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Introduction

Trobriand Islanders, unbeknownst to themselves, have fascinated anthropologists ever since Malinowski published his Kiriwinan ethnographies. With a combination of charismatic teaching abilities, an interesting writing style, and quantities of exotic data, Malinowski managed to make Trobriand ethnography one of the few data languages widely spoken in anthropology, a field wherein lack of mutual data comprehension poses very serious communication problems. The unusual position of the Trobriand material as one of the few bodies of cultural data with which most if not all anthropologists have more than a nodding acquaintance, and about which most of them have formulated decided opinions places special burdens on anyone who would attempt to become a first hand Trobriand expert through independent field work. Either one disappoints by not being conversant about one of the many theoretical controversies in which the data have figured, or, and what is worse, by having to point out that Malinowski did not have all the cultural facts right, especially facts about village social organization. The latter is particularly distressing since anthropologists have in all good faith assumed the accuracy of certain principles of organization and utilized them as the basis for construction of theory. Their often considerable commitment to these principles as stated by Malinowski is understandable.

In part this "Malinowski as Gospel" situation has arisen because a comparatively long period has passed during which the

Trobriand material has been used by theoreticians and during which there has been very little field data made available. Leo Austin, a local government administrator, commented in the 1930's on Trobriand conception beliefs, but on little else. It was not until 1950 that a second anthropologist, Dr. Harry Powell, did additional field work on Kiriwina Island. And unfortunately the bulk of his findings have not yet been published, although he has written on Trobriand politics and kinship (1965; 1968; 1969a and b). After Powell's field trip there was a lapse of twenty years, until in 1970 and 1971 three anthropologists independently decided to attempt field restudies, myself, Annette Weiner, from Bryn Mawr and Gerald Leach, from Cambridge University. Ms. Weiner worked on exchange and magic in a central Kiriwina village, and Mr. Leach on classifications in a coastal Kiriwina village. Hopefully our work in combination with the reanalysis Powell is currently conducting of his data will significantly improve the level of accuracy in Trobriand cultural data available to scholars. It should also help clear up certain theoretical problems which are based on factual misinformation.

However, I wish to state at the outset that I am to a large extent ignoring my burden in this thesis. Readers looking for specific reanalyses of such controversies as virgin birth, patrilateral cross cousin marriage rules, or the tama-kada kinship displacement problems will be disappointed. There is considerable data presented which is relevant to these problems, but rather than focusing upon them I have organized my ethnography around

a somewhat different set of theoretical approaches which I currently find particularly interesting. As they underly this monograph I will present them briefly.

David Labby (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Chicago, 1972) has elegantly argued that anthropology is best considered not as the science of culture, but rather a science of culture. By this he is referring to the fact that we Westerners have no monopoly on models of what human life is about and how it works. Social anthropologists have, formally, attempted to create models to account for the organization of societies which, by being pan-societal in their application, are both superior to and can ignore native social models. The problem which arises is that it is difficult to define a series of units and transactions with which to relevantly describe social transactions apart from the units and transactions defined by the actors involved. A notable example is Leach's Political Systems of Highland Burma (1965), wherein the author first states his intent of providing an anthropological model of Kachin political organization, then outlines the gumsa-gumlao model, and finally winds up validating his model by insisting that it is the model the natives use themselves. Anthropologists working on cross-cultural models of social organization face this dilemma even more acutely, for they in fact are working on models abstracted from cultural statements, not based on observed actual transactions. One can only, with any sense of validity, describe "matrilineal" societies as such on the grounds that these societies

possess rules of "matriliny." Of course, one can always have recourse, as Lévi-Strauss sometimes does (1967:128-59), to masked organizational principles, but this is rather dangerous in that it is by definition unverifiable. In fact, most comparative social organization analysts are interested in the composition of native organizational principles, that is, in the native models of social organization. They are hindered by the fact that the assumption that one can somehow validly describe social transactions without recourse to the culture of the people engaging in them tends to produce monographs which lack precisely the data which they need to provide a data basis for their analyses.

This situation might be further clarified by using the analogy of games. Social anthropologists have been trying to find universals with which to describe any game in play. To do this they have focused on watching and describing games being played rather than learning the rules governing the games in play. As anyone who has ever watched a game which they did not know (and "knowing a game" in American lay parlance consists of at least being acquainted with the rules) is aware, it is very difficult to construct a predictable model of what is happening and the implications of that action for the future turn of events. The only way to even describe the action is by using and modifying the rules of other games one already knows, which in anthropology has led to the wholesale application of Western domain distinctions to foreign cultures. A far easier approach, of

course, is to inquire about the rules of the game, whereupon the observed play begins to make sense.

The same is true of social transactions. But the higher goal still tempts us. For there is indeed such a thing as game analysis which specifies the character of all games apart from their individual sets of rules. Further it provides a set of principles with which it is possible to look at the course of different games in play, and to compare and contrast them. Why then cannot the same be done for the organization of social transactions?

Hopefully it can. I would maintain that the problem is not unfeasable, but that anthropologists have not been looking generally in the right directions to carry it out. Attempting to describe and account for social action apart from the culture of the actors involved has had two pernicious results. The systematic collection of native cosmological models has been largely ignored, and there has been an altogether too ready tendency to gloss the information gaps with our own categorical definitions. Detailed descriptions of how non-literate peoples define their physical and social universe are rarities in the anthropological literature. There are happily some exceptions in the social literature such as Evans Pritchard on Nuer religion and Leinhardt on the Dinka. And the more recent interest in symbolism has of course focused on native ideologies. But even so, there are comparatively few monographs dedicated explicitly to the question "What is life all about to the So-and So?"

Certain ideological themes are identified and their implications for social action discussed, but there is only a very limited attempt to deal with over-all native cosmology.

David Schneider (Systems Lecture, University of Chicago, 1968) has suggested that all cultural systems are based on a relatively limited number of unit definitions and procedural principles. The actor exists by internalizing these and using them to generate the more specific, situationally relevant ideas applicable to his every day actions. One quality of basic cultural definitions would then be that they lend themselves to a good deal of ideological manipulation. Again the game analogy is relevant. Interesting games are those wherein the rules, a small, readily learned set, leave room for a great deal of manipulation and calculation in the actual play of the game. Chess and bridge are good examples. In Lévi-Strauss' terms, such rules are good to think because in application they create, for practical purposes, an infinite combinational set.

If Schneider is correct it would be desirable to isolate the basic cultural definitions which underlie the more specific, situationally relevant statements given by our informants. And, following upon the success of games theorests, it should be possible to work out models which handle both the logical structure of such rule sets and the principles of how they are manipulated to lead to action constructs. That is, both the qualities of the rules themselves and the characteristics of the games which may be played with them might be made explicit. Two problems, however, arise at this point.

First, if basic cultural rules, unlike games rules, tend to be unconsciously learned and internalized by our informants such that they do not state them systematically for the ethnographer, he is faced with the job of constructing them out of the myriad of specific situational statements he receives. The situation would seem to be the same as that confronted by linguists who attempt to come up with rules by which informants generate sentences. The difficulty is that it is impossible to check generative grammar models directly with informants. The best that can be done is to test them for consistency against an ever larger set of sentences, for informants cannot retrieve their unconscious enough to verify whether the proposed processes are indeed those which they use. However, anthropologists really are not in this position. What we are after is the message content of basic definitions and informants can in fact, when we put to them the rules we think they may be using, indicate whether or not we are correct. In this respect Schneider's own work on American kinship (1968) is illuminating. American informants have not ordinarily thought of their kin classification as based on manipulations of the symbols nature/culture and love, but when this formulation is put to them they intuitively recognize it, and further can offer corrections on his basic model. They, in other words, are fully capable of thinking critically about basic symbols and rules for their interaction.

The second problem lies in specifying the qualities of basic cultural models. Games theorests have succeeded precisely because

all games are structured around the same type of logic: they all pose a problem capable of solution, they define the units and manipulations of these units which are to be involved in accomplishing the solution, and they operate on a zero sum set where some of the actors win and others lose. What games theorests have done is to say that the rules of any game are a unique instance of a single logic, recognized as such by the players. They can, therefore, be analyzed as a set. However, we do not know this to be the case of different cosmologies, nor do we have the data available with which to find out.

This thesis, then, is an attempt to begin rectifying our information gap. My information is far from complete. I have focused on Kaduwagan concepts of human beings and human interactions. My data on the spirit world and how people relate to spirits, on the animal world, and on the character of the physical universe in general is severely limited. However, my informants were extremely helpful on the topic of people and society. In large part this is due to the necessity to educate a naive foreigner to the point that she might know how to act properly in the village. My social data comes only in small part from interviews since I rapidly found that I learned the most when attempting to participate as an actor in village events. At that point my informants had direct stakes in my education and had well defined contexts to determine what sort of information I should receive. The problem of contexts was always tiresome when I interviewed because I did not know enough to construct them

properly and without them informants were at a loss as to what sort of information they should be trying to convey. I would ask a question and my informant would respond, "If the question you are asking is this (there would follow a statement of some question) then the answer is. . . . " Often I had no more idea of what he was talking about than he did of me. This situation did not arise when I worked in contextualized situations created by my informants.

My initial interests in the Trobriands were centered around some of the inconsistencies in the data in Malinowski's Sexual Life of Savages (1929). In order to investigate Trobriand "kin" organization I settled in the village of Kaduwaga, the largest village on the island of Kaileuna, itself the second largest of the Trobriand Islands. Kaduwaga is mentioned in the Argonauts as one of the strongest maritime villages in the Trobriands, with an especially large fleet of sea going outrigger canoes (waga masawa). Like Omarakana, Kaduwaga is controlled by the Tabalu and enjoys their prestige. Katubai, the current chief (guyau), counts all of Kaileuna, Munuwata, and Kuyao Islands as falling under his political dominance. Although he does not directly control the other villages on these islands, he intervenes to settle disputes within or between them when asked to or when he perceives it in his interest to do so, and he is recognized by them as the strongest political figure in the area. Kaduwaga is likewise recognized as its largest and most powerful village, although fierce village pride prevents members of other villages

from defining Kaduwaga as more prestigeous than any other. Kaduwaga is the largest Trobriand village on any island other than Kiriwina, and is larger than most on Kiriwina with a population of around 150 adults (Vanoi, the Paramount Chief, estimated for me that Omarakana has about forty adult residents).

While I initially perceived my project as involving topics covered in Sexual Life of Savages such as dala and clan structures and the "kinship" terms, I rapidly discovered that it is impossible to treat on these apart from a consideration of exchange rules since the utility of these various relational units is defined by Kaduwagans in terms of their exchange roles. Although Malinowski devotes considerable space to specific types of exchange such as kula and uligubu, I was quite unprepared for the Kiriwinan preoccupation with exchange itself. Fortunately on my way to the Trobriands I was able to visit with Harry Powell and he explained to me something of what existing in Kiriwinan terms would involve, namely constant meticulously exacting reciprocity in the form of payment for goods and services. I think a major difficulty for any Westerner living in a Trobriand environment is that we characterize social acceptance by a certain informality in exchange reciprocity. The American position is expressed in the contrast: purchase and impersonal relations/gifts and personal relations. Although we expect balanced reciprocity with our friends in the long run, it is rude to harp on each transaction. Kaduwagans are, of course, also able to express social distances in their exchanges, but they do it according to

a different logic. Instead of contrasting immediate reciprocity/long term reciprocity, they use different categories of reciprocity. Thus my closest friends in Kaduwaga kept as careful a tally on each of our exchange transactions as if we had been strangers, but they categorized our exchanges as pilasi (help), not gimwala (buying and selling). Each involve exacting short term reciprocity, but the former is the proper term for exchanges between friends who care for one another and who are exchanging because of that care. Thus someone would bring me cooked food for dinner, and state that she helps me and I help her. Shortly after dinner a member of her family or she herself would turn up wanting tobacco, or maybe rice or some tea and sugar. Once I gave Katubai a pen and tried to explain that it was a gift. I doubt he understood, but in any case he quickly put it into the category pilasi and thought of something he had done for me for which he was willing to consider the pen payment.

The Kaduwagan position on exact reciprocity is but one instance which arises out of a broader philosophical position which is in sharp contrast to that found in America. Kaduwagans define a person as estimable according to what and how he exchanges. Hence my friends frequently said, "Oh, we'll be so sorry when you leave. There'll be no more tobacco or money for us. We'll just be left here." They were not being greedy, but rather saying that they would miss me as an exchange partner. (Dr. Powell has told me that his informants also said the same sort of things at the time of his departure from Kiriwina.)

Americans, conversely, focus on activities in rating the worth of actors. To put it into current slang, an American digs people who are into the things he is, or who are into things he would like to be into. A person is what he does, and while individual personality idiosyncracies are relevant, one starts looking for one's friends among people who do like things. Incompatibility implies lack of common interests, and we often talk about people drifting apart as the gap between their respective activity orientations broadens. A perfect summary of this attitude is the statement "A family which prays together stays together."

Of course exchange can be considered an activity. But Americans contrast exchange and other activities in the sense that the purpose of exchange is to facilitate activities. One buys and sells so that one may have the means to do something else. And while there is for all practical purposes an infinite number of occupations and diversions in America, there are only two basic forms of exchange, buying and selling and gift giving. That Americans value activities over exchange is seen in the comment that we are a nation of "Consumers." Of course consumers buy, but the term focuses on the fact that Americans use and use up a lot of goods in their activities. Economic depressions are an anathema to Americans not because they are able to trade less, but because they restrict the activity sphere, i.e., they are able to do less.

Kiriwinans invert this model. In a world with a highly restricted number of activities and pursuits they have prolif-

erated exchanges. Instead of treating exchange as a means toward the end of activities, they see activities as a means toward the end of exchanges. Malinowski is correct in his assessment of the sense of tragedy with which Kiriwinans view a poor harvest. But he missed the point, which is that life without certain exchange cycles is pointless. It is without meaning.

In the past few years it has become clear that life organized around "ceremonial" exchange is not just a Trobriand trait, but rather a common phenomenon among Melanesians. Unfortunately, until recently there was no superior ethnography focused on exchange among any peoples living near the Trobrianders. Michael Young has begun rectification of this situation with his excellent monograph, Fighting With Food (1972), which focuses on exchange on Goodenough Island. The main difference between Goodenough and Kiriwina seems to be that the basic exchanges in the former are explicitly competitive and in the latter they are not. The exchange Young describes, abutu, sounds very much like the Trobriand buritilaula. They both occur when two villages have quarreled and both involve food laid out by one village and an attempt by the opposing village to match or surpass it with their own display. However, in the Trobriands, this type of competitive exchange definitely takes back seat to several types of exchange which are non-competitive and which are defined as more central to social existence.

This thesis focuses on Kaduwagan concepts of person, society

and exchange. The data utilized for analysis consists of the rules governing four elaborate exchange cycles, those connected with marriage, harvests, boat launchings and death. I have selected these four because not only are the main social interests of Kaduwagans oriented around their execution, but because they are also the vehicles through which the basic rules of social organization are symbolically reiterated to the villagers. These exchanges as a group share a series of features which separates them from other types of Kaduwagan exchange. First, they are cycles, composed of numerous individual exchanges. Second, they are automatically triggered by specific preceding events such as marriage, harvests, etc. They are automatically triggered in the sense that it is unthinkable to a Kaduwagan that one of these events should occur without these exchange cycles following. And third, they are non-competitive in contrast to kula or buritilaula. This does not mean that no Kaduwagan ever engages in one of these exchanges with an eye to enhancing his own prestige, but that the exchanges themselves are not defined as competitions.

I will first present data on the various relational classifications, which establish the basis for exchange transactions. These include the kuhmula, dala, ina-tama, makapu-valeta, katuposuna, and vanu classifications. Then I will present data on the four exchange cycles themselves. With these two blocks of information I will move to a discussion of Kaduwagan definitions of person and human (as opposed to all others) existence and then to person and society. In these latter chapters I will argue

that Kaduwagans define human beings as exchange entities with individual property ownership, and that they elaborate this actor oriented, individualistic model, to define society.

CHAPTER I

KADUWAGA VILLAGE

Geography and Physical Layout

The physical composition of the Trobriand Islands today is the same as it was in Malinowski's time. The main island is Kiriwina, then the occupied smaller islands are Vakuta, Kitava, Kaileuna, Munuwata and Kuyawa. In addition there are several smaller unoccupied islands. These tend to lack an adequate water supply. Tuma, I understand, was occupied until the mid 1960's, but an epidemic struck and the village there was abandoned.

Kaileuna Island lies to the west of Kiriwina. On it are five villages, or vanus. Each vanu is a named residential and political unit. Kaduwaga is the largest. It is the only village which has a Tabalu chief in residence, and he considers all of the island, as well as those of Kuyawa and Munuwata, to lie in his sphere of influence. The other main villages on Kaileuna are Tawema, Koma, Giva and Kaisiga.

Kaduwaga lies on the northwest side of the lozenge-shaped island. It is a coastal village, strung out on the beach in a fairly large cove. Water in the cove is shallow as a coral shelf extends out about a quarter of a mile from shore. This ruins the area as a swimming beach, but the villagers are far more interested in the fish and shellfish which live in the shelf than they are in swimming.

Since the village is located along a beach, it does not conform to the inland circular plan, but rather is strung out along the coast line, with approximately half the houses facing inland and half, across from them, facing out to sea. The result is much like an American street with houses on each side. The bikubaku, or village center, is not the innermost part of the circle as in an inland village but rather that part of the street in front of the chief's house. His house is in the center of the string of houses, so the bikubaku is in the middle of the village. Yam houses of various sorts are located either in front of or beside their owners' houses. Katubai's niku is out in the middle of the bikubaku, and reminds me of a statue set out in an intersection in that it is visible up and down the road and traffic must detour around it. See the map for a clearer picture of the village layout.

Demography

Kaduwaga is a large village by Kiriwinan standards. At the time of my census (taken in September 1971) there were approximately 300 people in the village. I say approximately because I may have missed some children. Since that time the number has risen since there were a few more births than deaths during my stay. The population consists of approximately half adults (people who are either married or of marriageable age) and half subadults.

The relatively large size of Kaduwaga village is a relevant factor in some of the differences between my impression of

Trobriand culture and social organization and those of Malinowski and Powell. Malinowski does not provide a census of Omarakana, and it was not until I saw the village that I realized that it is very small. Kaduwagans, who trace their ancestry from Omarakana, tell me that it was always small, and Vanoi, the current paramount chief, agrees. He says that today there are between thirty and forty adults in Omarakana. The small size of the village undoubtedly influences residence patterns. There are enough dalas in Kaduwaga that most people remain within the village. In Omarakana this is probably not possible, giving rise to Malinowski's supposition that Kiriwinans normatively expect men to leave their paternal community (1929:499-500; 1926:261).

Kuhmuna and Dala Composition

All four of the Kiriwinan kumilas, or clans, are represented in Kaduwaga, though there are only a very few members of Lukuba. No Lukuba affiliated dala is well established in the village. Clan membership is distributed as follows: Malasi, 150; Lukwasisiga, 100; Lukulabuta, 35; Lukuba, 15. There are sixteen dalas resident in Kaduwaga. Of these five are Malasi, six are Lukwasisiga, three are Lukulabuta and two are Lukuba. My count of dalas only includes those represented by adult males or females who are the last of a line which included adult males. There are several more dalas represented by women who have married into Kaduwaga, and who do not yet have adult children. In the future their dalas will also belong in a count of Kaduwaga dalas, but right now they are just women without dala ties. They are not

like women who are the last of an old dala, in that the latter have many ties in the village which were set up by alliances deceased members of their dalas made during their lifetimes. For instance, Boyomu, from Kavataria, married Sivalola, a Kaduwaga man. She has three sons and two daughters, and when her sons are grown her dala will be established at least temporarily in Kaduwaga. If her daughters marry in the village, her dala stands a chance of becoming very well established, since their offspring will swell its numbers. Contrary to the impression one gains from Malinowski, it is commonplace for dalas to shift in strength from village to village depending upon where their women marry. For example, in Kaduwaga, the dala I labeled Lukuba 2 is dying out. Only two old men remain. However, the dala is now going strong in Kuyao since some of its women who grew up in Kaduwaga married there and had a lot of children. It will probably also come again to Kaduwaga since it is one of the dalas into which Kaduwaga Tabalu can marry. The two old men left in Kaduwaga, Toyoigo and Kariguai, have lived here all their lives. However, if their wives should die, they too will probably move to Kuyao in order to live with their dalasia who will care for them.[1]

Most Kaduwagans do marry within the village. There is no rule either for or against local marriage, but there is some

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[1]The word dala takes the possessive suffix when speaking of people to whom one is related through it. The forms are: Dalagu-my dala relative; dalam - your dala relative; dalana - his or her dala relative; dalasi - their dala relative. The same suffixes are used in the ina/tama classification, i.e., tamagu-mytama, etc.

concern that daughters do not go too far away. In the first place, loss of daughters means that a dala will die out locally, and if its members should have local land claims this is a tragedy. And secondly, people are a bit loathe to send their daughters off to live away from the dala because they may not be well cared for, especially when they give birth. Boyom's mother told her never to give birth in Kaduwaga because no one would help her. An old lady, Maria, who does have dalana in Kaduwaga, told me she never got pregnant after her mother's death because her mother on her death bed said "When I get to Tuma I'll tell them not to send any more spirits to you." She was afraid that no one would adequately care for Maria once she was gone. This concern seems manifest mostly between mothers and daughters. Boyom has told me that she is glad that her daughter Florence, who is four, seems to be growing well, because she was a very small toddler and Boyom was worried that she might remain little and have dangerous deliveries. Teenagers have also told me they do not want to marry away from Kaduwaga because it would mean leaving their families' care as well as their friends. The reluctance is more than theoretical. At the moment Kaduwaga has several eligible bachelors in their mid-twenties, but no eligible girls around the same age. These men would like to marry but cannot find wives. Women of other communities are not any more eager to move to Kaduwaga than Kaduwagans are to leave.

However, some men have married women from other villages. The most frequent choices are from other villages on Kaileuna.

However, this can have its hazards. One Kaduwaga man, Giolema, lost his wife in 1965 when Kaduwaga had a fight with her village, Koma. She returned home although they had been happily married. To avoid the consequences of intervillage fights it is safer to marry from Kiriwina Island, and several men have, just as several Kaduwagan women have married into Kiriwinan villages. The presence of the government capital, Losuia, as a trading center facilitates meetings. Further, all of the dalas in Kaduwaga are represented in at least one Kiriwina village, so visiting abroad is fairly frequent. A single man coming to visit his dalana faces none of the risk he would if he tried courting in a village where he had no kin. The number of men who have married non-Kaduwagan women, and their wives' natal villages are as follows: Kodokela 1; Tubowada 1; Mwatao 2; Kavataria 1; Giva 1; Tawema 1; Kaisiga 1; Simsims 1. I cannot do the same for Kaduwaga women who have married out into other villages since they do not appear on my census or genealogies.

Kaduwagan males tend to remain in their natal village. Informants stated that it would be wrong for a man to move to his wife's community. He would have no dalana there and be at the mercy of her kin for help. There is only one instance of a man moving into Kaduwaga upon marriage. Atawaia came here when he married Kadikikeuse. This, however, is an exceptional marriage. He is from Dobu and met her in Losuia. She is Katubai's sister and the only Tabalu woman of childbearing age. She married him although the Tabalu simply do not marry outsiders, and he came

to live in Kaduwaga. Though there was ill feeling at the time, the union has turned out well. He is a pleasant person and, more important, a strong gardener. And they have seven children and are expecting an eighth. Still he is an unimportant man in the community and will remain so until his children are grown and can garden for him. And should any quarrel break out he lacks dalana to take his side and offer support.

Residence Rules

Kaduwagans insist that their residence pattern more or less conforms to certain rules, as follows. While a man's tama is alive his sons reside according to his wishes, usually next door to him. This is assuming that he has not divorced their mother and driven them away. If he divorces the mother he may still try and retain one of the children. Certainly if she divorces him he is entitled to keep at least one as return for the vegua his parents paid as part of the marriage exchanges. Otherwise he can raise trouble when she tries to marry again. If a man's wife dies while his children are still young, he may send most of them back to her dalana to raise, and keep one or two for himself. Whether or not he exercises any say over their adult residence depends on whether he keeps up his ties as tama. If they stay in the same village, he probably will. Powell agrees (personal correspondence) that "own" or "real" kin are "those which carry out the roles in practice in relation to children." However he states (1969a:178) that divorce or maternal death terminate the formal tama-child (natu) relationship, even though the actors may keep up personal

ties. I did not find this latter usage. At divorce or death tama remains formally tama unless he repudiates the personal ties by deserting the child or natu. If a man's father dies while he is a child he'll go with his mother and live with her dalana or with a new tama when she marries again. If a second tama raises him, the second tama assumes the status of the first and determines adult residence. A boy may be raised by some male other than a tama, such as a granduncle, and then this man acts like his tama and determines his adult residence. If a man's father dies after the man is grown, whether or not he remains in his tama's village depends on several factors. If he himself has already married there, he will stay. Or if one of his older brothers has already married there, he will also stay. But if he is not married and has no married male dalana in the village he is apt to leave and go to a village with married male dalana. Kaduwagans feel that once a dala has males married into the village it is established because younger, unmarried members can turn to them for help.

The rationale behind the residence rule is that the father has of his own accord cared for his child, who then owes him a debt of gratitude. In my Virgin Birth paper (Montague, 1970) I suggested that paternity is marked by voluntarily assumed ties while maternity is automatic. I further suggested that paternity legitimizes rank. The second conclusion is incorrect, but the first on the right track. When Kaduwagans discuss "paternity" it is a social role that they are talking about. This carries to the extent that informants insist that if one's mother divorced one's

father when one was a little child, who that father was could be forgotten and one could grow up and marry that man. If the mother is around she'll tell her daughter not to marry the man "pena yegu, bogwa a vai," "because I already married him." Not because he is the daughter's genitor, but because socially he was once in the position of being her tama. However, I would not wish to characterize the Trobriand father as "pater" as opposed to "genitor" because "genitor" is simply irrelevant to the cultural system. Kaduwagans say a man may be genitor but so what. That tie is not the basis of any social rules in Kaduwaga and so is irrelevant.

Maternal ties would seem to be automatic, in that the child emerges from a specific woman, who is then characterized as its ina. This is, important since it establishes the child's dala identity. However, again care becomes important in tracing "kin" ties. For example, if Mosi raises the child, she will be treated as primary ina, not one's natal ina. Katubai considers a Lukuba woman, Inawali, as ina because she nursed him after his natal mother died. Ordinarily he would have called her tabu, but she acted toward him as ina and so she is ina.

Powell has mentioned how childless people often adopt a child to care for them in their old age. Dalana should and will care for an old person if they have to, but it is nicer to raise a child because the child is obligated to return the care invested in him whereas dalana may feel the burden a bit of an imposition. A common pattern in Kaduwaga is for one or more kids from a large family to live with their grandparents. The old people get help

with light chores and the children get a loving home. In such cases the grandfather will take over the father's role as determiner of adult residence and gardening obligations.

I have checked these residence rules with informants from many villages in Kiriwina, with informants from Kuyawa and Munuwata, and with informants from the SimSim Islands. They all agree that they are correct for the Trobriands in general and that they have not changed within living memory. Elderly men documented for me how in their youths they remained with their fathers, just as men do now. Where then did Malinowski go wrong? I can find no evidence in his writings that he ever asked informants about residence rules. The only data he presents on the subject is the quarrel between Namwana Guyau and Mitakata (1929:12-16) Namwana Guyau, the son of the paramount chief, gave evidence which resulted in Mitakata's being sent to jail. Mitakata was the paramount chief's nephew and heir. The Tabalu at Omarakana were so insensed at Namwana Guyau that they drove him from the village, saying he was a stranger, residing in the village by virtue of their permission, and he had damaged them. Malinowski concluded that the paramount chief was favoring his son over his nephew and trying to violate the residence rule, which states that a man belongs in his own dala's village and not his father's. When there was trouble the other Tabalu simply overrode his father and made him return to his uncles as he should. Further, Malinowski indicates that if his father had not been a chief, Namwana Guyau would have had to leave long before as it was a pulling of rank by his

father which let him overturn the rule and remain. Undoubtedly informants discussing the quarrel fostered such a picture. Malinowski indicates that most of his Omarakana informants were Tabalu, and they were anxious to justify their position. He could hardly have talked with To'oluwa, the paramount chief, because he went into mourning seclusion. Kaduwagans hearing the story readily admit that well established dalas can chase out other people, and that the Tabalu are the well established dala in Omarakana. However, they point out that a well established dala would never do such a thing unless there were a quarrel or else there would soon be no village left. Further, a man has the right for his sons to stay with him. Their interpretation better fits with the whole story, for To'oluwa was furious with his dalana to the extent that none dared ask him for any favor for several years. And Namwana Guyau's mother, To'oluwa's wife, starved herself to death in protest.

There is also the size of Omarakana to be taken into consideration as well as its land base. The village is very small and according to informants always has been. Its land is superior, but not extensive. At the same time there is a very high rate of inmarrying females as the paramount chief practices polygamy. If their sons remained in Omarakana, the village population would rapidly swell and outstrip its gardening resources. To'oluwa had over forty wives, Mitakata over twenty, and today Vanoi, still a young man, has twelve. The solution is for young men to return to their mothers' natal villages or to other villages where dalana

are willing to take them in. This pattern is not ideal, but unavoidable due to physical circumstances. Undoubtedly Malinowski did observe high outmigration, but he erred in presenting an exceptional case as the cultural norm, and in inferring that this migration meant that a young man came under the control of his maternal uncles. Even though Vanoi's sons reside near maternal uncles, it is Vanoi who dictates their gardening obligations.

Brother-Sister Avoidance

Malinowski also discussed the brother-sister taboo and it has been a point of interest in other literature about the Trobriands (Malinowski, 1929:35, 55, 62, 84-85; Leach, 1958). He uses this taboo to account for several features of Kiriwinan social organization. It provides the basis for the hypothesis that men pay yams every year to their sisters' husbands because the husbands take over the brothers' role as sisters' guardians, a role in which they cannot function because of the taboo. However, the nature of the taboo is not defined very clearly in Malinowski's work. Leach has carried Malinowski's statements to the extreme and concluded that it must be very difficult for brother and sister, as teenagers and adults to interact closely. In fact it is not. The prohibition is quite literally the converse of the characteristics which define marriage, namely sex and a hearth. A husband and a wife indulge in sex and share a hearth. As a symbol of sharing a hearth, they may eat off the same plate. For a brother and sister the converse holds. They may not discuss sex, nor may they listen to conversations about each others' sexual affairs. They

may not eat off the same plate. There are other ways of indicating the separation. A woman would never tell her brother about domestic troubles since they involve her love life. In a social gathering a brother and sister would not sit next to one another nor would one walk right past the other if it were possible to go around. Lovers do these things. If the conversation should get gossipy and casual, one might leave in case something too personal might be said accidentally about the other. Thus a man eating in his sister's house would not ordinarily hang around chatting much after dinner.

However, the taboo is not rigid enough to prevent brothers and sisters from living comfortably in close proximity to one another. When I first arrived in Kaduwaga I was impressed that Kadikikeuse was living in the middle of the group of Tabalu houses, two doors away from Katubai, and next door to her brothers Kasikalu and Kunuvania. I inquired, thinking of the avoidance regulations and all Malinowski (1929; 1965) and Leach (1958:126) had said about a woman <u>never</u> living with her own male <u>dalana</u>. Everyone said there is nothing particularly strange about her residence, except that usually a married woman's husband would want to reside with his kin, not hers, and the decision is his to make. Otherwise, her location is perfectly all right. After all, she has her own house. Later on I discovered the case of Toimasola and Iluvegana, brother and sister. His wife, Lunai, died last year leaving him with eight children. His sister took most of them in, and to help care for them he also moved in. This is perfectly all

right too since her husband lives in the same house. She can cook for her brother, but they do not eat off the same plate. If she and her husband quarrel, Toimasola leaves until it is over. It would obviously be difficult for a brother to live with his sister if she and her husband did not get along well. David Doupe has told me that in Kuyawa one brother and sister pair share the same house but have different entrances. Kaduwagans say this is really not necessary, and is due to a desire for privacy rather than because of the avoidance rules.

Malinowski's analysis of the implications of the avoidance rules is quite inadequate. In the first place Kiriwinan women do not require guardians, and if they did their maternal uncles are the obvious choice. In the second, no Kaduwagan will agree that uligubu is paid to his sister's husband because he cares for her in lieu of the brother. Leach (1958) is equally difficult. He maintains that the Trobriand "kin" term tabu and the word tabu meaning "forbidden" are the same. However, his entire argument revolves around making the case that tabu ("kinsmen") fit with Radcliffe-Brown's notion of "taboo," and that therefore the two words are one. But no Trobriander would argue that tabu are taboo to each other. Quite the contrary. It is nuta who are taboo to one another.

In short the effects and implications of the brother-sister avoidances have been overemphasized in the literature. They are not stringent enough to prevent brothers and sisters from residing contiguously and interacting socially. Nor can they be held to

account for a dislocation of behavioral obligations which results in uligubu.

Just as a man's residence is his father's karewaga, so is his gardening. While a man's father is alive he determines who the man will garden for. After the father's death a man decides for himself. At no time is it up to his maternal uncles. This again I have checked in Losuia, Kuyao, Munuwata, and the SimSims. Informants say this is how it always was and old men cite how they gardened for their fathers. Asking men if they are or were subject to their kada's (maternal uncle's), karewaga leads only to puzzlement. One group of men sat and considered and finally asked me if what I meant was that the eldest dala male has the say over organizing funeral sagalis for his dala. He does, in the sense that he suggests the date, and if everyone goes along, becomes the organizational focus of the activity to keep everything coordinated. I explained more thoroughly what I meant, and they all said "No, either one's father has the karewaga, or oneself." If a man was raised by his maternal uncle he would treat him like his father and defer to his karewaga, but otherwise he would not.

The ongoing ties between men and their fathers are not only reflected in choice of village of residence, but in the residence pattern within the village. In Kaduwaga, Leach's notion of a subclan hamlet is dealt a severe blow. One most often finds groups of brothers residing on a plot of land to which their father has some claim. Even after his death they may stay there because he gave it to them, or to the eldest of them, as kunututu when their

mother died. Individual dalas are thus strung out through the village. A dala which has claim to a plot of its own may be concentrated on that plot because its members are old enough to have no living fathers and no claims to land through their former fathers. But there are almost sure to be some members living patrilocally. For the residence pattern in Kaduwaga see Appendix I.

As Malinowski described, Kiriwinans prefer to live in nuclear family units, one to a house. I could find no name for these, and Ken David kindly pointed out that on the basis of all my material about marriage and cooking that they are probably hearth units. I strongly suspect he is right though I have not been able to check with any informants. Some old people live with their children or grandchildren, but if the offspring caring for them are married they usually have a little house of their own. There are no teenagers' houses as described in Malinowski, and teenagers stay with their parents or sometimes with grandparents. The single peoples' houses were apparently done away with by the missionaries, but could still be used since courting patterns have not changed. Several teenagers commented that my house would be very handy after my departure if no one moved into it.

Any description of the physical layout of Kaduwaga should include the European institutions present. All of these except the church are recent arrivals, for Katubai is modern and wants what he considers European improvements for his village. During

his chieftainship he has obtained a primary school, an aid post, and a cooperative store.

European Institutions in the Village

The School

The school is located out by the gardens, not in the village proper. The aim of the school is to teach the children English and other European subjects which will enable them to later transfer to the Losuia secondary school. It is staffed by natives, one teacher from New Guinea, and one teacher from the Trobriands. Both speak basic English, but not very good English. The New Guinean speaks fluent pidgin and uses it to communicate with village adults. Most do not speak it, but a few do and they translate. The school has only been in existence for about four years and no children have yet progressed far enough to transfer to Losuia. Their English is very rudimentary, and progress in other subjects is hampered by the fact that the teachers are not allowed to teach in Kiriwinan, and further have no books or aids to help them explain ideas to their pupils.

The Aid Post

The aid post was requested by Katubai in his capacity as Kaduwaga's elected member to the Local Government Council. It is staffed by a native medical orderly whose job is to handle first aid and combat infection with procaine penicillin. He also should encourage people he can not help to go in to the

hospital in Losuia, and he should report any epidemics in his neighborhood. He is responsible not only for Kaduwaga, but also for Tawema and Koma. His set up is not very efficient, although probably it has helped some. He is apt to run out of supplies and have difficulty getting new ones due to the distance to Losuia. Also, Kaileuna people are loathe to move seriously ill people and thus refuse to send them to the hospital when he cannot help, which is often. And since walking to Tawema is a real chore, those people usually do not get care. Thus two teenagers died in Tawema during my stay because it was not worth anyone's bother to get enough penicillin to them to prevent pneumonia. I was probably the most highly motivated person around, but I did not know of the first illness because no one assumed I'd bother walking five miles to help since they would not, and I was in Losuia during the second illness. The existence of an aid post should not be taken to mean that Kaduwagans have drastically reordered their medical concepts. Rather, they believe in taking every precaution, so that curing a really ill person involves Papuan medicine, church service, European medicine, and neighborly care. Leaving out any source of potential help is viewed as foolhardy. Unfortunately the aid post is not equipped to handle a common fatal problem, post-natal hemorrhage, and it easily could be since injections of ergotrate will handle it unless the rupture is really extensive.

The Cooperative Society

The Kaileuna Cooperative Society Limited was started by selling ten dollar shares to people living in the Lusancay census district. Ten dollars is a great deal of money to most Kiriwinans, but the idea of a co-op was popular and people scrimped and saved so as not to be left out. With the capital a trade store was opened in Kaduwaga. The co-op purchased land from the village and opened its store building. It deals both in retail trade and the purchase of copra. It sells luxuries like tobacco, matches, rice, sugar, tea, tinned fish, tin plates, calico, and kerosene. It is extremely handy because people used to have to sail to Losuia to purchase these items. The co-op has a board of directors made up of a member elected by each village in the Lusancay district. It employs a secretary to run the store and a clerk to handle sales. They must speak enough English to understand the various order forms and directives which the central cooperative office sends out to them. One of my main useful jobs in Kaduwaga was to help the co-op secretary figure out his accounts and make sense of the barrage of mail he received from the society. The co-op has been doing well and hopes to expand. It would like to purchase a kerosene freezer and an outboard motor and dingy. With these it will be able to buy and transport fish to the Losuia market. Villagers do some fishing for this market, but it is sporadic since they must catch a lot of fish at a time when the weather is good for sailing. Fishing is apt to be best in choppy seas, and no one would want to set out into the channel

to Losuia in a high wind. A freezer and motorboat would improve fish trade considerably.

Tapwaroro (Church)

The other institution of European derivation in Kaduwaga is tapwaroro, the church. Unlike the others it has been here a long time. Kaduwaga considers itself a devout church community. The village supports four services on Sunday plus keresia, or fellowship meeting. During the week there is often evening hymn and prayer service. When I first came there was a service each night, but with a change in missionaries this was cut back. Kaduwagans belong to the United Church, which is protestant. The church sends a missionary to live in the village. He is always a native Kiriwinan.

The ideological role of the church in Kaduwaga is a bit difficult to assess. I have never heard any villager criticise the church within the village, but when I travelled with Kaduwagans several did, indicating that they did not particularly believe in the Bible. I wound up feeling that people think it respectable to go to church and to support it. This is in line with the teachings which are reiterated week after week at the services. Basically all sermons boil down to two or three points. One should do God's will, which is good, and one will find eternal happiness. I have never heard a sermon which made explicit that which God's will consists of, except that it is good. The sermons are illustrated by anecdotes in which one person did something which made himself unhappy (like failing to pay taxes

and subsequently having to go to jail) and another did the converse and was happy. The speaker then says, "And just as one did the good thing and found happiness, so if we do God's will we will find happiness." This approach, of course, is very useful. It lets churchgoers feel highly moral in their concern over right behavior and at the same time in no way interferes with how things are done in Kaduwaga. The sole behavioral concessions I could find, aside from church attendance itself, are visual. There is no teen house, so that the missionaries will not see one. And Kaduwagans have given up certain dress characteristics which the early missionaries frowned on such as earrings and tight armbands. This response fits with the importance Kaduwagans attach to visual effect as definitional elements in many situations. I'll discuss this further in my conclusions.

The church has an economic impact on Kaduwaga in that there is an annual appeal for mission donations, semakava. Kaduwagans save up and try to give generously although as the word implies (from sisu, to be, and makava, alone or outside) they do not get any return. Again informants viewed the gift as an indication of basic morality, and again the gift is made publicly so that it has visual impact. The missionary sits up front and calls the village up by geographic divisions (katuposuna). As each group is about to be called up it sings a hymn and then advances forward in a body and everyone drops in his or her money. Then the group retires, the missionary counts the amount received, and the total is entered on the blackboard. The whole thing is a rather impressive spectacle.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Village affiliation, I have argued, defines solidary and oppositional blocs in Trobriand society. I will further argue in my conclusions that Kaduwagans perceive the village as the essential social group. However, the culture defines several other classifications which have been perceived as "social groups" and which I shall refer to as "relational classifications." These are the kuhmuna, dala, ina/tama, gyuau/tokay, and katuposuna classes. I will reserve discussion of one more, the makapu/valeta classification to the section on funeral exchanges. However, before presenting data on these various units I wish to explore the idea that they are not correctly to be perceived as social groups (with the exception of the katuposuna, which I shall treat last) but rather as relational classifications.

I readily admit that like other Trobriand scholars the kuhmuna and dala classes gave me difficulty. Malinowski started it out (1965). He defined the dala as subclan, and saw it as a corporate land owning group. The dala owned and administered land, and the uligubu gift of yams represented the woman's rights in the land which she could not exercise directly due to the brother-sister taboo. However, he was unable to come up with a corporate function for the kuhmuna, or clan. Leach (1958)

following Malinowski, defines the kuhmuna as a shadowy group, and questions why such groups should exist if they have no corporate function. He answers this with reference to a moiety kinship structure. Powell (1969a and b) also maintains that the dalas are corporate land owning matrilineages. I would have been willing to agree with these positions had Kaduwagans agreed. However, they emphatically deny that the dala owns land. Rather they assert, and interviewing on Kiriwina Island supports them, that all land ownership is, and traditionally has been, individual. I will take this point up in detail in the section on dalas. Further, they do not recognize any sort of moiety organization although anthropologists could argue that it is somehow underlying "structure."

The solution, staring me in the face, which I did not see, has been brilliantly stated by Roy Wagner in his paper "Are There Social Groups in the New Guinea Highlands?" (1974). He argues that there are not. In essence he says that the notion of a corporate style group is a European concept which Highland New Guineans do not possess. The importance of clans or whatever is not that the members band together to do something, but rather that the members know they are related in a specific way to one another and therefore can interact with one another in certain prescribed ways. Likewise, they know they are not related to outsiders, or that they are related differently to outsiders, and therefore can interact with them in certain other prescribed ways. Wagner argues that the Daribe do not even perceive villages as corporate

social groups. I am arguing that Trobrianders do perceive villages as social units, whether as groups is open to debate. But they do not perceive these other units in that way, and that is why questions to the effect "What do dalas do?," "What do kuhmunas do?," and so on down the line, elicit confusion from informants. They do not "do" anything as groups, nor do Kaduwagans talk about them as groups. Their conversation is, rather, actor oriented. Taken at extremes this usage extends even to situations where a large number of actors can be expected to do the same thing because of their common relationship to a single other actor. Thus, in the instance of death, it is impossible to say "Malasi clan will help with the exchange." Rather the statement is "People who are Malasi will help with the exchange" (MeMalasi bi pilases sagali), and the verb is in the plural form indicating many actors, not one group.

Kuhmuna

As mentioned above Kaduwagans are divided into four kuhmunas, or clans. I use the term clans not in any technical sense, but because that is the English word my informants use for them. Kuhmunas share with dalas the feature of automatic membership made evident at birth; ego is always a member of his mother's clan and dala. However, kuhmunas are not defined as large matrilineages. Rather spirits in Tuma are divided into the four kuhmunas and they make sure that the baloma sent to a woman already belongs to her kuhmuna. The same is true of the dala. It is inconceivable to Kaduwagans that all people everywhere do not belong

to one of the Kiriwinan clans. A Westerner like myself simply has ancestors who misbehaved and did not properly keep track of my kuhmuna, so I do not know it. But I really do have one and my friends devoted considerable time and energy to trying to determine which it is. Most people tried to read the lines in my right hand, but they are not quite like Kiriwinan hand patterns and so are ambiguous. Finally Boyomu hit on the solution: she asked me what my bird is. As an American I replied that it must be the eagle, and I got out a dollar bill and showed her. Fortunately there are eagles, or manuavieka, in Kiriwina, and further they are the Lukuba bird. So I am Lukuba. I explained that the eagle is the bird of all Americans like a cassowary is the bird of all Papua New Guinea, so people understood that I might well not be Lukuba. But it was the best we could do. Unfortunately there are only four or five Lukuba adults in the whole village so that I was not able to act very often in my capacity as a clanswoman.

Each kuhmuna is associated with various natural objects. Each possesses a fish, bird, and animal. There is no generic word for "animal," but pig, dog, and two others do form a contrastive set as was indicated by a boy who told me in English, "Lukuba's pig is the dog." I cannot give the fish and bird forms. Everyone knows them, but they are tropical, and I cannot translate them except for Lukuba's eagle. In the animal set, most people know the pig and dog, and are uncertain about the other two. Except for pig, which is eaten, this set is irrele-

vant in everyday usage. Kaduwagans are loath to eat their clan fish, believing that it is apt to make them sick. Elumgao told me she was ill one evening because she smelled her clan fish cooking on a fire. I was not able to ascertain for sure whether or not there is any hesitancy about eating the clan bird. Malasi do eat pig, except for nursing women. If a Malasi woman who was nursing were to eat pig it might injure her milk and thus kill her child. This was explained to me but I had language difficulties on this point and the best I could ascertain is that the pig in her stomach is like a new pregnancy since it is a physical Malasi substance inside of her, and just as a new pregnancy will hurt her milk production, so the pig will hurt it.

The sun and moon are both identified with Lukwasisiga, but I was just told this as an item of interest and have no idea of the logical implications.

Dala

Kaduwagans are also divided into dalas. Malinowski defines dalas as subclans (1965:84-86), and this usage has been followed in the literature (Leach, 1958; Powell, 1969a and b). It is, however, erroneous, insofar as Kaduwagans do not visualize clans as subdivided into dalas. Rather the two are separate ways of partitioning mankind, although each dala has a clan affiliation. It is also tempting to consider dalas as matrilineages since that is the form they take in the human world. But again, this does not reflect Kaduwaga thinking since the matrilineal effect is solely due to the fact that a person's dala is the same as his mother's.

Thus on a genealogy it is bound to look like a matrilineage, and the fact that each dala can trace its history on earth back to a tosunapula, or emerging ancestor, further contributes to the matrilineal illusion. However, this is misleading. To understand how Kaduwagans conceive of dalas we must look at the spirit world. As Malinowski reported, Kiriwinans both come from and return to the spirit world. Much as Christians feel each person embodies a soul which is his essential self, Kiriwinans feel each person embodies a spirit, or baloma. Balomas are sent from the underworld to women on earth, and form the essence of each individual. Balomas with a physical body are people. Balomas without a physical body are spirits. The sole difference is that with a body they reside above the ground, without, they reside below the ground. In either form a baloma is a whole individual. Under the ground as above it each baloma belongs to a kuhmuna and a dala. When a woman conceives, the baloma which is sent to her is one which belongs to her dala.

Kaduwagans definitely do not feel that the reception of a baloma is enough to make a woman pregnant, because a pregnancy also fits it with a body so it can exist as a human. To accomplish this requires regular sexual intercourse. Ordinarily therefore she must be married, because teenagers do not sleep together enough to result in pregnancy. But when a woman is pregnant, obviously a baloma has been sent because each person is one. If one were not sent the woman would not get pregnant, just as if she did not have intercourse she would not get pregnant.

But to return to the underworld. Kaduwagans say when people die they return to Tuma. If a living person travels to Tuma he might see their burial clothes and nose and ear plugs where they have shed them outside the entrance to the underworld. When a deceased person arrives at Tuma he is greeted by Topileta, the guyau, who gives him food and sends for his kin if they have not already come to meet him. Then the kin take the new arrival off to his own village. That is, Kaduwagans do not reside under the island of Tuma, but rather go to the underground village of Kaduwaga, which is underneath the above ground Kaduwaga. The world is conceived of like a pancake, and for every village above ground there is an underground village on the other side. Thus Kaduwagans say all people everywhere go to Tuma when they die, meaning they go underground. If I had died during my field stay, villagers thought I would have gone under at Tuma because it would be the nearest entrance. But once under I could return to Los Angeles if I wished.

Balomas live underground in the same manner as humans live above ground except that they do not have to work much since they have superior magic. They prefer to remain teenagers, and hence at their most beautiful. They do marry and have new spirits. Only a few of these ever come to earth to be people and so the underworld is very heavily populated. No spirit comes to earth more than once as a human.

Christianity has not done away with Tuma beliefs, but has been tacked on. Bulubedoga and her husband Kabwabwena told me

that spirits will remain in Tuma until Judgment Day. On that day God will call all people and spirits before him and decide which will go to Heaven and which to Hell. When very good people die they may go straight to Heaven, but most go to Tuma. Very good people are defined as those who took Christianity seriously and demonstrated their commitment by going to keresia (fellowship meeting) regularly in addition to attending church.

To return to dalas. Each dala started on earth with the emergence of tosunapula (the word literally consists of to, the prefix for people, and sunapula, to emerge or come out). By virtue of emergence the tosunapula laid claim to land. In Kaduwaga one dala, Malasi 3, first came above ground locally. The tosunapula emerged, not at the village, but in the gardens near the current location of the primary school. They then wandered in search of water until they came to the shore with its streams, and since the streams had excellent pure water they founded Kaduwaga by them. As Towagaima, a member of this dala, put it, "If they had founded Kaduwaga in the wilderness, that's where it would be. But instead they came to the shore, so that's where it is."

Members of a single dala form the most tightly related group in Kaduwaga. They define themselves as all alike, basically the same. They may appear matrilineal but that is due to the fact that the only way to recognize members is by birth through a member woman. It is important that the first dala members who came above ground are called emergent people, not ancestors. For they

are not ancestors in our sense. They are just the balomas who happened to come up first. A baloma residing as a human today in Kaduwaga may well have been around when the tosunapula emerged but did not go along with them. They are not his ancestors. It is, however, important that they be remembered because land is transmitted from eldest human dala member to eldest human dala member.

The matter of land ownership has been made complex by Malinowski (1965:341-81), who for all his effort, really did not get it straight. The dala is not a corporate land owning group, and it is not correct to assume that uligubu is a woman's share in the "joint patrimony" of dala land (Malinowski 1965:353). No Kaduwagan informant agrees with this interpretation, nor could I find any other Trobriander who agreed with it, though Powell (private communication) says he got it from the Tilakaiwa garden magician. Land, like every other ownable property, is held individually. The man who is tolipwaipwai (toli, master; pwaipwai, land) is indeed its true owner. It is his to do with as he pleases. If he wishes to sell it he may. If he wishes to allow people to garden it he may. If he wishes to refuse to let people garden it he may. No Kaduwagan would speak of Tabalu si pwaipwai, Tabalu their land, but rather of Katubai na pwaipwai, Katubai his land. Malinowski's frequent reference to individual land "owners" (his quotes) indicates his informants also talked in these terms. However, he chose to interpret land ownership as collective, even though his only direct quote indicates the contrary (1969:347, case of Mosagula Dogu).

Malinowski also interpreted the inheritance rule to indicate collective ownership (1956:341-81). Land automatically passes from owner to next oldest male in his dala, unless the owner otherwise disposes of it during his lifetime. But arguing that the fixed inheritance rule constitutes an indication of collective ownership is the same as arguing that titled lands in England which pass from title holder to title holder in the paternal line must therefore belong to the title holder's whole family. In Europe determination of inheritance of such lands is by fixed patrilineal rule, just as inheritance of Kiriwinan lands is by fixed matrilineal rule. In neither case is corporate ownership implied. It should be noted that in line with the homogeneity of dala members, inheritance seniority is kept track of by the ina-tama system, which is another categorization all together. To pick an heir they choose the person within the dala which the ina-tama classification indicates is the first born. However, in its structure the ina-tama classification does not take cognizance of the dala as a unit, it is not structured around dala boundaries, either conceptually or when mapped genealogically.

Kadawagans are emphatic that a man's land is his own, but say that since his dalana are so like himself he should treat them as himself, and so he will always share, unless of course there should be a quarrel. The point here is again Roy Wagner's. It is not that the dala is a corporate group, but that since any dalana are more closely related to each other than to any non-

dalana, if one of them owns any property of any sort, he will ("naturally" in Kaduwagans' terms) share it with dalana before outsiders. A man who loaned his garden plots to strangers before dalana would be confronted with angry dalana, although they would have no recourse except to split with him in other ways. Certainly they could not force him to change his mind by resorting to Kaduwagan style litigation since the land is his to dispose of. However, the question does not come up, at least not in Kaduwaga. I have never heard of a landowner being stingy about his land since it would profit him nothing and only make people angry. While his dalana do not pay him anything to garden on his land, dalana help each other with large exchanges so that when his dalana prosper so does he. Informants summed up the situation nicely: "If Katubai refused to allow people to garden his land the village would starve. But then he would not have a village left."

People who are not dalana of a landowner must pay him a share of their crop for using his land. This amounts to a few round basketfuls (pieta) of yams. It is not enough to seriously cut into the gardener's harvest. My garden plot was very small and I pointed out that if I gave Katubai even two pietas there would be nothing left. People laughed and told me I should only pay one child size basketful... Just to give something.

Following Malinowski (1929:209-10; 1965:369, note here he speaks of pokala as "tribute") anthropologists have tended toward the position that part of a maternal uncle's hold over his neph-

ews is the fact that they must give him gifts, called pokala, and otherwise please him in order that he may give them land grants. This is not so. Traditionally there has been a surplus of land in Kiriwina and any man could readily receive enough to garden according to his ability. Amy landowner would be foolish not to give a dalana as much as he could handle because the whole dala profits from the produce. Informants say it is very rare for a man to pokala his uncle or granduncle. The landowner would not ordinarily wish to part with his land because later he might be sorry, and it works all right for him to assign it annually. Ordinarily land is exchanged by pokala only when the owner is the last living member of his dala. Thus Myodala, an elderly Kaduwaga man, has disposed of some of his land by accepting pokala since he has no one to inherit. People told me that a man's dalana are apt to frown on him agreeing to accept pokala for land even if the giver is a dala member because it fragments the inheritance and can disrupt future effective land use. They prefer to keep large tracts under the control of a single owner. And this makes sense particularly when it is realized that the gardens must be securely fenced against pigs. Gardening large blocs minimize fencing and the amount of fence which needs maintenance.

Reading Malinowski's accounts of pokala I was under the impression that the person wishing land simply gave gifts and did favors until the owner was softened up enough and voluntarily turned it over to him. It was a means of gaining favoritism and

I envisioned nephews running around competing with one another to please their uncles. It does not work that way, as Powell pointed out (1960). Like all other Kiriwinan exchanges the reciprocity in pokala is exacting. A man who does not wish to part with his land or whatever simply sends back the first pokala gift. Once he accepts he is committed and his doner periodically sends other gifts. There was no pokala going on in Kaduwaga during my stay, and I did not ascertain the exact gift structure of this type of exchange. But informants made it clear that when the necessary gifts have been given the land or whatever should be turned over to the giver. The owner has some leeway: if he thinks his land is especially valuable he can be "hard" and insist on a lot of gifts. However, if the giver feels he has given enough he will bring the matter up at a men's meeting in the village square and the entire male populace will decide whether or not the property should be turned over to him or whether or not he should pay more. A man who refused to turn his property over after a meeting had decided due payment had been made would be considered a thief and ostracized. Nowadays he might be sent to jail.

Kaduwagans admit that dalas may fragment into two or more separate dalas. This is due to quarrels: members quarrel and subsequently refuse to recognize their sameness. Again, this sameness is not substantial or genetic, and so can be terminated. The members of a dala which splits on earth will continue to view themselves as separate in Tuma unless they decide to heal

things over. Dalas which have split are apt to have members who commit suvasova with one another, just like dalas which were not once united. I had assumed that the Tabalu were a single Malasi guyau dala, but that is not so. Katubai pointed out that the Tabalu have fragmented into four different dalas, each with its own territorial jurisdiction and own chiefly insignia. Other informants both Kaduwagan and Kiriwinan agreed, and told me that the Kaduwaga Tabalu are the same as the Omarakana Tabalu, but that, for example, the Kuyao Tabalu are a different, less prestigeous, dala.

The definitional "sameness" of dala members is crucial to any understanding of Kaduwagan social organization. It means two things. The first is that dalana have no karewaga (right to issue commands or to dispose of something) over one another. That is to say, they have no rights to tell one another what to do or not do. And second, their sameness means that they are exchangeable for exchange obligations. This combination of having no command over one another and yet having to stand in for one another provides grounds for considerable conflict, and indeed quarrels between dalana, especially between men, were not infrequent during my stay in Kaduwaga. It is always possible to accuse a dalana of being selfish or stingy or more concerned with his/her spouse than with dalana. Actors feel considerable resentment when called on to help out such people with an exchange. Further, the total equality of dalana makes it impossible to use this classification to govern land inheritance for as dalana, actors are indistinguish-

able so none could take precedence. It is for these reasons that the ina-tama classification is so important to Kaduwagans.

My first fieldwork in Kaduwaga consisted of conducting a house census, inquiring among other things as to the dala affiliation of each person. This turned out to be an excellent approach because it coincided with the Kaduwagan model of how to orient yourself in a new village, and people decided I must be fairly perceptive to realize that. I did not, of course, know it was their way of orienting until people told me. I simply wanted the information because so much has been made of dalas in the Trobriand literature. Informants stated that in a strange village they would first determine the identity of the chief or largest landowner, and then determine which dalas were present and who belonged to which. I have organized my census data into genealogies by dala. This was possible to do because Kaduwagans know who married whom, who bore what children and in what order. Maria kindly and painstakingly helped me get it all straight, and checking her information I never found it in error. The genealogies form Appendix II It must be emphasized that these genealogical groupings neither reflect residence nor ina-tama ties. Residence groupings are given in Appendix 1. If all parents raised their natal children the genealogies would reflect degrees of closeness of ties in the ina-tama system. However, the reader should be aware that ina-tama ties to Kiriwinans are social, not substantial so that the indication that a certain man and woman have a certain child does not mean that he considers them his ina and tama mokwita, his

true ina and tama. Mapping the population genealogically also has some validity in that it shows every individual's entry point into the social system and this is something which Kiriwinans feel is valuable to know. Since people's affiliations differ to some degree depending on behavioral factors, people feel they understand the system at a given time only if they know a considerable amount of its history, since at any given time it is a unique configuration. I'll discuss this further when I consider the ina-tama classification.

Both Malinowski and Powell give proper names for several dalas, like Tabalu or Toliwaga. The Tabalu and Toliwaga are the only dalas in Kaduwaga whose names I could obtain. They are also the only two guyau, or chiefly, dalas in the village. When I asked the names of the others I was repeatedly told "tokay nani," "just commoner." Poeple locally distinguish them by refering to one or more members. In the case of the dala which emerged near the village, the term tosunapula is often used (cf.,Powell, 1969b: note 7 for a discussion of dala name usage in Kiriwina). To keep them straight in my records I adopted the strategem of calling each by its clan name plus a number. Thus Malasi 1 is the Tabalu, Malasi 2 the Toliwaga, Malasi 3 the tosunapula, Malasi 4, a commoner dala, etc. The numeral designation is entirely own and does not reflect Kaduwaga usage. Kaduwagans name dalas to indicate differences in rank prerogatives. Thus the separation of Toliwagas and Tabalus. Tokay dalas have no differences in this area since they have no rank prerogatives to start with and so they need not

be named. Powell has informed (personal communication) that he too found this disinclination to formally name tokay dalas in the lagoon area of Kiriwina. Further, he agrees that tokay dalas are not ranked against each other. My naming on the contrary, is so that the reader may keep track of which dalas I'm talking about.

The genealogies are not complete in that they omit a lot of children. Children were more or less irrelevant in the work I was doing so I left them off. However, all adults and near adults are included, and it is possible using the residential listing from the house census to assign children to their dalas should anyone be interested.

Tokay/Guyau

Each dala has a rank. First, it is either guyau or tokay, chiefly or commoner. Second, if it is guyau it is either littler or bigger than other guyau dalas. Tokay dalas are not ranked against each other. One of my chiefly friends said of all the tokay, "Rubbish, nani," "Just rubbish," and she was not being snobbish. Tokay all agree with her. Bulubedoga, who is a Toliwaga, says her dala is pikekita guyau, or small guyau. They are not as big as the Tabalu, and by this she does not mean they have fewer numbers, but a smaller social stature. However, if the Tabalu should die out in Kaduwaga, the oldest male member of her dala would take over the chieftainship, and indeed they hold chieftainships in other villages in Kiriwina. I asked her about etiquette if a group of people from various guyau dalas were in one place and she said they'd treat each other as equals rather

than engaging in elaborate deference ploys. Thus she would walk across the village square at Omarakana though she is not Tabalu. No tokay would dare.

I have heard the distinction guyau/tokay expressed in terms of big/little and quality/rubbish, but I have never heard it expressed in terms of high/low or upper/lower. Powell, however, says that his informants did use over/under (orakaia/otanawa) to characterize guyau/tokai. Kaduwagans explicitly denied this usage. The difference is that gweguyau must exchange on a big scale, whereas tokay exchange on a small scale. Deference enters in when they exchange with each other because gweguyau are not permitted to decrease the quantity of produce involved in their exchanges. Hence any tokay exchanging with a guyau must move up to his scale.

Unfortunately Kaileuna Island is not a good place to study rank symbolism in terms of both costume and etiquette. The church undermined costume and Katubai's sense of modernity has led him to discourage much of the etiquette. On the whole my data about rank etiquette coincides with Malinowski (1929) and Powell (1956). In the old days no one would walk through the bikubaku, or village square, unless he or she were a guyau. Everyone else detoured around. No one would sit on their porches when the guyau was on the ground unless they too were guyau. Anyone wanting to slaughter a pig would bring it to the bikubaku so the guyau would see the killing, for pigs were chiefly prerequisites. To slaughter in private meant the chief had not given his permission for the man

to have the pig. Now anyone can own a pig, but Kaduwagans are still reluctant to keep them for fear Katubai might get jealous. A few years ago only the gweguyau could own betel. Now other people can and do.

Some chiefly etiquette is still practiced in Kaduwaga. People sometimes temamina, or bend over at the waist when passing a seated guyau. One day, to practice carrying goods on my head, I set my handbag on my head. Katubai told me that it was all right because I am a European, but it is a guyau prerogative to carry handbags like that near the village. It is also their privilege to wear mats over their heads in sunny weather as sunshelter. Anyone can wear them when it is raining.

A chief will not walk into a strange village carrying anything other than his handbag. Any other object he was carrying on the trail he hands to his companions.

I have not yet unraveled etiquette pertaining to women. I gather that they must temamina to all men, but that tokay women would temamina to guyau women. Powell's informants offered the formula "tamau guyau, vivila tokay" ("men chiefs, women commoners), but recognized individual guyau women as such (private communication). Men sitting along a road must rise if women are walking by since it is rude for women to walk past seated men.

Village chiefs are entitled also to decorations on their houses and yam houses. Katubai has opted for a plain house like the rest of his villagers. His bwema, however, is decorated with a boat motif that is his alone, and both his bwema and niku have

twigs sticking out the ends of the roof. When they built my house twigs were put out the ends of my roof and people told me this was because Katubai wanted to honor me. Katubai also possesses by far the largest niku in the village. No one else would dare to have one as large, and indeed no one else would have the following required to fill it.

Guyau dalas still observe dietary restrictions, and as Powell noted these tend to extend to the village as a whole. Thus Kaduwaga does not eat vai (stingray) and bwaoduna (bush pig) because of the Tabalu.[1] Noku the bitter plant which figures into the origin myth, is not forbidden to Kaduwagans. Bulubedoga brought me some one day after I had been asking about it. Malinowski's indication that Kiriwinans "consider" it inferior is something of an understatement. It looks like a large slug and has an extremely vile odor. I gave up after a sniff. Bulubedoga ate a bit to show me it was indeed edible, and then quickly asked for a cup of water with which to wash the taste out of her mouth. I never again saw it in the village.

People marrying into Kaduwaga are expected to at least publicly conform to dietary conditions in the village. Certainly anyone marrying a Tabalu would have to conform or leave. Katubai says a Tabalu might marry someone who ate forbidden food, but

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[1] Malinowski (1929:190) used the fact that female village pigs mate with bush pigs as further evidence of native ignorance of physiological paternity. He notes "all the progeny are in reality descended from wild bush sires." However, he misses the point. Bush pigs are pigs which grow up eating in the bush. Baby bush pigs, captured and raised in the village, are not defined as bwaoduna (bush pig), but as bulogua (village pig). Who sired them is irrelevant to the classification.

upon coming to Kaduwaga it would be over because he would change his customs. Kaduwagans commonly marry people from Koma, a village which eats bwaoduna (bush pig). I was puzzled to see how they could accept cooked wedding dishes from Koma since the plates would be contaminated. Boyomu said Koma women do not cook bush pig in their sauce pans or put it on their plates. Rather they cook it in a pit and eat it off of leaves. So the dishes they send wedding gifts on are pure. In fact it only really matters to the Tabalu and Toliwaga. When I visited Koma with Nakovivi, a Tabalu woman, she did not eat in the village because she was afraid of the dishes. Instead a gift of raw food was sent back to Kaduwaga for her. However, she urged me to eat and I did, and non-guyau Kaduwagans would. I asked Boyomu about entertaining people from villages such as Bwoytalu, which eats all sorts of things forbidden in Kaduwaga. She said that it would not matter to her. She would feed them off her dishes and not worry about it. However, the Tabalu would neither feed them nor share lime pots with them. I mentioned that one day Katubai refused to give the school teacher a drink of water, and she said that was because his wife is from Koma and they eat bwaoduna. Katubai did not want his cup contaminated. His concern stems from the fact that once a dish is contaminated there is no way to uncontaminate it. If Katubai knew his cup was contaminated he would have to give it away and get a new one. It is only chiefs of considerable importance who carry the pollution symbolism to the point of considering any person who has eaten polluted foods as dangerous to their own dishes.

The prerequisites of rank, apart from those held by a village chief, are mostly limited to etiquette and dress and house ornamentation. Otherwise it would be very difficult for a stranger observing Kaduwagans going about their daily lives to determine who are guyau and who are tokay. In general guyaus are neither more wealthy nor more powerful than tokay. Certainly in a quarrel no tokay would hesitate to stick up for himself in front of a guyau.

The place where the distinction guyau/tokay is really important is in the role of village chief, especially if he is of a prestigious guyau dala like the Tabalu. Kaduwagans refer to the entire village as belonging to Katubai, this point is important to my analysis, for I am going to argue that Kaduwagans define the vanu (village) through personification: it is in essense a super-person with the same characteristics as an individual, and the personification to manifest in the guyau, Katubai. He is tolivanu, owner of the village, and the village is his karewaga, his to order and dispose of. When I came to Kaduwaga I was repeatedly informed that the village is his and his alone and that what he says is law. Should he tell people to leave, they would. This statement is in large part honorific and the logic is that the Tabalu are so superior that everywhere they go, the original residences turn their villages over to them in recognition of their sterling character. Of course it is not nearly that simple in everyday practice.

It is difficult for me to discuss Kiriwinan chieftainship

in general because I have only had the opportunity to interview and observe Katubai. He is an unusual chief in several respects. The last chief of Kaduwaga, Katubai's granduncle, died when Katubai was still a child. The eldest Tabalu woman, Nakovivi, took over as regent. I really have no idea how village affairs were run during her regency, but I do know she owned and administered all the land which had belonged to her uncle. Katubai's mother had died when he was an infant, and Nakovivi as her next eldest sister became, as he puts it, his "ina number one." Kaduwagans consider a person an adult when he has married, so as soon as Katubai was a teenager the Tabalu found him a wife from one of the four preferred dalas for Kaduwaga chiefs. Itagoma was still a child, and after marriage did not immediately live with him as his wife, but the technical conditions were fulfilled and he became chief. Katubai has told me that he became chief when he was so young that people could and did take advantage of him and limit his powers. I interpret this statement as an indication of the difficulties he had as a very young man trying to make his weight felt, and not an indication that he feels he might be more powerful today had he succeeded later. For Katubai is an extremely competent chief and his competency includes the ability to maneuver affairs so that he comes out on top. When I arrived in Kaduwaga I thought perhaps that the praise I heard from villagers about his conduct of office were tact, but I gradually realized that his reputation extends throughout the Trobriands and is well earned. To some extent this is because he is very conscious of

his role as an Omarakana derived Tabalu chief. But mostly it is due to his outstanding intelligence and his great interest in community management. The only things which stop him from being one of the most influential politicians in the Trobriands are that he lives on Kaileuna rather than Kiriwina, and he has not been sent to school and so does not speak much English.

In addition to being Kaduwaga's representative on the Local Government Council, Katubai was elected as a member of the Board of Directors of the co-operative society, and the board voted him its chairman. When a vacancy occurred on the school board, the village tried to elect him to that body but he refused, saying that he has too many jobs already. In fact he could handle the work load, but all these posts are expensive. As Chairman of the Board of Directors of the co-operative society Katubai is apt to put out several dollars each time the board meets. The society pays for their basic food, but Katubai is host and it would be unfitting for a guyau to host a meeting and not provide little luxuries. The Local Government Council meeting is held bi-monthly in Losuia, and requires at least a two day stay there, often more. In addition Katubai is on one of the council's subcommittees and must go in for subcommittee meetings. All these are paid for by the government, but again not well enough to support a guyau traveling in proper style.

Part of Katubai's problem is that he lacks a good financial base. While his traditional style support, in yams and vegua is adequate, he finds it a bit difficult to cope with the fact that

more and more Kiriwinans are looking to store bought goods as the little luxuries of life and as chief he should provide them on social occasions. Katubai would prefer to spend about $20.00 a month on such things, but this is considerably more money than he can easily amass.

Perhaps because of his own somewhat difficult position vis a vis the money economy, Katubai is interested in what the government terms economic development. He favors tourism and the possibility of a large hotel chain building a resort on Kiriwina. He feels, rightly, that this would do far more to spur local economic growth than the adoption of cash cropping. Further, he feels that tourists are less disruptive to village life. Cash cropping means new work schedules and styles of distribution. It could seriously interfere with the exchange cycles which require large quantities of non-marketed produce. Tourism, however, just means putting up with tourists wandering around and periodically staging dance shows. Tourists buy wood carvings which can be produced in peoples' spare time. Of course it can be argued that a large tourist business might have considerably more impact than Katubai invisions, but he is judging from the effects of the current hotel on the neighboring villages, and certainly it does not seem to have disrupted them very much.

My house was located in the Tabalu section of the village, Tabalu in the sense that they owned the land and all the Tabalu resided together there. They are the one case of a dala whose tamas resided with them rather than vice versa. Due to my house

location I had a good opportunity to watch Katubai in action both informally with his relatives and neighbors, and formally in men's meetings, which were held in the square in front of my house. My data on the Kaduwaga chieftainship stems more from observation than interviews, although Katubai was a willing and articulate informant.

The chief is the principle organizer and adjudicator for community affairs. At least three mornings a week men's meetings are held in the bikubaku to organize work on village projects. In addition, the chief or anyone else can call a meeting for anything which comes up. As Malinowski indicated, the chief co-ordinates gardening, particularly the clearing, burning and planting of gardens, along with fence building. He also initiates the harvest. During the months of October, November and December Katubai occasionally harangues the village at night from his porch, complimenting work well done and urging on laggards. He also harangues at other times of the year when quarrels about gardening occur or when he sees something he does not like in the gardens. Kaduwaga does not have a garden magician (towosi, which literally means "singer"), so all the coordination for planting and harvesting falls to Katubai.

Katubai is responsible for adjudicating any disputes in the village which the participants want heard. A meeting is called and all the litigants and anyone else who wants to may explain their positions or make comments. Katubai sums up the arguments and states in his opinion whether or not there is evidence to

support any specific settlement. Anyone disagreeing with his opinion says so, and the meeting continues until all the people attending are in agreement with the findings. Often this means that there is no finding one way or the other and the case is simply dropped. For example, Mosele, who was ill, accused Kwabula and Towana of trying to kill him by sorcery. When he was sick they had sent him tea to drink. He decided it was poisoned and threw it out. At the yakala, or hearing, Kwabula and Towana insisted it was perfectly good tea, and Aruagema, a woman who also handled it, said it looked like ordinary tea to her. Katubai summed up and then concluded that since Mosele did not drink the tea there was no way to tell if it had been poisoned. Thus no action could be taken on Mosele's charges. The audience agreed. Mosele, however, was still firm in his assertions and stood up and chased away his neighbor, Kwabula. That is, he said he did not want him for a neighbor, and since Kwabula was on Mosele's land, he had to move. That day people started dismantling his bwema and carrying it to land owned by one of Kwabula's own dalana. Powell (private communication) pointed out to me that this again looked like corporate dala land ownership in action. This is not so. Mosele owned the land, not his dala. Further, Kwabula did not return to the part of the village occupied by his brothers. He had previously quarreled with the eldest, who owns that land, and the eldest would not have him back on it. He wound up leaving Kaduwaga, moving to Koma where there was a land owning dala member who would have him.

At another yakala Davanai stated that he was robbed of two dollars, one stolen out of his house, and one out of his kauya, or shoulder bag. He accused teenagers of taking the money since they had been in and around his house and bag about the time the money disappeared. Katubai questioned the teenagers in question and all their friends to see if anyone would admit to having witnessed the theft or to having seen the two dollars afterward. All claimed they never saw Davanai's money. Katubai then asked if anyone else had seen one of the teenagers with the money, but no one had. He again concluded that the case could not be proved. And the meeting agreed.

Even though the verdict may be inconclusive, yakalas do serve a useful function. They are the forum for the airing of quarrels and their official settlement. A person who does not have adequate evidence to convict at least has had a sympathetic hearing, and, more important, he knows how the community feels about his quarrel. Katubai explained to me that yakalas are good because they get things out in the open and done with. If the village refuses to convict, the plaintiff knows no one will support a continuation of his quarrel, and should drop it. It might flare up again under a new set of circumstances, but for the moment it is over and done with. This is extremely important because Kaduwagans feel that angry people are dangerous. They may either fight physically, or worse, indulge in sorcery and kill people. Villagers thus feel it imperative for potentially disruptive quarrels to be settled in public so that people do not nurse hidden grievances against their neighbors.

It is important to note that while Katubai runs the yakala and states the decision as judge and jury, he in fact tries to sum up public opinion, and he will revise his own opinion until everyone can agree. In all other community affairs he acts in much the same way. While his word is law, his word is always community consensus. The reason is very simple. Kaduwagans have two models of human behavior. One is that every proper social action is predefined. Katubai is chief, his word is law, and people automatically obey. The other is that every individual has a mind of his own, and if thwarted will become angry and hence dangerous. Thus any individual who refuses to co-operate must not be coerced, and the only real way to get things done is for the would be participants to agree that they want to do them. I have a lovely example of this. One night Katubai sat on his porch and offered a particularly strong harangue about how slow the garden work was going. He concluded, "Tomorrow I want every single person to run, I say run, not walk, to the gardens and work. Anyone I see hanging around the village I'll hit!" The next morning I went to visit a friend and she was loading up her carrying basket. I assumed she was off to the garden, and made some comment. She replied, "Oh no, its such a nice day my husband and I and the two youngest children are going for an outing on the beach." I was surprised and said, "But what about Katubai's harangue last night?," and she replied, "Oh, those who want to will garden, and those who don't want to won't. It doesn't matter."

Though Katubai is careful to work along with community opi-

nion, he is highly influential. An unsupported individual would be loathe to cross him because he too can get angry, and he is reputed to be a powerful sorcerer. In this respect Katubai is suffering something of a legitimacy crisis. He is trying to mold himself on the modern image of a "boss" (the word is his own) rather than on the traditional image of chief. He has observed that bosses give orders and are obeyed, but they do not use sorcery. A benevolent despotism. When he became chief he told the community that he would not indulge in sorcery to injure his enemies. However, without sorcery he is powerless to enforce his will since, unlike bosses, he has no money to pay his employees. Nor do people in Kaduwaga work for Katubai, but rather for themselves under his organization. Katubai explained his ideal about bosses to me several times, but I could not find any villager who had picked it up. They all treat him like a traditional chief and assume that he both possesses the means for sorcery and uses them. And Katubai, who after all really is a chief and not a boss, goes along. On several occasions, in front of largish audiences who were eating it all up, he told me of various ways he can kill people. The fact that he has not yet been accused of doing so locally is held a result of his exceptional benevolence. Within Kaduwaga Katubai's sorcery prowess adds to the charisma of the chieftainship. Outside the village it greatly increases his value in political disputes. People at Kuyao have told me that I am brave to live so near him. If he came to their village for a <u>yakala</u> no one would want to accept a betel nut from his

hand lest it prove to be poisoned, and they would be nervous until he left, since he might privately decide someone was guilty and do him in on the spot with poison and sorcery.

A detailed study of a Kiriwinan chief in action would definitely be a very useful thing. It would shed a lot of light on community organization. I did not attempt anything of the sort in Kaduwaga because, first it would require fluent enough Kiriwinan to pick up gossip, and second, it would require greater knowledge of the community than I possessed during most of my stay.

I should say a few words about the Paramount Chief, since Powell (1965) and Uberoi (1962) conclude that Malinowski greatly overrated his power and prestige. The current paramount chief is Vanoi, who resides at Omarakana (emphasis on the ra). I have never heard a Kiriwinan say that there is any other chief equal to either his rank or prestige, and everywhere he goes throughout the islands he is treated with appropriate deference. While his immediate sphere of influence is in and around Omarakana, he is called on to adjudicate disputes throughout Kiriwina. He is the wealthiest Trobriander in traditional terms because he has twelve wives, more than any other chief.

Vanoi is very popular. People agree that he is just, kind, and tactful. He does not participate in any of the European derived institutions like the Local Government Council, though he may attend meetings to keep an eye on what is happening. His heir apparent, Waibadi, on the contrary, is a powerful local

government politician. In part their choice of separate spheres of influence reflects their desire to avoid personal conflict. And conflict certainly would arise since Waibadi too is determined to be a powerful man.

One thing Malinowski does seem to have misinterpreted is the passing of magic from guyau to guyau-to-be. He notes that magic should only pass through the maternal line, but cites many instances where it has been handed down paternally (1929:41, 48). This he interprets as one more instance of fatherly love versus maternal law. My informants say that magic may be transmitted to anyone who purchases it. Katubai does not know much rain and sun magic because he was too young to learn while his granduncle was alive. However, a man in Tawema paid and learned it. Katubai could go and pay him but says he is not very interested and probably never will. So far as I can tell there is no rule that magic should be transmitted matrilineally. People speak of Tabalu magic, meaning magic which originated with a member of that dala. But any owner is free to sell it to whomever he wishes, though Powell notes (private communication) that members of the dala in which it originally passed retain the right to pay and get it back (kainmani). Again, Malinowski comments that it is ironic that a man will make his son a gift of magic while his nephew must pokala, or pay gifts. Again father love versus legal matriliny. My informants say it is true that a man would not make a son pokala for magic, or at least not very much, but it is because sons already give so much to their elderly fathers that it

would be niggardly to exact more pay from them. Nephews do not ordinarily take care of their elderly uncles, and so must pay.

The Kiriwinan relational classification which has caused anthropologists the greatest difficulty is the so-called "kin term" system, or the ina/tama classification. This classification has no name in Kiriwinan, and as I am loathe to use the English word "kinship" to describe it, I will just call it the ina/tama classification.

As I indicated above dalana possess an inherent sameness which is expressed through the symbolism of a milk pool. Ego's membership in a dala is automatic and made evident to all by virtue of the membership of the woman who bore him. Further, dalana are seen as identical and interchangeable social entities which means that on the one hand they may never exercise karewaga over one another and on the other they are mutually responsible for many of one another's exchange obligations. In addition, their identity is such that it would be inappropriate for them to engage in sexual intercourse and reproduce. The ina/tama classification is contingent upon these facts.

Arguments about consanguinity among Trobrianders have been rife, but are really irrelevant to the ina/tama classification because it is based on caring ties. That is, it is not genealogy which determines the assignment of actors within this classification, but rather the fact that a husband/wife unit undertakes to raise and care for a particular child. It is this which makes them ina and tama. Most often it is indeed a child's natal

parents who raise him, but this need not be. Natal parents can and often do give their child to another husband/wife unit which wants a child to raise, and it is the members of this latter unit who then become ina and tama. As Powell noted, it is preferred to give a child only to a woman who is in the same dala, and thus to keep the primary ina ties within the dala, and in line with this I could find no case of a child given outside of its dala. However, Katubai was nursed by a non-Tabalu woman after his mother's death, and because of this she is his ina and he treats her as such. Women of his own dala took over his upbringing as soon as he was weaned, so they are inas too.

It is not just the initial assignment of ina and tama which are perceived as being on the basis of care, but all the ties in the classification. Father/brother is also tama, but not because he is father's genealogical brother, but because he is tama's tuwa or bwada which means he was cared for in the same household as tama. Kada is really not uncle, but rather ina's nunieta, again a male raised in the same household as she. A Kaduwagan mapping the system does not say "So-and-So begat So-and-So, who married So-and-So and together they begat So-and-So," but rather "So-and-So cared for So-and-So, who married So-and-So and together they cared for So-and-So."

The distribution of relationships within the ina/tama classification is heavily weighted toward the tama's side because in large part the classification is designed to provide ego with actual and potential social ties with people outside his own dala.

Kaduwagans point out that by being able to include tamas' spouses as inas they can then claim all the people with whom these women have ina/tama classification ties as their own ina/tama relations. This means that, should they want to, any Kaduwagan can trace a tie in the ina/tama classification with virtually any other Kaduwagan. Within the dala the ina/tama classification is utilized to create seniority which sets up the inheritance order. This is done by distinguishing tuwa/bwada on the basis of birth order.

The classification further distinguishes kada, who is ego's dalana from tama, who is not. It is possible to generate kadas who are not in ego's dala, i.e., fabrwibr, but Kaduwagans ordinarily do not do so. They are much more apt to generate distant tamas. This is because the distinction between kada and tama is predicated on the opposition dala/non-dala. The essential difference is that ego is a stand-in for kada in his exchange obligations, whereas he is merely obliged to help his tama, not to stand-in for him. Thus kada's natus are ego's natus because in kada's absence he must take kada's place, whereas tama's nunieta is his tabu because though closely related to tama he would never be expected to take over tama's obligations to her. It is one thing to want to engage in a mutual assistance pact with a man, quite another to want to have to stand-in for him.

Another stumbling block to kinship theorests is the use of the term ina for both tama's and kada's wives. This usage is consistent with the desire to strengthen the dala by helping to

support elder men within it with uligubu. The dala gains prestige whenever one of its members owns a niku (a tall yam house). In order for a man to have a niku he must ordinarily have both willing in-laws and dalana. In-laws alone can rarely afford to support an entire niku, and even if they could, would be loathe to do so. They'd rather maintain a niku within their own dala. Thus supporting a niku depends upon dalana. It is they who build it in the first place and who are ultimately responsible for it. In turn, they cajole a man's in-laws to give as much as possible to help maintain it. However, because the main support must come from dalana, it is necessary that dala members have some way to give uligubu to the senior men of their own dala. By calling kada's wife ina, members are obliged to treat her as they do other inas, and to give uligubu on her behalf. This enables them to retain considerable quantities of produce within the dala.

As I have indicated the classification is infinitely extendible through the paternal side. Unlike our system which runs out of terms as one works out further and further from ego, it is possible to continue generating terms ad infinitum. Since the classification is used for exchanges it tends to be cut off whenever ego and the potential relative find themselves on opposite sides of an exchange in which, according to the ina/tama classification, they should be on the same side, or vice versa. Thus ego and his fabrwibr (his kada) would not recognize their kada tie if the latter was more closely related to (i.e., had a shorter relational path to) someone who would be on the opposite half of

the exchange from ego. It is very difficult to get informants to say what they call certain people without specifying context. For dala members and members of tama's dala it is straightforward, but beyond that closer ties may intervene and negate a potential relationship. Since this is context specific, depending on each exchange transaction, fabrwibr might be considered kada sometimes, and not kada others.

One way of keeping the classification down to a manageable size is by discarding the dead and ties through them. Ties through parents are remembered but beyond that they are discarded. Boyomu told me that Baiyawa, her little girl, probably will not know who Boyomu's parents were, and certainly will not know who her grandparents were, so ties traced through them are over. Along with this goes the custom of not referring to the deceased by name. People would do it if I asked, and no one ever corrected me for doing it or seemed to feel uncomfortable when I did, but they do not, and so the person becomes forgotten. An exception to this is the names of landowners. Each landowner could give me a list of the men who had owned his land before him and how they got it, back to the start of the village.

Like the kuhmula, dala, and tokay/guyau classifications, the ina/tama classification possesses restrictive marriage rules. A male should not marry an ina, a nunieta, a natu, or a kada. The remaining available category is tabu. As Powell (1956) noted there is considerable juggling of these categories by retracing relation routes so that people may marry whom they wish. Kadu-

wagans say that nusita would never marry because of the shame between them concerning sexual matters. However, a man might well try to marry a cross cousin who is his natu. Since the ina/tama classification is based on caring ties, not substance, he would argue that he had never acted toward the woman as a tama and hence is not to be really considered her tama. This type of playing with the categories is easiest if the man and woman come from two different villages.

I wish to re-emphasize the importance of the dala/ina-tama contrast because it is crucial to understanding how Kaduwagan social obligations are worked out. I will argue later that Kaduwagans have two modes of social thought. On the one hand all social obligations are automatic, and on the other, no individual should be forced to do anything against his will because if forced he might become angry and injure people either through fighting or sorcery. This automatic/voluntary contrast is worked into the dala/ina-tama situation. An individual is automatically related to his dalana and should act in a supporting manner to them. However, since he and his dalana share such total identity, they may not order one another about, so that a dalana may or may not come through as desired. Ties through the ina/tama classification are voluntary rather than automatic and involve specific obligations which must be fulfilled if the ties are to be maintained. Thus my female informants pointed out that they can count on tamas for support in situations where dalana might not co-operate. However, since the tama-ina ties are voluntary, a tama might at any time

cease to be a tama. Therefore it is good to have dalana to fall back on. Kaduwagans indicated that it is a very uncomfortable situation to possess only dalana or ina-tama relatives, because safety lies in being able to play them off against each other.

How are the various types of relatives in the ina/tama classification distinguished symbolically from one another? The work I did on this was almost entirely conducted with women and is focused on the discriminations they find most important, namely those between various classes of men. The minimal set for a woman is tama, kada, nubena, mwana, nuta. These are distinguished by manipulations on the symbols of cooking and sexual intercourse as follows:

Tama: Cook for him; Share food on same plate; No sexual intercourse; Sex talk.

Kada: Cook for him; Not share food on same plate; No sexual intercourse; Sex talk.

Nubena: Not cook for him; Not eat with him; Sexual intercourse; Sex talk.

Mwana: Cook for him; Share food on same plate; Sexual intercourse; Sex talk.

Nuta: Cook for him; Not share food on same plate; No sexual intercourse; No sex talk.

It becomes clear that what Malinowski defined as the brother-sister tabu is simply one configuration in five based on manipulation of a restricted set of symbols. Rather than being an initial postulate on which the entire social system is constructed, it is one position in a series which contrast with one another. I did not ask whether tama shares food on the same plate with his female natu, but it makes sense that he would if mwana does, just as it makes sense that kada does not if nuta does not.

I have diagrammed the distribution of the ina/tama terms on charts which superficially resemble genealogies. However, they should be read as caring, not begetting, charts. There is no reason to assume that a man and woman's natu is their biological child.

KINTERM RULES

General:

1. People generating relatives first generate dalana and tama. then will generate non-dalana if asked. Do not do this spontaneously.

2. People do the above by contrasting ina mokita (dalana) with ina (non-dalana). However, this shifts depending on the context. For example, inana mokita could be contrasted with ina meaning ones own mother as against mother's sister.

Chart 1:

1. The term tabu can be extended outward to older people almost indefinitely. However, generally MoFa and FaFa are the only members of their dala mentioned. The rest are not usually kin, though they can be figured as such if it is to ego's advantage. However, for marital purposes the tie is remote enough to be discounted.

2. Note FaMoBr (tama's kada) is listed as tabu, not tama as Leach lists him. People generate both. Say he can be called tama because is tama's kada and the offspring of a tabu in Fa's dala. This fits with the usage of FaSi male offspring being tama. However, no one actually calls him tama because of the generation distance. He is too much older, and hence gets called tabu, even by children when he is a middle aged man. See under Chart 4 for further comments.

3. Descendents called tabu and after the fourth generation, according to Bible regulations. In fact Kaduwagans have lost track long before four sets of tabu have been computed.

4. The set FaSi yields tama, tabu, and in turn this tabu yields tama, tabu, in theory goes on forever, but in fact gets cut off for ego's children as MoFa's dalana are generally not considered relatives.

Chart 2:

1. Note shift with a female ego. Kada's offspring called tabu, not natu. And the nuta/tuwa, bwada set is juxtaposed. Also sister's children are natu, not kada.

2. Note that an elder kada's wife is ina. But a younger kada's wife is yawa. This applies to Chart 1.

Chart 3:

1. MoSiHuBr and Si and treated as kin and it is forbidden to marry their offspring where they are called by terms which are forbidden within father's dala. Same goes for FaBrWiSi and Br. It does not go for FaSiHu's siblings or kada's wife's kin.

2. The kin terms are only applied to real brothers and sisters of MoSiHu and FaBrWi. The rest of their dalana are not included.

3. The ban where applicable extends to ego's children. However, on ego's father's side it is dropped since MoFa's kin are no longer kin, and certainly people they married into are too far removed to be kin.

4. Boyomu emphatically asserts that this is all wrong. That the brothers and sisters of MoSiHu and FaBrWi are not kin at all. But I get it over and over from other informants.

Chart 4:

1. I have gotten two sets of terms for FaMoBr's offspring and MoMoBr's offspring. People simply queried say they are all tabus. But in pushing it with people naming actual relatives I have gotten the set nuta/tuwa, bwada for FaMoBr offspring, in line with his being tama, and the set (for a male ego) of natu for MoMoBr's offspring, paralleling the treatment for a kada's children. Will do further work on this point. I suspect the latter is in fact correct, and the former arises because people have such trouble thinking about the system abstractly since they never do.

2. At any rate, since FaMoBr children are not dalana, they are thought distantaand their kids are not kin. And probably ego's child wouldn't consider MoMoBrSo's offspring kin, nor those of MoMoBrDa.

Fig. 1.--Ina-Tama Classification for a Male Ego

Ina-Tama Classification for a Male Ego

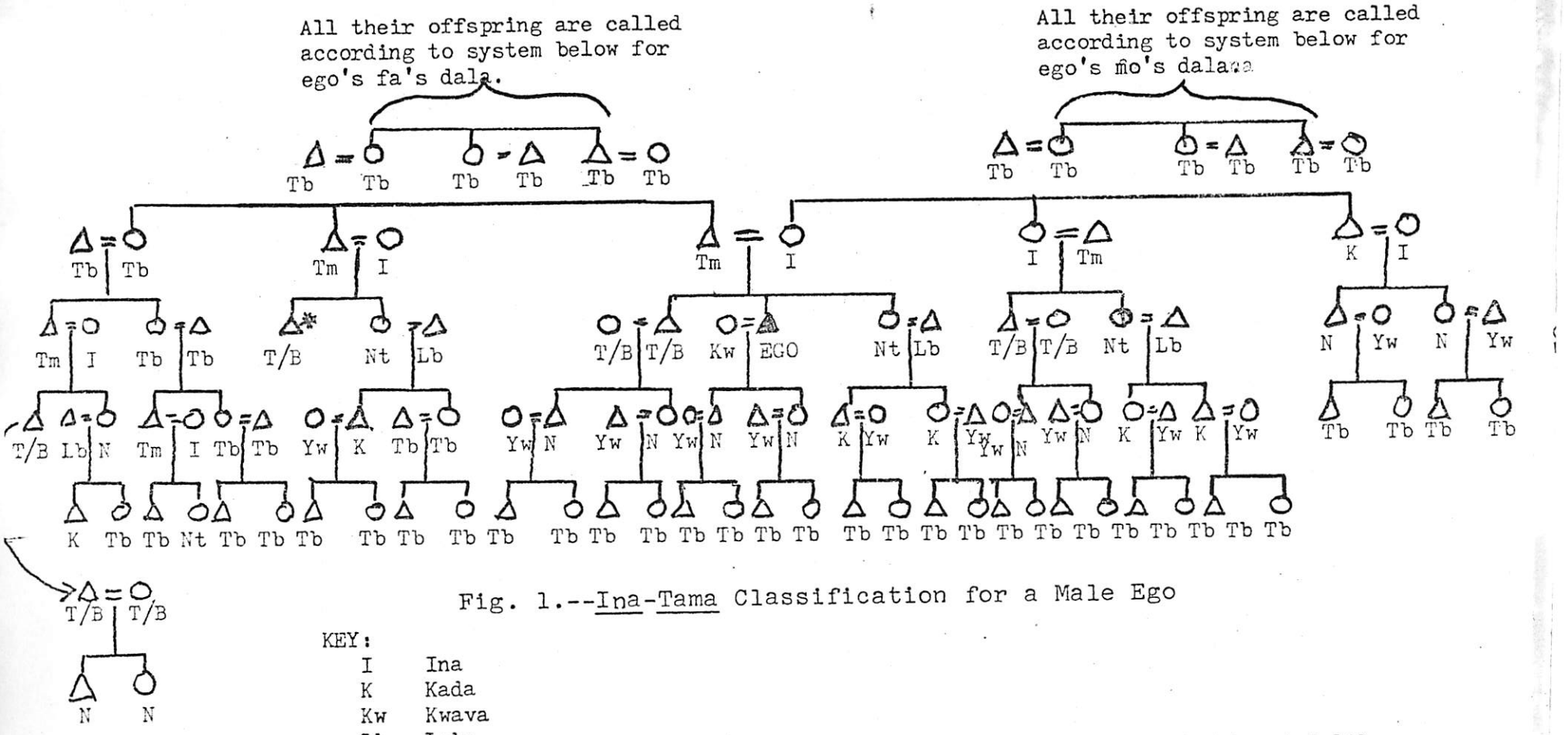


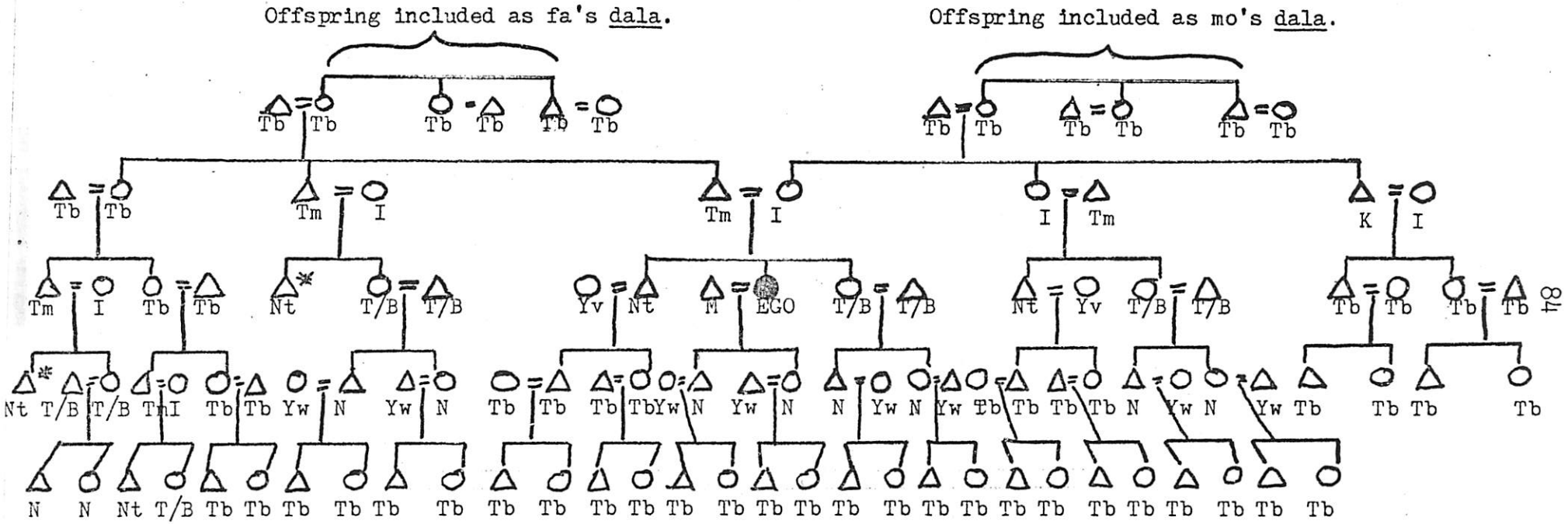
Fig. 1.--Ina-Tama Classification for a Male Ego

KEY:

I	Ina
K	Kada
Kw	Kwava
Lb	Lubo
M	Mwana
N	Natu
Nt	Nuta
Tb	Tabu
T/B	Tuwa/Bwada
Yv	Yavata
Yw	Yawa

Fig. 2.--Ina-Tama Classification for a Female Ego

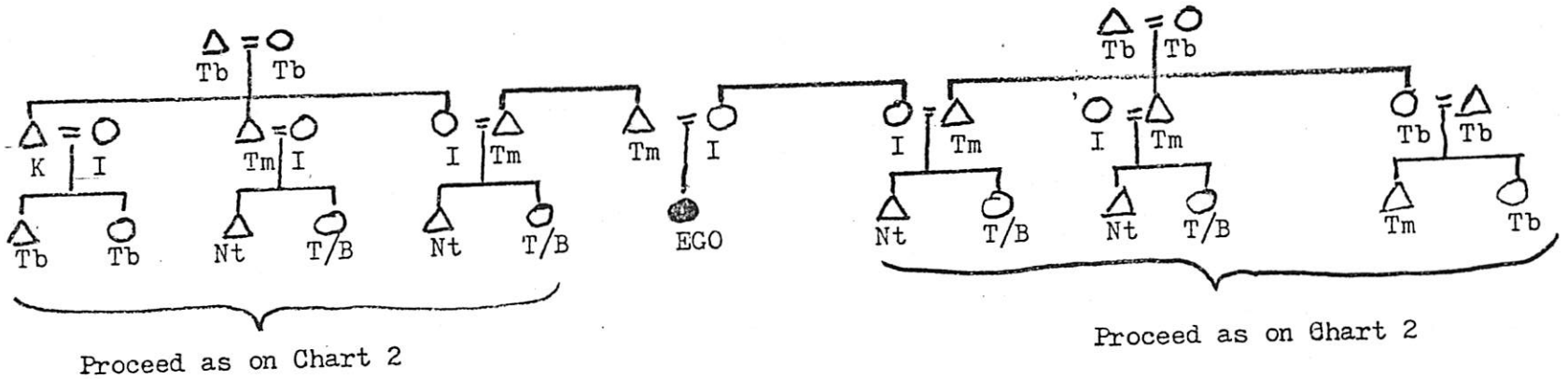
Ina-Tama Classification for a Female Ego



*Spouse and offspring treated like those of other Nts.

Fig. 2.--Ina-Tama Classification for a Female Ego

Fig. 3.--Extended Usages



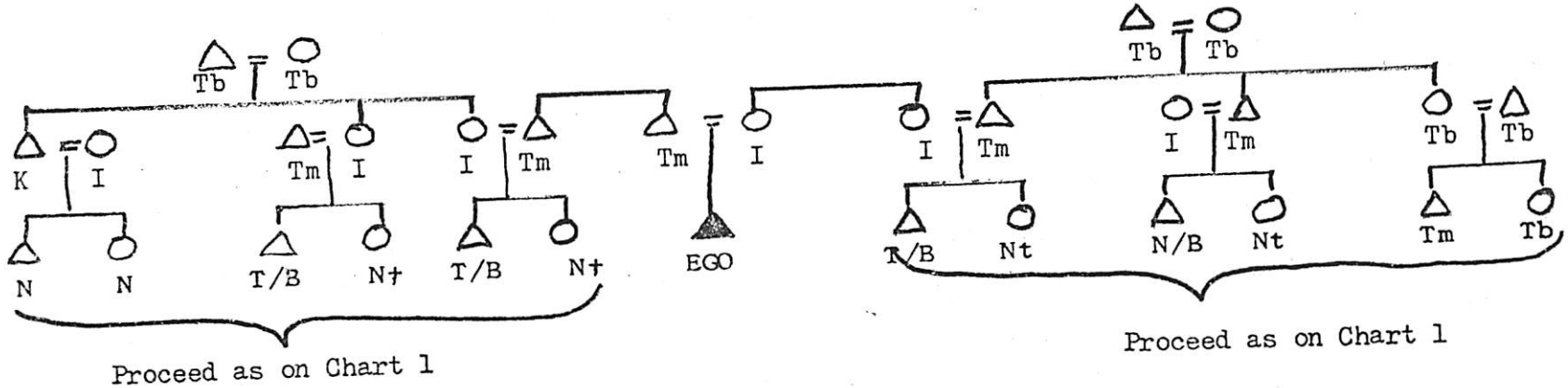


Fig. 3.-- Extended Usages

Fig. 4.--Extended Usages

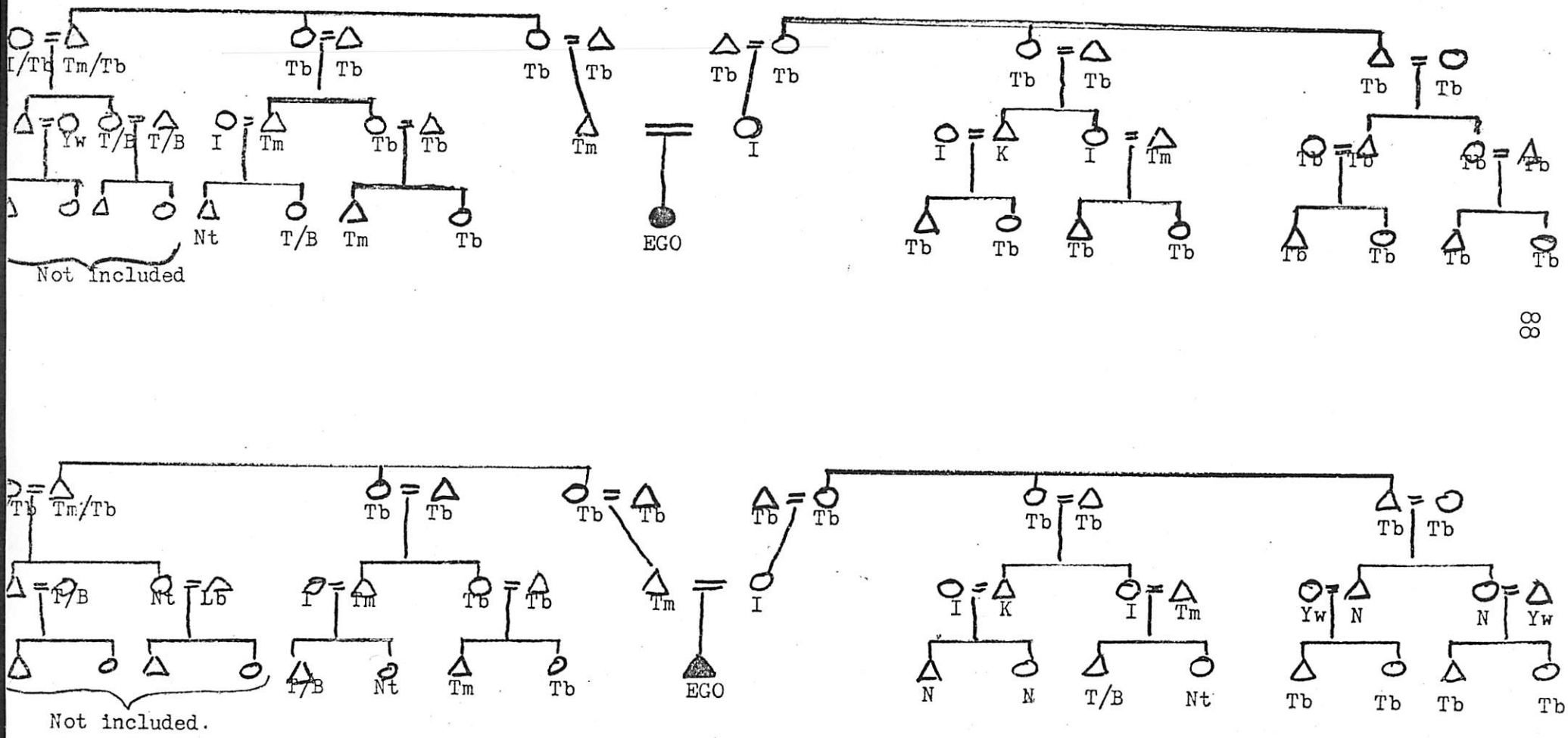
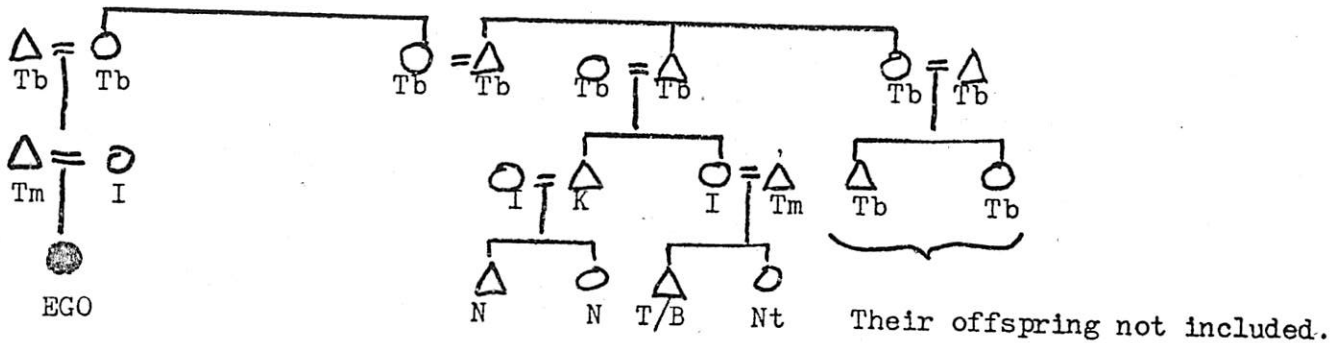


Fig. 4 .-- Extended Usages

Fig. 5.--Extended Usages



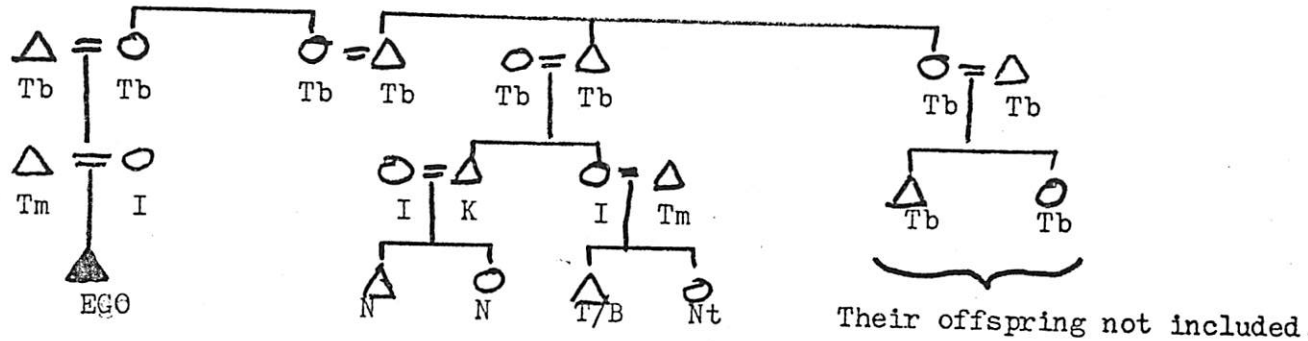


Fig. 5.--Extended Usages

Fig. 6.--Male Ego's Own Dala's Spouses

Fig. 7.--Female Ego's Own Dala's Spouses

Male Ego's Own Dala's Spouses

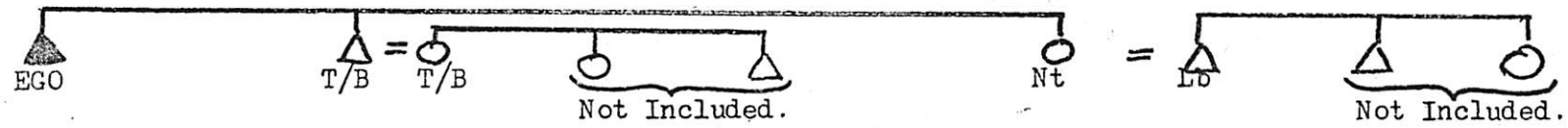


Fig. 6.--Male Ego's Own Dala's Spouses

Female Ego's Own Dala's Spouses

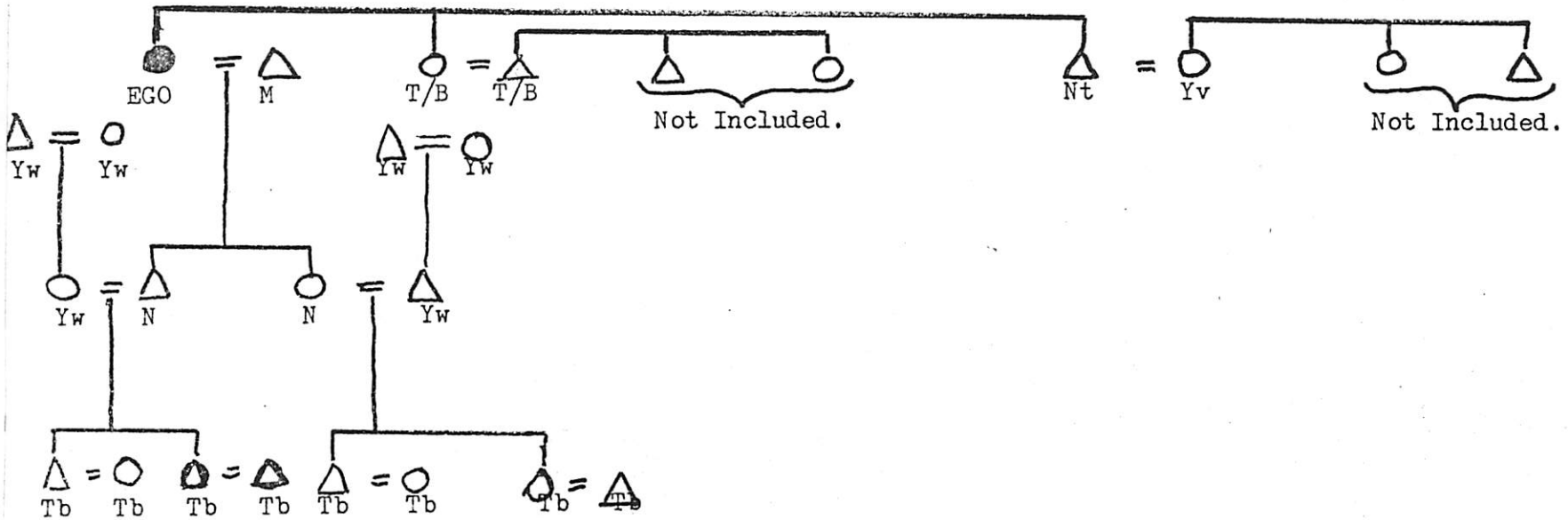


Fig. 7.--Female Ego's Own Dala's Spouses

Fig. 8.--Husband's Dala and His Dala's Spouses

Husband's Dala and His Dala's Spouses

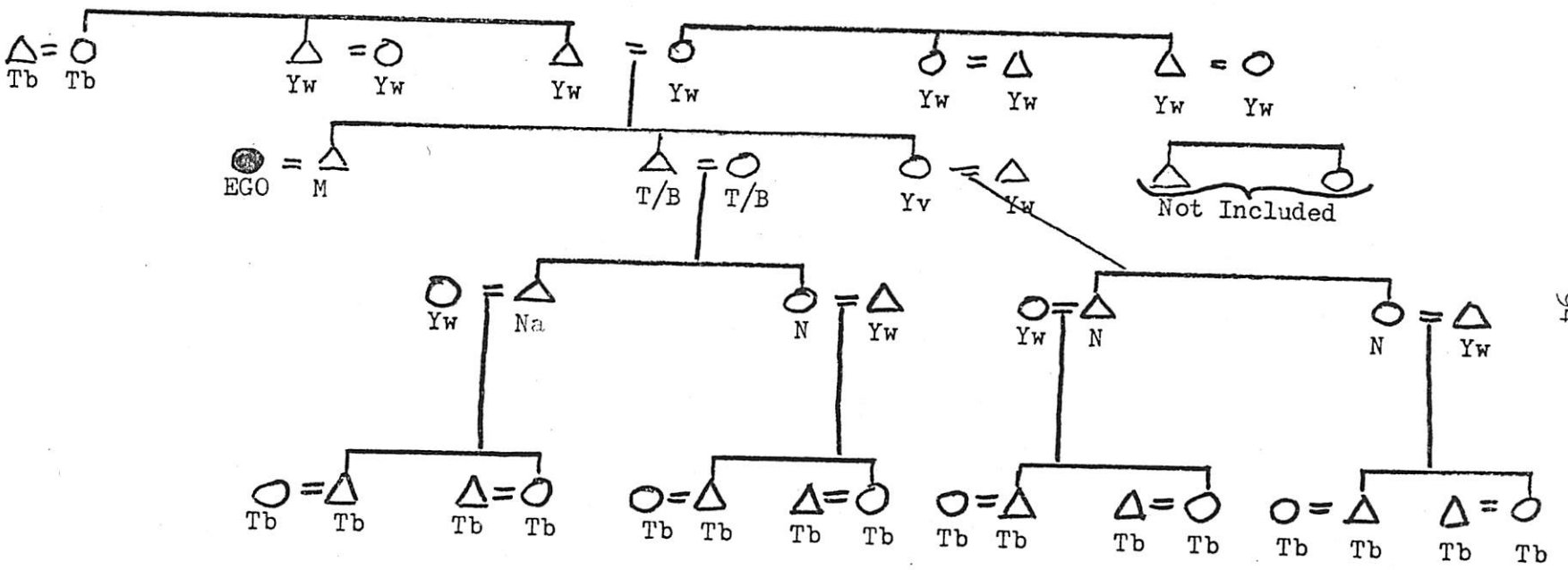


Fig. 8.--Husband's Dala and His Dala's Spouses

Fig. 9.--Wffe's Dala and Her Dala's Spouses

Wife's Dala and Her Dala's Spouses

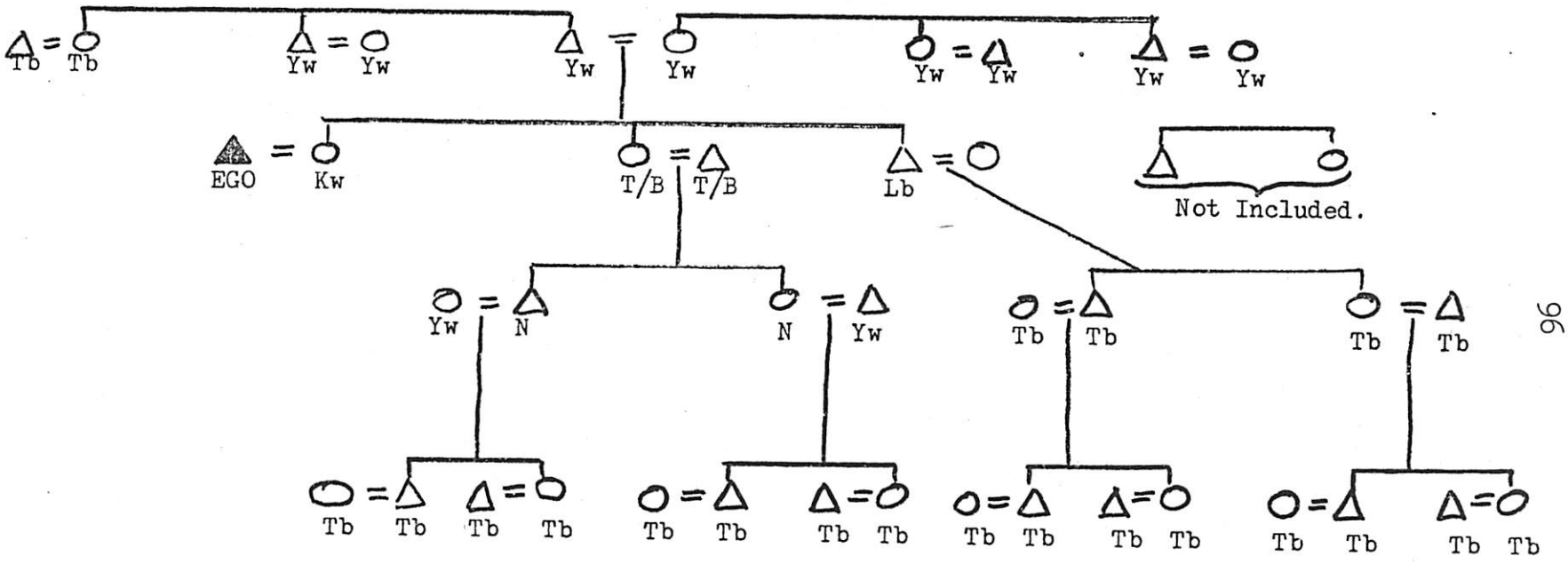


Fig. 9.--Wife's Dala and Her Dala's Spouses

Katuposuna: The Exception

Finally there is the katuposuna, a purely geographic grouping. The village is divided into four spacial areas called katuposunas. Informants say all villages have katuposunas, and that there may be any number in any village. Kuyawa, for instance, has three as, I think (informants weren't absolutely certain) does Munawata. Kaduwaga originally had three, Onotuma, Otubokau, and Waseva, and has added Okowakena. In olden days Okowakena was a separate village with its own constituent katuposuna. It shrank in size, however, until today it is as small as any other Kaduwaga katuposuna. Kaduwagans cannot interpret the names of the katuposunas. They say that some seen derived from regular words but they do not know why those names were given. It was too long ago, and they do not have any meaning ef all currently except to distinguish one katuposuna from another. This fits with the general Kiriwinana custom of naming people and placss after events. All Kaduwagans are named after events, but as the names become traditional and are handed down within various dalas, the events tend to be forgotten. This is especially the case since deceased people are not much spoken of. Often the literal meaning of the name remains, but no one knows why it was

originally given. The events behind a name are supposed to be happenings of some outstanding significance which occur near the time the name is chosen. Thus Itagoma named her baby Susan, among other things, because I came just before it was born, and it was a unique thing to have a European move into the village. Meetinakaduwaga was so named because her mother went into labor at a Co-operative society meeting in Kaduwaga. Katubai named me Napukoya after his mother because I reminded him of her with my actions. When he was a child she taught him about the world, and now he expected to learn more from me because I understand Western ways. His mother and I were both nakabitam (experts). Uligaga (literally "bad taro") was so named because around the time of his birth his uncle planted a garden wholly in taro, or uli. This is unusual as Kiriwinans usually mix their crops in any given plot. Several other members of Uligaga's dala have been named with reference to this event. Uligaga refers to the fact that not all the taro in the garden turned out well. Katubai is also commonly called Togomakesa, and he explained that the name refers to the fact that as a child he i kesa, he was alone, i.e., an only child. Malinowski mentions Na Mwana Guyau, literally "her husband was a chief," which refers to the unusual conditions of his mother's marriage. Even when it is impossible to say which specific event inspired a name, the attributes singled out for attention are all eventful. Two of Boyoms children are Tolikuna, "master of rain," and Biayawa, "I will kill by sorcery." The names are something of good luck charms, designed to insure

that their owners are well treated or else they will withhold rain and will kill people, respectively. The children do not actually possess these powers, nor will they, but it is auspicious to give them powerful names.

As I said above, katuposunas are geographic divisions. Their boundaries coincide with the boundaries of certain dala plots (dala plots in the sense that they are passed from heir to heir within a single dala) because such plots would not be split internally. The land inside the katuposuna may be divided into various numbers of plots owned by various different people. The group of plots in a katuposuna results from historical accident, and not from logical models about relationships between certain dalas.

The aim in fixing katuposuna boundaries is to divide the population into roughly equal productive and consumptive units. Fifteen or twenty years ago Otubokau was smaller geographically than it is today because the Tabalu population, which among others was concentrated in it, was much larger. However, that population shrank while that of Onotuma grew, and so the line was moved one dala plot in Onotuma's direction. Even so, the balance is not perfect, and on occasion, as for preaching duties, members of Waseva (also a large katuposuna) act for Otubokau. However, the divisions are close enough so that at sagalis food given to the whole village can be divided into four equal heaps and parceled out by katuposunas.

Affiliation to a katuposuna is strictly by residence. Any

member of any dala may wind up living in any katuposuna, and so long as his or her residence is within its boundaries he or she is a member. Katuposunas should be large enough that they can provide a work force for most tasks requiring group labor, and small enough that they can share among themselves. Katuposunas which become too large may split in half, and katuposunas which become too small may be annexed on to others. Thus in Kaduwaga the katuposuna Ogilagala is now a part of Okowakena since there are too few members within its boundary to justify independent existence. If the dala of the landowner in Ogilagala should become large again or be able to attract others to live there, it would again be an independent katuposuna. I suspect that Waseva is approaching maximum workable size, and that the tendency of members to work for Otubokau may prelude another boundary shift.

Informants say that katuposunas exist to provide a basis for equitable food division among the observers at sagalis, and to act as co-operative work units, the members banding together to garden or fish. There is no official leader for each katuposuna to organize the work projects. Rather boat owners control fishing, and people who need garden help simply ask their neighbors, who are subsequently rewarded with a large evening meal. I noticed that when food is given out at a sagali an elderly man or woman will come forward for it, and Kaduwagans say that this is the prerogative of the oldest members of the katuposuna.

Summary

In this section I have presented data on various Kaduwagan relational classifications. Each of these divides the populace into a unique series of contrasting units. I have tried to indicate the distinctive features of each classification: for kuhmulas, totemic identity; for dalas, milk pools; for guyau-tokay, big/little; for katuposuna, land plots; for ina/tama, sex and food. I have further attempted to demonstrate that each classification describes a unique universe of related individuals, and that to look for a high degree of mutual accord in the boundaries of any two is to miss the point: the large number of differently constructed relational categories creates an almost infinite number of potential groupings of actors into exchange blocs. I think it is safe to say that during an average year every Kaduwagan at some time has both been on the same side of an exchange with, and on the opposite side from, every other adult villager.

Technically I should have considered katuposunas under the heading of "The Village." However, to make my argument it is best to treat them here. I am arguing that they are not given my restricted usage relational classifications, but productive social groups. Malinowski in Coral Gardens (1965) speaks of the "gardening team" but never specifies exactly what group of actors he means. I suspect that the groups of workers he observed were people from the same katuposuna, since these most frequently work together on tasks which require more than household labor. The ironic point is that although these units are frequently activated

productively on the ground, they are among the least important conceptually, to the extent that neither Malinowski nor Powell reported their existence, although Powell in retrospect (private communication), thinks they existed around him in the Omarakana cluster. I too only found out about them by accident. One day a pig died, and its owner could not, without Katubai's permission give it out to be eaten. Katubai decided he would like the prestige of distributing unexpected largess himself, so he gave the owner one of his own pigs as payment. Then he climbed up on his niku (large yam house), blew the conch shell, and announced that the pig would be distributed throughout the village. He climbed down and started the distribution, calling "Katuposuna So and So, am bulukwa," "Katuposuna So and So, your pig." I was listening, asked what Katuposuna meant, and was told. I had never heard the term mentioned before, and only rarely after.

I dwell on this point because it is significant to my analysis, which is that Kaduwagans conceive of a social group, the vanu (village) on the one hand, and various different kinds of social relations, expressed through various actor classifications, which are not defined as social groups on the other. I am further arguing that both the village and the actor are seen primarily as exchanging entities, and that production is viewed as a means toward the end of exchanges, In other words Kaduwagans define the essential "humanness" of existence in terms of the actor as an exchange entity and define the basic social unit, the vanu (village) through personification. The village is defined as a

super or "big" person, with essentially the same exchange characteristics as the actor, but on a magnified scale. It seems to me that Malinowski's and Powell's treatment of Trobriand social organization in terms of corporate, landowning matrilineages misses the point and is confusing. In order to make these arguments they must attempt to demonstrate that the dala (1) corporately owns land; (2) that it corporately administers its land; (3) that the produce from the land belongs to all the dala members. However, this argument simply does not stand up. As I have indicated Kaduwagans and other Trobrianders are clear and unambivalent on the point that all land ownership is individual. Further, as I will show in the section on harvest gifts, they are not just given between dala members, a fact which Malinowski recognized but tried to dodge when he talked of "real" uligubu (given to dala members) and "spurious" uligubu (given to non-dala members) a distinction which Trobrianders do not draw. And finally, the gardening units are the husband-wife couple and the katuposuna, members of which can come from any dala. There was no instance during my stay at Kaduwaga of any dala mobilizing members because of their dala ties to get out and garden together. Rather, one called upon one's neighbors, regardless of their dala affiliation.

I am really making two points here. First, I would hope that data on the katuposuna would help to deal a death blow to the notion of the dala as a corporate, productive, landowning group, and second, that it would help make clear my position on the treatment of Trobriand social organization in terms of owning and

productive corporate units in general. The reason Powell and Malinowski missed the katuposuna is precisely because ideologically it is of minimal interest to Trobrianders. And that is because it is a pragmatic "get the work done" sort of a unit. The whole point of katuposunas, as informants put it, is to divide up the population into manageable units for day to day work efforts. And this is why the number of katuposunas varies from village to village depending on the population size. Katuposunas do enter into exchanges, but again only for pragmatic purposes. When all the men in the village must cook mona (taro dumplings), they do it by katuposuna because it requires several men's labor to make one pot. Again, at the funerals, food for all villagers is distributed by katuposunas, whose members then divide it up for individual households. Informants maintained that this was the easiest way to insure even distribution. But katuposunas do not contribute to the exchanges as units (the mona is not called as the katuposuna's gift, but as the village's), nor do members ever exchange with one another in any of the major cycles because they are linked by katuposuna membership. In short, katuposunas, unlike villages and the various relational classifications, are not defined in terms of exchange, but of labor, and labor itself is not celebrated in Kaduwagan ideology through the group. It is instead celebrated through the individual and super-individual, and it is celebrated as the means to the end of exchange. The actor and the village are both proud of good harvests because they can be displayed and exchanged. But the katuposuna, the basic labor group, simply is

unimportant in this formulation, although from our Western point, looking at productive organization, it ought to be at the fore-front.

CHAPTER III

EXCHANGE DATA

Introduction: The Four Cycles

There is no generic word for exchange in Kiriwinan, but rather, like the Nuer with cattle and the Eskimos with snow, the language possesses a large and highly specific exchange vocabulary. Kaduwagans describe the act of exchanging with the verbs *seki* (give) and *mapu* (pay). The two are tightly bound. *Mapu* takes the suffix *na*, the strongest possessive form. Thus a Kaduwagan word say "*Mapuna tuituwedóna, veguwa*," literally, "the payment which belongs to the large yam gift is *vegua*," the sense being that every gift "owns" a payment. The English gloss "exchange" is accurate insofar as it implies a two-way transaction.

Using Lawton's collected vocabulary and my own, I have found over thirty different kinds of exchange transactions and I by no means assume that my list is exhaustive. I am restricting my treatment to four types of exchange, marriage distributions; harvest distributions, one of which is *uligubu*; *kabidoyeh*, or boat launching exchanges, and funeral distributions, or *sagali*. These four form a symbolic set to Kaduwagans. My informants treated these exchanges as the very fabric of life itself. Not only is their occurrence the virtual end all of people's daily

choice of activities other than those immediately oriented to physical survival, but as symbolic statements this group encodes the basic definitions of life Trobriand style. It is through the continual performance of these exchanges that Kaduwagans not only reiterate the basic postulates of their culture, but keep their society from straying from the road down which these postulates state it is to travel. It is for this reason that many Trobrianders have explained to me their fear of Western market economic incursion: it is the one thing they perceive as being able to undermine the exchange ties and thus destroy life as they know it.

The four cycles possess qualities which, taken together, differentiate them from other types of exchange. The most readily noticeable feature to the foreign observer is their elaboration. Not only are they all composed of a number of specific transactions, but they all involve sizeable gifts which are publicly displayed. There are, however, other sizeable exchanges in Kaduwaga, and additional characteristics set these four apart from them. First, their occurrence is automatically triggered by certain specific preceding events. That is, they are not voluntarily scheduled as are kula or buritilaula. Nor may they be not held when the triggering events occur. Rather, they automatically follow. These events are marriage, harvest, the launching of a new masawa, and death. In the nature of the human life cycle in Kaduwaga they recur frequently. Further, aside from harvests, which follow a set annual cycle, they occur rather haphazardly in

time, which means that villagers must be in a constant state of readiness for massive exchange.

Significantly, there is no justification given for why the exchanges must follow upon these or any other events. Rather, Kaduwagans assert that they just do, always have, and, barring a drastic change in lifeway, always will. Anthropologists and other Westerners have found it troubling that Trobrianders cannot explain why they exchange when they do. Malinowski has considerable difficulty explaining why uligubu should be given in the first place, and various Australian government administrators have asked me why their charges have such elaborate funerals, hoping that my informants might have told me the secret. However, the non-rationalized aspect of these cycles is again one of the features which differentiates them from other exchanges which are carried out with some definite goal in mind. It also fits with their status as the ends of existence, not the means.

I wish to make it clear that the performance of these cycles does not create the events which trigger them. It is obvious that uligubu does not make a harvest, and that a funeral does not make a death. However, anthropologists tend to assume that gift exchanges make or establish a marriage. In the Trobriands this is not so. A couple marries, and because of that act gifts must be exchanged. Relatives who do not wish to acknowledge a marriage may refuse to exchange gifts, but in order to do this they must break socially with the wedded couple, pretending that they literally do not exist. It is impossible to interact with a married

couple while pretending they are single for the establishment of their marriage lies in their proclamation of same. For this reason my informants found it impossible to agree with Robinson's hypothesis that it is the groom's tama who has the say over whether or not the couple will wed. Rather, they unanimously insisted that the couple itself decides. The only way to destroy such a marriage is to physically separate the couple since the proclamation is made in the form of establishing joint residency. A prudent couple facing considerable opposition, therefore, elopes to a distant village from which it will be a bother to retrieve them. Elopements inevitably end in reconciliation with the disapproving kin. The latter wait a year or so until they see that the couple really intends to stay together, and then bow to the inevitable. Kaduwagans hold that not to do so would be contrary to human feeling for one's offspring or wards. Once the kin recognize the marriage they may resume social intercourse with the couple, and, of course, must exchange.

These four exchange cycles are non-competitive. The gifts to be given as well as the amount of each, are spelled out in advance and are constant. There is no attempt to outshine the recipients by the quantity and/or quality of the gifts, or to outfox them by manipulation the conditions under which the gifts are given. Rather, the exchanges are competitive only in the sense that a Kaduwagan who wishes to be well thought of must constantly run to stay in place. That is, he must maintain a constant effort to assure his ability to contribute when called upon

to do so. However, these exchanges are explicitly perceived by informants as unlike buritilaula, where the point is to out-display, and thereby shame, another village, and kula, where the idea is to outmaneuver one's partners, thus cornering a lion's share of the vegua for oneself.

A cluster of variables including size, public display, automatic triggering, non-rationalization, and non-competitiveness set off these four exchange cycles as a group from other forms of Kaduwagan exchange. Within the group, the exchanges are distinguished by the different social events upon which they follow. Manipulations on yet another set of variables are used to distinguish the individual exchanges which go to make up the cycle. These variables are the kinds of property given, the unit(s) carrying out the transaction, the arena in which the transaction occurs, and the way in which the goods are exchanged.

It is not surprising that in a society preoccupied with gift exchange people and property are closely identified. In Kaduwaga the sexes are distinguished biologically and by the kinds of property they own. To "own" property is to have the right to use and dispose of it as one wishes, in other words, to have karewaga over it. Some kinds of property may be owned by members of both sexes. Into this class fall such things as betel, tobacco, knives, and most gardening tools. These may be exchanged by any two individuals whenever they wish, and gimwala (buying and selling) is the most common type of transaction in these items. Some kinds of property are sexually specific. Only men own vegua,

(shell valuables, stone-size blades, and Amphlett pots), and only women own doba (fiber skirts). These may only be exchanged among members of the same sex. Should a woman come into possession of vegua she hands it on to a man, and a man does likewise with a skirt. The separation is so complete that when women exchange skirts, men who are the recipients are not at the exchange. Rather, the women simply decide among themselves which women shall be the ultimate recipients. The same is true when men exchange vegua. Now that money can count as vegua in the exchanges, women are apt to demand their share and this makes for difficulties. However, no woman would claim a shell valuable.

Between property which has no sexual connotation and that which is wholly sex specific lies the mediating category wherein the sexes each own different property, but the types of property they own are complementary. Men karewaga kanua (Kiriwinan kaulo; certain types of raw food, most significantly yams and pigs), and women karewaga hearths and cooking. It is this complementarity which is basic to the husband-wife unit. Only married men own kanua because only they have wives to cook it, and only married women own hearths because only they have husbands to provide the raw food to cook on them. The married unit is thus productive. Raw food plus cooking yield a new product, cooked, edible food. This unit is physically productive as well. Through their sexual complementarity the couple produces children.

The association of the sexes with certain types of physical property clarifies the ambiguities in Malinowski's statements

concerning the status of women (1929:20; 30-34; 201; 203). On the one hand he defines them as socially equal to men, while on the other he reports that it is men who are village chiefs, men who have public meetings, and men who tend to make most village decisions. Women are indeed equal insofar as they are not discriminated against on the grounds of mental capabilities or personality orientations. (Ironically for his arguments about family structure, this means that women do not need guardians.) However, by virtue of their control over land and raw food men take precedence over women in most public affairs. While it is true that a man needs a woman to cook, it is also true that it is necessary to possess raw food before the question of cooking it arises. And although they are not supposed to do so, it is physically possible for men to cook, whereas it is not possible for a woman to obtain food except through willing men. I have several times seen women thwarted in their attempts to do something because they could not raise the necessary food supplies, and one of the great differences between me and village women was the independence I enjoyed based on my own food resources. Further, Powell notes (private communication) that his informants equated men in general with guyau and women with tokay. This is in line with my impression that among the sexually specific property vegua is much more valuable than doba, being fought for in the kula exchange system, and being owned in largest quantity by chiefs.

There is another rule governing property allocation which is relevant to the structure of the exchange transactions. It

is that all property is individually owned. Women do not as a class own skirts. Rather, each woman owns her own skirts. Men do not jointly possess kanua. Rather, each man owns his own kanua. This is true for all physical objects which humans own. It is this rule which underlies marriage as Kaduwagans know it, a partnership of one man and one woman. And it is this which accounts for the fact that at an exchange where both raw and cooked food is given, the men bring raw food which they distribute, and then the women bring cooked food which they distribute. Never is raw food set out and then cooked in a public, communal setting as part of the exchange proceedings.[1]

The types of property utilized in these exchanges are limited to the two sets which are sex linked, namely vegua, doba, and raw and cooked kanua. Tobacco and betel, which are not sex linked, are ordinarily given because they are markers of hospitality, and the exchanges are defined as sociable get-togethers.

Kaduwagans distinguish two physical arenas within the village which are relevant to the exchanges. The public arena is the area in front of peoples' houses. In a circular village it is the center of the circle, the bikubaku. In Kaduwaga it is the area between the two rows of houses, or the street. Only that part of the street in front of Katubai's house is actually considered the bikubaku, but the whole street is used as the public area. Events

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[1]While women cook individually at their hearths men set up temporary communal hearths on those few occasions when they cook. These are for mona preparation and for the roasting of pig while butchering. The butchers do not cook much pig, only enough to compensate them for their work.

which are staged in this area are defined as the business of all villagers. The private arena is the inside of the house, and the area beside and behind it. Just as the hearth is the central object in the house, so cooking is done either inside or behind or beside it. Kaduwagan women prefer to cook outdoors in good weather, but women never cook in front of their houses. However, the area beside and behind the house is not really as private as inside simply because people can in fact observe what goes on there. In touchy situations they should pretend not to see and hear. What goes on in a house is literally no outsider's business unless one of the members chooses to shift arenas (or unless it involves sorcery or murder or child abuse). Thus when a couple quarrels the woman's defense against her husband's superior physical strength is to move into the public arena and loudly condemn him. Kaduwagans gossip about what goes on inside people's houses, but it is private as opposed to public gossip, and does not involve mobilization for action. To interfere in someone else's private arena is to antagonize virtually everyone.

These two arenas are mediated by house porches which are attached to the front of the house and which face the street. Weather permitting, most day to day socializing within the village takes place on house porches. On their porch it is possible for a couple to entertain their friends as they would inside their house and at the same time to keep an eye on the larger village scene.

Kaduwagans use various styles of presentation to distinguish

individual exchanges. I have not done an exhaustive analysis of these, but will indicate them as they arise in my data. I would note that the combination of gifts given and the style of presentation is unique for each individual transaction such that any Kaduwagan can visually discriminate each one from any other.

Marriage Exchanges

A normal Kaduwagan marriage begins with the girl sleeping in her husband's father's house and failing to return home the next day. Her parents go out looking for her and discover that she has married. They then cook kanua and send it on a wooden platter, kaikaboma. The parents of the boy receive it and send back vegua, i takuona vegua, mapuna kaikaboma: they give veguwa, payment for the kaikaboma. The vegua is donated by the boy's father, but if he does not have any his dalana will help or the boy's dalana will help. Meanwhile, the boy's mother gives her daughter-in-law a new skirt and trims it around the lower edge to the proper length. Then the couple goes out and gardens. After the first two gifts there is a lull until a lot of food can be gathered together by the girl's parents. Then, on a single day, they kumkumla, cook it in an earth oven, and send it. One of the platters sent is called katuvila, the other, pepeu. These are large, and are sent as payment of the vegua. They are shared out among the dalana of both the boy's parents. Again there is a lull, and then on a single day bunami, a form of mona, and kanua are cooked. These are again sent by the girl's parents to the boy's. The kanua is vewouna, and again both are pay for the

vegua. These conclude the gift exchange. It should be noted that there are fewer exchanges than reported for Kiriwina (cf., Robinson, 1962 for a discussion of marriage exchanges as presented in Malinowski's data).

The couple remains living with the boy's parents for about a year. During this time the girl is in "training." Her mother-in-law is teaching her how to cook and garden. She is not actually allowed to cook anything herself, though she does actually help garden. Finally her mother-in-law decides she has learned enough, and gives her pots and pans. A house is built for the new couple, and the mother-in-law sets up the daughter's hearth. From then the couple is on its own. During this initial year the couple has been eating off both sets of in-laws. The girl's mother sends cooked food to her, and the boy's mother also cooks for them. This ends when the new household is set up. My informants described the period as "training," but admitted that girls really know how to cook and do not need to be taught. However, the prolonged stay with the boy's family is some insurance that people will not go to all the trouble to set up a new household and then have the marriage fall apart. Kaduwagan marriages are felt to be weakest at first. A couple which stays together for a year is not too apt to get a divorce, because if they weren't getting along one would have left. Kaduwagans do not put any particular pressure on a newly married couple to stay together, unless, of course, it is a chief's marriage and the wife wants out and he wants it to continue. Malinowski implies that Omara-

kana marriages are rather unstable. This does not seem to be true in Kaduwaga. During the year I spent in the village there were only two divorces. The first was in a new marriage which lasted only a couple of months. The second was in an established marriage, but it may not turn out to be a real divorce. The couple had a fight and the husband chased his wife away. She went home to her parents at the other end of the village. He tried to present the requisite vegua to have her return, but she refused. However, she is pregnant, and Kaduwagans say she may decide to return to her husband after the baby is born. He has done a bit of looking around for a new wife, but no one will marry him now because they say his wife's kin would be angry and accuse them of husband stealing. After the baby is born, if the wife refuses to return, people will consider them truly divorced.

I said above that a married couple is one which has set up a separate household. The crucial factor is not the house, but the hearth, and informants who speak of a couple still living with the boy's father as being married are referring to the fact that they have started the process which should net them a hearth. A couple which elopes must obtain its hearth irregularly, but once they set one up, the marriage is real. Divorce is instituted by repudiating the hearth. A husband who rejects his wife breaks up the pots and pans, and a wife who rejects her husband does likewise.

If a woman leaves her husband and wishes to marry again she must give him one of the children in return for the vegua he paid

to marry her. If she refuses he will quarrel about her next marriage and raise trouble and all his dalana will back him up. If he chased her away then he will have more difficulty claiming one of the children. Kaduwagans say that second marriages are just like the first: all the gifts must be exchanged again. However, the couple may live apart from the start.

If the marriage breaks up in the first year, the vegua is returned unless katuvila and pepeu have been paid.

Malinowski has commented in Sexual Life of Savages on reasons why and circumstances under which people marry. He is not convincing on the former, putting it down to natural inclination. While no overt pressure is brought on people to marry, single adults are anachronistic. They are unable to participate in most of those things which Kiriwinans define as adult and desirable. They do not fit into the garden cycle, and cannot build up any personal power since they lack karewaga (cf., Powell, 1969b:591). Women are apt to become pregnant and be stuck caring for a child without anyone eager to help. Further, the fact that a woman did not marry is commonly attributed to the fact that she was unattractive, meaning that she was ugly, unpersonable, and lazy. My informants disagree with Malinowski's hypothesis that a man who refused to marry his girlfriend did so because he was ashamed that she was pregnant. They say any man would marry his pregnant girlfriend unless she was so unappealing that he never intended to marry her. This fits with notions of conception in the village. People can sleep together casually, but people feel that to become

pregnant the couple must be sleeping together a lot. It is not considered complimentary for people to sleep frequently with someone they do not really care for. The implication is that they could not find anyone to care for, i.e., that those who they would care for refused them. Thus a boy who refuses to marry his pregnant girlfriend comes in for a certain amount of opprobation himself. However, he is ultimately better off than the girl, who is stuck with a child.

Like marriages everywhere, Kiriwinan unions are marred by quarrels. When a couple is really quarreling everyone knows because they shout at each other. Often the quarrel will culminate in the man hitting his wife. In the only instance I saw he hit her on her shoulder. A wife who has been hit begins to cry very loudly and to scream what a nasty person her husband is. She is very apt to start moving out, since being hit is a good ground for leaving. One fight I saw resulted in the wife's starting to carry her goods out of the house to her mother's house. Tears were streaming down her face and she was hurling epithets all the way. Several neighboring women tried to stop her by grabbing the goods, but she shrugged them off. Finally, when she went in the house for another load the missionary's wife sat down in the doorway. She is a largish woman, and it was impossible to leave the house without pushing her out of the way. So the wife stayed inside and the quarrel went on. After a while both husband and wife tired out and made up, and the next day someone quietly went and got her goods and returned them. The missionary's wife interfered

because the marriage was a happy one and everyone knew the couple would not really split up. If the wife had moved out, her husband would have waited a day or so and then taken vegua to her parents to get her back. It is her karewaga as to whether or not the vegua will be accepted and she will return.

My informants say there was nothing particularly special about the case Malinowski recorded where a man found his wife committing adultery and broke her water bottles. They say that he might have destroyed any of her property in his rage, and that he probably did not hit her because she would have good grounds for leaving (plus a lover waiting in the wings) and he did not want to lose her.

Harvest Exchanges

Malinowski (1965) described in some detail the harvest exchanges which occurred annually in Omarakana. That is, he described what the gifts are called, and presented some documentation as to who got what. However, his documentation is spotty and very limited. Powell (1956) has provided further documentary information on the subject (1956; 1969b:591-92; 594). Uligubu (from uli, taro, and gubu, a subdivision of a garden plot) is important to anthropologists as it was one of the main arguing points in Malinowski's construction of Kiriwinan social organization. He holds that uligubu is given by a man to his sister as her part of the joint "patrimony" which, however, she is prevented from gardening directly by the brother-sister tabu. Through uligubu, moreover, a man retains control over his sister's children

because he compensates her husband for any care he gives them. Malinowski traces the uligubu given to To'oluwa by his wives' brothers and other of their relatives. He is careful to distinguish uligubu given by wibr from uligubu given by other people, considering only the former as true uligubu, and using only it in the formulation of his argument and as Powell so correctly notes this ruins the argument because it is all the same to Kiriwinans. His restricted interpretation is thus misleading. Part of Malinowski's problem grows, as I said earlier, from his need to explain why uligubu should be given at all. He searched for a reason which would fit with the logic of European economic and family organization. Displacement of responsibility seemed best to fill it, and the brother-sister avoidance tabu became the rationale behind the displacement (1956:351; 353). Why the Kiriwinans should possess such a bothersome taboo in the first place was a point on which he forbore to comment.

Malinowski's mistake was in assuming that Kiriwinans work according to European motivation. He failed to recognize that they make a value judgment which we do not, namely that exchange is the most important feature of life. No informant of mine ever agreed that uligubu is pay to a woman because she cannot garden her own dala's land (she can), but my informants did frequently question how it is that whites do not share out their income but keep it all for the nuclear family. Kiriwinans say all dalana should share, as should other people in the ina/tama classification.

Malinowski mentions several harvest gifts in addition to uligubu but unfortunately says nothing about how they differ from it or the circumstances under which they are given (1965:189-96). The ones I have been able to trace with informants in Kaduwaga all form part of the same exchange cycle, and thus the whole turns out to be a bit more complex than Malinowski describes. Further it differs in some details, though this should not be taken blanketly to mean that he is in error. Kaduwagans do not call yams uligubu. The word literally means taro plot, and in Kaduwaga it is used accordingly. Malinowski notes this usage for Sinaketa and says they call the yams which are given taitumwedona, literally "yams, all of the." This is the usage in Kaduwaga. I assume since he caught this usage in Sinaketa he would have caught it if it had been in effect in Omarakana. Today, as best I can ascertain by interviewing informants from various villages when they were in Losuia, the taitumwedona system is universal. Uligubu is reserved for taro, betel and coconut and mustard. There is at least one modification offered in part of Kiriwina. Whereas Kaduwaga terms taro, betel, coconut, and mustard as uligubu, people at Kaibwaga, according to Annette Weiner, distinguish between taro and the rest, inverting the word to gubwauli for taro, and calling the others uligubu.

Kaduwagans intersperse their yam and taro crops, and the same garden plot is divided into different units depending on whether one is speaking with reference to taro or yams. ~~Speaking of yams the garden is called kaimata.~~ Speaking of taro ~~the garden~~

is called tapopo (new plot) or kaimugwa (old plot). The smallest divisions of the plot are gubwas. Several gubwas equal katupwatala, a quarter of the whole plot, and two quarters equal kaulisitala, half of the whole plot. Uli is gardened by gubwa, or in the case of uliveka, large uli, by katupwatala, quarter of the garden. Taitumwedona is gardened by the whole plot, kaimata, or by kaulisitala, half the plot. Kiriwinans say Kaduwagans err in the latter. On Kiriwina island people would only garden taitu by the whole plot. Annette Weiner (verbal communication) says that Kaibwaga a man who wishes to garden taitumwedona for two women strikes two garden plots. He would not divide up one plot as Kaduwagans do. A single man may strike (weya) many gubwas of uli, each for a different woman including his nuta, female kada, natu, and ina. Also for his tuwa and bwada, that is, wives of his tuwa and bwada. In the case of striking for bwada the garden is in the name of a son because a man does not garden for his younger male kin.

It should be noted that the uligubu is not just limited to dalana. A man may garden for any natu, that is any child, either his own or that of any of his tuwas and bwadas, irrespective of their dala. He may also garden for any nuta, that is, for any natu of any tama, irrespective of their dala. The cutoff point is purely pragmatic. He can only garden so many plots and his own children and dalana come first. Besides, those who are more remotely related have their own closer relatives to garden for them. If they do not, he is more apt to help them, especially if there are a lot of men in his dala and not too many women.

The man who plants the garden and his wife are in charge of gardening it, but in the case of uligubu they may tell the recipient that it is her plot and she should work on the weeding. She also harvests it when she wishes since taro cannot be stored.

Taitumwedona is a bit different. The man and his wife plant it, garden it, and at harvest time harvest it. It is brought into the village and piled in conical piles outside the gardener's house. After everyone has harvested, each man takes his gift to the bwema of the husband of the woman for whom it is intended. He starts loading it in. When he is partially done loading, the husband of the recipient tells his wife to cover the rest of the pile on the ground, and she takes out a mat and does this. The man then stops loading and returns home. The recipient's husband then loads the yams left on the ground into pietas, round baskets. It is henceforth called taitupieta. The taitupieta he distributes (i kovisi) among the women to whom he gave uligubu with the exception of the woman to whom he gave taitumwedona. Sometimes informants will refer to taitupieta as uligubu because it goes to the same people, "its road is the same." But they do not refer to taitumwedona as uligubu, and in casual conversation limit uligubu to taro unless it is made explicit that taitupieta is also being spoken about.

Taitumwedona is not just gardened for sisters. A son's first obligation is to garden it for his father (through his mother). After one or two sons have taken care of their father, the father karewagas (orders) who the other sons will garden for. Often

this is their kada (through his wife who is ina). Or if one of the group of brothers is old enough, for him. In these instances people speak of gardening for men, not women. The point here is for a group of men to support a single senior man who can then have a niku (tall yam building) which gives him considerable prestige and power. Every dala wants to have at least one man with a niku, and since men with grown sons are fairly elderly, it is considered proper, if possible, for them to each possess one.

When tama, kada, and eldest brother have been disposed of, taitumwedona is given to nunieta and natu, and people speak of gardening for them. Uligubu is usually spoken of in terms of the woman because she weeds and harvests it.

Uligubu and taitumwedona are not given every year in Kaduwaga. They are only given if the harvest is large enough for there to be a surplus. Malinowski's notion that a family is primarily supported by the efforts of in-laws is incorrect. All families garden for themselves first, by placing the gardens in their children's names. Thus a man will say that such and such a garden belongs to one of his sons or daughters, and it is intended for his wife. Most people garden uligubu every year, but it may not be very much. They only garden taitumwedona when there are kayasas, or harvest competitions. These are held every four or five years.

I did not survey all the uligubu and taitumwedona given in Kaduwaga in the year I was in residence, but I did trace down

that given and received by adults in the largest dala, Malasi 3. The information is in Appendix III. I would note that the dala is atypical in that the head, Kaulau, is a youngish man. There are two older men, but they are both senile, so his inheritance has already passed to him. None of the men in the dala garden for their daughters since their children are too young. However, some of the women receive from their fathers, so the pattern is represented. The dala is typical in that it covers all the categorical gardening possibilities, though it does not extend them outward as far as they could be extended. Obviously the population sample is too small to state statistical frequencies, but these I feel are misleading since they are entirely contingent on the particular genealogical situation. In plotting the logic of the system men said first they garden where their father tells them, and after his death wherever they see someone underrepresented. Thus a man who gardened for his father would look around after his father's death and see if an uncle or a sister or even another father was not heavily gardened for and garden accordingly.

In looking at the chart it should be kept in mind that the transactions indicated may not have actually occurred. It is a chart of who would give and get in a year when the exchanges were carried out.

I have already mentioned that in some instances Kaduwagans speak of gardening for men, and in some, of gardening for women. One of the issues raised by Malinowski's work is just whose food

it all is. Kaduwagans say that women cannot karewaga kanua; it is male property. On the other hand, harvest gifts may only be given through women. That is why it is the woman who puts a mat on the pile, indicating that the donor should stop loading the bwema. If there is no intervening link between two men through a woman, a harvest gift cannot be given between them. Women, however, can give uligubu to one another with the donor's husband's permission. The woman who receives it either just cooks it or lets her tama or nuta karewaga it. When a Kaduwagan says he is giving to a certain man or woman he does not mean that that person will be the owner, but rather that that is the person who inspires the gift. And it must not be thought that a woman gets the short end of things, because it is only she who can cook the food, and thus render it edible.

Uligubu and taitumwedona may be given in varying combinations. Ordinarily uliveka is given along with taitumwedona. It may also be given to women who just get taitupieta. In the case of Myodala, an elderly man who can no longer garden, his son Sivalola gives him taitumwedona and Myodala divides it into taitupieta and gives that, though he grows no uli.

The amount gardened for a widower or widow is lower than for a married person. No widower would have a niku unless he remarried. As I noted above single persons are marginal. That does not mean they will not receive and give some yams and taro. They will, but not nearly as much, and they speak as if they received none. Old people like to have children with them or near-

by to care for them since they are no longer in line for much harvest produce and also are not able to garden much for themselves. Children will always look after older people who cared for them, seeing to it that they have cooked food to eat, adequate shelter, and care when they are ill. The situation can also be advantageous for children since older parents and grandparents make good babysitters. Also they do a lot of little chores around the village like weaving wall mats, if men, or cooking, if women.

In ordinary years the harvest is not particularly celebrated in Kaduwaga. There is a kamkwams, or village feast, on the day when the first yam poles are cut down, and a kamkwams on the day when the first yams are brought into the village. But there is no public display of yams. They are simply put into the owners' bwemas.

However, all this changes in a kayasa year. Any man may suggest or call for a kayasa, but it is usually the guyau who does so. All the men in the village must agree, or the kayasa will fall through. Once they have had a meeting and agreed to kayasa, Katubai sets a day for the first kamkwams (literally "eating"), or village feast. On that day every household cooks and brings food to the village square. There is a large meeting and Katubai i lirikapu. He holds up a betel nut or a bit of tobacco and offers it to whoever will undertake to garden a certain plot. Then someone stands up and accepts it. Taking the betel or tobacco is like accepting a challenge, because the man is agreeing to

do his best to garden a very large plot. After the land is allocated in this manner, the food is apportioned by katuposunas and eaten. Then Katubai sets the dates for the next three kamkwams. These are held to mark, in order, the cutting of the gardens, the burning off of brush, and the planting. They are called i katumovesi, it makes for their lives, i.e., the kamkwams sustain the workers. When six months or so have passed after planting, the gardens are grown and harvested. Kaduwaga harvests in June and July. People dig up all their taitu and load it to pietas in the gardens. Then Katubai sends either a man from his dala or one of his vevai to the gardens to count the basketfulls of yams and report who has the most. The counting is called i vakwaisi, and it is done in units of ten baskets (= luwatala). He marks luwatala, luwayu, etc., by cutting notches on a piece of yuoyu, or palm frond. Then he brings the yuoyu back to Katubai who writes down the leaders.

Meanwhile, during the growing season Katubai has been collecting money. He collects from any interested villager as well as people from other villages. He might even go so far as to collect in Losuia.

After the yams have been harvested and counted Katubai announces a day for the final kamkwams, called i kamtunai. This is a large feast including mona, and after eating people begin carrying yams into the village. A man does not carry in his own yams, but teams of men get together and harvest someone else's yams. The yams are brought into the village and piled into big

conical heaps, lolio. Then Katubai sets a day for the kovesa, payment for the kayasa. This is the real day of celebration. People come from villages all over the island, and may even come over from Kiriwina. In the morning villagers set up earth ovens and cook tutubwa, a form of mona, and kanua to feed the visitors. Then, while the food cooks, they get ready for the festivities. Everyone dresses to the hilt in traditional clothes and puts on face paint and hair decorations. For this one day even old women dress like teenagers in short red skirts. When the food is cooked it is given to the visitors to eat. Also men run in and out with betel, sugarcane, and other foods, thrusting them at the visitors. This is called i lovalova.

Katubai has also donned all his chiefly regalia and face paint, and comes out to give the prizes to the men who led in taitu production. He has written their names on pieces of paper which have been strung up on a line running between his niku and his bwema. He tears the paper of the winner down and calls his name. He then gives him and his wife their money. The prize is divided between them because she also gardened the plot. Then he calls whoever came in second, and so forth. Quite a few prizes are given, and they are worth a bit of money. Yakoguyau led in the kayasa celebrated in 1969 and received $4.00. His wife received an additional dollar. The prizes are scaled, so that the lesser producers receive less money. While the prizes are being awarded the visitors contribute by shouting and whooping, i katugogivinesi. Also the conch shell is blown. When the prizes have

been given the visitors settle down to eating and the villagers do traditional dancing to drums. Villagers do not join in the feast. As Mwakania said, "Bogwa da kanuasi o kaukeda." "Already our food is by our porches." This fits with the rule that whoever is feeding others does not eat.

The party ends with the coming of evening. People from nearby villages pack up and go home. Those who gave money to Katubai are now paid in kanua by the people who wound up with the money. Thus a contributor is really purchasing yams. After the kovesa is over Katubai orders that the yams be loaded into people's nikus and bwémas. This is when taitumwedona is moved around to the recipients. When a man loads taitumwedona the recipient and his wife cook kanua for the donor to take home and eat. They may even cook pig if the gift is large. After all the yams have been loaded it is necessary to cook once more, to pay the teams of men who carried one's yams into the village. Since most men worked on this, most households cook and most everyone gathers in the village square to eat. At feasts such as this, which are for men, food is ordinarily removed for the women or else they keep some out for themselves and their children when they cook. After the carrying teams have been paid, the harvest is over.

Ordinary uligubu is paid for by sending cooked kanua and raw fish to the donor from time to time. Also the recipient is obliged to help the donor with such things as boat building, house building, and gardening when a kabutu, or collective labor

party, is called. However, likewise the donor is obliged to help the recipient, and these things are each paid for by feeding the workers. Malinowski (1929:81; 99; 121-29) implied that a man who gives uligubu must also do other things for the recipient, as if he were subordinate. Kaduwagans, however, feel that uligubu signifies cooperation between households which share garden produce. Powell (1969b) notes that subordination enters in only when the two men are of different ranks. The only time anyone indicated that the donor might be subordinate to the receiver was in answer to my question, "Why do guyau's marry their sons to their sisters' daughters?" It was explained that a guyau is in a peculiar position with regards to his own dalana since he could karewaga the whole village, but not them. By marrying his son to his sister's daughter he puts his own dalana in the position of having to garden for him, and thus exerts a measure of supremacy over them, and they must listen to his karewaga. However, he must also listen to theirs. What he has done is to move them from the class of "same kind" of people, who cannot make demands on one another, to the class of "contractually interacting people" who may make specific transactional demands on each other. In neither case has he subordinated them.

Malinowski indicates that a man who receives uligubu can give his wife some vegua (shell valuables) and ask her to take it to her brother or whoever else gave the uligubu, and have him untie one compartment of his yam house (i lekusi bwema) and give her the yams from that compartment. Kaduwagans agree that this

can be done, but only by people who receive taitupieta, not those who get taitumwedona. The latter have already been given a lot of taitu (yams).

A man who has been given uliveka (large taro) will pay for it. First he sends vegua as takuona. In return for the vegua, the recipient sends back a paita (basket) of taro, tayogi. Later at the harvest he sends another pieta of yams. This is vewouna. A man may pay takuona for katupwatali uli (quarter of the garden in taro) if it was thickly planted. He would be likely to pay for kaulisitali uli (half the garden in taro). If the original donor of the uli is in the dala of the woman who receives it, he just sends tayogi and does not add vewouna.

For a large quantity of taitumwedona, vegua is also paid (i sau na lum). There is no more food sent in return for the vegua.

Boat Launching Exchanges (kabidoyeh)

After marriages, funerals, and harvests, and most elaborate exchange cycle in the village occurs at boat launchings, i kabidoyeh. Fortunately while I was at Kaduwaga the village underwent a period of intensive boat building. When I arrived there were no large boats, waga masawa. A masawa is a sailing boat. They vary in size but are generally considerably bigger than the many little boats the village keeps for close to shore activities like fishing. Masawas are sea going. The boats themselves have been well described by Malinowski. In brief, they are outrigger sailing canoes. The mast may be dismantled and there is a mast

fitting at each end of the boat. This is necessary because the outrigger must always be facing into the wind, and the sail set accordingly. As Malinowski and Lauer note, the boats cannot tack readily since shifting sail requires bringing it down, and moving the mast to the other end of the boat. The sail is sewn pandamus and is quite heavy. In rainy weather it is not adequate because when soaked with water it will not support its own weight. Kaduwagans thus prefer to sail on non-rainy days when the winds are moderate but steady. Heavy winds are disadvantageous because outriggers are not overly stable. Certainly no one wishes to tip over into a choppy sea.

Kaduwagans have a traditional reputation for being good sailors. Malinowski noted that in his time Kaduwaga had one of the largest fleets of masawas in the Trobriands. The village was anxious to build its fleet up this year because travel to Kiriwina and deep water fishing are difficult without large boats. By the time I left Kaduwaga four new masawas had been launched, and a fifth was in the water without a formal launching (this was very unusual, ordinarily no one would dream of sailing an unlaunched masawa).

Malinowski described the magic of boat building and some of the work. I did not hear any of the magic, but I did follow the work. First a tree is cut down for the hull. This may be somewhat hollowed out in the wilderness to make it lighter to drag back to the village. In the village a shelter is erected over the hull to keep the sun off, and the builder settles down to

shaping the hull properly. This is a lengthy process, done entirely with a hand-made metal adze. After the hull is shaped pieces are brought in to build up the sides of the boat. Lastly another tree is cut for the outrigger, and it too must be dragged into the village. On the last boat they dragged the tree in through the woods until they hit shore and then floated it the rest of the way. Wherever communal labor is called for, the workers are fed by the boat owner.

The outrigger, lamina, is attached, and the boat is ready for decoration. At this point a house, bunatuona, is built around the boat and it goes into seclusion. Kaduwagans liken the seclusion to that which a woman undergoes after giving birth. She stays inside until the umbilical cord falls off, and during this period only women may see the child. Likewise, while the boat is being decorated only men may view it. I was allowed to see boats in seclusion but only because I was a Western anthropologist. No woman in the village would even try or want to. Peeking spoils the fun on the big day.

The night before the boat is launched a guard is maintained over it. This is to prevent magic being done into a stone which is then thrown into the boat to make it sail slowly, i bwuhlata waga. Kaduwagans say that no one would do that today, but it is traditional to mount guard and so they still do. Guards are called tobwali, because they bwilibwalisi, care for, the boat. The owner does magic called i kailepa into the boat just before the launching. This is to ensure that it will sail well.

Before dawn the boat owner wakes up the people who are going to crew the new boat for the launching. These men all get together and decorate themselves. They put on face paint, make flower wreathes for their hair, and put feathers in their hair. When they are all decorated they launch the boat and paddle it out of the cove. A good size masawa will be crewed by about ten to twelve men for the launching. It takes three to sail it in good weather.

At daybreak the boat is paddled into the cove, hailing its own entrance by the blowing of a conch shell. Conch shells have considerable volume and sound like fog horns. As soon as the shell is heard people wake up and come out of their houses to see. The village is almost as spectacular as the boat, with everyone lined up facing shore, huddling against fires in the dawn chill. The boat is paddled into the center of the cove by the crew. One member runs up and down the outrigger platform, alternately blowing on the conch shell and yelling challenges to the shore. Periodically the crew answers his challenges with their own unison shout. I was told the chants, but they come from Ferguson and Goodenough Islands, and Kaduwagans cannot translate them.

The scene is truly spectacular. The boat has been painted red and white and black on the body and the prow board, lagim. The prow board is carved with intricate designs. The whole is very colorful. In addition the boat prow and stern have been covered with large white corrie shells. Bisila streamers on

sticks flutter in the wind, and at the back sticks up what looks like an African fly whisk: a black wispy broomlike affair. The crew in red, white, and black is also colorful.

After listening to the first couple of challenges women in the village take to the small boats armed with coconut huska, potatoes, and whatever else they can find to throw which they think will not be likely to damage the boat hull. They paddle out to the boat and try to unseat the crew by throwing their missiles. I have never seen them succeed because the large boat can outdistance them. Standing up and throwing in small boats is apt to overturn them. The fight goes on until the women are tired and have used up all their ammunition. The longest one I saw lasted about forty-five minutes. When the fight has died down the masawa is paddled to shore and the crew tries to land. They are met by more village women who chase them off by throwing things at them. After a couple of attempts they make it ashore. By this time the village is full of panting, laughing, rowdy participants.

Meanwhile in the village the exchanges have been going on. Early in the morning the boat owner, and any other man who also wanted to (and who asked the owner's permission) sent his friend (nubena) a piece of bisila, saying "Am waga," "Your boat." This is done to honor the friend and does not mean that the boat belongs to him. In return, the man who received the bisila sends back vegua, usually an Amphlett pot, by setting it adrift in the sea, from whence it is rescued. The villagers then all bring a

bit of kanua to the village square. The kanua is collected together by men who received the bisila, who then give it to the men who sent the bisila. The men who sent bisila keep some out and the rest is distributed (i vinesi) by katuposuna. The kanua given for the boat is called kaivau, new, because the boat is kaivau.

As I said above any man may send bisila to his nubena. It is expected that he will ask the boat owner, but it is also expected that the latter will agree. Later, at another boat launching, the man who got the bisila will in turn send it to his nubena and the exchange will be reversed. The following is a typical sequence:

1. Mogadum gave a boat to Mokoropata to work.
2. Giolema sent bisila to his nubena, Kasikalu, saying "am waga." Mokoropata had no nubena to send it to so he abstained.
3. Kasikalu launched an Amphlett pot for Giolema. Kasikalu's brother Katubai gave him the pot since he did not have one.
4. Villagers in general gave kaivau to Kasikalu. It was vinesi outside his house with a large portion being sent to Giolema.

Later when Kasikalu's boat was launched the cycle was reversed.

After the launching the boat goes off on its maiden voyage to kabidoyeh in other villages. These villages too will send women out to hit the boat and will give kaivau, which is brought back and distributed in Kaduwaga. After one of the launchings men went to Koma for a kabidoyeh. They did not sail there, but went overland taking one of its paddles along. Their trip is called

i kabisila. When the women in Koma saw the paddle they started throwing things at the men just as they would have done if the boat had been along. Then they gave out food. The Koma trip paid off well since a small pig was given.

The toliwaga, boat owner, does not go on the kabidoyeh or maiden voyages. He stays in the village. Nor do any women go on the boat. After the kabidoyeh is all over one of the owner's female dalana will go on the boat and then other women may ride in it. People who wish to use the boat must pay the owner, whether for travelling or fishing. A fishing crew which caught no fish might not pay, but if they have a catch it is shared with the boat owner as is any fish caught on a return travelling voyage.

Death Exchanges (Sagali)

The last set of exchanges is the funeral cycle. Kaduwagans refer to all funeral exchanges as sagalis. The word sagali can be used to mean any public distribution of goods among a number of people, and thus informants say it is synonymous with the word vini, which also means public distributions. However, in actual use informants tended to reserve sagali for funeral distributions and say i vinesi about people distributing on other occasions such as a boat launching or a church supper. And likewise, while one can say at a funeral "bogwa bi vinesi," "soon they will distribute," it is more common to say "bogwa bi sagalisi."

The funeral cycle is roughly divided into three sections. First there is the set of sagalis which occur in the days immediately following the death. These culminate with i govesa vanu,

or playing in the village, which lifts the immediate mourning tabu on the village. Then three or four months later there is a large sagali, i nisana dabu. This sagali pays off most of the mourners and ends their mourning period. Only people who are wearing the dead person's fingernails and/or hair in necklaces, and the grave tenders, if any, continue mourning duties. These people must be paid periodically, and there is a series of sagalis for them, culminating in i danisi, a large distribution, at which the relics are returned to the dalana of the deceased. Informants defining the cycle tend to describe the first two sets and stop there since those two involve the whole village. I am not really sure that my list of the subsequent sagalis is complete. Informants always said it was, but periodically I would discover a new one.

Kaduwagans explaining funerals to a novice do it in terms of kumilas. The kumila of the deceased sagalis to pay the kumila of his or her husband/wife and/or father for various mourning duties they perform. The other kumilas help out the clan which must sagali, since it is polite for all villagers to participate, and besides, if you help out someone today, later you will be helped when you are obliged to sagali. The kumila model which Kaduwagans advance works so far as it goes, but it does not go very far. The reason they present it to a novice is that it is the easiest way of making some sense of what is going on: Malasi is doing this, Lukwasisiga that. The truth is that the funeral cycle draws on units from several of the relational classifica-

tions to set up exchanging groups, plus there is a relational classification which is only used in the funeral cycle, the makapu classification which I will outline below. Thus an informant describing the cycle in terms of clan interactions is presenting it using the interactions which are easiest to follow, and omitting the more complex ones. When I understood how kumilas should act, I was told how dalana should act, and then later I was told how people in the makapu classification should act.

Malinowski, in noting that it is father/husband's/wife's dalas which must undertake mourning services, led anthropologists to assume that mourning is dislocated because, with the fragility of affinal relations, affines are most apt to be suspected of causing the death of the deceased. They must mourn or be suspected of sorcery. His interpretation is not correct. First, everyone mourns, but in different ways. A dalana who does not show suitable grief is just as subject to attrack as are paternal relations and affines. Second, affines are not automatically suspected of sorcery and therefore mourn to allay suspicion. Rather, it is assumed that any affine would naturally feel sad and want to mourn, and that any affine who did not mourn must have some hard feeling toward the deceased, and therefore might have killed him. But this is assumed of dalana also. Malinowski assumes that the grief of affines is somehow artificial since they are not "blood" relatives, but he ignores the fact that virtually all the people who turn up at a funeral have known the deceased intimately since he/she was a small child. It is by no means clear to me why

dalana should feel any worse about the death than friends and neighbors who also interacted daily with the deceased.

Kiriwinan exchanges are always reciprocal, and it is accurate to say that the reason that certain of the father's/husband's/wife's dalana perform certain mourning duties is so that they may be paid, just as the reason that certain of the dalana of the deceased must pay is because the others have done what they have done. It is not a question of which comes first, but rather how to differentiate behavior so that an exchange may occur. Funerals possess an aura of sanctity through the association with death, and Kaduwagans would view it as a bit of a sacrilege for anyone to stint on doing his part on either side. But mostly they'd be angry that he did not meet his exchange obligations, thus ruining the whole show.

The association of the largest exchange cycle with human death is an affirmation of the value of human life, and lives of different value have different scales of sagalis. There are variations in size and duration depending on the rank, marital status, and age of the deceased. It is suitable that funeral sagalis express these things because these are the things which indicate the individual's position in the exchange system during his life. The funeral sagali is among other things a statement of the individual. It is performed in the same medium which defined him as unique, that is exchange. Funeral sagalis present a picture of the salient facts about the deceased's life, and provide an esthetic summary which terminates it. When the sagali is over

the deceased is socially gone just as he was physically gone at death. Sagalis constantly reiterate to Kaduwagans the value of human life simply because sagalis can become onerous, especially if a community has a number of deaths in a single year. Not only must a large number of people undertake various dietary, dress, and behavioral restrictions, but also an even larger number of people must come up with skirts, valuables, and food to pay them. All this can place a definite strain on resources. Sometimes the problem can only be met by combining sagalis for two people into a single funeral set (Powell terms this sigiliveaka, literally "large sagali"). If this must be done it will, but it is not permissable to do it simply out of a desire to save. Only necessity can justify cutting down, for otherwise it is a sign of denigration of a human existence.

The Mourning Relational Classification

As I mentioned above, funeral sagalis utilize units from several of the relational classifications. There is one such classification which I have not yet presented, and which is only utilized in funeral exchanges. The classification possesses four terms, kakau, makapu, valeta, and milabova. It sorts all of ego's relatives into categories based on social distance, or on intensity of social interaction. The widow(er) is kakau. The deceased's inas and tamas are makapu. These categories are made up of the kinds of people who by definition had the most intensive social relationships with ego during his lifetime. His tamas and inas

made possible his very existence, and his spouse helped create and shared his adulthood. Because their relationship to ego is defined as voluntary and based on their esteem of him these people are assumed to be particularly bereaved at his death. Their role is to go into mourning seclusion (i libusi). Because the kakau is defined as currently closer to ego than the makapu, he or she is expected to mourn longer than they. A group of more distant, yet primary kin, fall into the category valeta. Included are kada, kada's wife, tuwa/bwada and their spouses, nusita and their spouses, natu, own spouse's ina, and all tabu in deceased's own dala. These people too are expected to express grief at the death, but instead of going into seclusion, they must sagali to pay the kakau and makapus for their extended mourning.

Note that Malinowski's explanation of the sagalis as exchanges between the deceased's matrilineal kin on the one side and paternal or marital kin on the other is not correct. Rather the deceased's inas are classed with his tamas as people who go into seclusion rather than people who pay for it. And spouse's ina and kada are classed with the deceased's own kada and his wife as people who must pay rather than as people in seclusion. Further, I have argued that kada's wife is classified as ina to facilitate keeping uligubu produce within the dala. Interestingly, in the makapu-valeta classification she is grouped with kada as valeta rather than with the other inas as makapu, which tends to reinforce the notion that she is classified as ina it is not because she meets the distinctive feature of that category, namely

a contractual obligation to care for ego, but for some other reason.

Malinowski's argument stands inverted. The mourners do not go into seclusion in order to demonstrate that despite their more distant ties (affinal versus consanguinal) they did not kill the deceased. Rather, those who libu are precisely those who have invested the most in the deceased and would therefore be expected to be most sorrowful at his demise.

The fourth category is milabova. Milabovas are relatives who are even further removed socially from ego, but who still have relational ties to him. Included are tabus in ego's tama's dala, and spouse's tuwa/bwada and nunieta. Milabovas are expected to demonstrate their interest in ego through a general concern that the funeral proceedings go well. They do this by helping out wherever help is needed. Thus milabovas may libu if there are not enough makapu available (for an ordinary individual it is considered appropriate that three or four makapu libu), but instead of remaining in seclusion they emerge to help the valetas with the exchanges. Women explained to me that female milabovas always contribute to the skirt sagali, and that they provide sheltering mats to the milabovas and makapus in seclusion.

The reader will note that in several instances the more distant relatives have a choice as to which category they will act in. In these instances choosing the role of valeta is to opt out. Kaduwagans distinguish conversationally between valeta who are in the deceased's dala and valeta who are not. It is the former who

Fig. 10.--Female Ego's Dala

Fig. 11.--Female Ego's Father's Dala

Female Ego's Dala

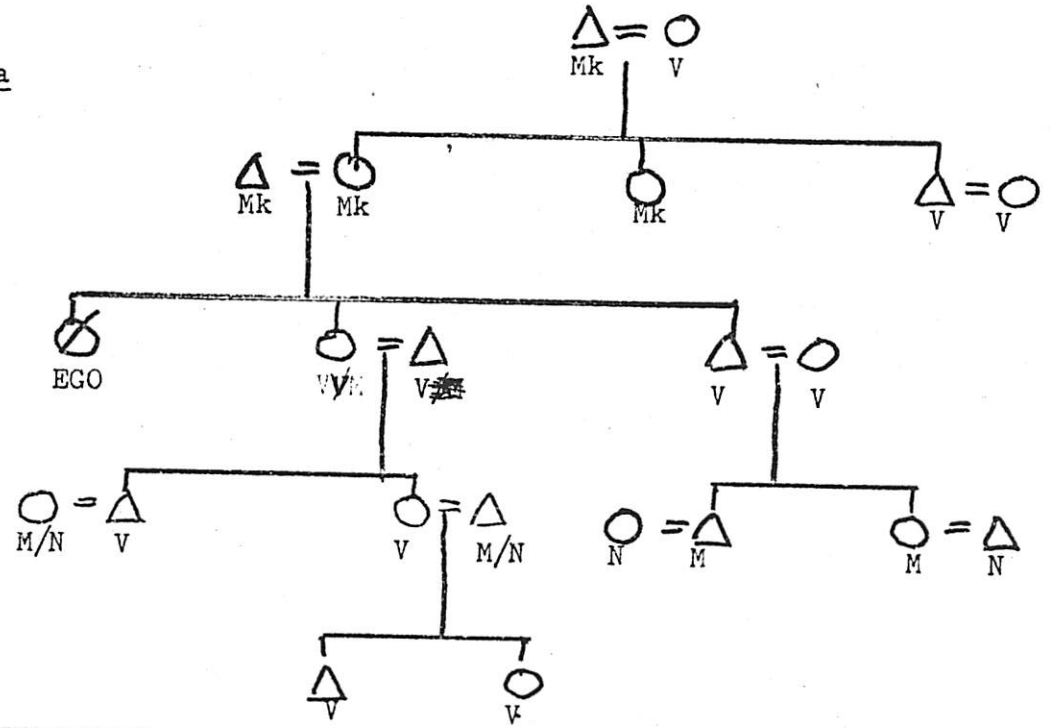


Fig. 10.--Female Ego's Dala

Female Ego's Father's Dala

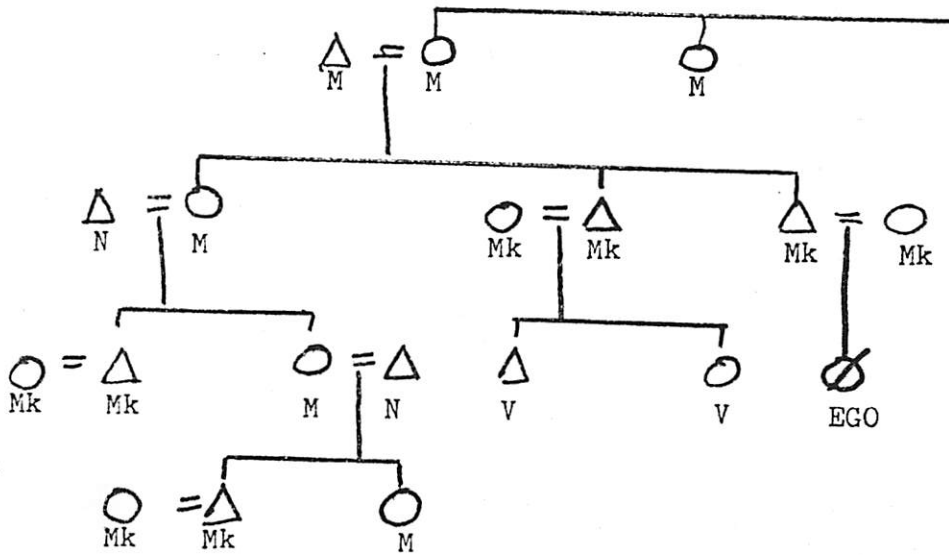


Fig. 11.--Female Ego's Father's Dala

Fig. 12.--Male Ego's *Dala*

Fig. 13.--Male Ego's Father's *Dala*

Male Ego's Dala

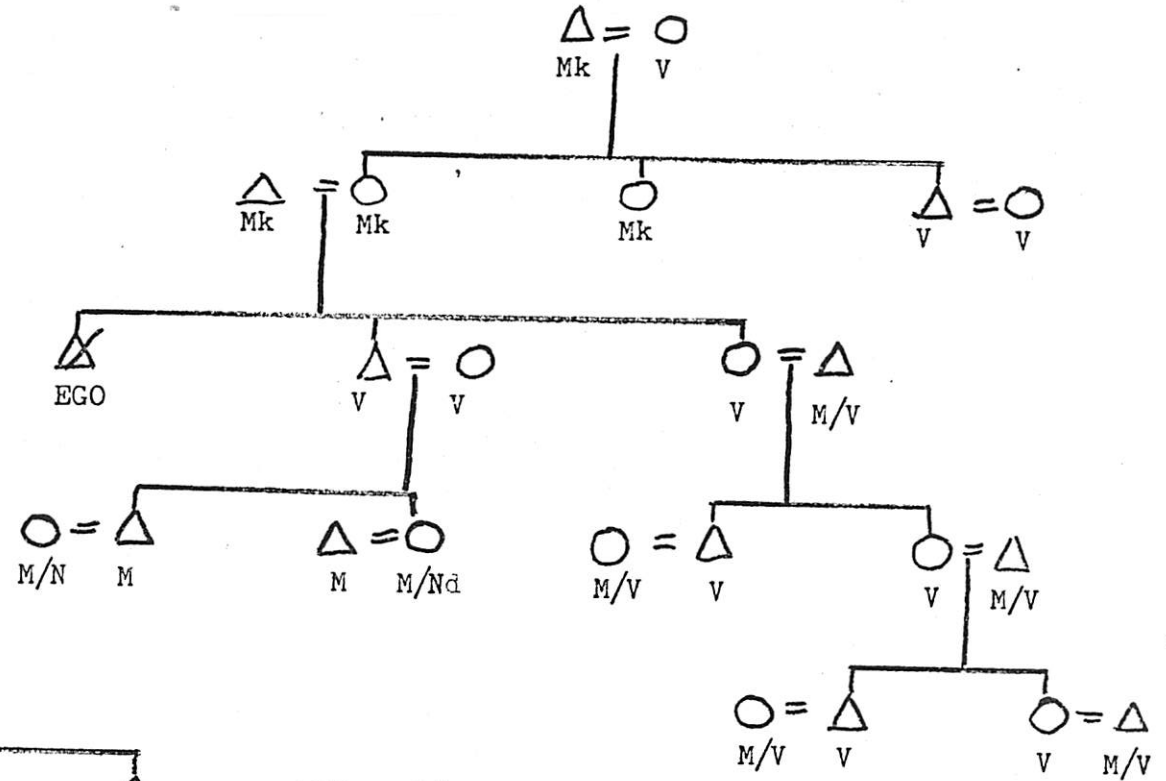


Fig. 12.--Male Ego's Dala

Male Ego's Father's Dala

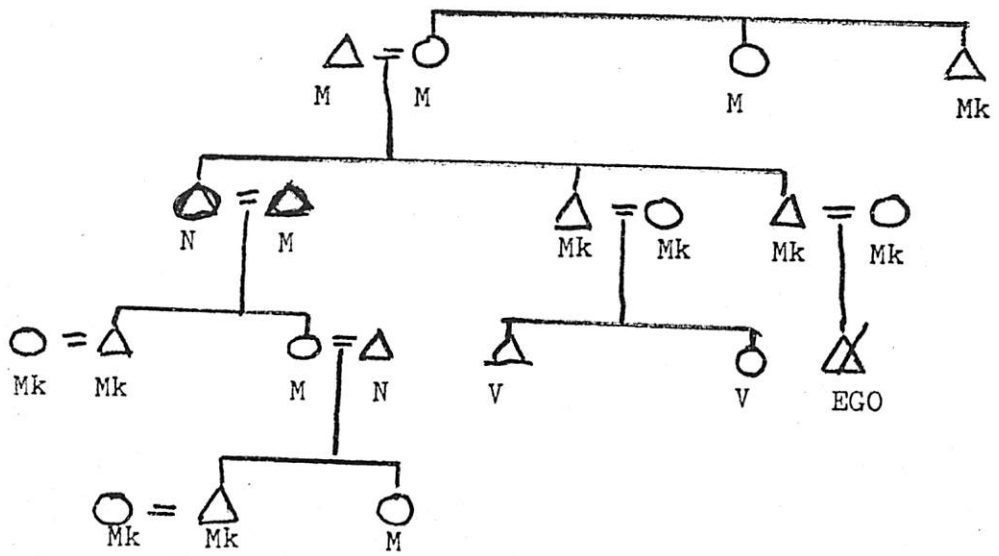
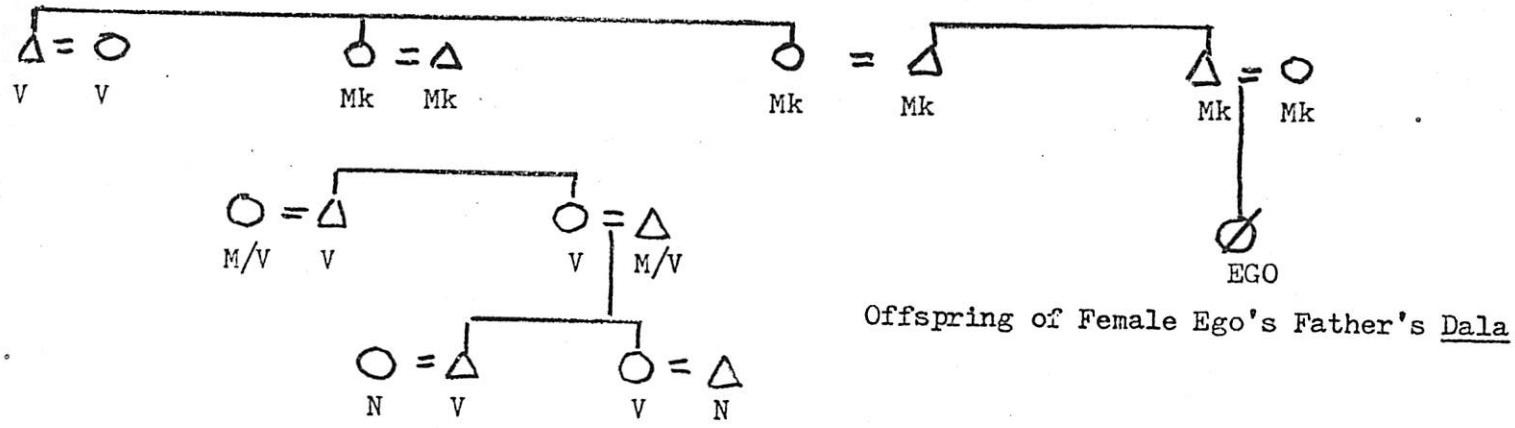


Fig. 13.--Male Ego's Father's Dala

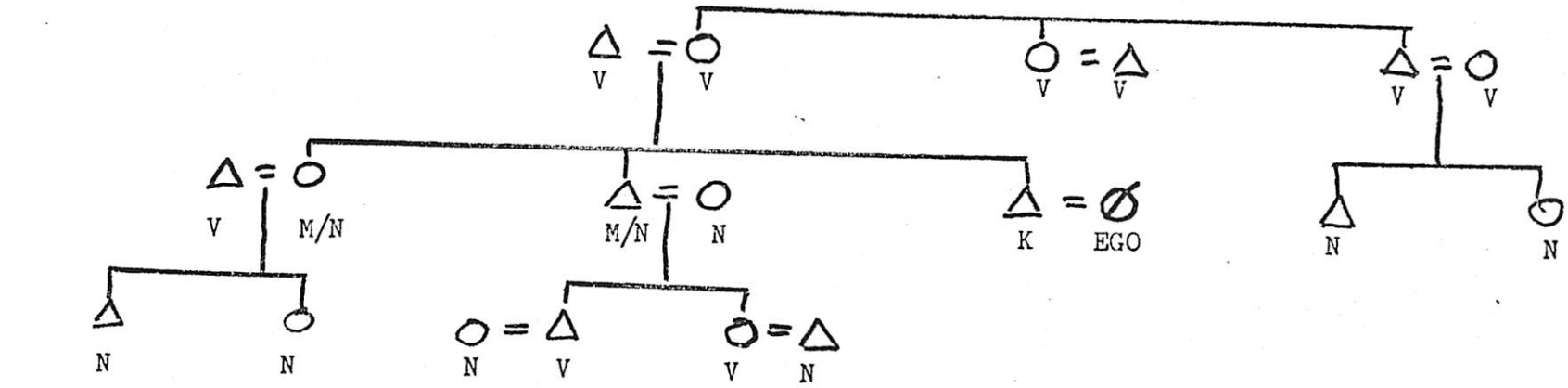
Fig. 14.--Offspring of Female Ego's Father's Dala

Fig. 15.--Female Ego's Spouse's Dala



Offspring of Female Ego's Father's Dala

Fig. 14.--Offspring of Female Ego's Father's Dala



Female Ego's Spouse's Dala

Fig. 15.--Female Ego's Spouse's Dala

Fig. 16.--Offspring of Male Ego's Father's Dala

Fig. 17.--Male Ego's Spouse's Dala

Offspring of Male Ego's Father's Dala

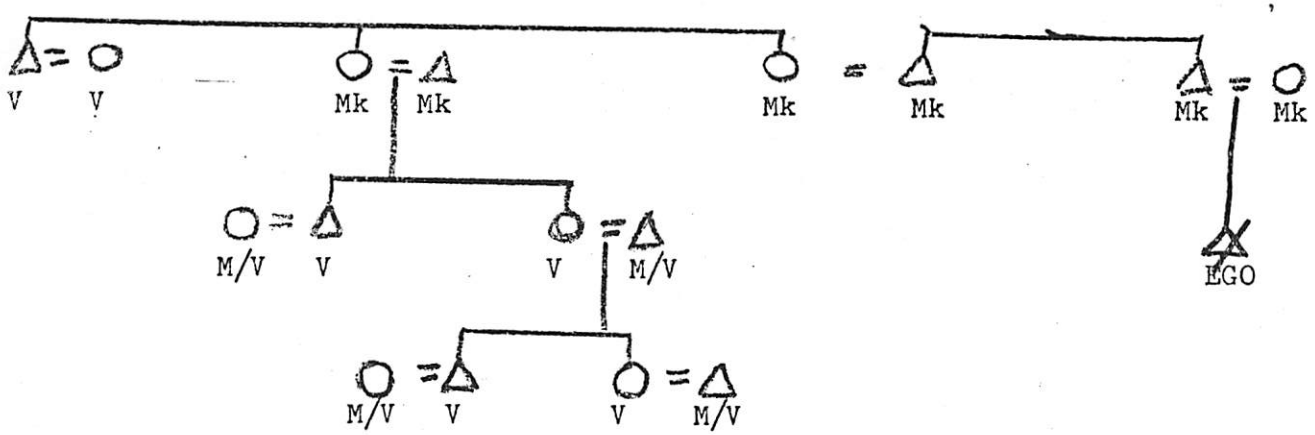
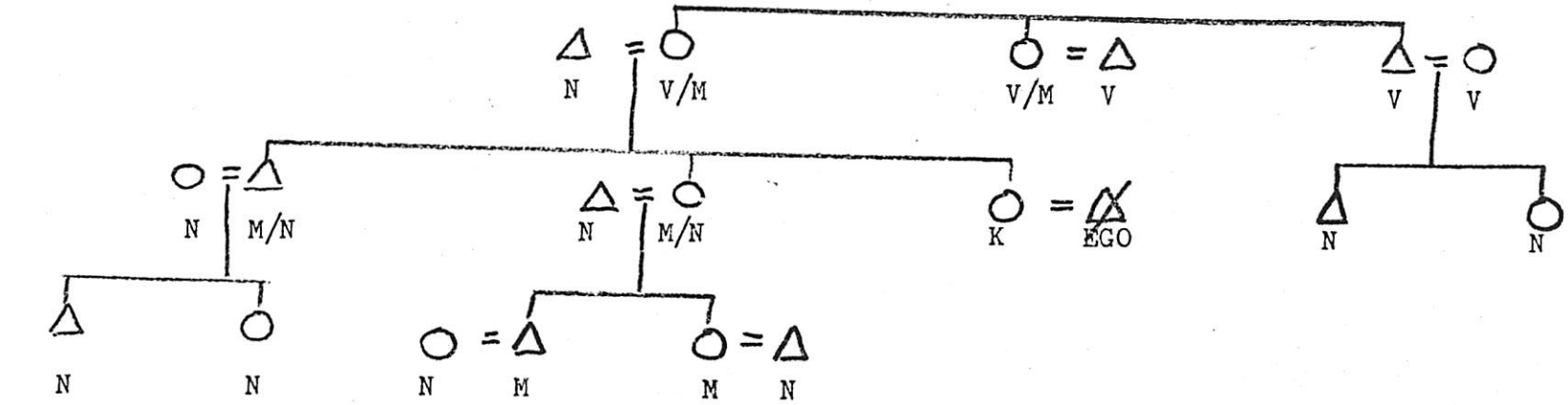


Fig. 16.--Offspring of Male Ego's Father's Dala



Male Ego's Spouse's Dala

Fig. 17.--Male Ego's Spouse's Dala

Fig. 18.--Spouses of Male Ego's Children and Grandchildren

Fig. 19.--Spouses of Female Ego's Children and Grandchildren

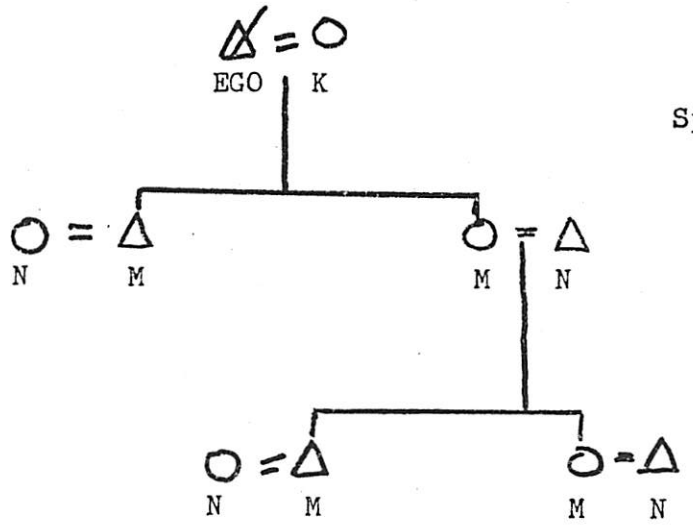
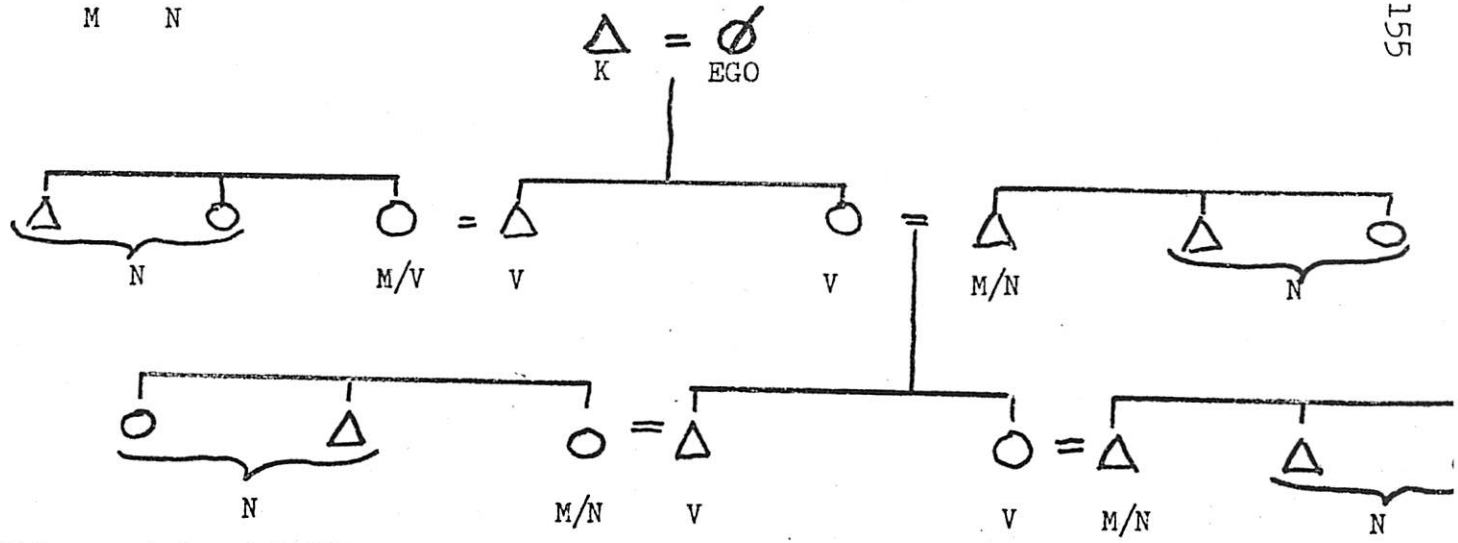


Fig. 18

Spouses of Male Ego's Children and Grandchildren



Spouses of Female Ego's Children and Grandchildren

Fig. 19.--Spouses of Female Ego's Children and Grandchildren

are responsible for organizing the exchanges. The other valeta simply contribute when the dalana are ready to hold a distribution. When I mention valeta as organizers it is to those in ego's dala that I am refering, with the understanding that the rest automatically help them by contributing produce or other goods to their distributions.

Not all the makapus and milabovas are expected to libu. If anywhere from three to six people libu that is considered sufficient, and the makapus and milabovas decide among themselves who will actually go into seclusion. The job is rotated around so no one person gets stuck doing it more than anyone else. Also certain people, like nursing mothers are not expected to libu because the dietary restrictions might harm their children. Old people who libu will only do so for a short period of time since the dietary restrictions might also be harmful to them as they are not in the best of health. Kakaus, however, have no option. Since for any funeral there is only one, he or she is stuck, and assuming the marriage was relatively happy, would not want to beg out. And, Kaduwagans ask, if it was not happy why did he or she remain married?

In addition to i libu, milabovas and makapus may sikam kuwa, put on a black cord around their necks. This they wear as a sign of mourning until the nisanadabu, at which time they are paid and it is removed. It is not necessary to libu in order to sikam kuwa, or to sikam kuwa if one libus, though in the latter case they do in fact usually go together. But many more people sikam kuwa

than libu. This is wholly voluntary. However, someone who is neither milabova nor makapu is not free to sikam kuwa out of sympathy. If a good friend should die, an individual can instead tie a cord around her arm and wear it until the nisanadabu. Like those who sikam kuwa, she will be paid, but not very much. A lot of Kaduwagans do choose to wear armbands for deceased friends.

The Sagalis

My funeral data is based both on funerals I witnessed and informants statements about sagalis I never saw. I will try to make it clear in the text which are which. Shortly after I arrived in Kaduwaga a child, Meetinakaduwaga died. The parents and child lived in Kaisiga, but the burial and sagalis were held in Kaduwaga. At the time of her death I was ill with malaria and so missed most of the initial round of exchanges. However, since they occurred in the village I could question people as to who did what, and this gave me a starting point. Later in March there were two more deaths, a child, Raibutu, and an old woman. The old woman had been living in Tawema, but was originally from Kaduwaga, and was brought home during her last sickness to be cared for by her sister. This is a fairly common occurrence. People who are really sick prefer to be cared for by dalana, who presumably are the most attached to them and will give the best nursing. People who are really sick, too, may die, and dalana are known to care for their own at time of death. Raibutu and the elderly woman died within a day of each other, and so the initial set of sagalis were combined. These three are the only funerals I saw from the beginning

in Kaduwaga. In all of these the deceased occupied marginal statuses (two were children, one was very old), and this was reflected in the size and elaboration of the exchanges. However, two teenagers died in Tawema, and I got to see the much bigger sagalis for them. Again, teenagers were marginal in that they had not yet entered the exchange system, but their deaths were defined as tragic because they came at the time of maximum physical beauty and at the time when the individuals were just about to start repaying society for all the care it lavished raising them. Thus I can report first hand what happens when people go all out for a tokay death. However, my Tawema data is not as good as my Kaduwaga data because I did not know all the actors and was unable to trace out all the intracacies of what was going on.

In addition there was a death in Kuyawa, and while I could not attend the nisanadabu David Doupe was kind enough to take notes which I subsequently talked over with the Kaduwagans who had gone. David's account is not complete, but he noted several things I had missed, and his information is extremely important since I myself was only able to see one nisanadabu.

Due to the length of the sagali cycle (two years minimum), the funerals I saw begun I did not see ended, and the funerals I saw ended, I did not see begun. The year before I arrived in Kaduwaga a woman, Lunai, died in childbirth. The nisanadabu was held right around the time of my arrival, but I knew too little language to be aware of it. During my stay most of the subsequent sagalis in the cycle were performed for her.

I did not see any funerals for gweguyau, and I only know a few ways in which these differ from funerals for tokay. I shall include these in my narrative.

Unless death should happen to be so sudden that no one is forwarned, no Kaduwagan dies alone. Rather the dying person is surrounded by dalana, parents, spouse, and children. Friends also come by and say farewell. A person who is expected to die is held on someone's lap, ordinarily, that of a dalana. When a teenage girl, Naunebu, was very ill and comatose, I found her on her aunt's lap. In the house her mother, father, and other dalana, as well as her husband, were all crying. Her mother was softly doing mourning crying, while her husband, Mwakania, was simply crying and whispering into her ear, "Naunebu! Sogu!," "Naunebu! My friend!," trying to elicit some response that would indicate at least minimal consciousness. She was expected to die since by the time I got there she had been comatose for two days and was running a very high fever. People kept dropping in, some to see how she was or to help with nursing as those in the house tired, some to conduct church services to pray for her recovery. Close relations like her mother and sister and husband stayed in the house round the clock, while others returned home to eat and sleep. Nursing care was constant. Whenever Naunebu would get sweaty from the fever people would heat water, bathe her, and change her skirt. They also changed the clothes which were wrapped around her at night. Since she was comatose she could not eat, but people kept sitting her up and trying to get spoonfuls of warm sugar water

down her throat. Often as not she choked, but enough went down to prevent serious dehydration. Specialists were called in to practice Papuan medicine, which involves manipulation of various herbs. The Kaduwagan attitude is that a very sick person needs all the help he can get. The family should call on the neighbors to help so that there will be enough people to give really good nursing care round the clock. Papuan medicine should be applied along with European medicine. And church services should be held daily to pray for the recovery. If all of these things are done the person may or may not recover, but at least people have done their best.

Nanunebu did not die, but underwent a lengthy recovery. At first she was very weak, so people mashed up all her food and hand-fed her bit by bit. They also propped her up so that she could eat easily. When she would moan and toss in pain people massaged her body to relieve the aches. Whatever she wanted to eat people would try to get. They even sent for watermelon from a distant village. She stayed with her mother for months after the sickness until she had recovered her full strength. Her husband came and visited daily, but put no pressure on her to return to him and take up her household duties again. The sole concern was for her to get totally well and strong.

Naunebu was lucky. I present her case simply to illustrate the sort of circumstances surrounding a person who is expected to die. When death actually occurs, dalana of the deceased rapidly prepare the body. They first bathe it and dress it, and see that

all the orifices are plugged. The legs and hands are tied together so it will lie flat through rigor mortis. Then they wrap it in a large mat, and one dalana leaves the house to spread the word to the rest. As soon as they hear of the death the rest of the dalana start their mourning crying. The sound is eerie and unmistakable. The mourner selects a note and sings "Oh" sliding from that note down to the fifth. On the fifth he chants such words as "I gadegu, i gadegu, mayuyu i gadegu, oh kapisina lopogu!," "It bites me, it bites me, the pain bites me, oh woe my insides." And he cries all the while. When the cry goes up people start converging on the house wherein the dead person is resting. This is a dalana's house, assuming there are male dalana in the village. The old woman from Tawema died and was mourned in her sister's husband's house, and he was paid in the funeral for loaning it. People who are going to i libu take up their place behind a curtain of mats or calico. The body is held on the outstretched legs og six people, three facing one direction, three the reverse. Ordinarily the body remains wrapped up, but if someone wants to see it to say farewell it may be partially unwrapped. The people who hold the corpse are dalana of its father or spouse. After once preparing it, his own dalana do not touch it again except to help carry it to the grave.

Burial usually occurs soon after death, preferably on the same day. No one seems eager to keep a corpse around. The exception is for a guyau. A Tabalu teenage girl died several years ago in Kaduwaga and her body was kept in the house for five days.

By then the stench was so great that it had to be buried. The reason for keeping it was that her death was particularly tragic (she was both a teenager and a guyau) and so many people wanted to come and cry. While the body is in the house a stick is brought with which to measure it for the grave. Then the grave is dug. Again this is the proper work of the deceased's father's or spouse's dalana, but any man or woman may pitch in and help. Kaduwaga burial plots are strung out along the edge of the wilderness immediately inland from the village site. No one is buried in the village square, though the word for the act of burying, i baku reflects the fact that they once were.

When the grave is ready word is sent and the body is brought. Again it is the duty of the father's or spouse's dalana to carry the body, though I have seen dalana of the deceased helping out. Mourners follow along, including those who i libu (are in seclusion). The bottom and sides of the grave are lined with yuoyu mats, and the deceased, still wrapped in his burial mat, is laid on his stomach. The mat is opened enough that the cords tying his legs and feet may be cut, and then it is closed up again. Moi dagiya mats are placed on top of the corpse and the whole is tied up to make a bundle in the grave. At this point especially grief stricken people get down into the grave and start to wail. They are covered over with large mays to seclude their grief. After a few minutes of wailing they are helped out of the grave. In accordance with Christian custom a prayer is said, and then the grave is filled in and covered with coral rocks. Mats are

laid over the rocks to protect the surface of the grave. These stay about a week until they have more or less rotted away under the influence of the elements. Then they are removed.

Anyone who so wishes may accompany the body to the grave and cry there. After the burial people return to the house where in the body lay after death. They sit around crying both inside and outside the house. Those who libu go into seclusion within. If a child has died its mother may dance outside the house holding relics and crying. This is called veysali. After crying for a while most of the villagers disperse, but the core of true mourners, valeta, makapu, milabova, and kakau remain and continue crying. They stop periodically for a few minutes and then take up their chant again. Valeta have tobacco and betel and stop to smoke and chew. They parcel them out to the other mourners in the house.

The night of the death people gather outside the house wherein the deceased rested and sing all night: i yawali. Again this job belongs properly to the dalana of the deceased's father and/or spouse, but anyone may come along and help out. Some informants told me the singing helps keep the deceased's spirit away, but mostly it is done simply as one of the activities which properly constitute part of a funeral, something which must be paid for. The spirit should already have departed to Tuma.

Kaduwagans react to spirits who either remain in the village or come there to visit, with fear. The fear is automatic and has nothing to do with the idea that spirits may be harmful.

Thus if a man in Losuia should feel a spasm of fear one night when he has no rational reason to be afraid, and soon after he hears that a relative in his home village just died, he knows that the spirit came to say goodby before going off to Tuma. Kuyawans explained to David Doupe that the fear is not mental, but a physical spasm. Since it is unpleasant people wish to avoid it and try to avoid meeting up with spirits of the recently deceased. There are certain precautions which can be taken. The best way to keep a spirit out of one's house is to place a mirror or a dish of water on the porch. The spirit will see his own reflection and be frightened, just as people are, and run away. When I was at Kuyao for a funeral I went alone at night to bathe in the ocean. When I returned to the village I met three of my friends walking together. They asked where I had been and expressed amazement at my bravery. The reason they were walking together was that the spirit of the deceased would be most apt to confront a lone person. Again they reiterated that the spirit would not hurt anyone, but that meeting it would be extremely unpleasant because "We would feel so afraid." One is most apt to meet up with a spirit right after death. Supposedly the baloma leaves immediately for Tuma, but it may come back a few times before it gets used to the fact that it is really dead. Some balomas stay around the village and refuse to go. They are evil. There is one who lived in the grove behind my house. Her particular idiosincracy is a hatred of gayasa (a plant of which Kaduwagans cook both the seeds and leaves). Once a woman cooked

gayasa near my house, and the evil spirit made the woman's arms all crooked. Therefore I was told to neither bring gayasa near my house nor to cook or eat it there. This restriction applies to a series of houses near mine as well. Whenever I would collect gayasa I would come into the village by detouring around the Co-operative store and deposit the food at a friend's house. We would prepare and eat it there. There are two evil balomas who live at Tawema. They do not care about gayasa, but must be propitiated at sagalis by having a bit of the cooked food taken to their grove. Both the Kaduwaga spirit and the Tawema spirits are really evil. When I first moved into my house Katubai warned me that if anyone were to knock in the middle of the night I should not come out unless I first determined who it was. If I asked and there was no answer I'd know it was the evil woman and I should pretend to continue sleeping. She would not actually enter the house to hurt me, but if I emerged she would make my limbs crooked or worse. To insure against her visit Katubai did magic in the grove. His magic is efficacious because she is one of his Tabalu ancestors.

While people sing outside the house all night, some of the valetas stay with the people who i libu inside. The one time I joined them for a while, they were mostly sitting and smoking and chewing betel. Now and then a woman would start to sing Tuma songs, that is songs which the spirits at Tuma sing and which some person has learned by going there in a trance.

Ordinarily the first round of sagalis is held the day after

the death, though it might be on the first day if the deceased died early enough in the morning or during the preceding night. It will not be held on a Sunday, but postponed a day because Sunday is church day. Ordinarily the whole set takes two days to perform. However, the weather is an intervening factor as men must go out fishing, and poor weather can prevent this.

The first exchange begins in the late afternoon. This is because related and interested people must have time to come to the sagali from other villages, and because food must be cooked to feed them. The exact order may vary slightly. At some sagalis, puya is distributed before skirts, but at most the reverse is true.

The sagali is not formally announced. All the participants know at about what time it will begin, and shortly before, when they see that food is cooked, they start to gather outside the house where mourning has been conducted. The skirt sagali is called i sekokwau and is conducted by valetas and milabovas. Skirts and skirt materials are laid out on the ground on mats. Someone has a list of people to be paid. The pay is yolova. Included among people entitled to receive yolova are grave diggers, people who cried at the grave-side, and people whose house was used for mourning if it was not a dalana's house. It also includes people who sang outside the house at night. The list holder reads off the names, and a woman who is either a member of the dala of the deceased or a clanswoman, picks up a skirt or five bundles of skirt fiber, and calls the person's name, saying,

"Am yolova, ka!," "Your yolova, look!" She then tosses the skirt or materials out into the surrounding crowd to someone who will give them to the recipient. After all the yolova has been distributed, any remaining skirts are removed, and valetas and milabovas come forward one by one with pietas, round baskets. The woman puts the basket on the ground and names a recipient. These baskets are for people who have been libuing. She may call "Tomakapu So and So, am sagali, ka!" Then anyone with skirts or materials to give who wants to put them on this sagali brings them forward and piles them on the basket. Ordinarily the recipient winds up with a basketful of raw materials and one or two sewn skirts. Another woman comes forward and removes the basket, and she will give it to the recipient. Usually a dalana of the recipient does this, but anyone could. Laka is also paid in the same way at this time. It goes to people who will care for the grave until the entire funeral cycle is completed. A laka recipient usually gets more sewn skirts, at least five or six.

After the sekokwau, puya is distributed. Puya is cooked food to feed all the participants in the skirt sagali and all the people who came to the village to cry and watch the sagalis. The food is given by male valetas and clansmen of the deceased, and is cooked by their wives. The men who give it are not supposed to eat any of it. Puya is distributed by katuposuna and village, and the call is the name of the katuposuna or village followed by "Am koguguna, ka!," "Your gathering pay, look!" Either a man or a woman may do the calling, ordinarily a man. The food, which

has been laid out onto piles, one each for each unit, is then carted off by members of the units and each unit eats together. The food mostly consists of cooked kanua. Kanua is yams, sweet potatoes, and taro. The contrasting food category is kawenu, which includes tapioca and fruits. Rice is usually given along with the kanua, as are sugar cane and betel nut. A pig may be killed for a sekokwau sagali, but I have not seen it done. However, any available fish should be included.

After puya is distributed, men of the deceased's clan sagali i ligabu kanua, that is, raw food. Again it is arranged in piles on the ground, one pile for each unit to be called. Each person who gave vakabiyamina is entitled to a pile (I'll discuss vakabiyamina below). Also each katuposuna and village which came receives a pile. The vakabiyamina pay is called as such: "So and so, am vakabiyamina, ka!" The kanua for villages and katuposunas is again termed koguguna: "Otubokau, am koguguna, ka!" The caller may either be a man or woman. This is a men's sagali, and so it should be a man, but often the men have no idea who gave vakabiyamina and so let one of the women do both the sorting and calling. Each pile consists of raw yams, sweet potatoes, taro, sugarcane and betel. Each katuposuna (village geographic division) removes its share and redivides it into even piles, one for each constituent household. The people from other villages divide up their portions among themselves. The people who gave vakabiyamina are each entitled to all of their individual piles, but as a matter of course they share it with their dalana and maybe neighbors.

At the same time as the food distribution male valetas sagali vegua. Vegua is such things as shell armbands and necklaces, the raw shells which go into their production, green stone adze blades, cooking pots from the Amphletts, and money. Vegua is paid by the valetas to all the people who i libu (go into seclusion). Again, some man will remove a person's vegua and later give it to him. Any man can help out by putting money or vegua into the sagali. A man who helps with an especially fine piece of mwali (shell jewelry) or a supurb stone adze blade must be paid for his contribution by the dalana of the deceased. The pay consists of a garden plot (of course they can only pay if someone in the dala owns garden land. If not, the donor of the vegua would not have donated it in the first place.) The plot can later be redeemed by the deceased's dalana by reversing the exchange. That is, when the man who got the garden plot must sagali, someone in this deceased's dala will put a fine vegua on his sagali and the land is returned.

While both men and women are paid in the skirt and vegua sagalis, skirts are women's property and vegua is men's. A man who gets a skirt gives it to his sister, and a woman who gets vegua gives it to her brother. However, the advent of money has altered this since women insist on retaining at least some of any cash they receive.

At some point during the sagali, mois (mats) are given by the milabovas who are not in seclusion to those who are. This is called i katupwi moi, they fold mats, because the mats are folded

up when given. When the seclusion is over the dalana of the deceased take the mats, and later they must pay skirts for them, giving the skirts to those who were in seclusion, who in turn pass them on to those who contributed the mats.

Also sometime during this day, if the deceased was a woman or a child, the father or husband pays vegua (shell valuables) to her dalana. This is called kunututu, and is a fine. It is paid because the husband or father was not a strong enough man to keep his wife or child alive. Land is also often given as kunututu, either village land or garden plots, and reference to my residence charts shows several groups of brothers living on land their father gave the eldest as kunututu for their mother. When the brothers die off this land reverts to the original owner or his heir if he has died in the meantime.

The second day is given over to fishing and cooking mona (yam and taro dumplings). Men of the deceased's father's and spouse's clans go out fishing early in the morning. They try to catch as much fish as possible. Meanwhile the deceased's valetas and clansmen are cooking mona. Each katuposuna (village geographic division) turns out one potfull. Their wives pound the taro and slice the potatoes, but cooking down the coconut oil and assembling the final product is men's work. When the fishermen return they load their catch into a small boat and pull it up in front of the mourning house. Then the dalana of the deceased distribute the raw fish by katuposuna and village. The pots of mona are set out and the fishermen, who have dressed themselves up by

putting leaves in their hair and shaking talcum powder on their heads, come and eat. They are rowdy and horse around a lot. Their playing and eating is called i govesa vanu, they play the village, and it signifies the end of mourning for the general village. Up to this time no villager may go and work in his garden, or leave the village except to get things for the sagali. I govesa vanu ends all these restrictions, and except for the few people who are still libuing, life more or less returns to normal.

I must digress to explain about vakabiyamina and i dodega bwala. Women who are obliged to sagali skirts and skirt materials are helped by their mothers' in-law or other yawas in mother's in-law's generation, and by their husbands' sisters. This is the reverse of harvest food giving. The women contribute vakabiyamina because they eat out of their in-laws' harvest gift: their brother or son shares with them. Also his wife has helped garden the food which he gives them as their garden gifts. Giving vakabiyamina entitles the donor to come and eat at the feast and to receive a share of the raw food distributed. The other case is i dodega bwala, "he loads the house." This is food given by a man's wife's brother, his lubona, to help with the distribution of raw food. The giving follows the direction of harvest gifts. Again, the giver is entitled to eat at the feast, but he is not otherwise paid. In the case of men who have married sisters i dodega bwala is reciprocal, and they help each other. Kaduwagans also note that fathers will help their sons with kanua (raw yams) for a sagali, though this has no particular name. The gift stems from

the fact that parents and children care for (i.e., take care of) one another. A father who refused his son would be a stingy man. Likewise, sons help their fathers sagali.

While i govesa vanu winds up the first round of sagalis in which the whole village participates, there still remain several things to be done by and for the central mourners, the dalana of the deceased and the people who have libued. First, the toyawali, the people who come and sing at night, must be fed a final meal after which they go home and do not come again. This is called i kana yabola. After they are gone it is time for the tolibu (people in seclusion) to take on the physical signs of their mourning roles. First, i dabali kununa, "they cut off their hair." In many Kiriwinan villages there are men and women who are bald because they have shaved their heads in mourning. In Kaduwaga, however, this practice has died out. Instead, mourners cut their hair shorter than usual. When the hair is cut, i sikamsi kuwa, "they put on kuwa." Kuwa is a black or dark colored cord worn around the neck. Usually all of the people in seclusion wear it, and any other milabova or tomakapu may also put it on. Along with donning kuwa, i kumsi kola, "they put on ashes." That is, tolibu rub their bodies with ashes so they are black all over. Again this custom has been discontinued in Kaduwaga. Instead, the mourners wear dark colored calico.

In the meantime, shortly after the govesa vanu, i yowisa: one of the tovaletas or navaletas goes to the garden and returns publicly to the village. After this has been done people are

again free to garden, unless, of course, they are tolibu, people in seclusion.

The people who libu stay in seclusion in the mourning house for four or five days, maybe a bit longer. Valetas who feel particularly sad about the death may stay with them: when they walk about outside and see happy people they feel too bad, and so they stay indoors. The people in seclusion also are under dietary restrictions. They may only eat kawenu (a food category, the staple of which is tapioca). All the dead person's dalana were also under this restriction, but it ended with govesa vanu. The people in seclusion are fed by both the valetas and by their own dalana. They must ask permission to eat, smoke, drink, and chew betel from the valetas. They must also ask permission to go outside the house for calls of nature, and when they go they cover themselves with a rain mat or cloth to indicate they are still in seclusion, and they are accompanied by a valeta.

After a week or so of seclusion, the valetas chase away the tolibu, and they return to their own homes. They remain there more or less in seclusion. After another week or so their own dalana decide they have been indoors long enough, and remove them to the sea. There they wash off some of the ash, or kola: i saku kola. Then, in the case of a man who libued, he and his male dalana go out fishing. In the case of a woman, she and her female dalana go and gather shellfish. While they are out, the valetas get together kanua and cook it. When the fishermen or shellfish gatherers come back, their catch is traded for the cooked kanua.

After this time the person who libued is free to travel, garden, and bathe. However, he or she still wears the kuwa and eats only kawenu. He or she will not play (like dancing) or put on attractive clothes or makeup.

Some time after i saku kola comes i wasem wadona, "they wash his mouth." This is to end the dietary restriction. Valetas cook kanua and bring it and smear it on the mouth of the tolibu. This is done before the nisanadabu sagali. However, it does not wholly end dietary restriction. The mourner is still unable to eat any fat, so he cannot eat anything cooked with dunidani (coconut squeezings) and he cannot eat any pork. This continues until the nisanadabu when the kuwa (dark mourning cord) is cut. After cutting the kuwa the tolibu returns to a fully normal dietary and social existence.

I should note that the pattern I am describing does not fit all of Kiriwina. In many villages people remain in seclusion for a couple of months rather than a week or so. And some postpone nisanadabu a lot longer, in which case the mourners must mourn longer. They must also be paid more.

When i govesa vanu is over there is a three or four month lull in the sagali cycle. The first big set is done, and people must work to get ready for the nisanadabu. Nisanadabu is another skirt sagali, but all the skirts must be new. As Boyomu put it, "Death is unexpected, so at the sekokwau we sagali any old thing we can find. But the nisanadabu is planned in advance, and the skirts should all be new and beautiful." The nisanadabu also

calls for large amounts of food, and the interim time is used to get that ready too.

However, there is an optional set of sagalis which can be held between the sekokwau and nisanadabu. These are i vatusi sepwana, and i nitutilesi sepwana (they sew sepwana skirts, and they thin sepwana skirts). During my field stay these were given once, at Tawema. The reason was the death of a teenage boy. His dala decided to go all out, and so they called for women to come and sew sepwana. This was a couple of weeks after the govesa vanu. About fifteen or twenty Kaduwaga women went and they spent the day sewing on three extremely large sepwana skirts. Sepwana is one of the several types of skirt fibers. These skirts are worn by milabovas who have put on kuwa (dark mourning cord). The three sewn were very thick and long. The male dalana of the deceased fed all the women who worked, including their own sisters. The day after the skirts were sewn, the women returned to thin them. They did this by stripping down the fibers until the skirts were of a wearable weight. The extra sepwana was made into bundles and taken home by the women who worked. Some Kaduwaga women who did not go asked those who did to bring them back sepwana. Again all the women were fed and given betel. After eating they divided up the extra food among themselves, including portions for each woman who requested sepwana be brought for her, and they then returned to Kaduwaga. One of the deceased's dalana wrote down who got sepwana out of each skirt. This sepwana must later be paid for by contributing to the nisanadabu. Some of the women

who went to Tawema were milabovas or dalana of the deceased. Most, however, just went to help out and spend two days chatting with friends. Anyone interested was welcome. The sepwana was originally supplied by women of the dala of the deceased. I do not know where they got it all.

When enough skirts have been sewn and enough raw fiber worked (it is dried and scraped), and enough food has been gathered, a date is announced by the valetas for the nisanadabu. Again interested or related people from surrounding villages come to participate. Again the sagali is held mid or late afternoon since people who come must have time to travel, and time to cry at the mourning house, and the food must be cooked. This is the last sagali at which there is crying. After the nisanadabu people say, "Too much time has past, our heads are no longer heavy with sadness." And so no more crying.

Before the sagali begins women gather to trim the skirts they have made. Each skirt is donned and then trimmed off the bottom of the appropriate knee length. If the nisanadabu is large this can take an hour or two.

The sagali begins with a distribution of betel called bobubu. This is given by the male valetas to the women because they have come for the sagali. One of the women divides it into piles by villages and katuposunas. She then calls off each pile. After the betel distribution the skirt sagali begins. Names of individuals are called and a pieta put on the ground. Any woman wishing to contribute to the sagali, comes forward and piles on skirt

materials or sewn skirts. Then some woman will remove the basket, and the next name is called. The woman calling can be any member of the clan of the deceased. The calling process is i lovalovesi. The people called include tomakapus who libu, milabovas who libu, people who wear relics such as fingernails, hair and teeth, and people who care for the grave.

When the skirts have been distributed, kuwa is cut: i kaputulisi kuwa. Clanswomen of the deceased approach people who are wearing kuwa. They give them skirts, and cut the kuwa and remove it. The people wearing kuwa cry and try to fight off those who would remove it, but soon give in. For wearing kuwa one skirt is given. For people who have libued five or six are given. Ordinarily people who libu wear kuwa. These skirts are called sepwaka, meaning pay for libu and kuwa.

After the skirt sagali, cooked food is sagalied to pay all the participants, including the women who gave skirts and the women who received them. It is called kaimielu, and is contributed by men of the deceased's clan, and cooked by their wives. It is sagalied by village and katuposuna. At the nisanadabu which I attended the average cooked food pile contained about two platters of yams and rice, a bit of pig, five or six sticks of sugar cane, two bunches of betel, and a small amount of sardines. Ordinarily it would have contained mona as well, but one of the men in charge, Kamsieboda, advanced the date of the sagali as he had to travel to Port Moresby, so there was no time to prepare it.

After the cooked food was distributed, raw food was sagalied.

Again it is called kaimielu. It was mostly taro and bananas, taitu being out of season. It was divided up into piles and called by katuposuna, village, and individually for each nama-kapu and navaleta. People who gave vakabiyamina and who i dodi-gesi bwala are entitled to eat out of the katuposuna and village shares, and to take raw kanua out of those shares.

At the end of the proceedings betel is distributed by the men: i katukayumani, they make return. This betel is paid to those who are caring for the grave. If mona had been cooked for the sagali, some would have been kept apart and given to the valeta women of the deceased's dala in the evening after everyone else had gone home. This is to express the appreciation of their brothers and uncles that they were willing to do all the work involved in putting on the sagali.

At the time of death some of the deceased's fingernails were removed along with some of his hair and maybe teeth. These are put into cowrie shells and strung on long necklaces. They are worn by some member of the deceased's father's or spouse's dala. They are only worn by women, but often a man will be credited with wearing them while his sister actually does it for him. It is common for widows to wear their husbands' fingernails and/or hair. A woman wearing relics should not court or play around with men. If a widow should wish to do so, she simply passes the necklace on to another woman of her dala. It is people who wear relics, along with grave tenders (if any) who are basically paid in the ensuing sagalis.

The first is the banana sagali. The deceased's dalana and clansmen bring in bananas and divide them up, calling the names of people who wore fingernails, hair, teeth, and who tended the grave. After the banana sagali, there is another, where the same thing is done with sugarcane. I have not seen a banana sagali, but the sugarcane, given by the Malasi for Lunai and Bolobia, was divided as follows:

3 bunches: one for Nabwio who is wearing Lunai's fingernails, one for Kaduwanai because his sister, Ilakayaku, is also wearing Lunai's fingernails, one bunch for someone wearing Bolubia's fingernails. The people wearing these relics are all Lukwasisiga.

1 bunch: Lukwasisiga at Munuwata village.

1 bunch: Moyobova at Kaisiga village. I do not know why, but suspect someone there is also wearing fingernails or hair.

1 bunch: Bwetabalu's child, Nakatoi. She received because at the time of the death she helped Lunai's mother cook food to feed people coming and crying. She thus receives although she is Malasi, not Lukwasisiga.

The sugarcane was removed and divided up among all the Lukwasisiga, and indeed among most everyone in the village because there was so much. Even Malasi people were eating. I was told that in the old days it would have been forbidden, but today no one minds.

Another small sagali, like the bananas and sugarcane, is the betel sagali. Again betel is given to the wearers of fingernails, etc., and to grave tenders. And again, there is usually enough that it pretty well gets spread out over the whole village.

These three sagalis are men's sagalis and women do not ordinarily bother going unless they are actually being paid. Otherwise men bring home the betel or whatever and give it to their female dalana and families.

At the sugarcane sagali I was told that the next sagali for Lunai would be a harvest sagali, tayoyowa. Malasi would sagali raw kanua and maybe betel. This was being given because there was not enough food when Lunai died to do the sekokwau and nisanadu really properly, and people who were to be paid in these really deserved more food.

The next sagali in the cycle is lagila, the pouring. It is a large food sagali given by the male valetas. The one I saw was a multiple sagali. It was given for all the people who had died in Kaduwaga for whom there had already been a nisanadabu. These were Lunai (f), Kokosi (m), Meetinakaduwaga (f), Toweyega (m), Bomsiyala (f), and Raibutu (f). They represented every clan but Lukuba, so that virtually everyone in the village was giving for someone and likewise receiving. The sagali began differently from others I've seen. It started like vawotu at a boat launching, or like the kanubena trade with the Mailu people. A man came running out to the middle of the village carrying some raw food, and yelling the name of the person for whom it was intended. He'd cry "Am luwa, ka!" He'd then throw the food on the ground and run off again, while someone trotted out to pick it up. Someone else waiting in the wings as it were would see the first man drop the food and finish the call, and would immediately start

running in with his own gift. The effect is people shooting in and out of the village center from all directions, yelling and whooping. The name of the sagali, i lagila, he pours, refers to this mode of giving. Just as water splashes rapidly out of an overturned vessel, so the goods are thrust out onto the ground The recipients are the same people who got skirts in the sekokwau people who held the corpse, people who dug or helped fill the grave, and people who sang at night. Since this sagali was being performed for six different people, it took an hour or so. At several points another exchange was added to the luwa. A man would run forward calling his friend's (nubena's) name, saying "am kalimapu." In one of these exchanges an initial gift of bete was made, and shortly the nubena returned a stick of tobacco and some paper to roll it in. The return was not thrown on the groun but rather the giver ran up to the receiver and thrust it into his arms.

After the luwa had slowed down, people sat waiting to distribute the raw food, the koguguna, or food given because people gathered together for the sagali. Two long rows of yams were marked out on the ground, divided periodically with stakes. The stakes indicated where the yams for one of the deceased left off and another's began. Then the yam piles were filled up. Each deceased had four piles and there were several piles left over. After all the yams had been laid out along with some taro, a process which took about an hour to complete, Imwadora called them out. He was chosen because he has a deep strong voice. For each

person dead the four piles were given out in the same way: one each to each of the katuposunas. The call went, "Onotuma, am koguguna toyauali Lunai, ka!," "Onotuma, your gathering pay, people who sang for Lunai, look!" After the four piles had been called for each deceased, the remaining piles were called for other villages. Koma and Tawema each got two piles, but the caller did not know for whom they were given. The missionary at Kaduwaga got one pile. Kuyawa and Munuwata each got two piles for Lunai, and Kaisiga got two piles for Meetinakaduwaga.

After the koguguna has been distributed, the caller turned to the yam towers which were built for the sagali. These are about as tall as the prisms Malinowski shows in Coral Gardens, but they are columnar rather than prismatic. Powell says that these are called bubuwaga, and that the prismatic columns are pwatai (private communication). They are filled with yams and topped off with bunches of betel. There is one column for each person wearing hair and/or fingernails. Imwadora called "So and So, am kwekwedu ka! Kwekwedu Toweyega." "So and So, your fingernail pay, look! Toweyega's fingernails." At the lagila I saw the following received columns of yams (informants were not able to supply me with the name of the columns):

Kwabula; fingernails of Toweyega
Mokotapa: (from Kaisiga), hair of Meetinakaduwaga
Towana: fingernails of Lunai
Iluvegana:fingernails of Lunai
I sapi: fingernails of Toweyega
Inedou: fingernails of Kokosi
Kaulau: fingernails of Toweyega

The yam columns were not all in the immediate area of the sagali,

which was held in Okowakena, but were located throughout the village in front of the main donors' houses. I did not see all of them, but in Okowakena Kamsieboda had one set up for Meetinakaduwaga, and Monakim had two set up for Lunai. In Waseva Tonisara had set up one for Kokosi, and in Onotuma Gumagao had set one up for Toweyega. There were more since each relic wearer gets a whole column.

The food in the column is divided up among the recipients and his dalana and clan members. Note that even though koguguna was distributed for Raibutu and Bomsiyala, towers were not built and the people wearing relics not paid. I asked about this and my informant said, "Who knows why. Probably they did not have enough food. Probably they'll wait a year and do it in the next lagila." Raibutu and Bomsiyala were the most recent of the deaths included in the sagali, and hence the logical two to carry over given a shortage of yams.

This sagali is like the sekokwau and nisanadabu in that men help by giving their nubenas food: i dodigesi bwala.

The next sagali is i katupwakau laka, he makes the grave white. It refers to the fact that grave tenders have been keeping it clean. This is a large mona sagali. There are various sorts of mona. In essence they all consist of tubers cut up or pounded into cakes or grated, and cooked in coconut oil. The results vary from tutubwa, which looks like scalloped potatoes, to mona piti, which is small taro dumplings cooked in caramalized coconut oil and sugar. The most common sagali mona is pounded

taro. The tubers are pounded into pancakes and they are folded in thirds, like a letter, and these are bathed in a sauce of boiled down coconut water (Kaduwagans distinguish coconut water, the clear liquid in the center of the nut from coconut milk, a white liquid made by squeezing grated coconut meat). The sauce, after boiling down, is mostly coconut oil. The taro is carefully stirred into it, and then the whole thing is sprinkled with brown shavings from the inside of the coconut husk (what appears as skin when you remove meat from a ripe coconut). The shavings add color and texture to the mona.

For i katupwakau laka a great deal of mona is cooked. Sivalola told me that if one of his dalana were to die he alone would cook five or six pots full, and the rest of his male dalana would do the same. This takes a lot of labor for the coconut oil must be stirred constantly to keep it from burning, and it must cook down for at least a couple of hours. After all the mona is ready, people gather to eat it. A pot is given to each person who is wearing a relic of the deceased, and to each grave tender. Other pots are given, one each to each katuposuna and village whose people came. This is koguguna. No other food is given at this sagali, but my informants consider it a major sagali because so much mona is cooked and it takes so much time and effort.

The last sagali in the funeral cycle is i dunidani. It is performed at least two years after the death. For important people it may be much later. The dunidani for Mitakata, the former Paramount Chief who died around 1956, was held this year, an

interval of about sixteen years. The dunidani is a large sagali, like the sekokwau and nisanadabu. It includes both skirt and food transactions.

The name, dunidani or i danisi, squeezings or they squeeze, refers to the fact that fingernails have been squeezed off the corpse. The sagali starts around noon with women distributing skirts and skirt materials. The call goes "So and So, am kwekwedu, ka!," "So and So, your fingernail pay, look!" A pieta is laid on the ground and women come forward and heap materials and sewn skirts on it. Skirts are given to those who wore relics and tended the grave. The structure of the distribution is the same as at previous skirt sagalis. Navaletas and namakapus and namilabovas contribute skirts, while their yawana contribute vakabiyamina to help them. The women who receive skirts divide them in half, and taking half of the skirts distribute them one by one on the porches of their dalana: i yolovana kailagina, they pay the hearth. This is in recognition of each household's participation in the cycle.

After the skirt sagali the dalana of the deceased distribute mona to the skirt recipients and to all the people who came to the sagali. In turn the skirt recipients take half of their mona and give it to those of their dalanas who got skirts on their porches. Along with the mona betel is distributed, but no other food.

The next day the people who received skirts on their porches each load a platter with good raw kanua. They take it and the

skirt and walk around the village asking who gave the skirt at the sagali. When they find that woman they give her the kanua, keeping the skirt.

The sagali is over, but the people wearing the relics still have them. In a day or so a dalana of the deceased, maybe a daughter or sister will come to each person wearing a relic and bring her some skirts and cooked kanua. The relic wearer accepts these and eats. Later, at dusk, the sister or daughter returns and asks the relic wearer to give the relic back, saying that all the sagalis are over. It is then handed back. The relic will be disposed of. If the dalana of the deceased sees that there is someone in the dala who is elderly and apt to die in the near future, she will keep the relic and later put it in that person's grave. If not, she will go to the grave of the original owner, dig a hold, and bury it.

When all the sagalis are finished, the deceased is no longer a social being and is given no further attention. People thus leave off caring for the grave.

CHAPTER IV

PERSON, PROPERTY, AND TRANSACTION: A MODEL OF HUMANNESS

Anthropologists have clearly demonstrated that symbolic productions such as rituals, ceremonies or myths are capable of encoding an immense amount of diverse information. Therefore, while I restrict this discussion to what seems to me to be the most dominant themes expressed in a series of Trobriand exchange cycles, I by no means think these are the only ideas involved. My criterion for selection rests on an assumption which is not often explicitly expressed in the anthropological literature, and that is that any culture is constructed ultimately around a small set of existential postulates. I consider them ultimate in that virtually all the rest of the culture's ideology either explicitly or implicitly assumes their existence and veracity. In this sense they are fundamental. However, I oppose a reductionist view. While I agree with Levi-Strauss's (19) intuition that Western culture ultimately rests upon the distinction between nature and culture, I would not, nor do I think would he, go so far as to assert that Western culture is "about" that distinction. Rather, it is about a good many things considered in light of that distinction, or generated out of it. I however differ from Levi-Strauss in that I see no reason to believe that all cultures

are constructed around the distinction nature/culture as we define those terms, nor do I feel that it is adequate to state that those are "oppositions" and assume we therefore understand their logical relationship to one another. Rather in Western ideology nature and culture are both distinguished and placed in a set of specific relations to one another, and this set of relations is crucial to how these terms may be manipulated in light of other definitional and procedural considerations.

While it seems to me that few anthropologists have explicitly explored the notion that comprehensive ideologis rest on simple models composed of a few basic postulates (the national character writers and some symbolists are exceptions) this assumption has been frequently utilized by ethnographers. The most relevant example for my work is Malinowski, who flat out states that the entire Trobriand legal system rests on the assumption that men are in no way related to their children (1929:3). Given that, it is possible to construct the rest of the rules which define and govern daily Trobriand village life. Unfortunately he is incorrect in his choice of postulate, and over-simple in his assertion that a single rule lies behind the system, but the approach is neither unusual nor misguided.

The problem confronting a field worker is how to go about discovering the basic postulates underlying the culture he is investigating. Precisely because they are so basic, informants rarely talk in terms of them. How then are they to be retrieved? Leach (1965:16), among others, offers a hopeful solution when he

speaks of the necessity of any society to periodically remind its members of its basic postulates or else risk a gradual drift to anarchy. He feels that this is what rituals are about. Levi-Strauss has suggested that this type of information is also embedded in myths. The problem is that myths are usually couched in terms of specific situations such that retrieval of basic symbols and concepts turns out to be a matter of elaborate analysis with debatable results. If Leach is correct in his assumption that societies need to rather directly remind their members of basic postulates, and that this is done through rituals, the cultural anthropologist would seem well advised to focus attention on them. Victor Turner's Ndembu material demonstrates that indeed such an approach can have a high potential for rewarding insights.

The problem for a Trobriand ethnographer is to find anything which is easily classified as a ritual in the sense in which Leach uses the term. Kaduwagans simply do not seem to hold periodic ceremonies designed to relign or relate themselves properly with their cosmos. One is struck with the fact that compared to the Ndembu or Zuni or Javanese, Kaduwagans are a non-ritualistic people.

My clue as to how Kaduwagans handle presentation of basic cultural messages came through my church attendance. As I have indicated, Kaduwaga defines itself as a strong church village, and in line with this services are frequent and attendance high. I thought at first that perhaps the interest in church was related

precisely to the fact that rituals reiterating basic postulates of life are undeveloped in the local culture. That, in short, villagers were hungering for the chance to hear this type of message. However, informants quickly set me straight. They explained that one's chances of going to Heaven are directly proportional to one's faithfulness in church attendance. Go to church, go to Heaven; be lax about church attendance, do not go to Heaven. To Kaduwagans church attendance is as pragmatic as gardening. However, church service consists of reiterations of the basic Christian messages, and this also makes sense to the congregation. Villagers feel that those social events which are the most important in the actor's lives are also properly occasions for the reiteration of messages of what human life is all about. And thus it slowly dawned on me that the four most important exchange cycles are not only the quintessence of social experience for Kaduwagans, but also are constructed so as to spell out the rules which underly life Trobriand style. The reason I did not see this a lot sooner is that I expected the messages to be encoded in oral transmissions. However, the exchanges do not verbally state them. Rather they are encoded in the structure of the gifts and gift giving. Rather than hearing the basic rules, Kaduwagans see them performed.

Turner has elegantly argued that ceremonies deal with selected individual circumstances at the same time they reiterate basic cultural postulates. They thus serve to keep basic postulates alive and simultaneously relate them to individual life happenings.

This is dramatically the case in Kaduwaga. The exchanges are at the same time the social focus of villagers, dominating everyday life either directly or indirectly, and the vehicle for stating the basic ideas and rules of Kaduwagan life. Turner has explored ceremonies which center around conflicts and passage from one social status to another. The Kaduwagan exchange cycles fall into neither of these categories. There are neither organized around resolution of misfortune (which is seen by Kaduwagans as by Ndembu to arise out of human conflict) nor around an actor's passage fron one social status to another. Rather Kaduwagans have selected certain events as appropriate occasions on which to also state the essential nature of human beings and the principles according to which they socially interact. Not surprisingly, these events are ones which by virtue of the content of the basic rules are crucial to the maintenance of Kaduwagan society. I shall discuss precisely why these specific events are appropriate occasions on which to reiterate basic ideology after I have discussed that ideology itself.

Malinowski was on the right track with his intuition that male and female distinctions are central to Trobriand ideology, but he picked a wrong rule. The ideology states that there is one type of object in the physical world which is unlike any other, a human being. Human beings are subdivided into two sorts, male and female, according to the genitalia they possess. Each human being individually owns physical property, and the type of property he or she may own is contingent on his or her physical sex.

From birth males may own vegua (shell valuables) and women may own doba (skirts). These objects are sexually specific: vegua is wholly masculine, such that it may only be exchanged among men, skirts are so wholly feminine that they may only be exchanged among women. At this point there is no basis for cross-sexual interaction. However, marriage alters this. A man and woman may join together into a cross-sexual unit. When they join together, however, they do not merge, rather each individual picks up another type of property: men obtain the right to own raw food, and women obtain the right to own hearths. A married unit may thus produce something which neither partner may alone produce, cooked food. They may also use their genital complementarity to produce children. Finally, because of their ownership of cooked food they may produce boats. The boat launching exchange explains how it is (in line with the individual ownership of property) that men come to own boats while women are inherently related to children. At this point the ideology moves away from property definitions and the kinds of transactions humans are capable of carrying out to the rules governing the conditions under which qualified actors may actually engage in exchange with one another. These procedural rules are based on what Kaduwagans explicitly perceive as a basic paradox of human existence. Orderly social life is predicated upon automatic conformity to a series of rules. However, human beings have minds of their own, and if forced against their wills become angry and dangerous. Thus it is impossible to force them to obey any rules. How then may interpersonal transactions

be carried out with any semblance of order? Some people (dalana) are inherently related to each other to the point of substitutability. They should be motivated to exchange in a generally solidary manner because they literally "are" each other. However, because they "are" each other, they cannot command each other. In the long run mutually satisfactory exchange between them depends on voluntary good will. Conversely, some people are inherently not related to each other. These people may voluntarily enter into an exchange relationship whidh carries with it specific contractual obligations. These people may insist that each other exchange in specific ways as contracted, or they may break off the relationship altogether. These are people who are related in the ina-tama classification. While Kaduwagans cannot resolve the paradox they say that the contradiction between the necessity for obedience to rules and the vaguaries of human desires can be surmounted by playing the two types of relatives off against one another, hoping that pride and fear of defection to the other side will keep both sides motivated to fulfill their social obligations. While Kaduwagans define two opposing types of relationship, it is important to note that in fact dalana embody both; ego classifies them both as dalana and ina-tama type relatives. The overlap means that not only can ego play off dalana against non-dalana or ina-tama/relatives, but that he also has some legitimate grounds, aside from mere appeals to solidarity, for making transactional demands on dalana.

Let us now examine how these postulates of social existence

are encoded in the structures of the four exchange cycles. These cycles occur in no fixed order through time, but they do occur in fixed order with reference to the individual's life cycle. He is first married, then participates in harvests, then may launch a boat, and ultimately dies. I shall consider the exchanges in this order with the exception of funerals. Funerals state the basic postulate of the system and so I shall consider them first.

This ordering intuits well to Kaduwagans because, although in terms of an individual's life cycle the funeral comes last, in terms of village life funerals come first. Whenever there is a death ordinary social existence must be suspended until the first round of funeral exchanges has been performed. Even then there are several people with whom it is impossible to carry on ordinary social intercourse because they remain in mourning until after the second series of exchanges some months later. The precedence of funerals over any other social activities brings the importance of the funeral message home to every Kaduwagan such that villagers indicate that funerals are the basic underpinning of their social organization.

The funeral cycle is the most elaborate exchange cycle in Kaduwaga. It might be expected, therefore, that the basic complexity of the symbolism of funerals would also be more elaborate than that of the other exchange cycles. This does not seem to be so. Rather, funerals are elaborate because they state that human beings are the single most important entities in the world. Every exchange feature which can be magnified is elaborated: most types

of gift transaction, most styles of presentation, most property given, most actors involved, and most time consumed. All these "mosts" reiterate that a human being, any human being (and therefore human beings in general) are of a unique importance in the universe. Further, the quality which makes them uniquely important is that they exchange.

There is a further implication to be drawn from the funeral message that human beings are a unique kind of entity, one which exchanges. And that is that the male-female distinctions which are crucial to the structuring of human exchanges are based on the subdivision of one basic type of being into two subtypes, rather than the representing the interaction of two essentially different types of being. The statement is that there is a type of being, a human being, which comes in two forms, male and female. This point is made in various ways. First, funerals for men and women are identical in structure and content. Second, the mourning classification cross-cuts sex, lumping males and females together. Unlike the ina-tama classification where, except in the case of natu and tabu, the sex of the referent is clear, in the makapu-valeta classification it is not. When referring to a specific actor one must attach the prefix to or na to specify sex. But most important, the internal structure of the exchanges reflects this postulate. On one side are "mourners," undifferentiated by sex, and on the other are "payers," whose payments are differentiated by sex. The primacy of "people" over "sexually differentiated people" is also built into the structure:

the latter must pay the former. A "person" has died, "people" mourn, and it is right that "sexually differentiated people" pay them, for without "people" there could not be any "sexually differentiated people."

Kaduwagans mark the importance of human life inversely, as it were. Rather than joyfully celebrate a human addition to the community, they mourn a departure. Villagers feel that it is pointless to celebrate a birth, because the infant has no exchange position.

The marriage exchanges state that there are two types of sexually differentiated people, single and married, and spell out the differences between them. On the groom's side the gifts are given in both property and manner appropriate to single people. His tama sends vegua to the bride's tama, and his ina presents the bride with a new skirt (doba). Note that the gifts are given separately and to different recipients, and that the recipients are of the same sex as the donor. On the bride's side the gifts are all in the form of cooked food, the property appropriate to a married couple. Her ina and tama give it as a single unit, and it is received by the groom's ina and tama also as a single unit.

The marriage exchanges indicate that single people possess certain types of property which are sexually unique and which may only be exchanged with members of the same sex. They further indicate that married people are people who have merged together in a cross-sexual unit which possesses its own property, cooked food, which it as a unit may exchange with other like units.

However, the nature of the relationship between husband and wife is not indicated. Have they merged together such that they jointly own property? This question is answered in the harvest exchanges. Uligubu transactions state that in fact the married couple do not have joint property, but rather, the husband and wife, by virtue of marriage, have each picked up the right to own a new form of property, and these types of property, unlike those owned by single people, are complementary and make possible a cross-sexual transaction which is productive of yet another form of property. Uligubu is raw food which is given by men to the husbands of their female dalana or by men to the husbands of any woman with whom they trace any tie other than tabu in the ina-tama classification. It is only given to married men because the right to cook it belongs only to married women. A man without a wife has no use for raw food as there is no way to render it edible, and a woman without a husband has no use for a hearth because she has nothing to cook.

The analyses of uligubu which rest on the notion of a matrilineage giving produce to the husbands of its women miss the point. Kaduwagans say that any married man, by virtue of his marriage, has the right to receive raw food indicative of his married status. Conversely, he has the obligation to give raw food to other married men so that they too may receive. This food is contributed by people who are interested in him, either because they are tied to him as an affine, or because they are tied to him through either the ina-tama or dala classifications. A further rule which governs

the form of the transactions is that they should express seniority. A man will give to a younger man if he defines his relation to that man as lubona. In this case he is giving to a non-relative who has married a close relative, and he is honoring the marital tie. However, men giving to men related either as dalana or in the ina-tama system consider it insulting for the elder to give to the younger, so that a natu may give to his tama, but not vice versa, and a bwada may give to a tuwa, but again not vice versa.

As with all other Kaduwagan exchanges, uligubu depends upon balanced reciprocity. The essential maleness of raw food is indicated by the return gift of vegua, and by the fact that the wife periodically feeds the donor cooked food. This is also expressive of the necessity of a wife to the transaction: only she can render it edible.

The problem of joint property ownership still remains. Kaduwagans say that it is not serious with respect to cooked food, because the husband and wife must agree about disposing of it before it ever gets cooked. If they disagree either he refuses to give it to her to cook, or she refuses to cook it. However, the married couple is capable of producing more than just cooked food. Most significantly it produces boats and children. The ownership of these products is the subject of boat launching exchanges.

The legitimate creation of sea going boats (waga masawa) and children are defined by Kaduwagans as processes characteristic of married people. This means that creation of these objects is

defined as contingent on the presence of cooked food, to nourish the boat building crew and the pregnant woman, Kaduwagans go so far as to assert that in fact single people are not capable of producing these products, which is one reason why the unwed mother is such a nuisance. Both members of the married pair are involved in the creative process, though in each instance one takes precedence in performing the bulk of the creative work. Thus it is that men are boat builders and women are children builders. The opposite sex's function is to act as support, and Kaduwagans say that without their support the load on the main actor would be too great, resulting in the abortion of the project. Thus a pregnant woman is cared for and nurtured by her husband. When she can no longer walk to the gardens to harvest daily food, he takes over, and when she is about to deliver he goes and notifies women to come and help her. Likewise, the wife of a man who has commissioned or is himself building a boat, sustains the workers by cooking for them whenever they work. Without the cooked food the laborers would tire and falter.

The fact that a husband and wife act jointly to produce boats and children means that rightfully they each have a share in the ownership of these objects. However, this goes in the face of the principle of individual ownership. Kaduwagans solve the problem by a boat launching battle during which women forfeit their rights in the boats they have helped produce. The boat is launched with an all male crew and women are invited to try and

unseat them. If they succeed, they become the boat owners. If they fail, the men become sole owners. It is important that Kaduwagans see the fight as real in the sense that by definition women actually could win. However, it is equally important that they actually never do win the battle, and the women express this saying "It's only play. To win we would have to hurt the crew and we are not interested in doing that."

Boats and children all explicitly equated during the boat launching. The boat seclusion, from whence it emerges as it is launched, is defined as the same seclusion as that of the newly born child. In both instances the seclusion covers the period when the functionally ready, but not quite completed, physical object is being finished. With a boat, the finish is its decoration, with a child, the discarding of its umbilical cord. Further, the boat and child are likened in terms of physical identity with the secondary creative partner. A child facially resembles its father; the boat prow carries the carbed image of the wife of the man who has undertaken its construction, and is said to look like her. The inference can be drawn that boat launchings address themselves to the problem of how it is just that only women should be inherently related to children which could not have been produced without their husbands' assistance. My interpretation is that men are compensated by owning boats which their wives helped produce and that a battle is fought in acknowledgment of the fact that any producer should have a claim, be it ownership or relationship, to the object he or she produced or help produce.

Here the matter takes on a new complexity. For it is not really possible to "own" people. In a system predicated on the distinction of "people" from "property" to own "people" would represent a confusion of category. The nature of people-property associations has already been fully spelled out, and here the focus shifts to the contractual grounds under which people may socially interact. Women do not win the right to "own" children; rather boat launchings explain why it is just and proper that women are inherently related to their children when men must help produce them. The fact that children are inherently related to their mothers is held by Kaduwagans to be a matter beyond their control. Balomas in the spirit world are divided into groupings based on inherent identity. Since spirits send balomas to pregnant women, and these balomas are the essence of the new child, and the baloma sent to each woman is a baloma from within her grouping, mother and child are of necessity inherently related. However, the child has a physical body which must be created and nurtured, and this takes food. The man is compensated for providing food for his child when his wife cooks for his boat building crew.

As already stated, mother and child are dalana. They are inherently related to the point of substitutability. Kaduwagans recognize the other possibility, total inherent non-relatives. If the implication of unvoluntary, inherent relationship between people is that their exchange is wholly voluntary because their "sameness" prevents them from making any demands on each other,

the implication of inherent non-relationship between people is that they may engage in voluntary relationships which have enforceable, specified obligations. The former type of relationship holds between dalana, the latter, between members of the ina-tama classification. By voluntarily raising a child, a man and woman become its ina and tama. They possess specified exchange rights with respect to that child, and, because all exchange should be reciprocal, he possesses specified exchange rights with respect to them. Since dalana are also included in the ina-tama classification ego's closes relatives are bound to him through both kinds of ties, maximizing hopefully, their sense of social obligation to and with him. In theory, should these exchange obligations not be met on either side, the voluntary association is dissolved. In fact, tama and ina may repudiate a natu, but not vice-versa for the natu always owes them for caring for him when he was too little to care for himself.

Boat launchings explain why it is just that women should be inherently related to their children and pave the way for the ina-tama kind of relationship. Funerals, where we began, sneak back in at the end, because they state that both these types of relationship are essentially the same sort of thing. Malinowski indicates that funeral opposition distinguishes real relatives (dalana) from relatives by marriage (tama is the one he uses since ina is also ordinarily dalana, though it is not in fact necessary that she be dalana), and that the latter must mourn lest real relatives suspect them of having killed the deceased by sorcery.

He is wrong. Funeral roles, organized by the makapu-valeta classification, carefully cross-cut both the dala and ina-tama classifications, lumping some of each on both sides of the exchanges. The makapu-valeta classification indicates that people are "related" to people, and that being "related" may be achieved in two ways but is one thing.

CHAPTER V

THE SUPER-PERSON: A MODEL OF SOCIETY

The definitions and rules discussed in the last section define the characteristics of social actors and specify the relational conditions under which social transactions are appropriately conducted. They specify what is a man, what is a woman, and state two types of relationships, inherent or contractual, which provide actors with mutual grounds on which to base exchange expectations. This social model is individualistic in the sense that it focuses on the actor, and the actor's transactions with other actors rather than defining the characteristics of society apart from its actors. In the latter type of model (such as the Burmese state model) the characteristics of society are first defined, and these are used to orient actors in the sense that they are supposed through their many individual actions to all contribute to the realization of this social model on the ground. In such models the actor takes second place to society and his behavior may be judged by how well he is perceived to contribute to the actualization of social definitions. I am stating this rather extremely. All societies must reconcile the individual and group, and I am merely emphasizing one end of a continuum on which the actor is effectively submerged to the group. The point I am trying to make is that at extremes there are two possibilities

for relating actor and group: either definitions of group may be primary, and definitions of actor contingent upon them, or definitions of actor may be primary, and characteristics of the group held to be contingent upon them. I would argue that Kaduwagans come a lot closer to holding the latter position than the former. They begin by defining the actor, and feel that society is what it is because individual actors are what they are, rather than vice-versa.

I would like to explore in this section how it is Kaduwagans use an actor-focused model as a base on which to generate a model of society. To examine this problem it is first necessary to see how Kaduwagans distinguish the social group from individual social actors. Symbolically the starting point is arena discrimination, the spatial distinction between the village center (bikubaku) and the area within, beside and behind a house. The distinction between them is that events which occur in the former are everyone's business, whereas events which occur in the latter are only the concern of the immediate participants. By "business" I mean the legitimate right to formulate policy, criticize, and to interfere in action. A social group consists of a number of individuals, larger than a single household, who possess the right to mutually comment on affairs at hand. The basic social group in the Trobriands is the village (vanu) which is literally a collection of individual households who share a single bikubaku. All villagers have a right to comment on whatever happens in their baku-baku, and meetings to discuss village affairs are always held there.

The village has an identity which is bigger and different from the individuals which constitute its current populace, although they, through their actions, both individual and collective, shape and reshape the image of their village for people from other villages. This is a bit tricky because speaking in the abstract Trobrianders tend to talk either of villages or individuals, but when looking to justify their opinions, they will use an individual's conduct to characterize a village and vice-versa. And usually the opinion is negative, not because Trobrianders like to denigrate their fellows, but because they possess a competitive village model, in which their own village is defined as superior to all others. Kaduwagans tend to view positive acts by non-villagers as flukes, and negative acts as what is to be expected from members of the ghastly village in which they reside. However, they do maintain the primacy of actor over group. I have never heard it said that someone is a poor actor because he comes from a certain village. Rather it is always stated that one would not wish to live in a certain village because the people there are nasty.

Village pride is one way Trobrianders establish and reiterate the value of the social group as opposed to the individual. The constant gossip about the relative demerits of other villages keeps individuals focused on the village level in general, as well as inspiring them to work to make their own village as superior as possible, a place which outsiders will admire, or failing that, criticize only out of jealousy. Kaduwagans say that this is done

by making sure the few co-operative village projects (gardening and large scale exchanges) are visibly superior to those conducted by other villages, and be placing pressure on individual actors to live up to their specific exchange obligations, thus demonstrating the ethical superiority of the people who compose the village.

The village is organized around the biku-baku, and may be defined as the group of households who share a single biku-baku. But this definition focuses on the grouping of actors which shall constitute the village, not on the characteristics of the unit which they create by virtue of their residence. The vanu definition is consistent with the social focus on actors: it is defined as a super-person. This is done by identifying the village, and its collective activities with a single, highly superior individual, the guyau. The first thing Kaduwagans told me about the village was that Kaduwaga equals Katubai. It is his village. Every act performed within the village is at his behest and according to his will. The entire village is literally his karewaga. Informants reiterated this point repeatedly throughout my stay as the key fact to understanding the essence of Kaduwaga.

There has been considerable speculation as to why Trobrianders, unlike other Massim, have a ranked society with a chiefly aristocracy. I do not know why other Massim have not hit upon this particular solution, but I do know that Trobrianders define gweguyau (plural) as a kind of superior people such that the group may be defined in terms of an individual, a specific guyau. If the group is to be personified the problem is which person(s) shall repre-

sent it, and Kaduwagans argue that the proper representative is a super-person, a guyau. The superiority of gweguyau is held to lie both in their magical prowess and judgmental abilities. Their superior magic insures village survival in face of the elements and human malice, and their superior judgment insures that as actors they are capable of making decisions which are consistently beneficial to the village.

Katubai personifies Kaduwaga both to the villagers and to outsiders. Villagers reiterated that he owns the village, and that everything done there is by virtue of his will alone. But, in fact his job is not so much to run the village as it is to provide immediate access to "the village" when problems arise concerning it. He is village spokesman and mascot. Katubai cannot make decisions for the village. Two factors limit his dictatorial powers. First, Kaduwagans agree that a guyau possesses, or should possess, superior judgmental abilities. But they feel that he may not always want to use them to benefit villagers. Chiefs are dangerous because with their magic and clever minds, they may decide to harm people rather than help them. Second, Kaduwagan social ideology recognizes that all people have minds of their own and may not safely be coerced against their wills. These two considerations mean that village decisions can only be taken in mass meetings and then must involve universal consensus. Any dissenters would refuse to co-operate.

What I am really arguing here is that, like Wagner's Daribe, Kaduwagans lack any model of the corporate social group. On the

one hand the vanu (village) is defined in terms of an individual person, the guyau, and on the other in order for the people residing within this person's supposedly unlimited local jurisdiction to act collectively it is necessary that there be unanimous consensus. Majority vote is not adequate, and is explicitly seen by villagers as depriving dissenting actors of their rights to do as they please. For example, the Kaileuna Co-operative Society wanted to reinvest its small profit one year rather than pay it out in tiny amounts to each of its shareholders. It could not do this because one elderly man objected on the grounds that his share was his share, he might not live long enough to see benefits from the reinvestment, and therefore he wanted his money immediately. Two hundred people at the meeting had to give in in the face of his dissent. There is no way of out voting people in Kaduwaga. The same type of thing happened on another occasion. Since I was to be in the village for a finite period of time Katubai tried to organize a kayasa harvest so that I might observe one. However, he discovered that one of the larger landowners was reluctant to co-operate, and so the matter was dropped, despite the fact that most villagers were amenable to his proposal.

Not only is it difficult to argue that the Trobriand village is a corporate group, it is difficult to even argue that it constitutes a "group" unless by that we simply mean an aggregation of actors. I have noted that two definitions seem to be used by Kaduwagans, the village as guyau and the village as a nucleated series of households. The only instance I have found wherein

the villagers see themselves constituted as a group *per se* is for the purpose of presenting the four exchange cycles. With regards to these there is no question of voluntary actor participation. Rather the entire village sees itself as automatically involved in a village scale activity. Again there is an extrapolation from the actor oriented social model. Just as actors are defined as individual exchangers, so the village undertakes group exchanges. There is, however, one difference. Actors exchange with one another in pairs. Villages exchange with themselves. The group is divided up, and the village engages in internal exchange. Kaduwagans bridge the transition from individual to group by defining the group as a super-individual with a massive capability to engage in the same pastime which each individual actor engages in on a much smaller scale, and by stating that the village level exchanges, by virtue of their massiveness, are superior to individual exchanges. The equation of massive display with superior exchange establishes the validity of group existence. Kaduwagans are capable of survival on a minimally social level. A husband and wife team can produce all the food and other goods they need, and trade with a very few other people for items they may want. But to produce massive displays of property involves group organization.

The village is thus organized in a group unit around large scale exchanges. In order for these exchanges to be held it is necessary that the villagers produce considerable amounts of excess (i.e., above and over every day consumption) yams, and it

may be argued that the village is also to be viewed as a production group. However, in definitional terms this is not the case. Gardening is left up to the individual. Whereas everyone must turn out for the four exchanges, the individual may graden as much or as little as he or she wishes, and when he or she wishes. Malinowski noted that an important function of the garden magician and garden magic is to co-ordinate gardening efforts. The question can be raised as to why it is necessary to invoke magic to this purpose, and the answer is precisely that there is no other legitimate form of group coercion beyond the refusal to support an adult who does not garden for him or herself. The garden magician is important, too, in that the group does not define even subsistence gardening as adequate for its purposes. The only other form of public coercion is the haranguing of the village by the guyau during planting and fencing seasons. However, here too the rights of the individual to co-operate or not according to his own wishes is brought out. After Katubai harangued the village and told everyone to get out and garden the next day, my friend Boyomu decided instead to go on a picnic with her husband. When I questioned her decision she said "Those who wish to garden will garden, those who wish not to, won't." And she was right.

We have already seen that these four exchange cycles encode basic definitions of the individual, and that by repeating the exchanges actors are reminded of their own characteristics. At this point that idea may be pushed further. While the definition of massive display as superior to anything which individuals act-

ing on their own behalfs could come up with helps to establish the importance of the group, encoding the basic definitions of actors and human social interactions within the group exchanges means that it is through the group that the actor knows what he is. Without the exchanges the qualities which define the individual, on which human life itself is based, might be lost, for they would not be reiterated for the actor. It is true they might be presented in other ways, and it should be clear that I am not arguing that they must be encoded in the cycles or be lost. Rather I am indicating how Kaduwagans look at the matter. They are very conscious of the fact that information which is not frequently repeated becomes forgotten. They are, for example, acutely aware that in the course of a generation they lost garden magic because no one transmitted it. They say that putting crucial information into stories is dangerous because story telling is an individual activity, and the important stories may not get told. However, putting it in group level exchanges offers maximum insurance that it will be transmitted safely, apart from the whims and vagaries of individual actors. Kaduwagans would seem to argue that the individual needs society not only because it provides him with his most significant life activities, the large displays, but because without it he could not remember what he is. Only through group events can Kaduwagans insure that the individual will always know himself, and thus the group takes on am importance it lacks in the basic ideological postulates of the culture.

Malinowski was greatly alarmed with the impact of Western

ideology upon Trobriand society. He feared that the paternal orientation of our culture might destroy a maternally organized society. His gloomiest predictions have not come true. Kaduwagans, who do not define social relations on the basis of physiology, have picked up on God as being like a tama. He contractually cares for human beings, and as a result of his caring they are able to live healthy, happy lives. However, in return he expects them to do certain specific things. They must love him, try to live morally (which Kaduwagans define as fulfilling their exchange obligations) and attend church frequently. This model makes eminent good sense to Kaduwagans, and reinforces their liveways rather than threatening them. However, Westerners do pose a constant threat to Trobriand social organization, not through religious ideology, but through their economic system. This threat is as yet scarcely felt on Kaileuna, but is much more evident on Kiriwina. Western jobs have two defects: they remove the actor from the traditionally prescribed sphere of activities, threatening village production, and they give the individual money which he may convert into many types of objects, most of which are not utilized within the exchange cycle. Lepani Watson argues that the danger to Trobriand lifeways lies in the ability of individuals employed in Western businesses to ignore the chiefs. Their jobs both remove them from the village and give them a new subsistence base. Watson, like other Trobrianders, sees chiefs as the personification of the villages, and what he is saying is that people involved in the money economy with jobs outside the

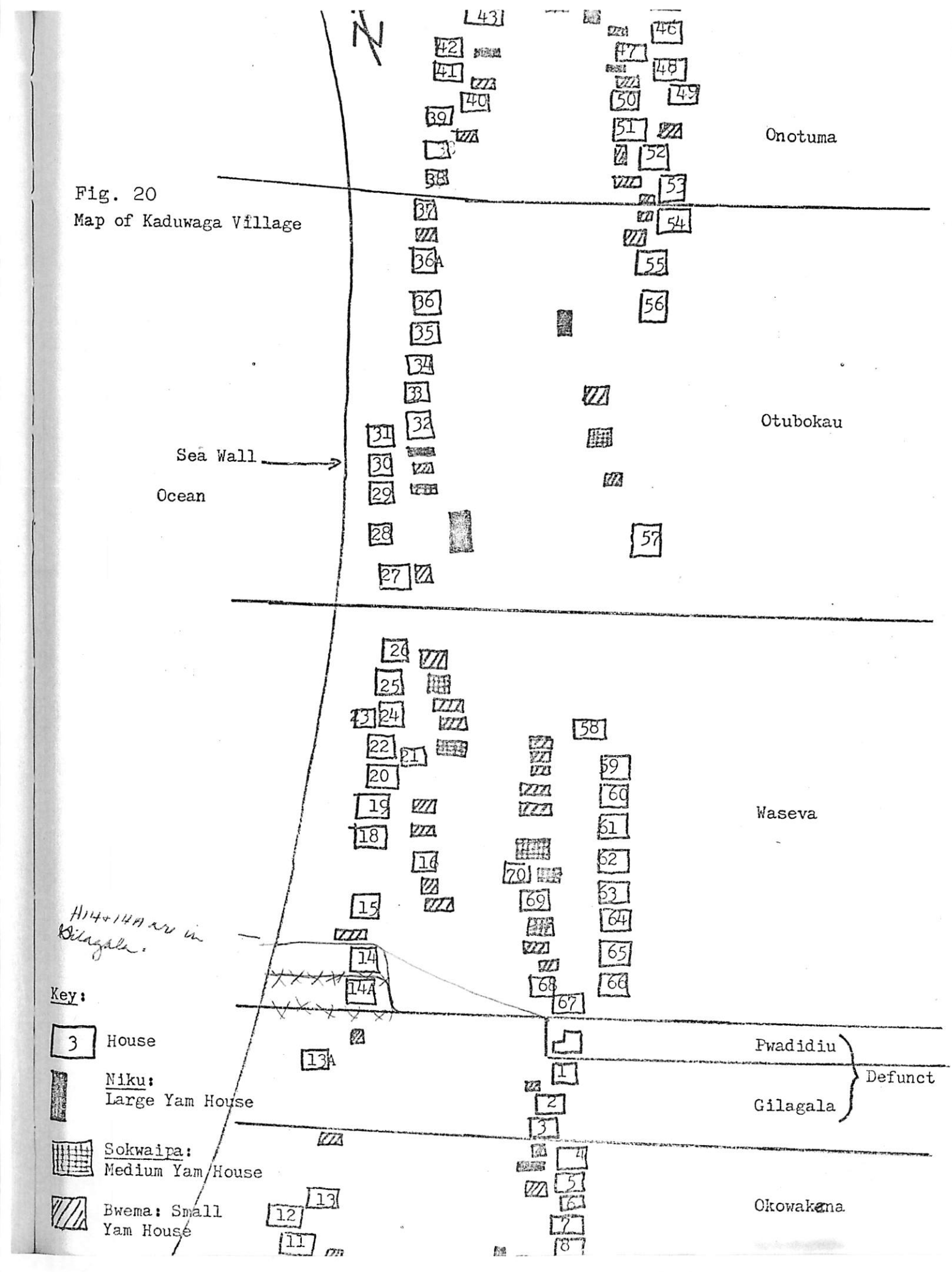
villages tend to undermine their villages. They both drain their productive manpower, and with their new, store based life styles, tempt other villagers to follow their example. All might be well if they agreed to turn their money into traditional goods to help with the exchanges, but the lure of store bought goods is such that they all too often do not. Watson is again reiterating the point that when the exchanges are gone Trobriand culture will be gone and Trobriand society will be something other than what it now is. As Kaduwagans explain, the exchanges define the human road (keda), and performing them keeps society travelling down this road. If the exchange go, people must find another road and try travelling on it. It may be a good road, or it may be a poor road with an unknown, perhaps horrible destination. Since the Trobriand road is known to be good, only a fool would wish to discard it.

APPENDIX I

MAP OF KADUWAGA VILLAGE

Fig. 20.--Map of Kaduwaga Village

Fig. 20
Map of Kaduwaga Village



KADUAWAGA HOUSE CENSUS 1972

Key:

Husband = Wife
Dala Dala

1 No occupant

2 Bodia = Isapi
Ls4 M from Kodekela village
No kids at Kaduwaga.

3 Paikaka = ISakatala
Ls4 Lb from Tubowada village (Ls4)
Kalaboliko (m), Maadia (m), Mokolomwa (m)

4 Motovau
Ls4

5 Mwakania = Naunebu
M2(Lbt1) Lbt1(M2)
No kids

6 Mtoidi
M2

7 Monakim = Bwetabalu
M2(M5) M5(M2)
Kwepanaguyau, tabuna of Bwetabalu
M2 (Tabuna; Ina Lunai (?))

8 Mwalisiga = Bomtalobu
M(Ls5) Ls5 Mwalisiga is the only member except Bilisio.
Mokopai (m), Tobulovai, tabuna to Mwalisiga
Ls5

9 Kadovanai = Bilisio
Ls5 M(Ls5) from Obwelia
~~Mwalisiga (m)~~, Moyoyau (m), Igigia, child of Daibugo, Bilisio's sister.

10 Motolina = Ideli
Ls5(M5) M5(Ls5)
B wayaka (m), Iyowana (f), Togwarai (m)
Bomtakata's child (single?)

11 Kamsieboda = Bomsava
M3 M4
~~Topiyuoka (m)~~

12 Mogadum = Inabuena
M2(Ls1) Ls1(M2)
Motolaga (m)

13 Toimwana = Bomgilobu
M5(Ls) Ls3(M5)
Yobunaga (m), Isigwama (f), Iyabageo (m) Natuna Iyeola

13A Monoyao = Inedou
M3 Ls From Kaisiga village
Yaoiana ( ) Dilavana ( ) ( ) .

14 Giolema Bweyareu = Aruagemo
Ls4 M3(Ls4) Ls4(M3)
*Sisiokiva (D) *Tokowakena (S) Sinebuto (D) Uliyokuva (S)
Kwesiliyokuva (S) Tulukwaya (S) MONUDOGA(S) are living at H65 + are listed there too.

14A Mokoropata = Ilumabo
Ls4 M From Mwateo village
~~3 little Giolema (m)~~ Giyowawaga (S) Sineboto (D) BOYAGIVA(D) BOGWAROBU(S)
SIOLUBUBU(S)

15 Gogopi = Nabuniweya
M4(M3) M3(M4)
Namkaduwaga (f), Mwayeola (m), Tomotuma (m), Naseosewa(f),
~~Tunaba(f), Nabwekaia(f), Bomakata(f)~~.

16 Tonisara = Kadiabwau
M4(Lbt1) Lbt1(M4)
Molukweya (m), Monabibi (m), Iyobikwa (f), Karakwekwa (m),
Igilanona (f), Moguwagava (m), Topiya (m), Isikuniga (f), Naberita(D)

17 Douwa = Bwesikata
Ls1 Lb from Kunto
Toneuya (m), Isiladoga (f)

~~19 Gogopi = Nabuniweya~~ Peter = Bodiagemwa
~~Namkaduwaga (f), Mwayeola (m), Tonotuma (m), Naseosewa (f),~~
~~Tunaba (f), Nabwekaia (f), Bomakata (f)~~

20 Toimasola = Bodiagem Toimasola = Peter = Mogiammedila
Ls1(M3) M3(Ls1)
Motogaga (m), ~~Mwayeola (m)~~

21 Loiloi
M3
Natuna Kuyawa: Kudubuwa (5)

22 Kaulau = Bokaivato Uligaga, bwadana Kaulau
M3(Lb1) Lb1(M3) M3
~~Bisiwaya (f)~~, Gauoli (m), Bwadilina (f), Isigula (f),
Dobuyau (m), Imbwekwau (f), MONOTUMA(S)

23 Gumweyoguna = Kaduvekuna
M3(Ls1) Ls1(M3)
Luvana (f), Dumwekasitau (m), Bukutuma (f), baby (f)=ISIGAYA

23A Namonala (f)
M3
No kids

24 Towagaima = Bolomana
M3(Ls1) Ls1(M3)
Dubisela (m), Munakai (m), Kumaokuva (f), Sinakeda (f),
Kabakayu (m), Bonubasi (f), Namwedina (f)
→ is Kaduvekuna's child

25 Kabwabuena = Bulubedoga
Ls2(M2) M2(Ls2)
Mwayuba (m), Mwayuweta (m), Vatilau (m), Inaweya (f)
Kiladoga (m), tabuna Bulubedoga, Sipwesa's child

26 Towana Koguya, his tabuna
Ls4(M2) M2(Ls4)

27 Katubai = Itagoma
M1(Ls4) Ls4(M1)
Bouwenaia (m), Kasikalu (m), Napukoya (f), Kabwenaia (f)
GIYOTUMILA

28 Nakovivi (f)
M1

29 Toyoigo = Nabwetuva
Lb(M1) M1 Toyoigo is only member of his dala except
Kaliguay

30 ~~Greypan~~ HELEPANI (Atawaia) = Katikikeuse
Lbt(M1) M1 Greypan is from Dobu Kailobu(m),
Nabosiu (f), Kabwenaia (f), Tobewaga (m), Bosiwosi (f),
Katupoi (m), Napukoia (f), Mlakaba (m) Kailobu(m)

31 Kunvania = Kamtalu Kasikalu, Kunvania tuwana
M1(Lbt1) Lbt1(M1) M1
Napaduoga (f), Taideli (m), Nakovivi (f), BOGABWAGA(S), BOBWENIGU(S)
was out of Vakuta in 1971, back in 1980.

32 Kaligwai = Maria
Lb(M3) M3(M1)
Nakabikwasi (f), tabbuna Maria

33 Sivalola = Bopyomu
M3 M(M3) from Kavataria; dalana in Vakuta.
Tolikuna (m), Mtaiwa (m), Kaduagova (m), Florence (Nabwibwi)
(f), Baiyawa (f)

34 Myodala
Ls6(M3)

35 Daibugu = Gubuweyo
Ls4 M(Ls4) from Giva
Towawaga (S), [illegible] (D), [illegible] (D), Igigia (f),
Migitaloko (D), Laiboto ( )

36 Sikwedoga = Migitaloko
M5(Ls4) Ls4(M5)

36A Buyakiriwina = Naukipo
Ls5(M3) M3(Ls5)
Kausara ( )

37 Toinebuena = Ilakaiyaku Bomtakata, kadana Toinebuena
M5(Ls5) Ls5(M5) M5
~~Naiomi,~~ Kadana Toinebuena =
M5

38 Kamsimisi Monomata, tabuna Kamsimisi
M3 M3

39 Ilumgwao (f)
Lbt 2

40 Kamtalabuma = Daubutu (Pasinai)
Lbt2 M(Lbt2)
Kadigilibo ( )

41 Munuwata = Nagusaiwo
Ls4(Ms) M3(Ls4)
Mogobado (M), Kanumaiyola (M), Tosibbogwakaduwaga (M)

42 Kwabula = Nabwiou
Lb1(Ls4) Ls4(Lb1)
Tabuna: Bodia (m), [illegible] (m), Bomatoi (f), Mary (f)

43 Navetaki (f) = Moseli (m)
Ls1(M5) M5(Ls1)
Namogeya (m)

44 Kwenama = Ilakaina
Ls3(M5) M5(Ls3)
Naulabu (f), Bukoya (m), Kwabibaka (f), Tosipwara (m),
Tobiesala (m), Ulibbea (m)

45 Nugwanagula = Imtoluya
Ls3(M5) M5(Ls3)
Bobukoya (f), Nakatoi (f)

46 Kakoba = Nabbororoga
Ls3 M(Ls3) from Tawema
Mekaoli (m), Mokaipaka (m), Topiesi (m), Sipapali (f),
Milei (m), BOWAI (f), Dowawaia (1971 D).

47 Gumabau = Nabwatasi
Ls3(M4) M4(Ls3)
Towawaga (m), Toiledi (m), Bidamata (f), Inekava (f),
Daliğutuma (f), Mamwanayola (m) TOMDIA (m).

48 Moredauta = Darubusi Iyeola (Nauuna Darubusi)
Lbt2(Ls3) Ls3(Lbt2) Nabosau (f), Mobina (m)
Nakaidoga (f), ~~Isigwama (f)~~ ← mistake to x out.
ISIGWAMA (f)

49 Kauyapwasa = Sipwesa
Ls3(M2) M2(Ls3)
Sikwadeo (f)

50 Gumagao = Borai
Lbt2(M3) M3(Lbt2)
Lebuna (m), Idebu (f), Bukuladoga (f), ~~Nakaesowa (f)~~,
~~Naukupo (f)~~, Migavanu (m) (~~[illegible]~~)

51 Motobwaga (m) = Itosi
~~(Lbt2)~~ M5(Lbt2)
Mubununa (m), Topoya (m), Bokabwalu (f), Bosigana (m)

52 Bomatu = Bokaisi
M3 Lbt1(M3) from Kaisiga village.
Moriyouvana = Itumakila Moriyouvana is natuna of Bomatu and
Bokaisi Monabibi
Lbt(Ms) Ls LBT1

53 Maisina = Igiyasila
Lbt1(M5) M5(Lbt1)
Bokamwana (f), Bomweguna (f)

54 Lowalowatogaga = Bweyarana
Ls5(M5) M5(Ls5)
Bwakulidoga (m), Isikila (f), Botobesita (f)

55 Yakoguyau = Batilakoba
M5(M2) M2(M5)
Tauromwasi (m), MOSAKUNA (m), IYOWANA (f), KANAKAELULU (M)

56 Yokumgwa = Inamwali
M5(Ls4) Ls4(M5)
No kids

57 Anthropologist's house

58 Kweyala = Inawala
Lbt3(Lbl) Lbl(Lbt3)
Tabuna: Bodanai (f), Mokaramwesi (m), natuna of Bokaivato

59 John = AREBIA
Lbt3(M5) (Lbt3) M5
Kalipwaya (m), Bomtuguwa (f)

60 Mwadona = Iluvegana
M4(Ls1) Ls1(M4) PILIGAGA(f) - at another village ISAKITA(f).
Topoidabina (m), Mlaguana (m), ~~Magdala (f)~~ NAMOGEYA(f), SILITANA(M),
Tomoisiga, Nunieta Iluvegana - fa. of Magdala(f), ~~[illegible]~~.
Ls1
His children: Bweigega (f), Nimawana (f), Kwetanavanu (f),
Isiguadi (f), Magdala is his too.

61 Ebramo = Sedaka
Lbt3(M4) (Lbt3) from Mwatao
Mulukwewa (m), Iyebwaku (f), Itakeda ( ) all tabunas-
(note he is Kadiabwau's child)
Kadawaga is mo.
Isgat/tawema

62 Eberi = Nakausewa
M4(M3) M3(M4)
Igilanona (f), Isiuleli (m) Mumunatas child they care for [illegible]
(they care for her, but she is Kadiabwau's child & is noted there too.)

63 Katusasa = Jim Kabwaku
M4 Ls(M4) from Kabwaku
Iluvasisuva (f), Giobutu (m), Bomlabwaga (f), Kasidagula (f),
~~Meidara~~ MWADODINA (m)

64 Wenakaisisu = Ilou
Lbt3(M5, M4) M4(Lbb3)
Tabuna: Myola (f), D bwasavana (f), Peyaosa (f),
Iyadeko (her kids, but not married when she had them.
Ilau married at Kuviga)

65 Mweyoga = Bodawala
Ls4(M4) M4(Ls4)
Tabuna: Tokowakena (m), Sisiokwa (f), Arugaema = Bweyareu -
their kids

66 Kaibwai = Iyola
M4 CLKS
NABOSAU(f), MOBINA(m), ~~EYABASEO(M)~~

67 Topinuoka = Makaigola
Ls1(M5) M5(Ls1)
Lumwaigigita (f)

68 Duguvisi
M4
Tobitam = Iduku Tobitam is natuna of Duguvisi
M4 Ls(M4) from Simsims.

69 Davanai
M5

70 Ganumora
Ls4

KADUWAGA HOUSE LOCATIONS

Malasi 1: Tabalu. Houses all together in center of village. Nakovivi lives there as a widow; Kadikikeuse and Nabwetuva live there though they are married. Tabalu land.

Malasi 2: Tokiwaga. Monakim owns land in Okowakena and all married male members live on it: Monakim, Mtoidi, and Mwakania.

Malasi 3: Tosunapula. Bomatu, Monumata and Kamsimisi are in Onotuma, the original stronghold of the Tosunapulas. The brother set Kaulau, Bwayaweu, Towagaima, Gumayoguna and Uligaga all live on land given by their father, Ganumora in Waseva. Kamsieboda lives in Okowakena near Motolina, tamana, who cared for him. Sivalola lives in Otubokau next to his father, Myodala.

Malasi 4: Imwadora, Eberi, Tobitam, Kaibwai, and Katusasa all live in Waseva. Their sister, Bodawala, lives there too. Tonisara's house is ppart from the others by the sea because there was a quarrel. This land apparently all belongs to the eldest male in the dala.

Malasi 5: Sikwedoga and Toinabuena are in Otubokau on land they got paternally from Myodala's ancestor, probably his father. Yakoguyau is in Otubokau to be near Toinabuena who cared for him. Mosela in Onotuma because Bwayaka was his kada is there with Bwayaka's father; Motolina. Toimwana in Okowakena with Motolina, a tama who raised him. Davanai in Waseva with his father.

Lukwasisiga 1: Peter and Douwa live on land given by their father as kunututu. Tomoisiga lives with his sister Iluvegana, who resides in Waseva with her husband.

Lukwasisiga 2: Kabwabwena and Towana live on land they got from their father in Waseva. If one dies the other will probably go and live on land which has been passed through their own dala and is currently owned by Bodia. This is in Okowakena. Motovau, Paikaka, Mokoropata and Giolema live near Bodia on this land. Ganumora lives in Waseva next to his sons. Mweyoga quarreled with Bodia and went to live in Waseva with offspring. Towana is on Tabalu land his father gave him, and Kabwabwena and his wife care for him. Munuwata is in Onotuma with his father Kwabula, Daibugu in Otukokau with his father Sikwedoga.

Lukwasisiga 3: Kwenama, Kakoba, Gumabao, Kauyapwasa, Nugwanagula all live togehher in Onotuma. Katubai says this is Kwenama's land, but people in Onotuma disagree. All the mentioned men except Kwenama are sons of Moredauta, whose dalana also live in Onotuma next to these men. It was Gumagao, Moredauta's dalana, who told me the land is not Ksenama's, and probably they are residing there paternally.

Lukwasisiga 4: Motolina and Kadovanai in Okowakena on Malasi land because of paternal ties. Buyainakiriwina with his tabu Toinebuena.

Lukwasisiga 5: Myodala owns land in Otubokau and lives on it. He got it frmm his father.

Lukulabuta 1: Moriawala and Maisina are in Onotuma nexxt to father, Bomatu.

Lukulabuta 2: Gumagao, Motobwaga, Kamtalabuma, and Moredausa together in Onotuma. Women of this dala married into the Tosunapula a long time ago and got the land transmitted paternally.

Lukulabuta 3: Towaymata, Wanakaisisu, Kweyala, and Giyabologgu are all together in Waseva. Some woman married Moneyau, lb, whose mother had married a Tosunapula. Double paternal transmission.

Lukuba 1: Kwabula is in Onotuma on land his father held.

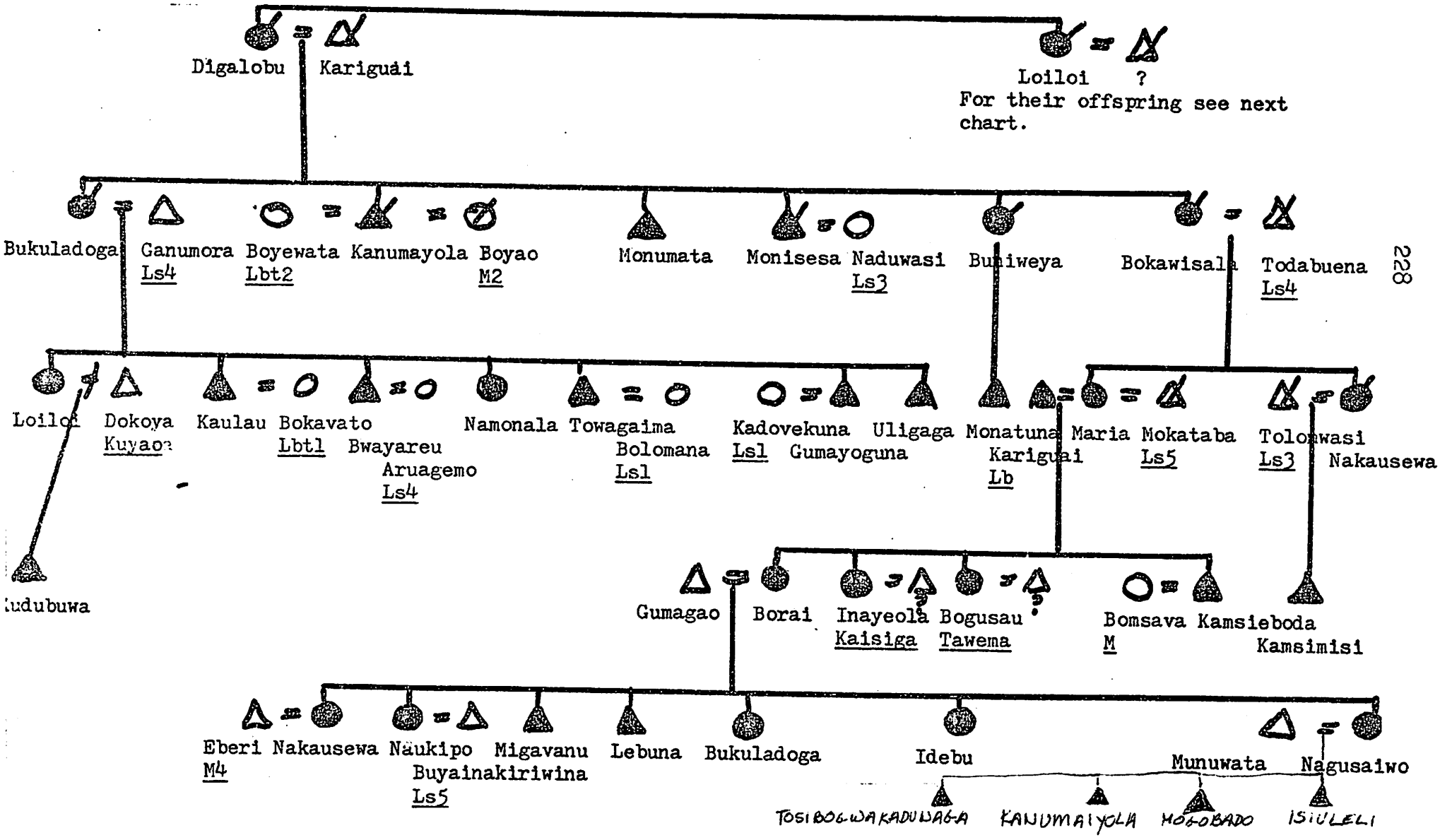
Lukuba 2: Mtoyoigo and Kariguai live in Otubokau with their Tabalu offspring.

I am not certain as to the status of these land claims. In some instances the people living on land transmitted from another dala have the right to keep it and transmit it as they wish, and in some instances it will revert. Thus Sivalola will not inherit Myodala's land, but it will revert back probably to the Tabalu. My uncertainty is due to the fact that there are numerous different types of land gifts and I did not have the opportunity to investigate them.

Fig. 20.--Malasi

Fig. 21.--Malaai Tabalu

Fig. 21.--Malasi 3



MALASI 3 CONTINUED

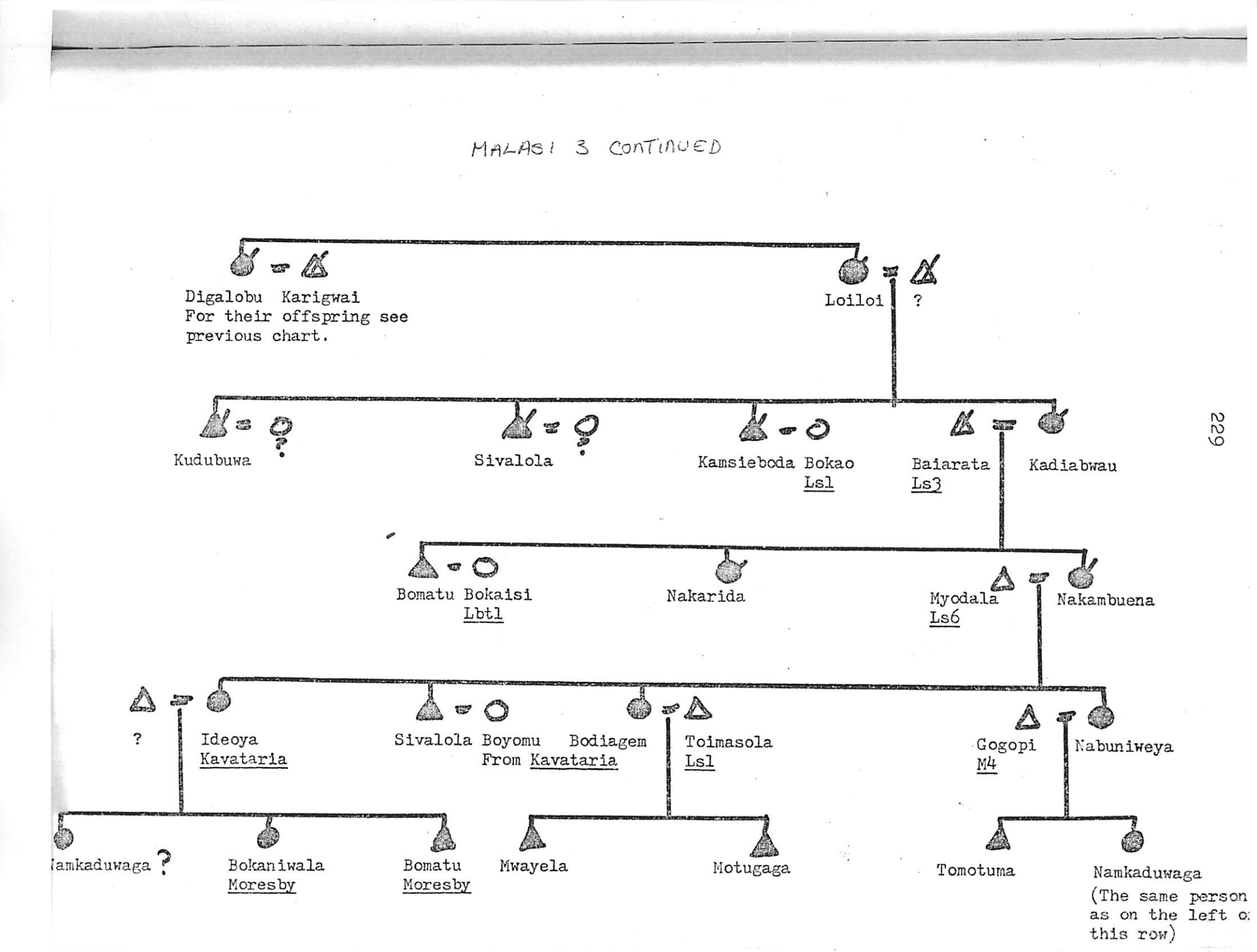


Fig. 22.--Malasi Tolìwaga

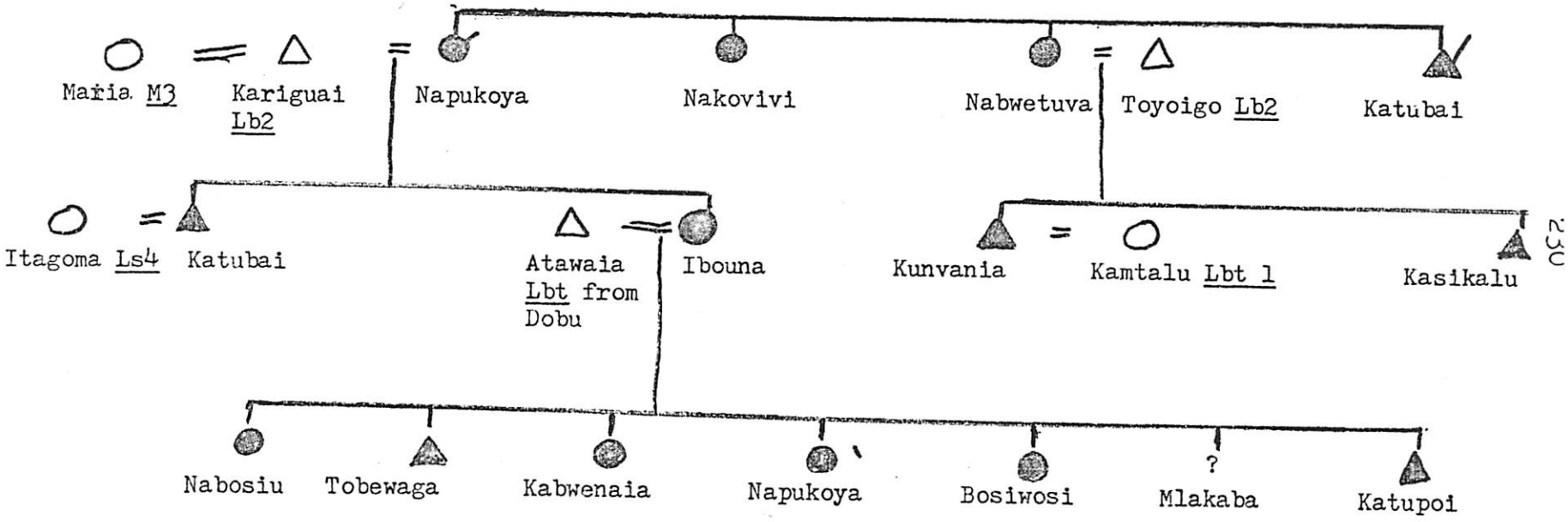


Fig. 22.--Malasi Tabalu (M1)

Fig. 23.--Malasi:4

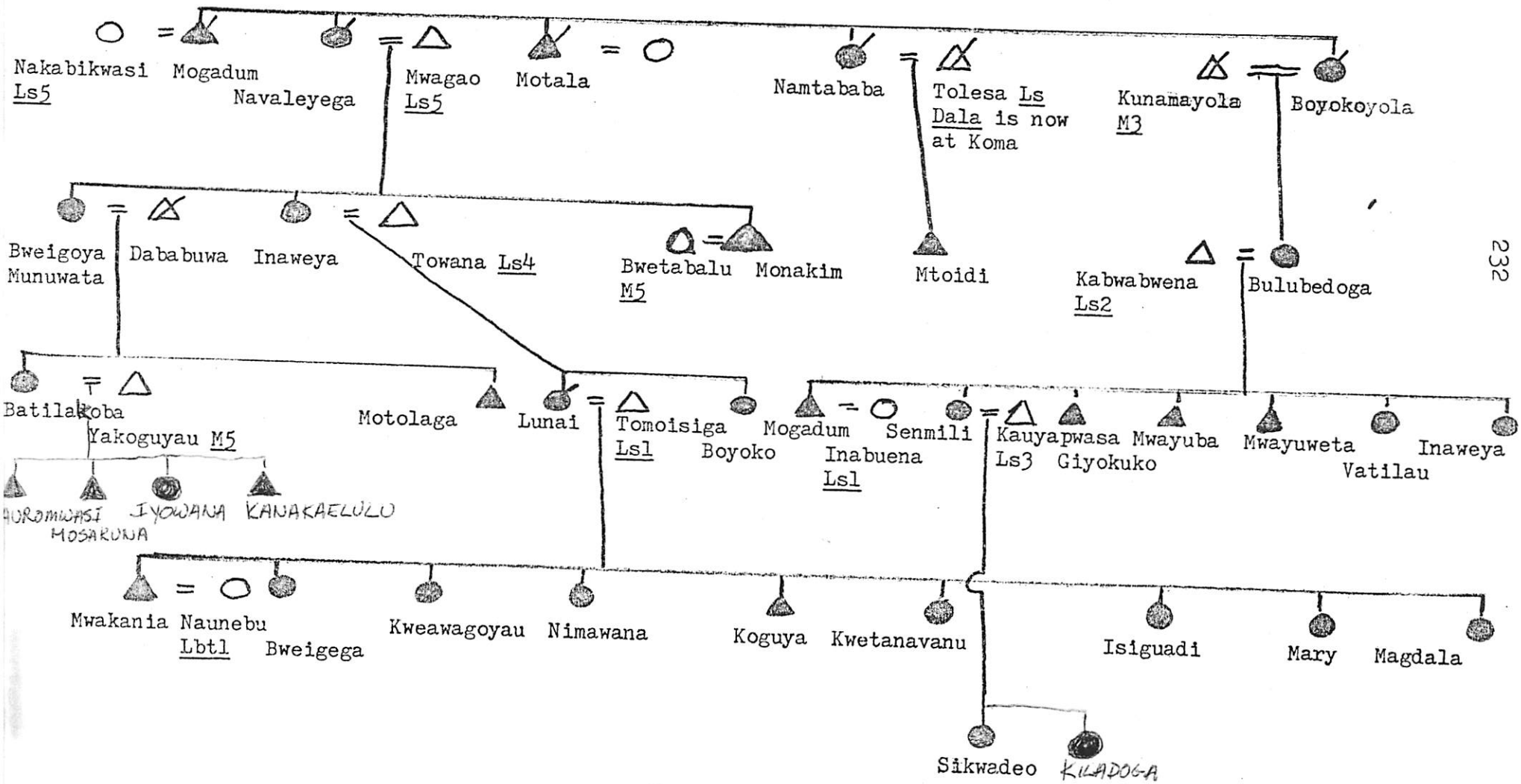
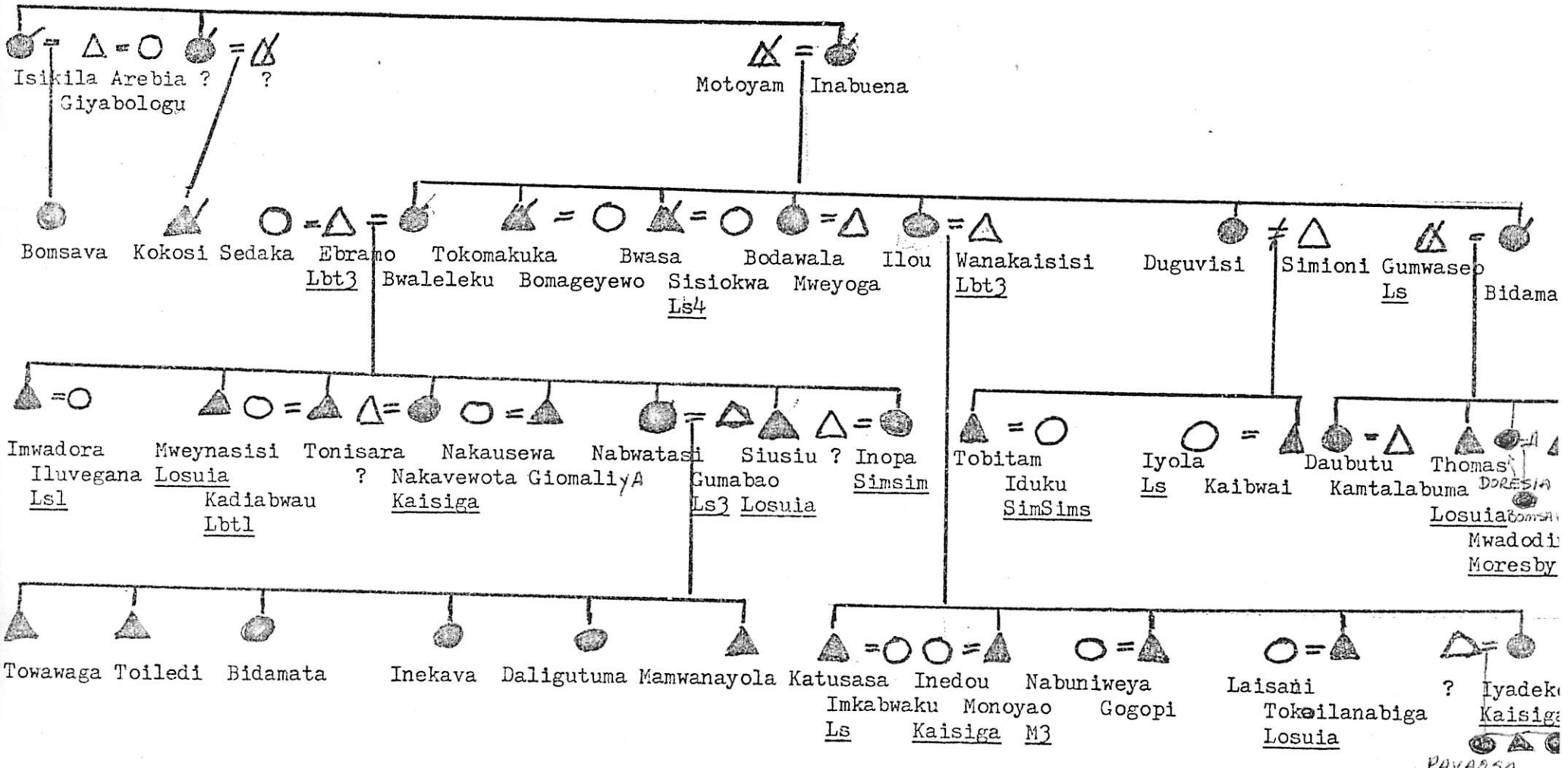


Fig. 23.--Malasi Toliwaga (M2)

Fig. 24.--Malasi:5



Probably Isikila is really the child of Bidamata, not Inabuena's sister. Informants said it was too long ago to really remember.

Fig. 24.--Malasi:4

Fig. 25.--Lukwasisiga:1

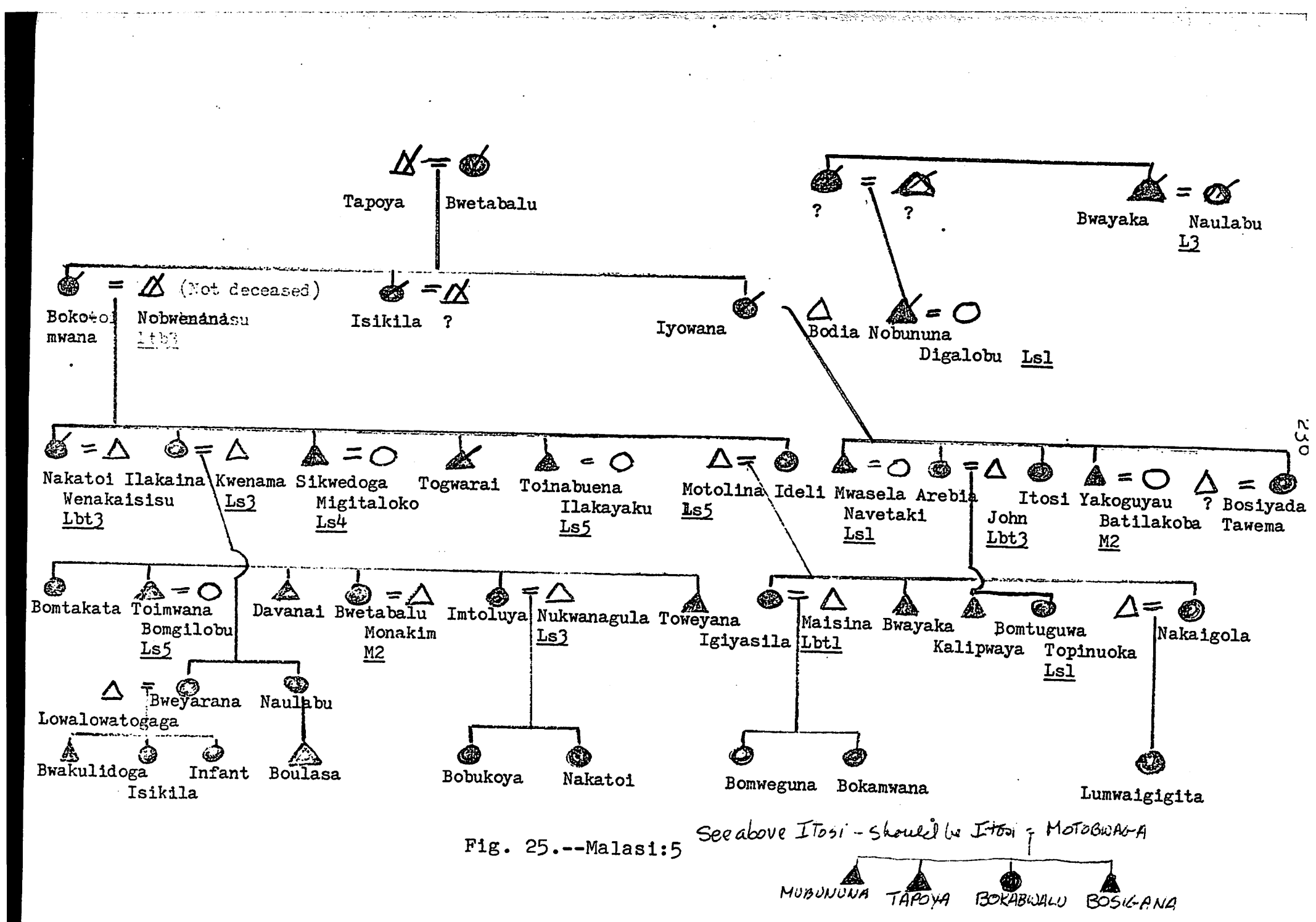


Fig. 25.--Malasi:5

See above Itosi - should be Itosi & MOTOBWAGA

MUBUNUNA TAPOYA BOKABWALU BOSIGANA

Fig. 26.--Lukwasisiga:2 and 4

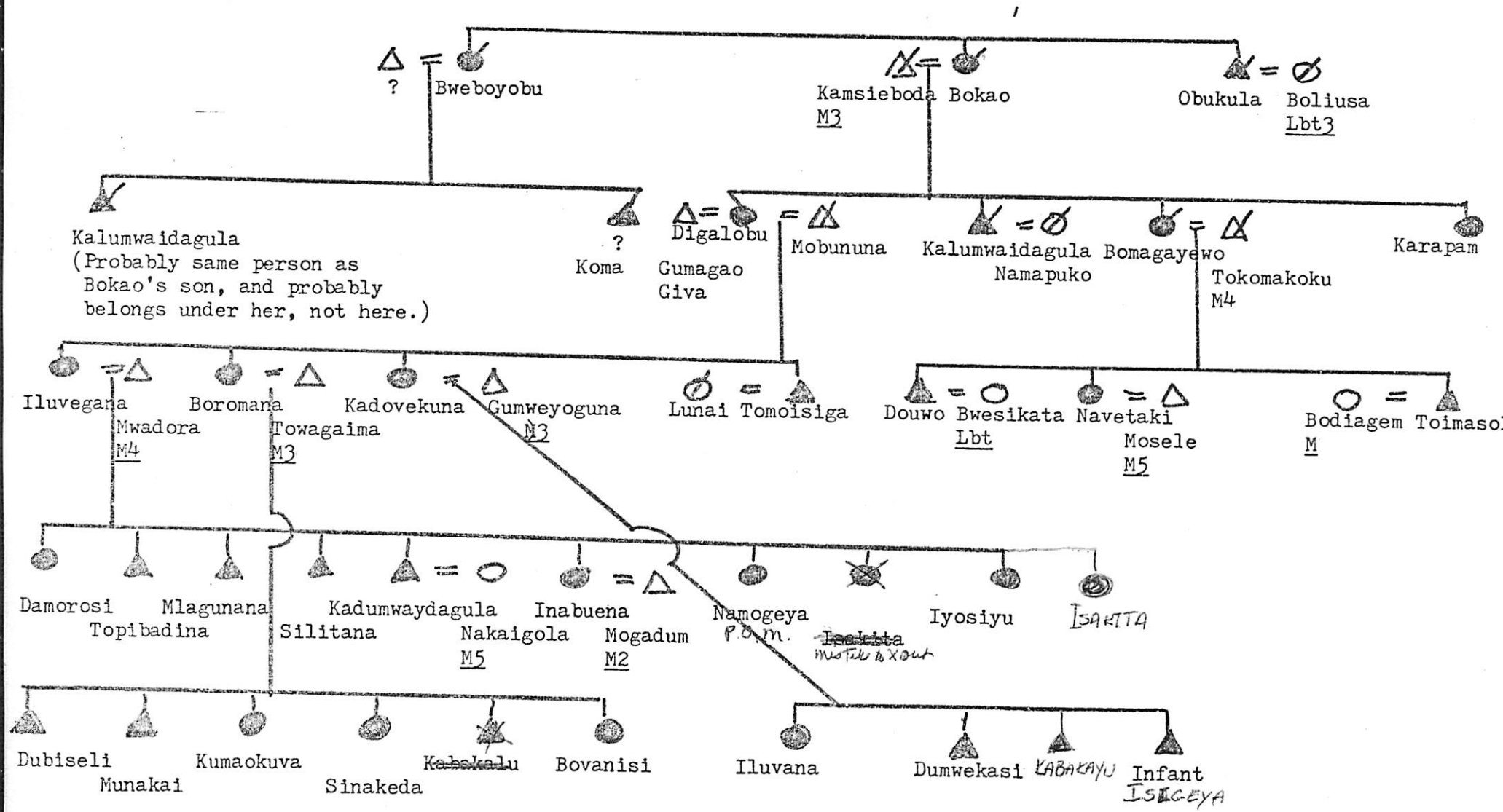


Fig. 26.--Lukwasisiga:1

Fig. 27.--Lukwasisiga:3

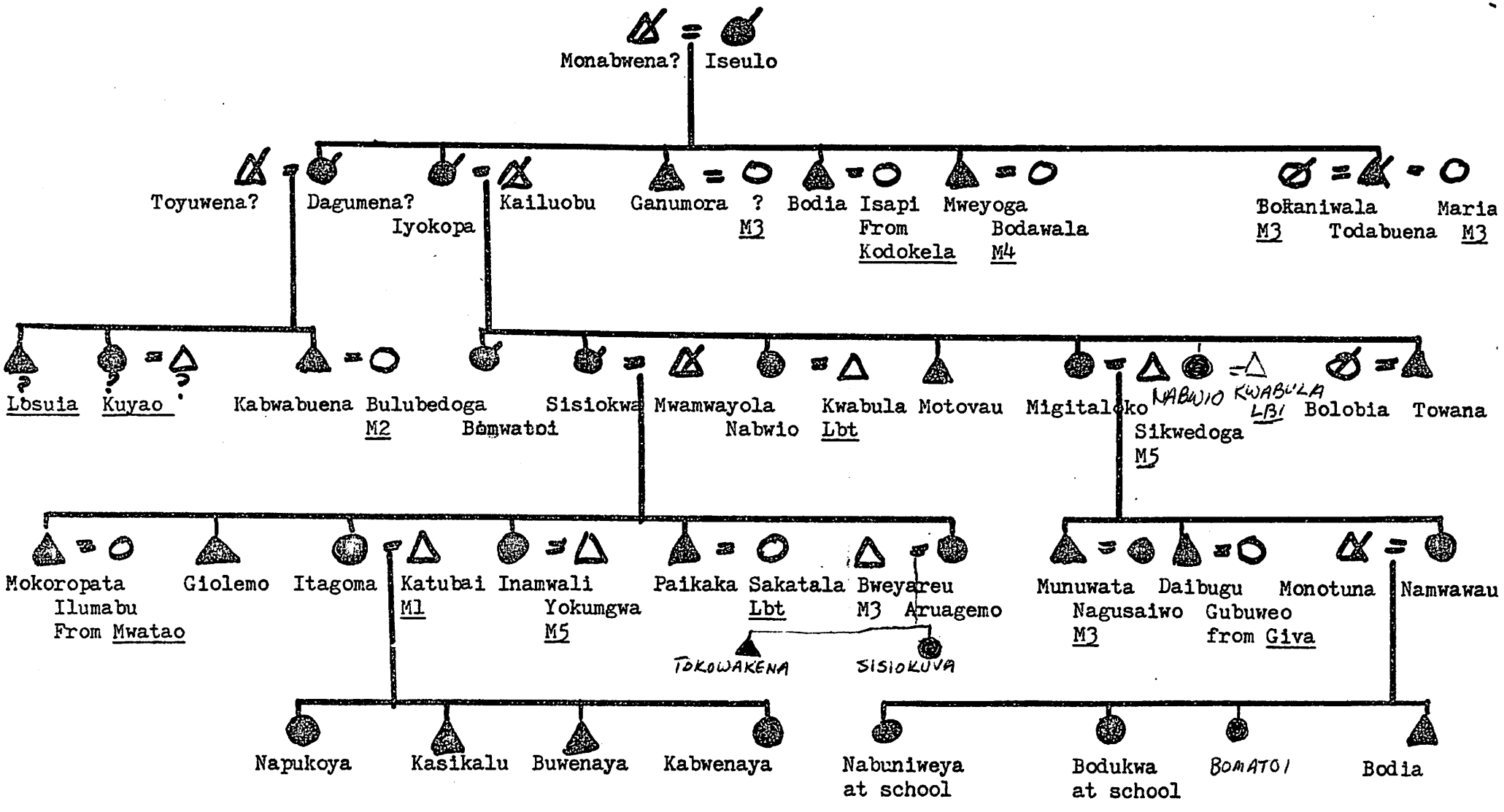


Fig. 27.--Lukwasisiga:2 and 4

Fig. 28.--Lukwasisiga:5

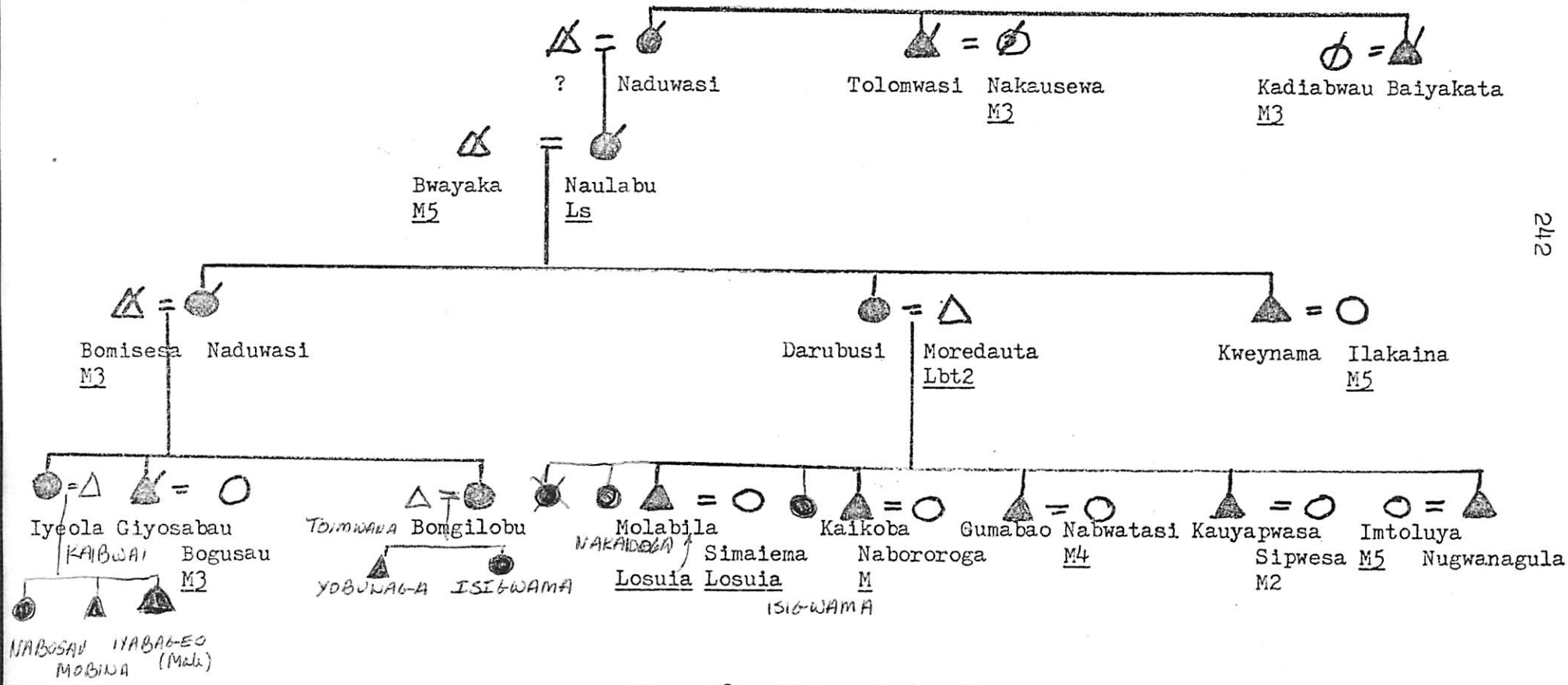


Fig. 28.--Lukwasisiga:3

Fig. 29.--Lukwasisiga:6

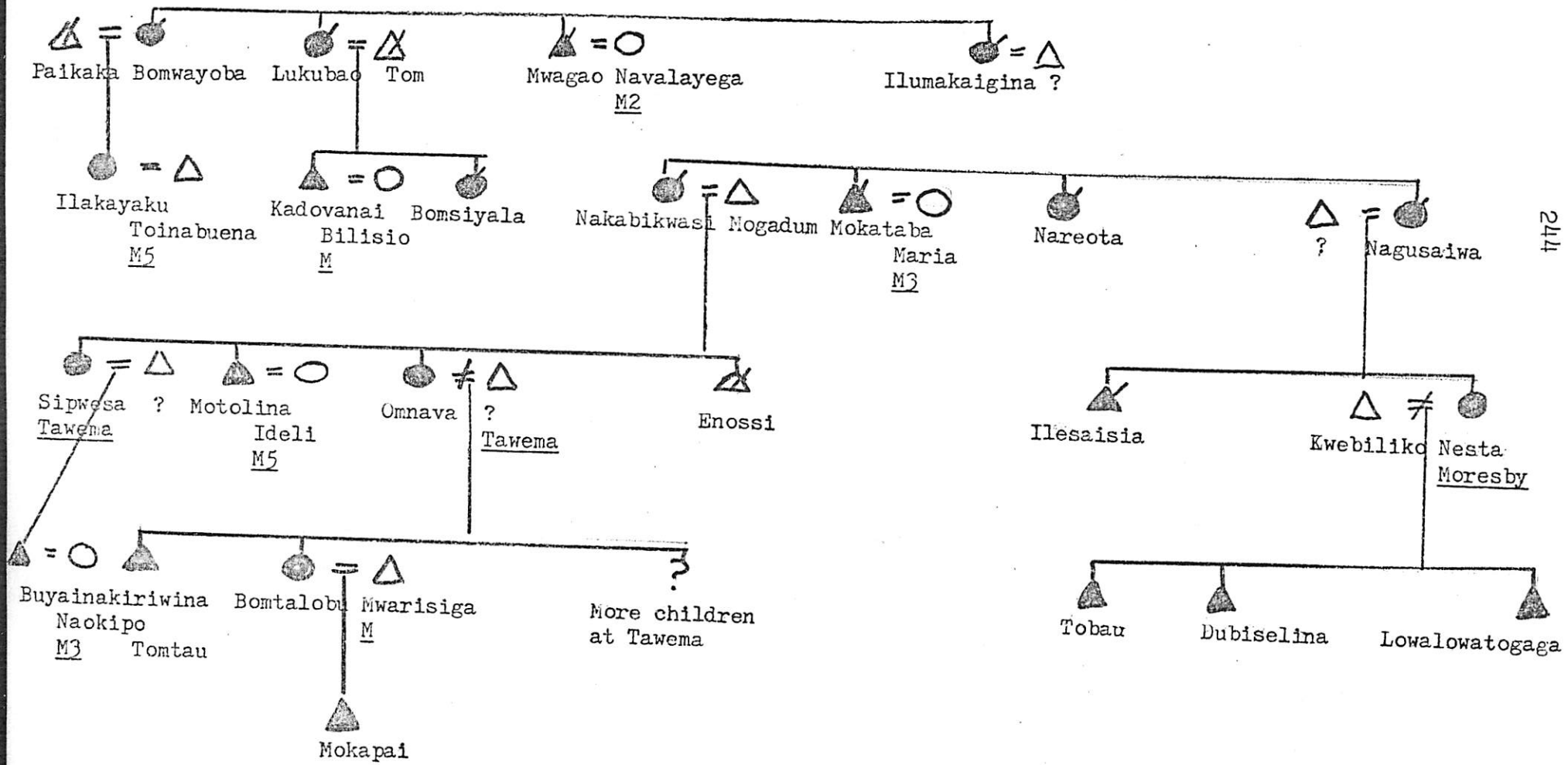


Fig. 29.--Lukwasisiga:5

Fig. 30.--Lukulabuta:1

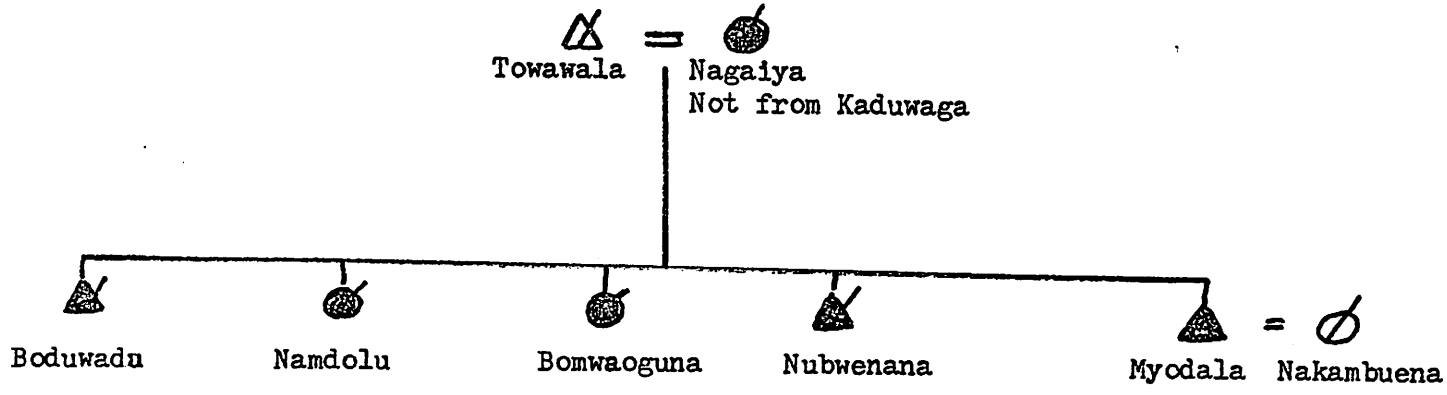


Fig. 30.--Lukwasisiga:6

Fig. 31.--Lukulabuta:3

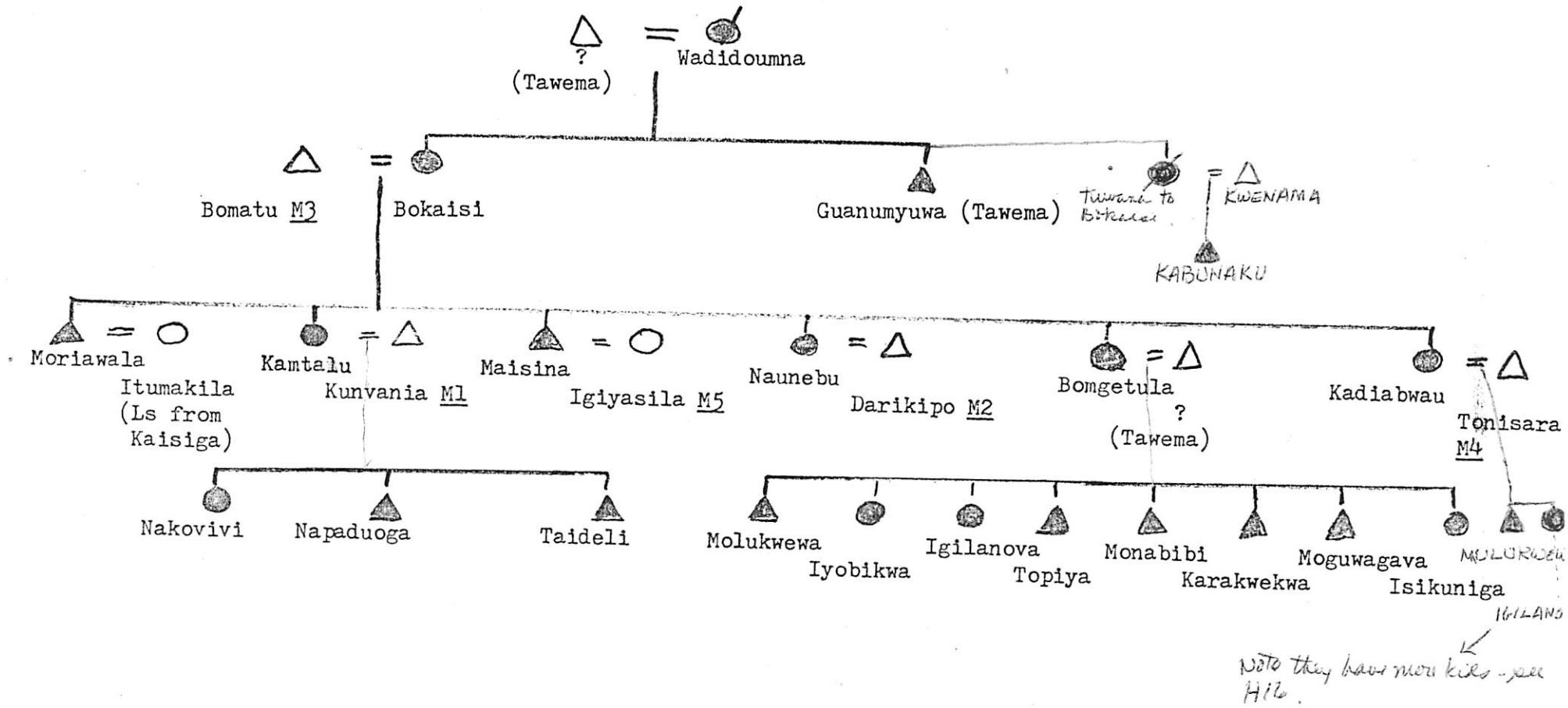


Fig. 31.--Lukulabuta:1

Fig. 32.--Lukulabuta:3

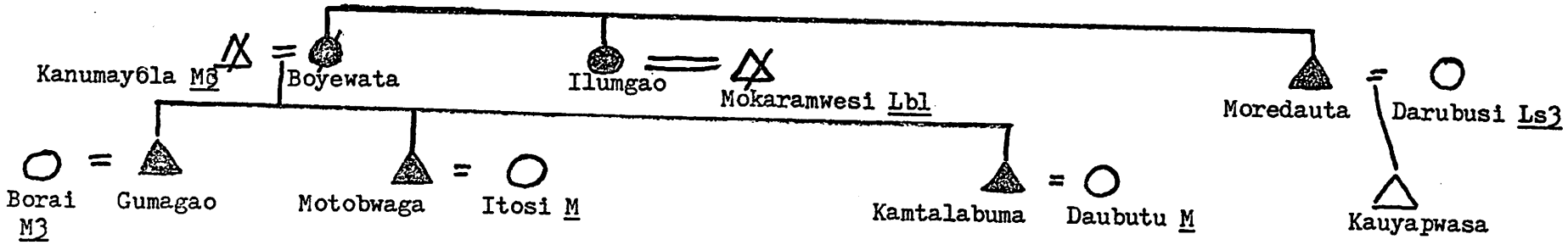


Fig. 32.--Lukulabuta:2

Fig. 33.--Lukuba:1

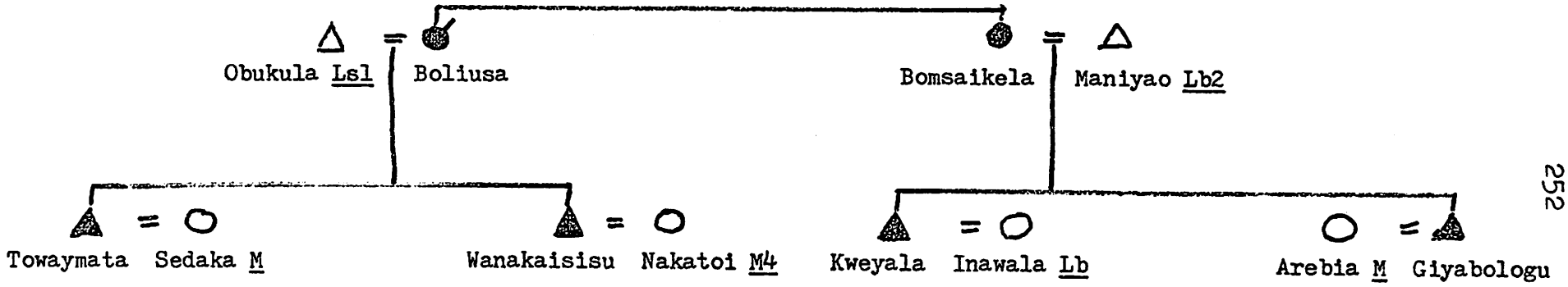


Fig. 33.--Lukulabuta:3

Fig. 34.--Lukuba:2

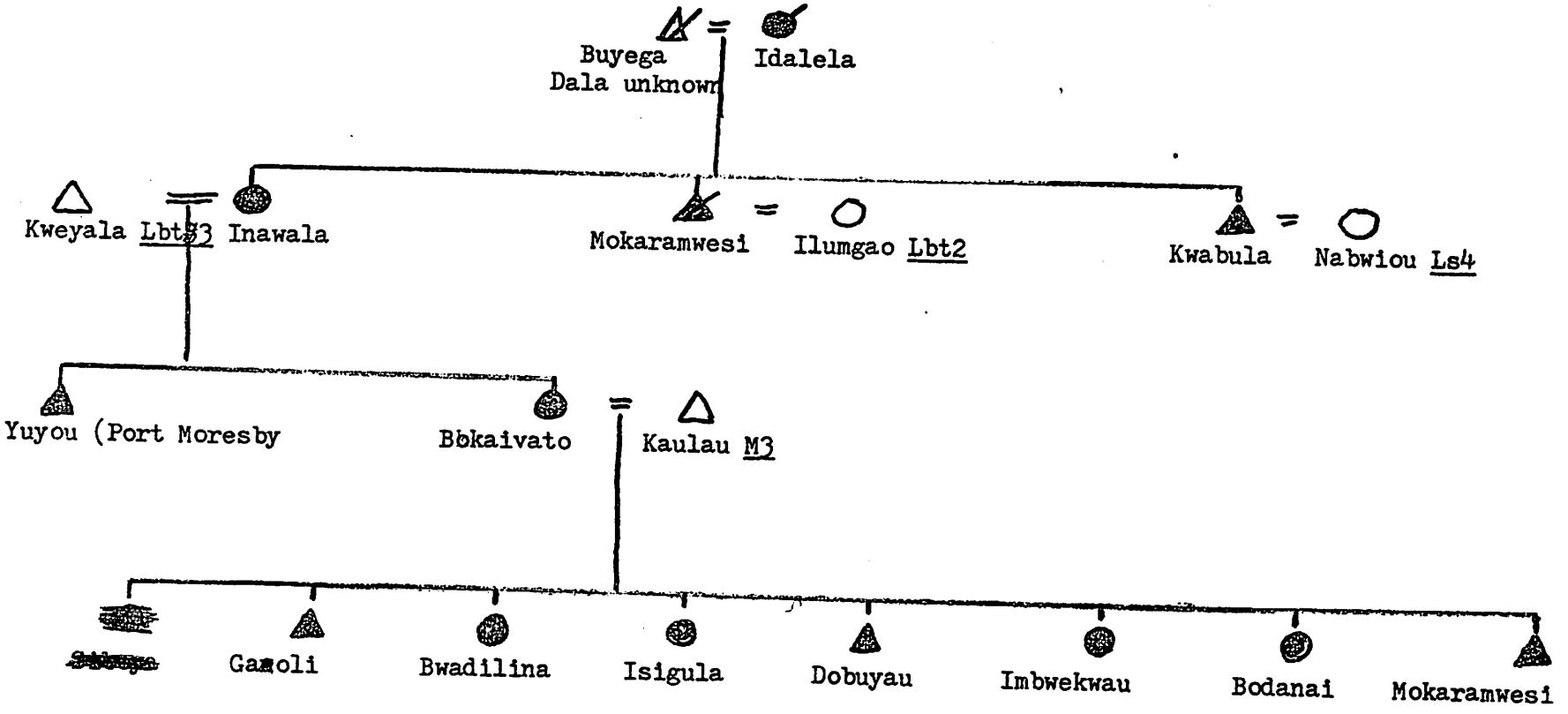


Fig. 34.--Lukuba:1

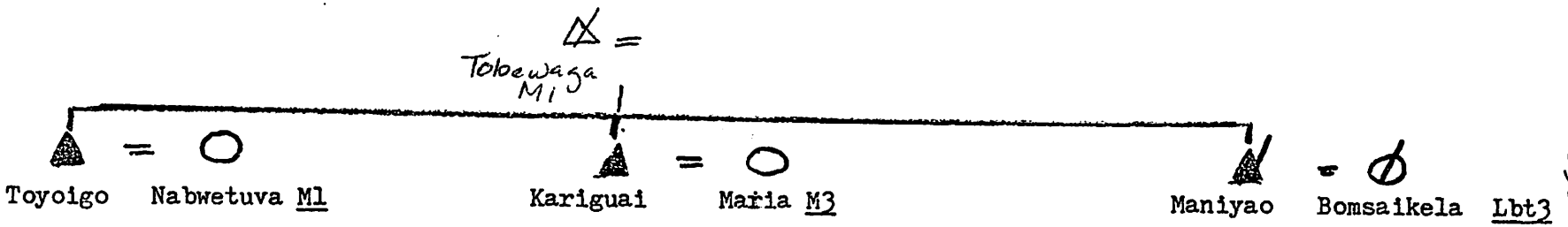


Fig. 35.--Lukuba:2

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