man's claim to ~~belong to~~ ^{belong to} ~~the clan~~ ^{their group}, and will only go to Karongoa-n-Hea for information concerning their legendary ancestor who took part in the Samoan immigration. Nevertheless, it seems possible that all genealogical information may at one time have been in the keeping of Karongoa-n-Hea; for it is certainly a fact that ~~the only~~ ^{the only} meagre details ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~now~~ ^{subsist}, concerning the Samoan forbears of those clan-ancestors who took part in the migration to the Gilberts, are obtainable from members of this clan alone. ~~That~~ That it does not now perform the function of public genealogist may be due to the scattering of the clans piecemeal over sixteen islands, which was the immediate result of the

migration from Samoa to the Gilbert Group.

At all ceremonial feasts, when the food was divided formally between the clans in the manner to be described later, Karongoa-n-Hea was given the first portion (te moa-n-tiba), which it then shared with the groups of Karongoa-raereke, Katanake, and on Bern, An-te-Kanawa. As seen in another section, these clans had the same totems and ancestors as Karongoa-n-Hea; the other two groups claiming the same progenitors and sacred emblems, ~~of which the first two were the same~~ ^{te Bakoa} and Tauramo, had their own separate portions.

On the island of Marakei I was told that after the pandanus harvest had been gathered in, which in a normal year would be about the time of the autumnal equinox, no native was allowed to taste of the various products made with the fruit until a feast had been held in the maneaba of his settlement, and Karongoa-n-Hea had eaten the firstfruits. But there seems to be some doubt about this on the island named, and I have been unable to confirm it elsewhere.

In the construction of the maneaba, the first file of thatches to be laid on the roof was that ^{covering} ~~under~~ the middle rafters of the eastern side, whereunder the people of Karongoa-n-Hea were grouped.

The ^{A)} native explanation for the preeminence of this clan in the ceremonial of the maneaba is that "it is Samoa"; that is to

* Note: Bon Tamo Karongoa.
Inlud Samoa Karongoa.

say, it represents the victorious immigration from Samoa into the Gilbert Islands. It is not asserted that Karongoa and its allied groups were the only clans whose ancestors took part in the invasion, or the series of invasions, from Samoa; but it is stated that the progenitors of Karongoa-n-Hea were kings on Upolu before the immigration, and the ancestors of those legendary dynasties of kings which were established on Tarawa, Bern and Nonouti as a result of the successive waves of invasion from the South. That all the evidence of tradition supports this claim will be shown by reference to the sections in which the legends of the coming from Samoa are analysed. What seems to be fairly well substantiated by the analysis of these traditions is that the final immigration from the South was made by a swarm in which Karongoa was very strongly represented. It is true that an earlier movement from Samoa had already implanted on Tarawa a dynasty of kings called Kiata, whose clan is also known to have been Karongoa-n-Hea; but this movement seems to have immediately affected only that single island, whereas the later swarm is shown by direct evidence to have settled upon at least eleven out of the sixteen units. Coming as conquerors to the Group, covering so large an area, and having the prestige of a kingly ancestry on Samoa, it is easy to understand how the people of Karongoa-n-Hea were able

to assume all their hereditary privileges in the maneaba of their new homes, and to establish them so securely as part of the imported social system, that even when the political organisation became modified to the extent that the kingly and chiefly régime developed into something approaching a democracy, as happened on many islands, the clan still continued to enjoy its ancient preeminence in the social and magico-religious ceremonial of the maneaba.

Beside the title of "Samoa", which is known throughout the Group, common consent on several islands, especially Marakei and Maiana, also confers the epithet of "Sun" on the clan of Karouga-u-Dea. It has already been seen that the fillet worn on ceremonial occasions by the elder of the group is called the amulet of the Sun; that the stone stud of the maneaba which is included within the clan's sitting-space is named Sun; and that an inhibition upon one who behaves in an unseemly manner within the edifice is the expression, Tai Tai i nanon te maneaba — The Sun is in the maneaba.

In the native mind of Marakei and Maiana the various components of this complex of ideas connected with the sun are so dependent one upon the other that they must be regarded simultaneously. We cannot afford to examine them separately and individually if we are to obtain a true view of their significance, since the native himself does not

methodically distinguish between the ^{elemental} ~~component~~ parts of any given compound of beliefs, but regards them, however conflicting and contradictory they may seem ^{in detail} to us, as one and indivisible. It is their very quality of togetherness that gives them vital ~~force~~ ^{meaning} to him. For example, in the complex of beliefs connected with the sun before us, he does not ^{evaluate the force} ~~classify the values~~ of the sun-titles as applied respectively to a clan and a stone in the maneaba; he does not say to himself, "the stone is so-named because it is a representation of the Sun's body, and the clan because it is a representation of his power"; he does not even "wonder why"; he simply accepts and states what to him ^{perfectly satisfactory} is a ~~fact~~ ^{fact}, that both stone and clan are the Sun. And because the fact is so, the one is permanently and indissolubly bound up in his mind with the other. Similarly, in his use of the expression, "the Sun is in the maneaba", he does not stop to ask himself whether he refers to the luminary itself, or its invisible emanation, or the clan, or the stone bearing its name. As he speaks, he means all these things; that is to say, ~~the Sun and the clan and the stone~~ are so intimately ~~blended~~ ^{fused} together in his estimation, that just as an unscientific mind will view a ^{complicated} mixture of chemical solutions as one ^{simple} liquid, so ~~with~~ ^{does} he ~~regard~~ embrace in a single thought and evoke in a solitary word the triple unity of Sun, clan and stone. Only by realising

this do we obtain a true view of the significance of the sun-title bestowed upon Karongoa-n-uea.

On Marakei and Maiana, though the ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{Kingly} ancestry of this clan consisted in its ^{appellation} ~~title~~ of "Samoa" contributes towards its preeminence in the ceremonial of the maneaba, its title to precedence is considered to rest chiefly upon its identification with the Sun. On Abaiang and Tarawa this is still apparent, though not so generally known; on Tabiteuea and Benu it is claimed by a few very old men who are themselves members of the clan; on other islands it seems to be the Samoan connection that now entitles Karongoa-n-uea to its privileges, both in the estimation of its own members and that of the general native public.

Though there can be no doubt that the ^{people} of Karongoa-n-uea came as conquerors and chiefs to the Group, their prestige in the maneaba is now entirely divorced from the idea of temporal power, and their ^{are} privileges ^{are} largely independent of political vicissitudes.

On Abemama, indeed, where the High Chiefs belong to the clan of Kaburara, ^{indeed} the ^{despotic} ~~despotic~~ Buioka of fifty years ago, whose particular pleasure it was to override all native custom and so display his power, became jealous of Karongoa's ceremonial prerogatives and deliberately assumed them to himself. Since then, Kaburara has performed ^{on Abemama} all the offices in the maneaba, that used to be in the hands of Karongoa-n-uea. This is an exceedingly interesting illustration of

the modifications in a social system that may take place in a single generation, as a result of local politics. This coup d'état of the High Chief of Abemama affected also the two tributary islands of Aranuka and Kuria. Had an enquirer been able to conduct his researches only on these three units of the Group, he would have entirely missed the importance of the Karongoa ^{clan} ~~group~~ in the social organisation of the Gilberts; he would have heard nothing of its connection with the sun; and he would have failed to find any of the Karongoa immigration myths, which throw so much light on the coming from Samoa, for these too faded out of memory with the passing of the privileges of the clan.*

The deliberate stroke of disorganisation which Benioka was obliged to effect on Abemama, in order to rob Karongoa of its precedence, only serves to throw into greater relief the durable character of its privileges, for before their spoliation they had subsisted intact through six successive generations of powerful High Chiefs. Their eventual loss for political reasons was quite exceptional, being without a parallel on any other Gilbert Island. Elsewhere, whatever may have been the accidents of war or other material circumstance, Karongoa remained supreme in the manabato form

* Note. Owing to the disruptive influence of the same High Chief, he would also have come to the conclusion that the clan system was very weakly developed, and exogamy almost non-existent. See section on the clan and marriage.

the time of the Samoan immigration right up to the coming of the British Flag in 1892. A Karongoa man might be stripped of all his lands and forced to do menial work for the victorious chief of another clan, but in the maneaba he spoke with all the old authority; his chief listened meekly to his words, and forbore to contradict, lest he should become maraisa. This was recognised on every island, (except Abemama and its tributaries) where the chiefly system prevailed*. Furthermore, a chief could not save his face by excluding a Karongoa menial from his maneaba, for the members of this clan held the sacred right of demanding entry on any ceremonial occasion, to refuse which was to become immediately maraisa.

Neither did the accidents of war affect the internal organisation of the clan. It happened several times during the last two centuries of Tarawa political history that a younger branch of Karongoa was on the victorious side, while the senior branch had joined the conquered faction, and consequently became the "eater out of the hand" of its junior. But this had no effect upon its rights of primogeniture for ceremonial purposes; its eldest representative still remained the spokesman of the entire group in the maneaba. The ^{application of} genealogical method of enquiry on five islands has shown me no exceptions to this rule.

* Note. I.e. Marakei, Abaiang, Tarawa, Maiana, and Nonouti. Butaritari had the chiefly + high-chiefly system, but as shown elsewhere, did not possess the same clan-organisation as the other islands.

With reference to temporal power, there is a saying current throughout the Groups that only a dynasty of Uea (High Chiefs) descended from Karongoa can stand firm for very long on any island. This theory is but feebly supported by facts on Abemama, where perhaps the most powerful of the three lines of High Chiefs found in the Gilberts belongs to the clan of Kaburara, and is connected with Karongoa only through an ~~ancestry~~ ancestress of ten generations back. It is true, however, that on Abaiang the Uea Kaica, the fourth of his dynasty, is of the Karongoa-u-Uea group, while on Butaritari, though this clan is not an entity of the local social organisation, the High Chiefs, of whom an individual also named Kaica is the ^{now} ~~present~~ ^{present} in succession, are known to be descended in the male line from the ancient Karongoa-Kings of Tarawa. Certainly when temporal power is added to the ceremonial prestige of Karongoa, as in Abaiang, the respect paid to the clan is most patent; and this is natural, since its functions are no longer confined to the manaba but embrace also the duties and privileges of physical kingship. It is natural, too, that when both ritual and temporal preeminence are vested in the same person, a certain amount of confusion should be apparent ~~as to the exact limits of his title to respect on the one upon which he is entitled to rest~~ ~~as to the exact limits of his title to respect on the one upon which he is entitled to rest~~ ~~ground or the other.~~ On Abaiang, the High Chief's membership of the Karongoa clan seems in the past to have endowed

his person with a sacredness not enjoyed by
 the infinitely more despotic Kaburara-Kings
 of Abemama. Not only within, but outside
 the maneaba, it was an offence to discuss
 the lightest word of the Uea, and a
 man was considered to be marasia if he
 made the smallest of impatient references
 to his ^{peculiarities} ~~peculiarities~~ of habits or person. Thus it
 seems that the accident ~~to~~ of temporal Kingship
 on Abiaiy extended to political and mundane
 life the scope of those sanctions by which
 Karongoa was ordinarily surrounded only
 in the maneaba, during the performance
 of its ceremonial functions. We have
 also an example of this in the legend
 of Nri Niuanoa and Beia-ma-Ikai, shown
 elsewhere. Beia-ma-Ikai were ~~the~~
 Kings and ^{at the same time} members of Karongoa; therefore,
 according to the tradition, they were
Ramarara ^{both in and outside the maneaba} at all times; and when Tabutoa
 on Nononti expressed his impatience
 that the heroes should have chased him
 and his folk to that island, he fell
 dead on the spot. It may be mentioned
 here, that all the Karongoa clans in
 the Group trace their descent from Beia-
 ma-Ikai through one or another of the
 Berman conquerors, who settled upon their
 islands nine or ten generations ago.

The precedence and the privileges enjoyed by Karongoa-n-uea appear to have been the same in all the three styles of maneaba known to the Gilbertese; the functions of the other clans however varied according to the type of building in which the feast or other ceremony took place. The differences between the Tabiang and the Maungatabu styles, as far as concerned the precedence of clans and the nature of their duties, were not very pronounced: I shall therefore deal with them together, taking the Maungatabu maneaba as the basis of my description, and noting in the text any divergence noticed in the Tabiang building. The Tabonite-bike style I shall treat separately, as the organisation of the ceremonial therein was markedly different in detail, although similar in general character.

Maungatabu and Tabiang maneaba.

The clan of Karongoa-raerike was considered the companion (rao) and the acolyte (tabonibai, finger) of Karongoa-n-uea in the ceremonial of both these maneaba; its members carried messages, generally in whispers, from the sacred clan to the other groups, and in the northern islands its elder often "lifted the word" from the lips of the Karongoa-n-uea spokesman; which is to say, the latter whispered his oration or his judgment into the ear of the Karongoa-raerike man, who then published it to the maneaba at large. The privilege of this group was to "partake of (Katonga) the

portion" of Karongoa-n-Nea in the feast, and for this reason it received no individual share in the distribution of food. Its duty was to supervise the laying of the first inaai (mats of green plaited coconut leaf) on the shingled floor of the manesba. The "first inaai" consisted of a single file of these mats, laid end to end from the southern extremity of the building to the northern gable, up against the western side of the central pillars supporting the ridge-pole; and a second file laid from north to south up against their ~~western~~ ^{eastern} side. While these were being laid by junior men of the clan, the elder stood in the middle of the building, facing east, and recited a magic formula of which the object was to prevent dissension among those who were to sit in the building. By a stroke of ill-fortune, the only old man of Abaiang who remembered this formula died suddenly two days before an interview at which he had promised to give it to me. From a conversation I had with him in public, it appears that the materials used in the ceremony were the leaf of a newly sprouted coconut, whose pinnules had not yet separated (te ba-ni-Kimainai), and a Kuo-n-aine, or cup made of half a coconut shell wherein oil had been boiled, and which had subsequently been taken for magical purposes. A potion was made in this vessel and drunk by the officiator before the laying of the inaai; while the work was in progress, he recited his formula, at the

same time waving the coconut leaf towards the four sides of the building. The time for this ceremony was ^{any hour of} the morning, before the sun had passed his zenith.

The inaai thus laid by Karongoa, ^{-raereke} were not furnished by members of the clan, but by the women of the settlement at large. After the first two files were laid, the rest were introduced in any order by any clan.

The clan of Kataurake shared with Karongoa-raereke the privilege of partaking of the portion allocated to Karongoa-n-nea in the feast. Its duty was to fetch this portion from the middle of the muneta, where the food was divided, to subdivide it into three shares, and keeping one for itself to hand the other two to their respective owners, giving the choicest bits always to Karongoa-n-nea. In payment for this office, it had the privilege of using the nikia (remnant) and the mange (waste) of the food, the nikia being any "odd one out" left after counting round such things as puddings or babai-roots, and the mange the broken bits that might fall during the process of subdivision.

The Tabiang group had the privilege of receiving the second share of the feast. If a porpoise were included in the food, the head of the creature belonged by right to this clan. In debate, its elder "used the second word", i.e., he spoke as soon as Karongoa-n-nea had opened the discussion. With reference to these

privileges of following hard on the heels of Karongoa-ni-Hea, and to its position in the northern gable of the maneaba, Tabiang is sometimes called uea-ni-meang, King of the north.

The groups of Te Kirikiri and Te Ba partook of the portion of Tabiang in the feast, the former fetching it from the middle of the maneaba and setting it before the latter, which subdivided it and handed out the shares. In reward for its office of subdivision, Te Ba had the perquisites of nikira and mange, exactly as Katauraka in the case of the Karongoa groups.

The third portion of the feast, and the "third word" in debate, were taken by the people of Te Bakabaka; the fourth by Te Bakoa; the fifth by Taunnamo; the sixth by the clan of Te Kua, which also took the tail of the porpoise when it was included in the food.

The seventh portion and the "seventh word" belonged to Tabukaokao. It was the elder of this clan who supervised the collection of food in the middle of the maneaba, making scathing or complimentary remarks upon it as it arrived, in the manner described a little later; and it was he who made the general division from the central point. This was a highly prized function, the officiator being the cynosure of all eyes. He had the right of the most absolute freedom of speech in respect of the donations of the various people, and it was expected of him that he should

pour forth a stream of humorous remarks during the performance of his duties. ~~His~~ One of his chief methods of being funny was to make wry allusions to race-traditions, such as the legends of the coming from Samoa, in illustration of his points; the humour lying in the inconsequence or the gross incorrectness of his quotations. It was said of the Tabukaoko people that "they knew no traditions but they were clever in causing laughter", and it is certainly a fact to this day that the most successful raconteurs of humorous stories on the various islands are generally found to be Tabukaoko men.

The young men of this clan did the manual labour of dividing the food, under the direction of the elder, and they handed out the portions to those sent to fetch them. In payment for its work, the clan took the nikia and the mange left over from the general division.

The eighth share and "word" belonged to Nukumanua. This group had the very important function of covering the ridge of the maneaba with its capping of plaited pandanus or coconut leaf.

After the eighth portion of the feast had been given, the other clans appear to have followed in any order; and similarly, after the eighth speaker in debate, the discussion became general.

The clan of Karumaeoa was architect of the maneaba called Tabiang, its ancestor being ~~the~~ ^{the} Towatu-of-Matang who built the first edifice of that type on

the north end of Bern, twenty-odd generations ago (see sections on traditions connected with the maneaba). In its possession were all the magic formulae connected with the Tabiang style of construction.

Ababou and Maerna shared between them the method and the magic of the Maungatabu architectural style. But although in theory it was admitted that a Karumaeoa man was the best architect for Tabiang, and a member of Ababou or Maerna for Maungatabu, a certain amount of confusion existed in practice. When the people of a settlement wished to build a new maneaba in a particular style, say that of Tabiang, a Karumaeoa man might not be available; they might then obtain the services of a Maerna or Ababou architect, who would copy the Tabiang style, but use the magic associated with Maungatabu. This would be considered satisfactory, the magic and the ritual connected with it being the essential thing. Takenta of Maraki, who built the Maungatabu maneaba of which I have given the ground-plan, is a Karongoa-raerike man, and therefore strictly the architect only of the Tabon-tobike style. But his constructive ability is so great in the native estimation that he has been called upon to build in all of the three styles, in preference to experts whose clan gave them in theory the prior claim to consideration. In all cases, he used the magic connected with the

maneaba of Tabo-n-te-bike.

Te Wiwi had the duty and the sole privilege of blowing the conch, at whose signal the people gathered in the maneaba. The order to sound it was sent by the elder of Karongoa-n-nea, who transmitted it first to the elder of Karongoa-raereke, who in his turn deputed a junior of his clan to carry the message. As noted elsewhere, the ~~condemned~~ was one of the totems of Te Wiwi, being the invention of the clan ancestor and god Te-i-mone, King of the underworld.

Members of Keaki had the right of prior entry into the maneaba, not in the sense that they took their places before anyone else went in, but that when one or more arrived in a crowd at the western side of the building, their companions of other clans would stand aside to let them pass first.

Boti Clan	Anti God	Bokati Ancestor	Atua Totems	Mān Crab
Karongoa-n-Usa	Tabuariki	Tauribaba Tabuariki	Cockle Shark	
		Matawaruwe	Wind	Te-bou-kuana
		Kanawa-tree	Kanawa-tree	
Karong-raeraki	"	" (3)	" (4)	Te-bou-uoua
Te Bakoa	Tabuariki the Shark	Tabuariki the Shark	Shark	Te-ra-tabito
Ante Kanawa (Benu)	"	Tabuariki	Shark	
		Matawaruwe	Cockle Wind	Te-bou-uoua
		Kanawa-tree	Kanawa-tree	
Kataurake	"	" (3)	" (4)	"
Makumansa	Riiki the Eel	Riiki the Eel	The Centipede The Eel	Te-man-riiki
Tiboranea	Tabakea the Turtle	Tabakea the Turtle	The ladybird The turtle The noddy	Te-man-riiki A saurian A bush called etc.
Tabukaoka	Ni Tenaotari	Ni Tenaotari	A crab called Ni Tenaotari	Te-ate
Te-ba	Taburimai	Taburimai	The Kum A carangid fish	Te-ate
Tabiang	Taburimai	Taburimai	"	Te-man-uoua
Te-kua	Kaburoontem	Kaburoontem	?	Te-kai-ni-Katiku
Te-bakabaki	Tabuariki	Tabuariki	Cockle, Shark Thunder	Te-ra-tabito
	Ni Tituaabine	Ni Tituaabine	Stingray	
Waka Kaima	Bue and Riongo	Sun, Bue and Riongo	Porpoise Sun Coral called Riongo	Te-kai-ni-Kamata
Maema	"	"	"	"
Kalurara	N. Tituaabine	N. Tituaabine	Stingray	Te-man-noua- -ramu
		Nabiri	Carpenter Taree	
Taurawaka	Taokarawa	Taokarawa	?	?
Te-Wiri	Te-i-mone	Te-i-mone	The tree A couch	?
Karumaetoa	Bakoa the Shark	Bakoa the Shark Towata of Matai	The Shark	Te-ra-tabito
Bakarawa	Ni Moaine Fools + deaf mutes	Ni Moaine Fools + deaf mutes	Brittle Star-fish	Te-kikannang
Keaki	N. Tituaabine	N. Tituaabine The Tropic bird Kouraiti	The Tropic Bird The stingray Biche-de-ner	Te-luki-ni-bunga
Te-O	Auriana	Auriana	The Tern The pumphis	?
Uua ni Kamani	Auriana	Auriana	The tern The pumphis	Te-ra-tabito
Tauranamo	Tabuariki	(Same as Karongoa-nouea etc.)		

Clan	God	Ancestor	Totem	Post
Benuzakura ✓	A man eating mythical bird called <i>Homatang</i>	Jihibaro, the brother of the bird.	{ Bird Homatang } x	Nuitawawa (a representation of the bird's father)
Kaotirama ✓	Buatara the Stingray	Buatara	{ Stingray x called Buatara }	Matanawa
Bangauma ✓	Ji Mamsang	Ji Mamsang	Stingray	?
Jekokona ✓	Kotua	Kotua	Porpoise	Kainikamata
Nei Ati ✓	Kiennari	Kiennari	Octopus } Garfish }	Man-nei-ati
Namakaina ✓	Jaburimai	Jaburimai	{ Acipenseroid Shark }	Namakaina
Katannaki	Ni Temaiti	Ni Temaiti	Stone: N. Temaiti	Manintaki