

The Rotuman Cultural Garland Amidst Modernism

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“Read books but pull weeds”

A Rotuman proverb implying that to be a well-balanced person one should not only have book learning but should learn practical manual skills as well

Elizabeth Inia, *Fäeag ‘es Fūaga: Rotuman Proverbs*

Background

In the Pacific, there is an emphasis on the importance of identity, who you are and where you belong. The Tongan proverb “*If one does not know where one is from, how can one know where one is going?*” speaks volumes on the importance of identity and belonging in the Pacific Islands. Each Pacific island has its own form of garland, valued for its importance and significance to one's identity. For instance, making the Tongan garland known as *kakala* involves a unique process, as described by Seu‘ula Fua:

Picture a group of older women sitting on a mat under a tree, sprawled around them are scented flowers, usually carefully wrapped with some piece of cloth, a variety of needles and strings of *fau* (stripped from bark of the *fau* tree). Buzzing around them would be children of different ages, who would be venturing out to different gardens throughout the village collecting flowers and leaves for the women to carefully string together into a *kakala*, a garland. As with everything else in Tonga, each *kakala* is ranked as each flower and design used in a *kakala* are ranked. It is a communal process that demonstrates collaboration, sharing of resources and the passing of skills to the next generation. (Fua 2014:58)

The making as well as the wearing of *kakala* are important aspects of Tongan identity and belonging.

The Rotuman garland, known as *tefui*, likewise is emblematic of Rotuman identity. Over the past decades, major changes have occurred in almost all aspects of the garland— with its appearance, the materials used, along with its significance and meaning. In this paper, I look to uncover how one's identity as a Rotuman is expressed through the making and wearing of *tefui*, especially in Western transnational contexts. My aim is for every Rotuman to see beyond the physical appearance of *tefui* to the cultural value it holds and the meaning of the materials used to fashion it before it is hung around one's neck as a symbol of one's cultural identity.

Two main questions are the focus of this paper. First, how do *tefui* reflect one's identity as a Rotuman? Secondly, what are the elements that have contributed to the changes

currently in play regarding the authenticity of *tefui*? In the course of my investigation, I have targeted three main objectives: (1) to develop a cultural understanding, especially among the younger generation of Rotumans, of the *tefui*, including the process of making it and the significance of the materials used to construct it, so users and admirers of the garland can see through to the meanings, importance, and significance of the garland; (2) to identify the changes in Rotuman culture pertaining to *tefui*, and (3) to inquire how the present generation perceives these changes and why.

I begin by presenting a brief history of Rotuma and its culture, and then discuss the genesis of *tefui*, reflect on Rotuman identity as expressed with *tefui*, and report on the perceptions of the current generation of these changes.

A Brief History of Rotuma

Rotuma is located about 465 kilometers north of Fiji. This isolated volcanic island lies virtually at the intersection of the Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian groups. The island is administrated under the Fiji government, although the inhabitants more closely resemble Polynesians such as Samoans, Tahitians, and Tongans. Although in many ways Rotuman culture has similarities to each of these three island groups, one of the few things that is distinctive, and therefore authentically signifies Rotuman identity, is the cultural garland commonly known as the *tefui*. No other Pacific Island makes garlands similar to the Rotuman *tefui*.

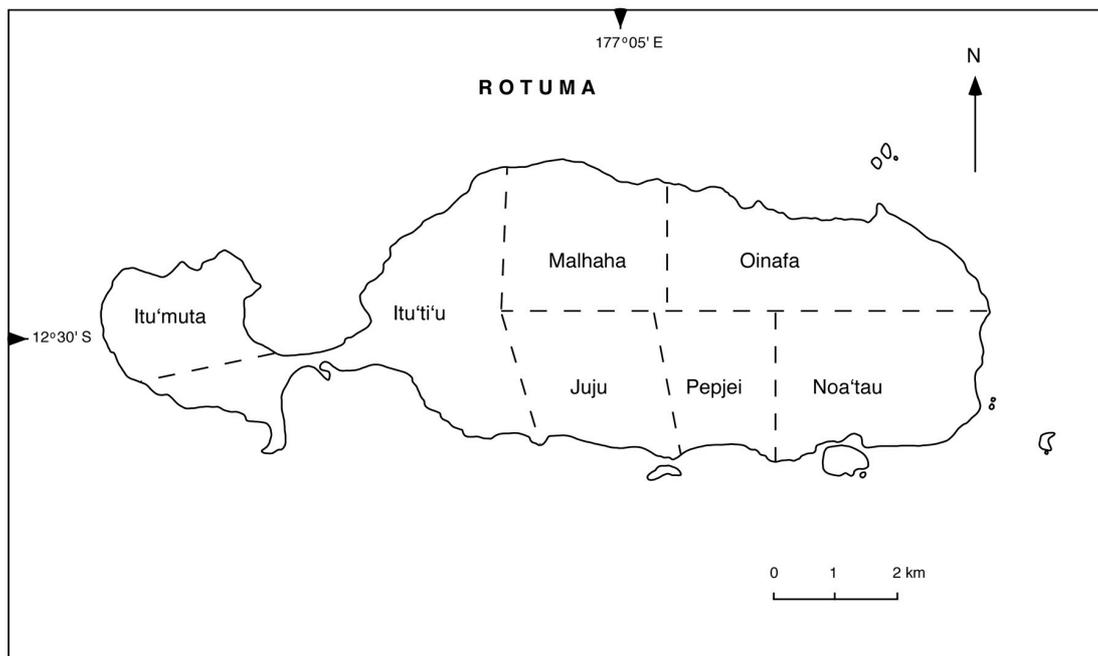
Historically, after a war in 1879 between the two main Christian denominations brought by missionaries (Methodist and Catholic), the district chiefs of Rotuma decided to cede Rotuma to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. From 1881 Rotuma was under Great Britain's rule until Fiji gained its independence in 1970. Fiji then took over the administration of Rotuma and since then Rotuma has been part of Fiji. Yet Rotumans have their own language, culture, and homeland.

The majority of Rotumans no longer reside on the island of Rotuma but in Fiji and elsewhere. Thus, there is a high risk of the culture being diluted and vulnerable to change. Howard and Rensel (2004) pointed out that in 1946 17% percent of Rotumans were living in Fiji; in 1966 it was 44%, in 1986 70%, and in 1996 73%.

Growing up on Rotuma and learning the culture never meant much to me until I moved to Viti Levu for further education and employment; it made me realize the importance of my cultural identity. For instance, when the University of the South Pacific has an open day when each cultural group is expected to exhibit their culture, participating brings to consciousness my identity as Rotuman. Though everyone is referred to in the constitution of Fiji as a "Fijian," culturally and in many other aspects we are uniquely different. A Rotuman will always be a Rotuman, as will an iTaukei or a Fiji Indian, regardless of what we call ourselves.

Although much has been written about Rotuma, the people and the culture, not much has been written specifically about the *tefui*; thus my motivation to write about it. Because I am concerned about the dilution and vulnerability of our culture, I am writing this with the hope of documenting the importance and significance of the *tefui* and how it depicts Rotuman cultural identity. Last, but certainly not least, is my hope to instill an *insight-identity* in users and admirers to see beyond the physical garland, to what it represents, its meaning, and its significance for pride of identity.

Map of Rotuma



Rotuma Today

The usual trend today is that after completing form six or form seven, most youngsters move to Fiji for further studies and/or better job opportunities. Some parents move together with their children and stay in Fiji. Rotuma today is more materialistic with Western-oriented goals for development. A good percentage of the houses are of concrete with less than 10 percent of the population still living in traditional thatched houses. These changes have been obvious during my visits to the island almost every year. The number of shops may have remained the same over the past ten years but the sizes and variety of things sold have greatly increased. Reliance on processed food has increased resulting in the sizes of gardens slowly decreasing and the skills of fishing and many other cultural fundamentals diminishing.

With the government-franchised boat going only once a month to Rotuma and planes flying only once a week, the supply of frozen or processed foods is not always guaranteed in times of bad weather. Sometimes the boat cannot go to Rotuma for a span of three months and the planes two to three weeks. When such delays occur, people in Rotuma have to resort

to traditional means of survival, which is healthier but less preferred by the current generation.

Many children who grew up in Rotuma and can speak the language yet are very poor in writing the vernacular. Also, traditional cultural ways of doing things have been altered in favor of a glittery modern style, but without much concern for significance, importance, or meaning. The *tefui* is a classic example of such changes.

Cultural Considerations

Pacific peoples place great importance on their culture and tradition as it relates to defining who they are. However, change is continuous in all societies (Brown 1968:465) and it places the onus on the proprietors of a culture to decide what to preserve and what to change. Bataille and Benguigui (2005: 230) argue that identity conflicts are grounded in the move from a traditional society to a liberal democratic one. Rotumans, like other Pacific Islanders, have had to grapple with such changes.

Due to Rotuma's small size and geographical isolation, Howard and Rensel (2004) assert that Rotumans on the island did not have extensive opportunities to gain a clear sense of their cultural distinctiveness. Rather they formulated difference based on districts and family lineages (p. 219). When Western culture penetrated the island, it resulted in a dilution of Rotuman culture as a whole.

In 2015 an article titled "Rotuman culture on UN endangered list" highlighted the fact that the United Nations recognized Rotuma as a dying culture on the brink of extinction (Sauvakacolo 2015). While an estimated 15,000 Rotumans exist in the world, only about one-third can speak the language; thus the conclusion that the culture is endangered, given that language supposedly is an everyday part of culture that depicts identity. That Rotuman culture is thought to be on the brink of extinction is a wake-up call regarding aspects of Rotuman cultural identity such as the *tefui*.

In *The New Rotuman Dictionary*, *tefui* is defined as a "garland hung around the neck: usu. made of odoriferous flowers and fruit" (Inia et al. 1998: 328). However, the word *tefui* can be ambiguous as it is a general term referring to any garland. To distinguish a garland as Rotuman, reference can be made to '*tefui torau*' (garland made from the root of a young coconut tree or fan palm). The Rotuman *tefui* is unique in shape, size, looks, and make up, and is one of a kind in the Pacific (Inia 2001: 28). On the Rotuma Website, Howard simplifies the definition of *tefui* as a Rotuman-style garland made from sweet-smelling flowers and leaves and the spathes of coconut shoots with decorations includes red pandanus kernels and colorful wool (<http://www.rotuma.net/os/pictalbum/tefui.html>).

Inia (2001) points out that *tefui* are also referred to as *saru* and are worn at various functions such as *mamasa*¹, *takāi*², *sui putu*³, *höt'ākhaŋu*⁴ or *tautoga*⁵. The name *saru* is a

¹ Ceremonial feast for people after a sea voyage, usually on their first visit or first return after being away from the island (literally, to dry)

more formal word that is rarely used in everyday language; it is a term normally used only during ceremonies at which food cooked in an earth oven (*koua*) is called out. In the past, white flowers of the *paufu* (the male tree of the *Pandanus tectorius*, Parkinson) were used to make the star because of its sweet smell. Nowadays, the white young leaves of a coconut tree or fan palm are used to make the stars of the *tefui*.

Regardless of religion, gender, class (wealth differences), status (chiefs and commoners), or background, all used *tefui* in the same manner. This signified the cultural role of *tefui* in unifying people despite issues, problems, or differences among Rotumans.

Methodology

This study was conducted on the main Fijian island of Viti Levu, specifically in the cities of Suva and Nadi. The research was a mixture of exploratory and interpretive methods aimed at exploring the genesis of *tefui* and interpreting its meaning in relation to the elements used based on the information collected from respondents.

The data collection was through a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches with consideration to time and resources available. An inductive theory approach was taken whereby the data collected determined the conclusion for this research.

One hundred questionnaires were distributed, fifty to campers during an Easter camp held in Auckland on April 14th to 18th, 2017 and the other fifty were administrated to members of the Rotuman community in Suva and Nadi. An email address (rotumatefui@gmail.com) was set up to administer additional questionnaires online, although only five responses were received out of the forty questionnaires sent online.

The qualitative approach included in-depth interviews and the collection of legends regarding the genesis of the *tefui*. Forty elders from the Rotuman community were visited and interviewed. From the forty, twelve were visited and interviewed individually at their respective homes. The others were seen in groups at an informal talanoa. This enabled the shy ones to be at ease sharing their knowledge.

Being mindful of ethical issues, such as *no harm to participants, that they be informed about the nature of the project and give their consent*, that privacy and confidentiality be maintained, and that informants not be deceived in any way, the interview schedule was developed in conjunction with the elders of the Rotuman community so they could be well informed in advance of the interviews. All interviews were conducted face-to-face after an explanation of the objectives of the study was explained in the Rotuman vernacular and consent was given by the informant. The online administrated questionnaires were sent out with an explanatory note introducing myself and explaining the objectives of this paper.

² Ritual for returning widow to her parental home after the death of her husband

³ Ceremony to end the mourning restrictions

⁴ Ceremony for erecting a headstone over a grave

⁵ Group dance

The weather was my primary concern prior the field work, but the main hindrance was the passing away of a family member the week I had scheduled for analyzing the field data. The people I spoke with and interviewed were kind and very helpful. The only limitation was that some were reluctant to share all they knew on the topic because they feared what others might say about them. The administration of questionnaires in the Rotuman vernacular and the reassurance that the information given would be confidential helped to smooth the process.

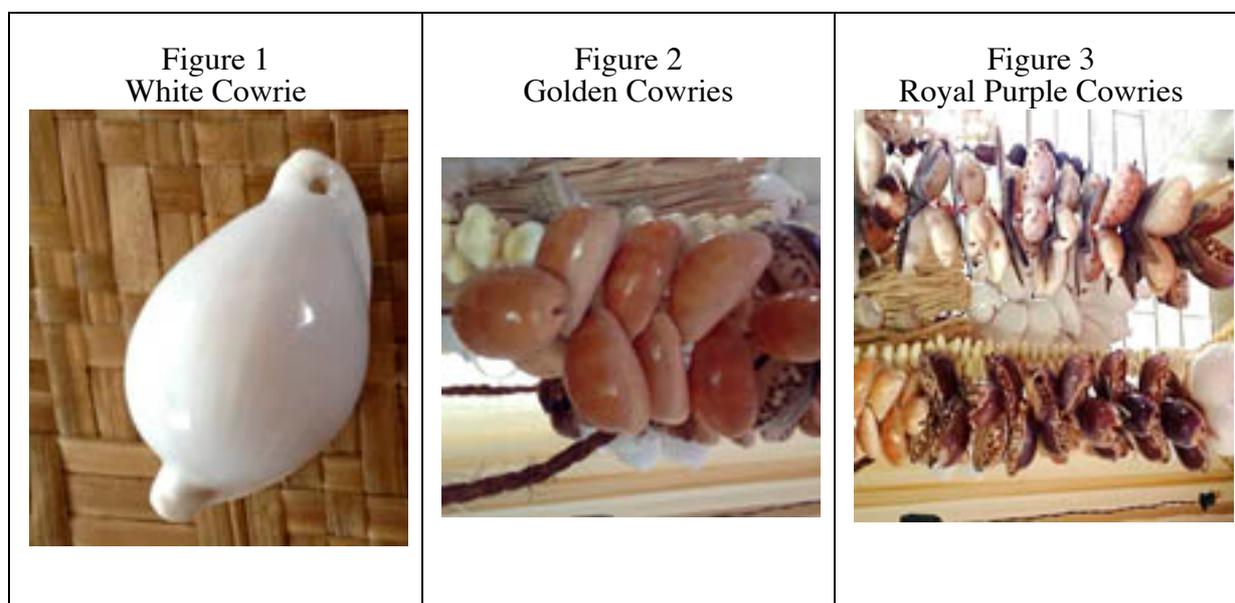
Genesis of the Rotuman Cultural Garland

Before the arrival of missionaries, Rotumans wore braided shell and stone garlands to which they attributed magical qualities. Associated with these garlands, which were known as *tefui lei*, were certain types of chants (*fag tupua*) that were said to give them their magical powers.

There were altogether around seventeen different types of *tefui lei*, each with its own special powers and chants/songs (*fagi, fakpej*) associated with it. These ancient shell necklaces and ornaments were sacred and possessed different powers.

There was a *tefui lei* for every need, such as the weather *tefui lei*, which was accompanied by a chant to bring rain, sunny weather, or to calm a storm. Royal *tefui lei* were worn on a daily basis by high-ranking individuals to ascertain a certain level of recognition and respect amongst the islanders.

Tefui lei were made with a variety of shells or a combination of selected shells like the white cowries (figure 1), golden cowries (figure 2), royal purple cowries (figure 3), pearl shells, pearls, selected bird feathers, whales teeth, turtle bones and shells.



Queen Fonman Tua‘vava‘o, who reigned around the early 1860s, abolished the use of *tefui lei*. Since then, anyone with a *tefui lei* has been buried with it when he or she dies. Whenever an old grave is opened, *tefui lei* are found amongst the rested elders, but most of their stories, histories and chants have been forgotten. Today any *tefui lei* without its chant

and song is powerless, and therefore harmless. *Tefui lei* have been replaced by the present form of *tefui*, and the *mana* associated with them has been replaced by Christian invocations. In place of the tradition leis, people started making leis from plant materials—*tefui paufu*, made from the flowers of the male tree of the pandanus tectorius, and *tefui torau*, made from the sprouts of coconuts trees or fan palms.

Two other stories regarding the origin of *tefui* were related to me during my field work:

Version 1

Some believe that the origin of *tefui* can be traced back to the legend of seven brothers and their sister who stopped at Rotuma on their journey through the Pacific. It was said that the sister, who was the eldest of the siblings, was found to be pregnant, likely from her eldest brother. To get rid of the shame, the brothers decided to leave their sister at the first land they came across. They sighted Rotuma the day after the decision was made and they left her at Rotuma. To commemorate this event, Rotumans made garlands for men having seven stars to symbolize the seven brothers, and garlands for women having one star to symbolize their sister. Hence, in the Rotuman *tautoga* dance, the males wear *tefui* with seven stars and the women wear *tefui* with one star.

Version 2

A Rotuman woman on Viti Levu retold a story relayed to her by an elderly man from Juju about the origin of the *tefui*. According to this version, there lived in the district of Juju seven sisters with only one brother. The traditional way for boys to find a suitable girl for marriage was to go together in groups from one village or district to the next (known as *ha'rau*) and to engage in beach games (*manea' hune'el*) with local girls until someone catches his eye.

Every time the brother of the seven girls went out to play on the beach, his sisters would make him a *tefui* of one star. One day the brother was betrothed and was soon to leave his home at Juju and to go live with his wife. The sisters were heart-broken that they may never see their brother again and that he may forget them, so they decided to make a garland of seven stars which would represent them so their brother would never forget them. He took the *tefui* of seven stars and promised that every time he wore a garland with seven stars he would remember his sisters. From then on, the people of Rotuma used the garland of seven stars for males and one star for females, so whenever males wore the garland they would remember the seven sisters and whenever females wore the one-star garland they would remember the brother. The *tefui* was a sign of love brother and sisters have for each other.

Then and Now

The original Rotuman garland was composed of all-natural materials whereas *tefui* today use a variety of materials, including manufactured ones. In addition, traditional *fui* (the clusters

that make up a garland) were shaped like stars, but today many are round in shape (see figures 4 and 5). While interviewing two elderly Rotuman women, one 87 years old and the other 83 years old, on two separate occasions, I could tell from the tone of their voices the sadness they felt when seeing current *tefui*. With great concern the 83-year-old relayed that she's sad whenever she sees a round-shaped *tefui*. She commented that: "Our ancestors intended for us to wear the star but we now wear the moon, sadly changing our identity without meaning."

Figure 4
Star-Shaped Tefui



Figure 5
Round Tefui



Traditionally, the middle of the *paufu star* was made from the peeled skin of the fruit of the female pandanus (*hata*). More recently it is cut from the red ginger flower. The fringes that hang below the star initially came either from dead seaweed (*peipei*) or from bleached and peeled pandanus leaves (*sa'aga*). When sunned for a couple of days, *peipei* turns black, after which it is oiled and used in pairs as fringes (*jio*) to each star. Today fringes are made out of colored wool (figures 6 and 7; also see figure 4 above).

Figure 6
Tefui Fringed with Wool



Figure 7
Tefui Fringed with Wool



Currently, stars for *tefui* are surrounded by flowers specially selected for looks and fragrance. However, our ancestors did not use flowers for this purpose. The flowers are classified as

aipoa titi'u (big fragrance) and *aipoa riri'i* (small fragrance). *Aipoa titi'u* are the main ones surrounding the star while *aipoa riri'i* decorate the fringes.

Significance of *tefui* elements

There was a reason why our ancestors chose the elements they used in making a *tefui*. The five main components of *tefui* are the stars, the diamond or the middle of the star, the fringes, the fragrances, and the cord that ties the stars together.

1. The male flower of the pandanus tectorius is white, representing purity and holiness, a Christian innovation. The sweet smell stands out even without flowers.
2. The fragrance from the fruit of the female pandanus is sweet and complements the stars made from *paufu*. Also, the color of the *hata* is as the color of the rising sun in the morning, representing the dawning of a new era, where magic is put aside and people turned to Christianity. Initially only one piece was placed in the middle of every star, representing the only supreme authority for Rotuma—God.
3. The seaweed represents the marine ecosystem complimenting the land ecosystem. Even if the hibiscus stem is used it has to be soaked in sea water before used. Thus, the connection between the land and sea is depicted.
4. The use of the small fragrance and the big fragrance signifies how the younger generation and older generation complement each other and work together.
5. The cord signifies the unity of the seven districts, with no district superior to the others. Each district chief holds authority over his district only; he has no authority elsewhere, although respect is accorded all district chiefs.

Holistically, the *tefui* represents the land, the people (leaders and followers), the values and qualities dear to the Rotuman people, and the relationships between people and between the people and the environment. *Tefui* are therefore more than decorations. They are symbols of *pride in ones' identity and represent a bond with the land and one's community*. Wearing a *tefui* is a mark of being a true Rotuman; it is a tangible representation of one's cultural identity worn externally around one's neck and resting on one's chest, with its significance treasured internally (in one's heart).

Steps in Making a *Tefui*

Step 1: Bleach the *Polyscias* sp (*tantane*) leaves by dipping them in boiling water for about a minute and sunning them for at least three days. The sun turns the *Polyscias* sp leaves white and gives them a sweet fresh fragrance.

Step 2: All flowers to be used are usually collected on the day they are to be used (if the *tefui* is to be worn early in the morning then preparation is done the evening before, but if it is to be worn later in the day, it is usually prepared in the morning of the event). If the stars are to be made from *paufu*, the flower of the male pandanus tectorius is

gathered. Otherwise, shoots from a coconut tree or fan palm are used to make the stars.

Step 3: If wool fringes are used, they are normally prepared before cutting the strips for the star. But if sea weed or hibiscus stems are to be used, the preparation of the fringes will be done in step one, together with the bleaching of the *Polyscias* sp (*tantane*) leaves.

Step 4: The *paufu*, coconut or palm shoot is torn into narrow strips of about 1 inch wide and cut into pieces 3-4 inches long. The edges are shaped to a pointed end.

Step 5: Once the strips are cut they are arranged to make a star with the diamond-shaped *hata* placed in the middle and tied together.

Step 6: Once all the stars are made the next step is to join the fringes, flowers, and star together.

Step 7: All the completed stars with fringes and fragrances are fully completed once they are tied with a cord made from part of a hibiscus stem (*vasvas*).

The current generation of Rotumans no longer uses the steps listed above because white plastic ribbons are popular and readily available, especially off island. This means they can reuse the stars. Moreover, *tefui* today mostly use shrubs and leaves in place of flowers, and some even use bongo or twisty wrappers to decorate the star. Though these substitutions may seem glittery and innovative, the real meaning of *tefui* is diminished as a result. The reasons for such changes, as conveyed to me by my informants, were:

1. Modernization: modernization is taking its toll on culture because most people prefer western ways rather than our cultural traditions.
2. Economic benefit: Though *tefui* are meant to display our Rotuman identity, many have used *tefui* as a source of revenue and put a monetary value on them.
3. Convenience: Nowadays people prefer convenience to the hard work of making a traditional *tefui*.
4. Limited resources: In Fiji and abroad the resources for making *tefui* are not as abundant and easily available as on Rotuma. In addition, it is a challenge for people in urban areas to grow the required plants and flowers on the land available to them.
5. Ignorance: The knowledge required to make traditional *tefui* is not being transmitted to the younger generation, so fewer and fewer people fully understand the importance and cultural significance of the Rotuman garland.

What Tefui Signify

Tefui are used on any occasion at which someone is being honoured. A sub-chief from the place where I grew up in Rotuma often mentioned that the garlanding of individuals at any function or ceremony is our way of expressing appreciation and making them special

for that event. But while the dancers of a *tautoga* (group dance) are adorned with *tefui*, a person who speaks to the audience on behalf of the entertainers must remove his *tefui* before addressing the spectators, especially the chiefs, as a sign of respect. *Tefui* are also used to decorate graves, which signifies firstly that it is a Rotuman grave, and secondly that the person buried there either died young or is a very dearly loved one. Family members and close relatives make *tefui* every month on the day the person died as a show of their love and respect.

Informant's Views

Ninety-five individuals filled out questionnaires or were interviewed, the majority of whom were females. Males were more reluctant to participate, but were more at ease during informal group discussions. More than 90 percent of the interviewees agreed that the original form of *tefui* should be maintained as it best portrays our Rotuman identity. The remaining informants maintained that culture is not static; it changes and we must be prepared to accept those changes.

Conclusion

Culturally, everything has a purpose and a meaning fashioned by our forefathers. The current generation may not fully understand why certain things are done this way or that way because of a lack of knowledge being passed down or shared by their elders. The art of *tefui* making needs to be revived and information pertaining the history of the garland should be shared. Nowadays, the traditional form of oral dissemination of knowledge is on the verge of extinction, and more value is placed on information obtained through modern media such as television and the Internet.

It's true that culture evolves over time, but it is important for Rotumans to understand what changes are taking place and why, because if we do not understand why we do things then there is no meaning and the purpose and significance of cultural practices is lost.

The threat of cultural extinction lurks for Rotumans with regard to cultural artifacts and language. The current generation **MUST** take their culture seriously if they want to maintain or preserve the outstanding values of our culture. There is a great **NEED** to know and understand the reason why things exist, their purpose, meaning and significance.

Tefui symbolize to Rotumans and to the world an important part of Rotuman identity. They are meant to be worn around the neck, depicting the importance of holding one's identity close to one's heart, and not tied around the hips like a grass skirt. No other island has a garland similar in looks or in composition to the Rotuman *tefui*.

It is time that we, as Rotumans, think seriously about the importance of *tefui* for honouring our roots and maintaining our identity. It is too important a symbol of who we are to think of it only as an attractive decoration.

Acknowledgements

It is with utmost sincerity I wish to thank everyone who contributed to the completion of this assignment. I am deeply grateful to the Rotuma Methodist group from Rarotonga and the Rotuma Methodist group in Auckland, New Zealand for the tremendous support in filling out the questionnaires I had sent over during the Easter Camp held in Auckland. It has meant so much to me to note the deep wealth of knowledge maintained pertaining to our unique cultural identity. A very big thank you also to all Rotumans whom I had interviewed in Nadi and Suva and to all who submitted their responses electronically via email—the information received was a big help in achieving the main objectives of this paper. I am genuinely touched by all Rotumans with whom I discussed the *tefui* formally and informally (mostly informally) in the process of gathering information on this topic, and especially the elders of the Rotuman community in Fiji for their time and valuable input. I am also humbled that many have openly shared more than expected and hope this paper will provoke young Rotumans to do further research work on other aspects of our Rotuman culture. Last but not least, I am appreciative of my lecturer Ms. Andreea Torre for her kind consideration in granting an extension of this assignment due to the passing of my grandfather, the late Filipe Terani Nakaora (aka Firipo Nakaora).

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Appendix

Research Questionnaire

1. Male, Female
2. Age: 15- 25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56 - 65 66 - 75 76+
3. I grew up in Rotuma
I grew up in Fiji
I grew up overseas (Please name country _____)
I was born in Rotuma but moved to Fiji / overseas at childhood so could not remember much growing up in Rotuma (Please name country you moved to: _____)
4. What is the genesis of the Rotuman garland? (*Ka tefui kamat tapen?*)
5. What does the Rotuman garland represent? (*Ka tes ta tefui ta kel 'akim ne rak'akim?*)
6. For what purpose or purposes are the *tefuis* made for and why? (*Ka tefui a 'esav'ak 'e avas ma hurt se tes ta tefui esav'akie?*)
7. Is there any expected process to be followed in making of a *tefui*? Explain please. (*Ka ma 'on rere a 'mou het se reagne tefui? Figalelei ma sui'akim.*)
8. How is the Rotuman identity reflected through the *tefui*? (*Ka 'os ariga ne goufamor Rotumet kel'ak tapen 'e tefui ta?*)
9. Why is it important to understand the significant and meaning of the *tefui* with consideration to the ingredients used? (*Ka po 'e tes ta ia te leleit ka 'esavat la inea amanak ne tefui 'e aipoa ma hefu ma te 'atakoa ne 'esav'ak se tefui ta?*)
10. What has contributed to the changing art of the Rotuman *tefui*? (*Ka tes 'atama ta ho 'im iu/jen ne sok se tefui 'e 'on 'I hete'?*)
11. Should the original garlands be maintained or not and why? (*Ka lelei la 'is la sasap se tefui ne 'os temanfua re 'e kamataga ne igka' mapo 'e tese?*)
12. Any other comment(s) relevant to the Rotuman cultural garland? (*Ka 'ae ma te hoi'ak la po la 'ea reko tefui ta ne gou kat saio' ra?*)