

The Lazy Giant: A Mokilese Myth in Conversation

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Author's Note

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Abstract

The telling of the myth *Ledup, The Lazy Giant* by two young Mokilese men, Edward Mullins and Gary Albert, is the central focus of this research. As a spoken story that the entire island of Mokil Atoll knows, but only the younger generation will tell, *The Lazy Giant* provides insight into Mokilese folktales and their place in the community. Since *The Lazy Giant* is within the context of a culture undergoing change and balancing traditions with outside influences, I explore how the story is told and also how it relates to other similar Micronesian legends. The story contains references to ideas present in other myths that combine to form the concept of the giant within Micronesian folklore. My discussion of this myth uses a transcription of the English version of the story, as it is told in both Mokilese and English. Since Mullins and Albert tell the story together, the structure of the myth within a conversational narrative and the physicality of the speakers play a role in how I unpack the presentation and flow of the story. My research addresses the themes present in the legend, including protectors, the creation and destruction of nature, and foreigners as a danger. The paper also analyzes the relationship between the legend and the community, including how components of the tale relate and reflect the location, history, and perspectives of the Mokilese people.

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Edward Mullins & Gary Albert on the Mokil Atoll (screenshot from *EnduringVoices*, 2014)

Transcription

To begin, below is a transcription of the myth of *Ledup, The Lazy Giant* as told by Edward Mullins and Gary Albert. K. David Harrison recorded this storytelling on July 26, 2013 on the Mokil Atoll in the Federated States of Micronesia. I have only transcribed the English portion is transcribed, but it was first told in Mokilese.

Transcription Conventions

(Norrick, 2000, p.xxiii)

.	Falling tone in preceding element
?	Rising tone in the preceding element
,	Continued intonation
-	Speaker abruptly stops word
[Start of overlapping speech
]	End of overlapping speech
=	No pause between two people speaking
(Timed pauses
{{	Timestamp
{	Untranscribable elements or use of Mokilese
###	Unsure of speech

Transcription of The Lazy Giant

(EnduringVoices, 2014)

Edward Mullins: E

Gary Albert: G

K. David Harrison: D

((0:00))

- 1 E: Eh, we- we- we- eh, Mokilese
 2 we use (1.8)
 3 long time ago
 4 {Mokilese}
 5 okay, this is how I'm gonna start
 6 {Mokilese}

((0:13)) to ((3:15)) in Mokilese

((3:15))

- 7 D: Okay. Can you say just a few sentences in English of what the story's about?
 8 G: Uh.
 9 The story's about
 10 the Mokilese giant, Ledup
 11 Uh [it's about]
 12 E: [a very strong man]
 13 G: he's [a very strong man]
 14 E: [but lazy]

((3:30))

- 15 G: =a very lazy giant.
 16 Like all he does is just sleep.
 17 Like um the way that the people here wake him up is
 18 uh remember the bell.
 19 It's named the Rock.
 20 That's how they waked him up.
 21 You have to go and throw stones at it

((3:45))

- 22 So like
 23 so he can hear it.
 24 Like, (2.1) um, (2.3)
 25 E: about traders
 26 G: oh yeah.
 27 He protect like,
 28 he protect the people from like
 29 people who like
 30 the traders, whalers, (1.0)

((4:00))

- 31 when [they come to {###}]
 32 E: [when people try to come] (1.6)
 33 G: like all he does is just [sleep]
 34 E: [Mm-hm]
 35 G: and protect the people. (1.3)
 36 And then
 37 one day the people of Mokil (1.0)
 38 they decided to like [just to]
 39 E: [{:Mokilese}]
 ((4:13))
 40 G: try to find his weakness
 41 cause he's very strong.
 42 So, they=
 43 E: =Came one day, one day=
 44 G: =One day they decided to like
 45 try and see
 46 who could stay
 47 under the water the longest=
 48 E: =a contest=
 49 G: =yeah like a contest
 50 E: all the [men in Mokil]
 ((4:30))
 51 G: [all the men on the island]
 52 E: strong men go and
 53 G: so they did it
 54 and they go underneath the water
 55 and try to stay
 56 for as long as they can=
 ((4:42))
 57 E: =for [like one day]
 58 G: =try to hold their breath under the like
 59 under the
 60 in the {###}. (2.5)
 61 So one by one the men came up
 62 and then, as after the last man came up,
 63 they thought that Ledup already drowned. (2.0)
 64 So it's been said that after five years,
 ((5:02))
 65 he tried to came up,
 66 but the corals, they already grow on top of him. (0.9)
 67 E: =So-
 68 G: So he couldn't move, (1.7)
 69 And, they said like
 70 he's the reason why,
 71 the island became three
 72 because he [was underneath it]

- 73 E: [it split it] into three=
 74 G: =and he tried to [come up]
 ((5:20))
 75 E: [when he tried to come]
 76 G: people thought it was an earthquake
 77 E: [but]
 78 G: [cause he] moved all the islands apart, (1.2)
 79 and, that is how he died,
 80 underneath,
 81 underneath the ocean.
 82 E: Outside {gesturing with left arm} {Mokilese}
 83 G: {Mokilese}
 84 E: {Mokilese}
 ((5:44))
 85 D: thank you, that's great.
 86 Very, interesting story.
 87 Now we know how the island was created.
 88 E: Mhm
 89 G: Most like
 90 most of the kids like
 91 everybody knows the story.
 92 Like even, mo-
 93 like
 ((6:00))
 94 It's very popular among the Mokilese.
 95 They're very proud of it. (2.4)
 96 Um, even like, the little kids
 97 can even tell you the story.
 98 They know about it.
 99 Their par-
 100 like their parents,
 101 grandparents
 102 they always tell [the story so-]
 ((6:16))
 103 E: [{Mokilese}]
 ((6:26))
 104 G: There's a lot of stories about him,
 105 but that's the-
 106 that's the only version I know. (2.3)
 107 They say like
 108 Um he used to
 109 cause he has two sons
 110 I believe? (0.9)
 ((6:40))
 111 and he used like,
 112 the stem of the coconut,

113 from on a tree,
114 to throw at the ships,
115 like even before like they were like coming in close. (1.2)
116 He would go that way {gesturing with right arm}
117 wherever he would see the ship
118 and then he would hit them
119 with the stem of the coconut.
120 Coconut tree.
((7:02))

1 Introduction

Two young men, Edward Mullins and Gary Albert, told the traditional Mokilese myth *Ledup, the Lazy Giant*, in both Mokilese and English to researcher K. David Harrison. This event may seem small but actually it is of cultural, linguistic, and historical importance. There are only approximately a thousand speakers of Mokilese, an endangered language (Lewis, 2014). In addition, stories and storytelling are not something to be passed over, as stories hold significant information for the speaker and their audience. Through looking at myths, we have the opportunity to learn more about communities and cultures that are often overlooked.

In this paper, I explore the myth about Ledup focusing on areas including specific historical and cultural references, how this story relates to other giant myths, and how the fact that it is told by two speakers impacts its telling. This myth of *Ledup, The Lazy Giant* contains references to different distinct stories from Micronesia and more broadly the Pacific Islands that combine to form the idea of the giant. I am focusing my discussion around a transcription of the English telling of the story. The video allows me to unpack the presentation and flow of the story. My research will explore the themes present in the legend, including a mythological character as a protector, the creation of important geographical masses, and foreigners as a danger. This paper also looks at the relationship between the myth and the community, including how the components of the tale relate to and display the location, history, and perspectives of the Mokilese people. Since “[t]hose narratives explaining land features or commemorating outstanding people and events are known and told by all. Each district has a well-known body of such legends that nearly everyone... will present as factual accounts of past events” (Mitchell, 1972, p.40). The

common narrative of *Ledup*, *The Lazy Giant* unites the community and describes their shared history. This analysis will, hopefully, support how much insight and knowledge there is to gain from listening to and watching the storytelling of a community and culture.

1.1 Summary of Myth

The legend about Ledup begins with a description of the lazy giant, or very large man (l. 10-15), as doing only two things: sleeping and protecting the people of the Mokil Atoll (l. 16-35). When the people of the island see any potential threats appearing over the water, they can wake the giant up from his slumber (l. 17-20). To wake him up, the Mokilese have to throw stones at a bell, called the Rock, to get it to ring loudly so that Ledup is roused (l. 18-23). Once he is awake, the giant defends the community from any traders or other foreign people who might bring harm to the community (l. 27-32). To stop the ships from coming close, he throws coconut trees at them (l. 111-120).

The two storytellers continue on to explain that the community tries to find the weakness of the giant, since he is so immensely strong, so they have a contest with Ledup to see who can hold their breath under the ocean water for the longest (l. 36-52). The giant stays under water for so long that the Mokilese all think he has drowned (l. 61-63). They are surprised many years later when he does come to the surface. He held his breath for so long that the coral grew on top of him (l. 64-68). To get out from under the coral, he has to break through the coral, which, the storytellers explain, is the reason that the island split into different parts (l. 69-78). Since the Mokil Atoll is made of coral and is spread across three landmasses, the story tells of the origin of how the formation of the atoll came to be.

One speaker says, “there’s a lot of stories about him” (l. 104) showing that there is a

larger collection of legends regarding the giant, including stories about Ledup's two sons (l. 107-109), and his important role in the Mokilese community. *The Lazy Giant* is within the context of a culture that has been and still is undergoing change and trying to balance traditions with outside influences. Since the story is popular on the island and told from parent to child, speakers state that the entire island knows it and is proud of it (l. 89-102). *The Lazy Giant* provides insight into Mokilese folktales and their place in the community.

1.2 Transcription Methods

For this paper, I have transcribed and analyzed the recording of *Ledup, the Lazy Giant*. As I am not a speaker of Mokilese and thus would not want to attempt a translation, I am very lucky to have the recording of the myth in English. While transcribing it, I initially went through the recording focusing on simply the words and who was speaking. Next I included timed pauses and try to incorporate the pacing of the recording into the transcription through specific pauses and punctuation. The last step that had a large impact on how the transcription actually appears was based on the idea that any narrative is poetic. As you can see in the transcription located at the beginning of this paper, there are frequent line breaks after phrases giving the transcription a visual appearance closer to a poem than to prose. Some linguists who look at storytelling and conversational narratives have described the strong link to the poetic in stories. The idea that "all oral narrative [is] inherently poetic in the sense of being organized in lines" (Hymes 1981, 337) was the basis of the how I broke down the transcription into shorter lines. The line breaks are based on the pace of the speaking, stressing, and the creation of lines that reveal repetition, parallel structures, or completed segments of the story. This transcription, which is above, is

referenced by line number (l. #) throughout the paper for easier reference and reading.

1.3 Literature Review

This paper is centered on the Mokilese myth of *The Lazy Giant*. This focus combines three areas: folklore, conversational storytelling, and Micronesia. Arguably, folklore, oral tradition, and Micronesia are individually still areas in need of additional research. Because of this need, there is woefully little analysis of those topics combined.

To begin with folklore, Thompson's (1955) *Motif-index of Folk-literature* contains indexing and categorization of an array of folk-literature and their motifs. While Thompson has a way of categorizing tales by their type, as an expansion on Aarne's work, his Motif Index is helpful in analyzing *The Lazy Giant*. Since this myth contains a series of stories about Ledup, the motifs are a useful tool of comparison to see if there are other stories that contain similar motifs. Ranging from the divergence of Ledup's action from the traditional malicious ogre (G100 in the Motif Index) to the impact of giants on geography (e.g. A901), the motif index highlights aspects of the myth that echoes other from around the world (Thompson, 1955). I briefly explore these motifs in the Section 2.2 and 2.4 as part of the larger analysis. A further comparison to other international myths would be an important pursuit for another paper as both *The Lazy Giant* and other myths in the Pacific Islands contain additional motifs from the index.

A key example of categorizing folktales based on their narratives instead of motifs is Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*. Since this Micronesian legend does not seem to fall into the narrative units that Propp lays out, it does not seem to be as useful to use Propp's functions as a way to analyze the myth. Although significant research has not been done on

the folktales of Micronesia, there are collections of legends from the region that were useful references for comparison (Flood, 1999; Flood, 2002). These collections are by no means exhaustive as I came across mentions of many additional myths recorded as early as the mid 19th century (Hanlon, 1984). In addition, even looking outside of these collections, I could not find any other recording or reference to the legend of Ledup. A variety of research has showcased different methods of analyzing oral traditions from around the world (Bittle & Hoijer, 1967; Hymes, 1981; Finnegan & Orbell, 1995). Specifically, a considerable amount of research has recently been completed on how to accurately translate myths, especially ones orally presented (Hymes, 1968). As I do not have the background to delve into translating the Mokilese telling of the story, I do not explore or attempt to look into translating the Mokilese version.

Since *The Lazy Giant* is told in a casual conversational setting, Dell Hymes's theory of the "ethnography of communication" is an important reference. Although his theory is used as a tool to generalize and research a speech community as a whole, the tools used to look for patterns are useful in analyzing the "speech event" of the legend of Ledup (Hymes, 1974). The concept of ethnopoetics also guided the manner of my transcription and analysis of it. "The performance as situated in a context, the performance as emergent, as unfolding or arising within that context" (Hymes 1981, p.293). The speakers are presenting the story of Ledup in the moment, within the specific situation and location. For this paper, I apply the ideas of ethnopoetics to the poetry and artfulness of a story in conversation.

Other manners of analyzing conversations (Lerner, 2004 and Norrick, 2000) provided useful ideas regarding how the myth was informally passed between two storytellers. Research on these narratives put a focus on the rules of conversation, which

did not provide a useful structure, although the books supplied ways of constructing analysis of a conversation.

A variety of research on folklore, oral storytelling, and conversational analysis supports the methods and analysis of this paper. As mentioned above, research in the area of oral legends of Micronesia is sorely lacking both myths formally and casually told. The importance of acknowledging and further researching the rich folklore of Micronesia cannot be overemphasized.



Picture of the Mokil Atoll (Christine, 2006)

1.4 Background of Mokil Atoll

Before analyzing the details of the myth, it is important to have an understanding of the geographic location and history of the Mokil Atoll, also known as the Mwoakilloa Atoll. Within the Pacific Islands, the Mokil Atoll is located in the Federated States of Micronesia. The island is specifically part of the Caroline Islands in a district containing the outlying islands of Pohnpei (Pohnpei Branch Statistics Office, 2002). There are currently around one

to two hundred people living on the atoll (Pohnpei Branch Statistics Office, 2002). The island is made from coral growing on an extinct volcano that eroded in the Pacific Ocean creating a low coral atoll (Aregheore, 2006). The Mokil Atoll has three distinct landmasses in a ring around a lagoon, as can be seen in the picture above. This configuration plays a pivotal role in the myth of Ledup (similarly geography plays a major role in many other tales from Micronesia). This myth and others display how giants impact the natural environment on each island, which I will discuss further in Section 2.2 of this paper.

The myth not only explains the geography of the island, but also the history of the community and its foreign contact. The Mokil Atoll is currently part of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), which is self-governing, but ownership of the island has changed hands numerous times throughout the last three hundred years. The period of 'European' Micronesia, or the time after the first recorded European contact, began at the start of the eighteenth century with Jesuit missionaries from Spain (Fischer, 2013, p.88). Although Micronesia remained within the Spanish hegemony until well into the nineteenth century, it did not have significant outside contact until there was increased whaling during the 1820s and 1830s (Fischer, 2013, p.104). By the 1870s though, Christian churches already had a firm foothold in the Micronesian islands (Fischer, 2013, p.168). From the early 1900s to 1940s, ownership of Micronesia changed hands between Spain, Germany, Japan, and finally the United States of America (USA) (Fischer, 2013). At the end of WWII, the USA became the Trustee of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), including the Micronesian islands (Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 2014). For nearly 40 years, the United States had a large impact on Micronesia's trade, educational, and political systems (Mitchell, 1972). As of 1986, FSM became independent from the USA; however, the USA has

maintained significant ties to the islands (Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 2014). For example, the USA provides grant funds and federal program assistance to the FSM in addition to favorable trade agreements (Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 2014).

This history of ownership has had a significant influence on the culture and communities of the islands of Micronesia. In *A History of the Pacific Islands*, Fischer has a bleak perspective stating, “Micronesia’s nominal independence is a new incarnation of colonialism in that the independence has been conditional – the Micronesian nations are allowed to be what their former trustee the United States wants them to be” (Fischer, 2013, p. 265). The FSM was greatly impacted by the countries that occupied the islands. The influences on education, religion, and social factors in addition to historical contact resulted in a prioritization of outsider values over traditional Micronesian culture (Coker, 1985). When looking at myths within the islands, it is necessary to take into account the ways that other countries influenced both the legends themselves and how the Micronesians interact with their own stories.

2 Comparison to Other Micronesian Legends

As this is the one available and known recording of the story of Ledup, it is helpful and even necessary to compare the myth to other similar legends within Micronesia and the Pacific Islands to gain greater insight through comparison. Though the storytellers mentioned that there are many more related myths about Ledup on the Mokil Atoll, since this recording is the one available, I searched for myths that centered on the mythical creature of a human-like giant. The islands consisting of Micronesia as compared to other parts of the Pacific Islands, like Polynesia, are very culturally diverse; however, due to the physical closeness of the islands, there is communication between the islands and overlap in their mythology (Fischer, 2013). The ideas that giants created the geography of the island, their purposeful or accidental destructiveness, and their interaction with the people of the island are recurring themes in the myths in Micronesia and the Pacific Island folklore (Flood, 1999 & Flood, 2002). However, outside of these common thematic elements, giants are shown as malicious and dangerous to the community in many myths (Flood, 1999 & Flood, 2002). These malicious giants contrast with the myth of Ledup, where he protects the community. I will discuss this divergence in Section 2.4 later in this paper. First, I provide a deeper context on the religions, spirituality, and myths in Micronesia.

2.1 What are Giants in Micronesia?

Giants of the myths are literally larger than life. They have impact on the geography of the islands, and their presence and actions explain things beyond human comprehension. Giants and their myths align more with the spiritual elements of Micronesia rather than the human or mundane. They also highlight the division between

the land and ocean. According to myths, when giants leave their natural location (land), it has a massive impact on the island. The myths show the importance of the location and geography of these communities. Legends reveal the communities' relationship with nature, limited natural resources, and the ocean.

Prior to foreign influences, Micronesia didn't have a sole religion. As Haynes and Wuerch write, "a holistic character cannot be assigned to Micronesian religion" (vii); however, there are some uniting concepts such as the spirit realm. Although the religions of each island differ, there are many similar themes including "celestial and terrestrial deities, nature spirits, demons and ancestral ghosts, with a strong infusion of magic, taboo and divination" (Haynes and Wuerch, 1995, p. vii). The myth of *Ledup, The Lazy Giant*, focuses on the theme of spirits, since the giant can be categorized as a mythical being. Giants are often referred to as ghost-giants, placing them solidly in the realm of spirits instead of the realm of normal humans (Flood, 2002). Although the giant *Ledup* is not called such, it seems giant and ghost-giant is used interchangeably in other Micronesian myths which further supports giants being considered within the spiritual realm. This classification supports the power of giants to change the environment and islands themselves in larger than life ways. (This concept is discussed further in Section 2.2.)

As spirits, giants have a specific domain in which they should reside. Leaving that place massively impacts the world around them. Haynes and Wuerch (1995) write about the distinction between the "'spirits of the island' and 'spirits of the sea'" (p. 10). In Micronesia, the communities are located on small landmasses completely surrounded by expanses of water. The myths and religious ideas point to the distinction between the ocean and land.

The myths and religions of Micronesia highlight how the giants are powerful island spirits that have a specific domain. In *The Lazy Giant*, Ledup does traverse between the land and the water, but only once and with significant effects on the people of the island. This pattern is followed in other giant myths.

2.2 Making the Islands

Many of the giant myths of the Pacific Islands have a theme of destruction resulting in rebirth or creation, a common motif that is seen in myths throughout the world. The giants often either destroy the island or themselves, creating the current day geography as a result. The giants going into the ocean and leaving their natural domain results in both destruction and new creations. On the other hand, when they stay on land, giants still have an impact, causing smaller changes to island topography.

A number of myths contain the motif of giants impacting the land. Thompson's (1995) categorization of a motif present in *The Lazy Giant* and other tales is "[t]opographical features caused by experiences of primitive hero [A901]." Ledup divides the Mokil Atoll into three parts around a lagoon from when the coral grew on top of him after being challenged to hold his breath in the ocean (l.81). The changes to the island's geography are directly formed due to the giant's actions displaying his power to create and destroy elements of the island. Within Micronesia two myths, that of Ledup and Uab, both highlight how leaving the land to go into the ocean causes large-scale creation. After the atoll is split into three, Ledup then does not return onto the island but remains far out in the ocean (l. 81). In the legend of the giant Uab, when the giant dies its flesh and bones become the islands of Palau (Flood, 2002). Both of these instances show that when the

giant, a spirit of the land, goes into the water a large change occurs and things never return to the way they were before. The giants no longer live on the island and the very geography of the land is changed.

These examples are not the only instance that giants affect the formation of islands, the presence of giants changes the features of the islands where they reside. Stories tell of giants creating significant landmarks if not the entire island geography. For example, on the Caroline Islands there is the myth of the Kona, a “giant race of old” (Christian, 1899, p.382) that explains a raised mound of earth. It is supposed that the mound is the grave of one of the giants (Christian, 1899). On the island of Tol, a tunnel through the mountain that is on the island was supposedly created by turtles to save the people of the island from Oneniap, a giant who would eat all of their food as they passed over the mountain (Flood, 2002, p.16). In both of these examples, while giants do not change the face of the island themselves, their existence results in island topography being altered.

The myth of giants explains the process of the creation of the islands, which was long and not visible to those who lived on the atolls. In Micronesian and Pacific Island mythology, giants seem to “stress[] a world of helpful and harmful supernatural spirit forces connected with the familiar phenomena of nature in the islands (sky, sea, storms, forest, etc)” (Christian, 1899). A final example is that of the race of giants on Ponape. The giants would eat people and were very strong, but one giant heard of two brothers who were greatly respected for their magic (Coker, 1985, p.43). The giant challenged the brothers to see who could make a bigger impact on the island, the giant’s strength or the brothers’ magic (Coker, 1985, p.43). The giant dug a deep canal and the brother built a tall mountain (Coker, 1985, p.43). The brothers won the race through creating a mountain

taller than the canal was deep, which made the giant angry (Coker, 1985, p.43). The giant proceeded to throw a rock and break the mountain into four pieces, which is how the island is to this day (Coker, 1985, p.43). Magic and the existence of a mystical creature, the giant, explains the island geography, which includes a canal and what seems to be a mountain split into four islands (Coker, 1985, p.43). In this myth, the giant challenges the islanders to actively change the island, emphasizing the destructive role of these beings.

For all of the examples, there is an interesting balance between destruction and creation. In no story can something be created without something else being destroyed. For Ledup, he destroys the island through breaking it into three, but also creates it as the Mokilese know the island to be. The giant Uab must die to create the islands of Palau as his destroyed body directly forms the landmasses. The mountain that the giant of Ponape splits must be broken to form the islands. Over and over again, the duality of creation and destruction explains the formations of landmasses.

2.3 Interactions with the Islands/Islanders

As in the previous example, the giants do not only move whole parts of the islands, but also sometimes have smaller scale interactions with the land or the people who live on it. In the tale about Ledup, the giant has multiple interactions with the islanders. The giant is woken up by the people of the island, which shows that they have a relationship of dependence. Ledup is awoken through the stones of the island being thrown to ring the Rock. Both the stones on the island and the presence of the Rock speak to the established method of communication between the giant and the islanders. In the story of the giant on Ponape, the giant is the one who throws a rock to break the mountain that the brothers

created (Coker, 1985, p.43). In both stories the composition of the island plays a role in the storytelling. Similarly, the way that Ledup uses the coconut trunks to destroy ships shows the significance of the nature of the island. The actual topography and agriculture of the island being used in the myth firmly places the giant within the context of the specific island that the myth is told on.

Other myths about giants have similar trends. In the myth from Palau, the islanders have to feed the giant baby showing again a story of dependence. However, instead of a positive relationship where the community relies on the giant, in this myth the giant has a damaging presence. Since the giant is depleting the island resources, the community lights stacks of coconut stalks on fire to kill it (Flood, 2002, p. 41). The use of coconut stalks mirrors how they were used in the story of Ledup, to destroy and ward off the foreign ships. The many parts of the coconut tree are used in decoration, food, and other manners (People and Plants of Micronesia, 2014), but it shows the destructive power of the entire trunk of the coconut and how nature can contribute to protecting the community. This could relate to how communities in islands use coconut stalks to create fires but also how a falling coconut tree or even part of the tree can destroy its surroundings (People and Plants of Micronesia, 2014). Another myth speaks to the creation of familiar beings on the islands. The “Naughty Girl and the Ghost-Giant” explains how the tiny fish of the shallows were created (Flood, 2002, p.52). The giant actually turns people into the small fish which circles back to the destruction and creation theme. The relationship between the giant and community varies between positive negative, and it is consistently tied to creation and destruction.

As myths are often ways of teaching moral lessons to children, some stories of giants

can be used to scare children into listening to their parents. The myths can highlight the negative result of certain types of actions on the children themselves or on their community. Although the legend of Ledup does not seem to have a clear moral purpose, it may be because there are more parts to the myth than contained in the original recording. Outside of the myth of Ledup, other stories across Micronesia show a different side of giants. Giants in these myths are a danger to the nearby communities.

2.4 Giants – A Force to be Reckoned with

Sometimes the giants are very aware of their negative impact. Looking at the myth of Ledup alone, it would seem that giants are good figures in the mythology of Micronesia. Rather than the norm, Ledup is actually the exception when it comes to being benevolent. In the legend, Ledup is a protector of the island, waking up for the sole purpose of keeping the Mokilese from potential outside harm. Other giants are not so kind, often being seen as villains or “supernaturals akin to ogres, whose cannibalistic appetites are equaled only by their stupidity” (Mitchell, 1972, p.40). The giants are stereotyped as lazy, hungry mythical creatures who, through their intrinsic personalities, affect the communities of the island they live on.

A giant’s maliciousness often presents in stories through their large appetites and through excessive amounts of food from the community. Thompson’s *Motif-Index* identifies a common motif of malevolent giants, also known as “giant ogres” (G100) (Thompson, 1955). Tales that contain this motif show giants harming communities or people. In a legend from Toi, Oneniap, the giant who lived in the mountain, needed to be defeated because it was taking the food from the islanders. With the help from turtles, the islanders

successfully could avoid the giant by going through a tunnel under the mountain. The giant was not incapacitated, but the community was safe from it through taking an alternate path. These myths highlight the moral theme of how laziness and gluttony negatively affect a community. Giants' excessive appetite causes the surrounding or nearby communities to suffer. Since the islands are so small, the myths express how an individual could have a greater impact on their community if they are not careful.

In multiple myths the giant actually eats people. In one legend, a boy through both disobeying his mother and underestimating the powers of the giant gets eaten (Flood, 2002, p.96). In another, an entire race of giants routinely ate people (Coker, 1985). In addition, when their powers were challenged, they split the land (Coker, 1985). Even when the people tried to use magic to save themselves, often times they would not succeed and would be eaten anyway. Other giants throughout the mythology of the Pacific Islands followed a similar pattern of purposefully eating the people of the land.

However, other myths show the negative impacts of the giants as accidental. For example, the giant baby of Palau consumed all of the food of the islands purely to survive (Flood, 2002, p.40). When the giant realized that its large appetite was destroying the community of the island, he allowed himself to be killed. This unintentional impact of harming the community shows an additional level of relationship to nature. Natural forces, as represented by the giant, at times do not have a clear cause for creating harm in a community, so the myth explains that this fact is something to work within and accept.

Whether or not the giant is purposely malicious, an unchanging factor is that this mythical being should not be underestimated. As mentioned above, the giants are often fed by the community. If they are disrespected, through being challenged or in another

manner, the result is a massive natural effect. Even if the natural disaster does not end with the giant or people dead, the land itself is changed forever. The myths not only teach children moral lessons, but also demonstrate to them the importance of honoring the land they live on. It shows them that the giant, which is equivalent to large forces of nature, is something to respect.

3 Internal References

Within the myth of *Ledup, the Lazy Giant*, there are many allusions to relevant geographical landmarks, shared culture, and the history of the Mokil Atoll. The main categories of references are shared mythological themes, geography, historical contact, and actions or ideas of cultural importance. These mentions show what information is seen as relevant or important to convey to following generations and display shared knowledge of the Mokilese.

3.1 Mythological Themes

Ledup, the Lazy Giant, clearly tells the story of a “lazy” (l. 14) “giant” (l. 10). As mentioned above, there are multiple stories within Micronesia and the Pacific Islands that tell of the human type spirits that are larger than a human would ever be. The laziness of the giant is a usual characteristic, often times paired with an insatiable appetite.

Ledup is said to have “two sons” (l. 109). Other myths also mention mothers or offspring. The focus on family even for mythological characters may connect with the importance of family ties and the complexity of the mythology of the Mokilese. The giant is not simply one story, but a full character in a series of stories that are familiar to the Mokilese.

Another part of the myth that turns up in other legends is ritual summoning. In the story, the Mokilese use “the bell” (l. 18) to wake up Ledup so that they can be saved from outsiders. The lazy trait, inclusion of family, and ritualized communication highlight some of the mythological themes in the story.

3.2 Geography

As discussed in previous sections, geography plays a large part in the legend *Ledup, The Lazy Giant*. The multiple mentions place the myth uniquely on the Mokil Atoll. The most general reference is to the fact that the Mokil Atoll is in the middle of the ocean without other landmasses nearby. When they hold the breath holding contest they do so “in the sea” (l. 60). Although the giant is a spirit of the island, the Mokilese have the contest be something of the ocean, possibly in hopes of increasing their chance of winning. When Ledup comes up from holding his breath, he does not return to the land, but remains “outside” (l. 82). The crossover from land to ocean is one that the giant could not or would not come back from.

As I previously mentioned, The Mokil Atoll most likely formed from an extinct ocean volcano that, as the volcano eroded, coral grew on. The coral formed a ring with a lagoon in the center, which is the current structure of the island. A few of these physical facts are represented in the story. When Ledup breaks the island, “the island became three” (l. 71) and he “moved all the islands apart” (l. 78). The lagoon in the middle is explained through the destruction caused by Ledup’s body. These details from the myth further show how the giant represents forces of nature (as discussed in section 2).

Since the island is made of coral, it is covered in coral limestone or dead coral (National Ocean Service, 2008). In the myth, there are two references to the rocks of the island. Both mentions are in reference to the bell that wakens Ledup. The first speaks of a bell “named the rock” (l. 19) that the Mokilese ring to rouse Ledup. The myth explains why its presence on the island is important, giving a purpose to an otherwise insignificant landmark, and names it, making it a reference point or possibly explaining where its name

came from. “The rock” sounds like it might be alluding to the material it is made from which could be a large piece of coral limestone. The next reference is to how the bell is rung. The Mokilese would have to “throw stones at it” (l. 21) to make it ring loudly or else Ledup would not wake up. The stones are probably again the coral limestone that would be what composed the main surface of the island.

The growth of the coral is also actively in the Mokilese consciousness. When the giant is holding his breath underwater for five years, “the corals, they already grow on top of him” (l. 66). Since corals can grow multiple centimeters per year (National Ocean Service, 2008) and the Mokil Atoll is only “2.8 miles long and 1.7 miles at its widest point” (Federated States of Micronesia, 2012), this reference shows the distinct awareness that the Mokilese have for how the island changes over time. As something that everyone on the atoll has to live on, it does not need to be explained to community members that the coral would have been able to grow on top of the giant. It is interesting that they say “already” because it shows that the slow rate of coral growth is accounted for on the island.

The myth also mentions coconut, which is a primary natural resource for the Mokil Atoll. “The stem of the coconut” (l. 112) and the “coconut tree” (l. 120) are both used to describe the item that the giant throws at the ships. The coconut tree is used on the island for a multitude of things from food, using the coconut oil, to decoration in dance and ritual, using coconut palms, to trade, selling copra to make coconut oil (Hezel, 1984). As a key part of the lives of the Mokilese, it would make sense that coconut would be continued to be used within their myths. In addition, the coconut trees are a natural resource that would be covering the island at all times, so they would always be available to Ledup in the community’s time of need.

3.3 Historical Contact

The myth cites a key historical element in the myth: the community needed Ledup's help to keep away the "the traders, whalers" (l. 30). Since one of the main ports for whaling was Pohnpei, previously known as Ponape, the community on the Mokil Atoll would have seen the whaling boats pass by with the possibility of them stopping. On Pohnpei, there is a record of a large loss of population along with general "social instability, cultural degradation, and anarchy" (Fischer, 2013, p. 105). These significant impacts of the whaling industry in the early nineteenth century probably did not influence the Mokil Atoll as the very small island most likely "maintained traditional lifestyles, experiencing little or no contact with outsiders" (Fischer, 2013, p. 105).

While Fisher (2013) maintains that the Mokil Atoll's size would have discouraged foreign contact, the myth asserts that foreign contact was possible and perceived as dangerous to the community. First, the whalers and traders that came to an island would prioritize their power and economic benefit, not the traditions or needs of the community. One of the largest embodiments of this fact was in their "labor recruitment," which was in reality "brutal kidnapping" (Fischer, 2013, p. 168). Young individuals would be taken to work on ships or plantations leaving their communities without young men to increase the population.

Another major reason is disease. Unknown to the European and American sailors, they caused massive population crashes with their contagious disease both through deaths and through inadvertently causing sterility. Throughout all of Micronesia, the population dropped by 50%, but the loss could have been as high as 90% on a small island like the Mokil Atoll (Fischer, 2013, p. 123). Between the threat of disease and kidnappings, the

looming form of a ship would be sure to induce panic into the community on the Mokil Atoll.

Having the story of *The Lazy Giant* shares a few things with generations to come for the Mokilese. The myth shows that in the history of the Mokil Atoll, traders, whalers, and other outsiders were seen as a threat and treated as such by the people of the island. Instead of welcoming the outsiders, they would call on a spirit, the giant Ledup, to save them from the people who would bring destruction to their island. The legend also supports the idea that the island could be protected by other forces even when the community could not defend itself, thereby again showing a dual relationship with nature. According to *Ledup, The Lazy Giant*, nature can both save the Mokilese from their enemies, destroy their own land, and sustain their community.

3.4 Culture

Distinct cultural references are also made in the story ranging from traditions to cultural norms. The central references are within the contest that the Mokilese have with Ledup. The contest itself is who can “stay under the water the longest” (l. 46-47). There is a history of breath holding as it is a practiced tradition on many Micronesian islands as it is a necessary component to some types of hunting/ fishing (Johannes, 1981; Fischer, 2013). Breath holding is used where the Mokilese dive to the bottom of the lagoon and hold their breath for extended periods of times. In the story, the men “hold their breath” (l. 58) for at longest “one day” (l. 57). Even though this is an exaggeration for the purpose of storytelling, the ability to hold ones breath is both valued in the community and seen as something that, at least in the past, was a considered a valuable strength for hunting.

The presence of contests and the importance of strength, whether magical or physical, are often presented in myths. In the story of Ledup, the giant is first described as “a very strong man” (l. 12). Later when talking about who participated in the “contest” (l. 49), the storyteller said first “all the men” (l. 50) and then “strong men” (l. 52). By first generally saying that “all the men on the island” (l. 52) participated and following it with a qualification that the men of the island are “strong men” (l. 52), the storytellers reveal to the audience that the giant had strength far beyond the ordinary. The listener can understand that breath holding is a measure of strength and hunting skill. From this knowledge, all of the men on the island are strong and good hunters, proven through their ability holding their breath. The presence of a contest in such a short myth also emphasizes how key of a role contests play in the history and culture of the Mokil Atoll.

The phrase “strong men” (l. 52) is specifically gendered. In the history of the Pohnpei islands, women held power within their communities through matrilineal traditions. Although clan leader were primarily male, the women often had strong influence and equal levels of power and rights throughout the islands (Fischer, 2013, p.52). When it came to breath holding, women also participated in this tradition, so by excluding women from the contest the story could be conveying either that women did not actually have an equal standing to men or that they were considered not as strong as the men on the island. Alternatively, this community could be dividing the contest participants along the established gender role and responsibilities by having the men practice and showcase their hunting skills. Overall, the usage of “men” (l. 52) in the myth has a variety of potential connotations. Simply, it may be that the current word usage and historical gender norms diverge. For the purpose of storytelling, the tellers could have used “men” (l. 52) to refer to

both genders, but I would need to see more instances of “men“(l. 52) to be able to determine the particular intension of that word.

Another cultural reference is to the actual telling of the story and how the myth continues to be passed down through the generations. As mentioned in the history of the Mokil Atoll, there was a strong influence from Christian missionaries starting in the eighteenth century. In 1852, the American Congregational missionaries came to Pohnpei (Hanlon, 1984). Although supposedly the Christianity that was brought by the missionaries could “mesh[] with older patterns of belief and practice” (Stanford University, 1948, p.201), on the Mokil Atoll some people would determinately not tell the story of Ledup citing that they believed in Christianity so they did not know that myth. However, in the story the storytellers state that “most of the kids, like everybody knows the story” (l. 90-91) which implies that there is another reason for the other people on the island to not tell the story. “Their parents, grandparents” (l. 100-101) tell children the story. So, the myth is not told, shared, or accessed by a limited group of people, but rather this myth is a common story for all on the island that is passed from one generation to the next.

The changing perspectives on the importance of mythology and cultural history on the Micronesian islands probably has a large impact on how the myths are shared and viewed. Since the formation of the Federated States of Micronesia, the views on traditional arts and legends have gradually been changing, and myths are beginning to be incorporated into the school curriculum (Coker, 1985). The younger generations are slowly viewing the history of the islands and their cultural legacy in a more positive and important light. With these shifting perspectives, the cultural references contained within *The Lazy Giant* will continue to be accessed and passed through the generations.

4 Myth in Conversation

In addition to the content of the myth, the form that the story is told within also provides many levels of information. Two young Mokilese men pass the story between each other in a conversational manner to convey the legend to the interviewer and video camera. They had not practiced the storytelling ahead of time, rather in the moment prioritized and recalled what they considered to be most important to convey to their audience. The researcher, Harrison, had asked the speakers for a short summary of the myth (l. 7). The storytellers provided a longer-form and descriptive telling of the story. Through conversational cues, they switch who is speaking to supplement or prompt the other speaker. Since they are retelling the myth on the island where it occurs, their location plays a role in their referencing and physicality during the story. The fact that the story is a myth affects how the legend is told past the actual content of the myth. These individual components combine to form a conversational narrative that holds an important creation story of the island within an informal setting.

4.1 Structure of Myth

Despite being told in a conversational setting, the story can be considered a myth with a structure to the storytelling. As I am not doing a comparison between formal and casual storytelling, I will not be going into the possible distinctions between legend and myth and refer to this story as both. As Dell Hymes wrote, "Myths do not need to say that they are myths" (Hymes, 1981, p.128). The style and type of story that is presented in *The Lazy Giant* is one that is presented as a shared story of the island, containing information of a mythical being that is embraced as a part of the history of the island. The myth is

accessible and can be shared by all those on the island as it holds cultural information and is told from a young age and passed down.

In the typical breakdown of a myth or story, the separation of the parts can help analyzing it. Since this legend is told in a less formal setting by speakers who have not practiced presenting it in English, the distinct parts may initially seem unclear. However, there is a definitive linearity and progression to the story. The myth starts with the introduction of the central character, the lazy giant, Ledup. After naming and introducing the giant, the storytellers describe him and his actions proceeding to explain his importance and place in the story. The first section of the story tells of Ledup's role as protector. The second section of the myth, designated by the phrase "one day" (l. 43) which shows the start of a new part of the story, displays Ledup's role as a destroyer/creator figure. The section begins with the islanders starting a contest with Ledup that leads to the creation of the island as it is today and Ledup's eventual death.

After a brief explanation of the myth's place in the community, which is outside of the myth itself, the third section begins. The third and final section contains reference to side stories or the wealth of stories that center on Ledup. Two such legends are mentioned in this final section, Ledup's family and the details of how he would protect the island. The third section, while not clearly within the linearity of the myth, is an add-on to help clarify the contents of the previous sections. The division into distinct sections clarifies the content of the myth so it can be more easily analyzed and understood.

4.2 Role of Co-teller: Pauses and Insertions

As mentioned above, the speakers of the myth are Edward Mullins and Gary Albert,

two Mokilese men. The language that *The Lazy Giant* is first told in is Mokilese, a Micronesian language similar to Phonpeian. The storytellers learned the story in this language. Although the language does not have government recognition, since the national language of the Federated States of Micronesia is English, Mokilese is still spoken in the home on the Mokil Atoll (Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2014). The storytellers may not have told the story of Ledup in English before. The passing of the story between the two speakers was in this case an impromptu and casual conversation.

In both the Mokilese and English versions, the story was passed between the two men, but the amount of turn taking and volume of words spoken in each section differed between the two languages. In the Mokilese telling, the two storytellers traded talking or interrupted each other a total of 11 times over the 3 minutes and 15 seconds. The English version lasted about 3 minutes 45 seconds, and in it the two speakers switched who was talking or interjected 35 times. For such similar amounts of time, the English had a significantly larger number of trades back and forth. In addition, in the English, most of the storytelling was done by Gary Albert with interjections or additions from Edward Mullins. During the Mokilese telling, both storytellers spoke for longer periods of time. This may be because they were telling the English version for the first time, so the speakers were making sure that the important factors were present. In addition, the main points would be prioritized since the storytellers were asked to summarize the myth. Since the Mokilese version had been told to them from very young, there may be a more consistent manner of telling.

The two main manners of passing the conversation in this myth are distinct pauses and insertions. The pauses occur when there was a significant lapse in one presenter's

speech, resulting in the other storyteller filling in with a suggestion or a word. The insertions occur when there are words, phrases, or ideas that one speaker thought was important to include at that time either through a direct passing of speech or interruption. Often insertions cause the speakers to overlap with the final words being repeated by the original storyteller and occur at the key points of the story.

The most significant pause occurs when Albert has a two second pause followed by “um” and another two seconds of no speech (l. 24). Mullins prompts him by saying “about traders” (l. 25) to help the story continue without taking over the storytelling. Other pauses that result in the second storyteller speaking are approximately 1.5-2 seconds, but do not occur with regularity. The insertions make up the vast majority of switches in speaker in the English telling of *The Lazy Giant*. An example of such an insertion is during the very introduction:

- | | | |
|----|----|--------------------------|
| 11 | G: | Uh [it's about] |
| 12 | E: | [a very strong man] |
| 13 | G: | he's [a very strong man] |
| 14 | E: | [but lazy] |
| 15 | G: | =a very lazy giant. |

In this example, there are both interruptions creating overlaps of speech and passing speech without out overlap. The primary speaker, Gary Albert, uses the exact words and phrasing that Edward Mullins provides. This usage occurs many times throughout the storytelling ranging from single word repetitions:

- | | | |
|----|----|---------------------|
| 67 | E: | =So- |
| 68 | G: | So he couldn't move |

to multiple word phrases as shown above. Another type of insertion is just the affirmative “mm-hm” that Mullins uses to show agreement with what Albert is stating, which both occurs as an overlap and in pauses.

Through looking at the number of insertions, it also becomes clear the most important points of the myth. The areas of greatest insertions are the introduction of Ledup and his role as protector, the participants and action of a contest, and the splitting of the island into three. These moments stand out in the story because of the overlap and repetition. Through passing the story and inserting into the story, the co-storytellers create an increase of pace and energy at the most important sections of the story. The speakers overlap while telling the myth, and interruptions are taken as helpful and continued throughout the storytelling.

4.3 Situation/ Context:

The other important participant to the story is the audience, K. David Harrison, who is the researcher and interviewer, and the video camera. Although the audience is not seen in the recording and only rarely heard to prompt the speakers, the fact that the audience is not Mokilese plays a large role in how the story is told. The clearest feature of the story that makes it accessible to non-Mokilese is that it is told in English. The storytellers assume a certain level of basic common knowledge about the island, but only to a limit. They reference visible features such as the fact that the island is split in three and the presence of coconut trees, but ask if the audience remembers more specific items such as the bell called the Rock before proceeding with the story. In the explanations of the story itself and also its role and status within the community, they do not take for granted prior knowledge about how stories are passed down on the island or even what sort of characters are present in legends. Although the myth contains many references to history and culture of the island as discussed in previous sections, there are most likely references that I am not

even aware of since I am not Mokilese.

The fact that the speakers are actually located on the Mokil Atoll where the myth takes place affects their storytelling. Throughout the story, the speakers reference their location through physical gestures. For example, when telling of where Ledup died in the ocean, Edward Mullins motions with his left arm towards the ocean (l. 82). Gary Albert, the other speaker uses his right arm to show the direction that Ledup would go when ships were coming. The physical context plays a part for both storytellers, since both speakers use arm motions to add content. Both gestures were used to show what part of the ocean Ledup would be going towards or ended up being in, considering his relationship to the island. When location had a significant place in the myth, the speakers were able to use their placement on the island to clarify their storytelling through physical movements.

An interesting additional component to the context of the story is that it is now openly accessible on YouTube. This availability may not have had an impact in the moment of the storytelling but has changed how the story is viewed, both literally and figuratively. Instead of being a story that is directly told from the speakers to the audience with both sets of participants in the same location, the audience is now distanced from the speakers. The gestures of the storytellers are no longer within the context of the island, but a reference to something that is useful but not as clearly understandable, the specific direction of Ledup.

In addition, now that the video is online, anyone can interact with it as long as they have access to the internet. One immediate result of this is other individuals who know the story of Ledup can comment on it and add more information. Torann John wrote, "Two brother trick that giant into that fish gave. Because they got tired to feed him. I know there

names. That bell is a alarm clock for help” (EnduringVoices, 2014). The comment seems to be referencing the common theme in Micronesian myths where the islanders have to feed the giant. As occurs in other myths, the comment suggests that the islanders trick the giant in some way so they can stop feeding it. The reference to the bell as an “alarm clock for help” supports the storytellers’ explanation that the islanders would use the bell to wake up Ledup when they needed him. The intersection between storytelling and video creates a complex layering of setting and context that support the development and telling of the story.

4.4 Specific Phrases

Another significant factor in the genre of myths is the repetition or presence of specific phrases. Although this legend does not necessarily have the “characteristic openings and closings” of a “traditional myth” (Hymes, 1981, p.127), there are key phrases that through repetition or manner of presentation seem to hold importance. At the start of the recording of *The Lazy Giant*, Edward Mullins, the first one to speak, introduces the story by saying that the Mokilese use “long time ago” (l. 3) to start a story. He does not use that phrase to begin the telling of the story in English, which is most likely because the speakers were asked to give a summary of the story not a formal retelling (l. 7).

The other important phrase, as mentioned previously, is “one day,” (l. 43, 44, 57) used to distinguish sections of the story. When Gary Albert was beginning to tell of how the islanders tried to find Ledup’s weakness, Edward Mullins interrupted with “came one day, one day” (l. 43). Gary Albert then repeated “one day,” (l. 44) making it seem that the phrase was an important indicator within the storytelling. That phrase comes up again to show the

passage of time. Terms referencing the passage of time in the myth were also “one day” (l. 57) and “five years” (l. 64) when talking about how long the Mokilese and Ledup held their breath underwater respectively. The “one day” (l. 57) in this context was an exaggeration to indicate how very long the islanders held their breath showing that they were strong competitors by human standards. By comparison, “five years” (l. 64) is even more extreme to display that there was no way that the Mokilese would have ever expected Ledup to resurface. In this myth, indications of the passage of time are not supposed to be literal but communicate the giant’s immense strength in comparison to that of humans.

Conclusion

The story about Ledup, the lazy but powerful giant, contains themes that resonate throughout other myths in Micronesia. The giants, spirits of the land, play a role in the destruction and creation of landforms through traversing into the ocean and interacting with the islands and islanders. Whether purposefully malicious, accidentally harmful, or actively protective, giants in Micronesian myths have an impact on the physical world around them. Ledup, a kind giant, even accidentally splits the Mokil Atoll into three. *The Lazy Giant* also holds a significant number of references to the history, geography, culture, and perspectives of the Mokil Atoll. The myth stresses the communities' reliance and relationship with nature, while presenting their fear of foreigners. The format of the telling of the myth as a conversational narrative presented by two Mokilese men introduces additional information. The manner of insertions of speech emphasizes the most important sections in the myth, while the physical gestures show how location plays a role in the story. Since the myth is presented in English, it allows non-Mokilese access to the story, and the use of specific phrases along with the structure of the narrative displays the importance of the story's categorization as a myth. Overall, the recording of the myth provides a wealth of information about the culture and community of the Mokil Atoll that forms connections and links with the folklore of Micronesia.

Moving forward, I hope that more versions of the myth of Ledup can be recorded. It would be informative if a translation of the Mokilese version of the myth could be completed by a native speaker of Mokilese to do a comparison between the conversational English and the conversational Mokilese. Hopefully, more research into other legends of the Mokil Atoll and Micronesia can be conducted. In addition, if both formally and

conversationally presented stories could be recorded, the similarities and differences between the methods of telling myths could be further explored. It would also be interesting to look into the effect of technology on storytelling. *The Lazy Giant* was recorded and watched online, which presents many questions regarding participant interaction and more. Many areas of this myth and other ones could be delved into further. Researching shared folklore provides an important source of perspective and information on communities, revealing their multifaceted, rich knowledge, culture, and art.

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