



The Story of Raga : A Man's Ethnography on His Own Society (IV) : Man and Woman

Yoshioka, Masanori

(Citation)

国際文化学研究 : 神戸大学国際文化学部紀要, 24:A31-A63

(Issue Date)

2005-09

(Resource Type)

departmental bulletin paper

(Version)

Version of Record

(JaLCD0I)

<https://doi.org/10.24546/00422827>

(URL)

<https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14094/00422827>



The Story of Raga: A Man's Ethnography on His Own Society (IV): Man and Woman

Masanori YOSHIOKA

INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth part of an "experimental ethnography" entitled "The Story of Raga", which consists of a text written in Raga (the language of North Raga) by the late Rev. David Tevimule in 1966, with its English translation as well as an introduction showing the data collected during my field research on the same topic.

Although there have been several experimental trials with respect to writing ethnographies, a new and general way to describe another culture has yet to be established (cf. Crapanzano 1980, Marcus and Fischer 1985). In this paper, I present a way of describing another culture: I describe the culture of North Raga by providing two texts. Of these two texts, one was written in the Raga language by a native intellectual; the other, based on my field research in North Raga, I have authored.

The concept of polyphonic description was proposed by Clifford, who insisted that the voice of a native informant should be directly cited in an ethnography, so as not to be extinguished by the monophonic voice of the ethnographer (Clifford, 1988). However, it is difficult for most readers of ethnography to understand the meaning of a native speaking in his or her own language, even if it has been translated literally into the language of the reader, because of conceptual gaps between the two languages. The ethnographer, therefore, should transform the raw information provided by a native in his or her language into

an interpreted translation that the reader can understand; however, this process tends to result, ultimately, in a monophonic description on the part of the ethnographer. To avoid inappropriately processing the raw material in this series of papers, I have translated the Ragan text word-for-word into English; detailed notes supplement the translation, so that the reader can understand the meaning of the literal translation.

North Raga is located in the northern part of Raga, or Pentecost Island, in Vanuatu, where I conducted anthropological field research in 1974, in 1981 and 1982, and in 1985 and 1997. Almost all of the people there are Christian, and their existence depends primarily on slash-and-burn cultivation of taro and yam.

The Rev. David Tevimule was born and raised in North Raga. After his marriage, he went to the Solomon Islands to train as an Anglican priest. He then returned to Vanuatu as a priest and began to teach at the Anglican School in Central Pentecost. After retiring from teaching at the school, he returned to North Raga and lived in the village of Tasvarongo. In spite of his long life outside of North Raga, he was well known to the local people for his extensive knowledge of local customs. To our deep regret, he passed away in 1984.

The original title of his text, which was written in the form of a hand-copied book, is *Vevhurin Raga*, which means "The Story of Raga". It consists of twenty chapters and concerns various aspects of North Raga culture: its origin myth, kin relations, grade-taking ceremony, chiefs, initiation rites, and customs concerning birth, marriage, and death. In this paper, I translate Chapters 10 and 11, in which Rev. David Tevimule describes man-woman relationships in North Raga as well as customs concerning birth. In this introduction, I will discuss the sexual relationship and some of the birth customs in North Raga.

There are many words that are used in private that mean "to have sexual intercourse"; these include, *wali*, *waliwali*, and *sarisari*. These words are not used in public meeting places; people use *bulu* or *lagi* when they want to refer to sexual intercourse in public. *Bulu* is a general word meaning "to gather together", or "to stick", while *lagi* means "to marry". In North Raga, to have sexual intercourse ideally means to marry, because sexual intercourse before marriage was, and still is, publicly prohibited. As discussed in "The Story of Raga II", a woman's only marriageable choices are persons in the category known as her *sibi*, which means that those individuals are the only persons with whom she may have sexual intercourse. However, she must avoid contact with her male *sibi*, as demonstrated by the custom that she hide herself if she sees one of them near her; this custom makes it easier for her not to have sexual intercourse before marriage. The concept of *lagiana* (marriage) is constructed from these ideal norms.

Of course, the reality sometimes deviates from the ideal. In North Raga, the concepts of *bonaga* and *tañataña* are used to describe deviations from the ideal norms for sexual intercourse. *Bonaga*, in the narrow sense, means, "to have intercourse between true parents and children or between true brothers and sisters", which creates an aversion to these people, while in the broad sense it means "to marry a person of a non-marriageable category", which is sometimes tolerated if the relationship between the man and the woman is not regarded as serious *bonaga*. In North Raga, there are exogamous moieties, and marriage within these groups is treated as a serious deviation, similar to *bonaga* in the narrow sense. Throughout the periods of my field research, I was unable to identify such a case that was not based on rumor. On the other hand, *bonaga* between moieties, which means a marriage or sexual intercourse between a man and his *vwavwa*, *sibi*, or *nitu* (a woman and her *tama*, *mabi*, or *nitu*), is criticized but not treated as a serious case⁽¹⁾. Since sexual intercourse before marriage is called *tañataña*, the case mentioned above is not only *bonaga* but also *tañataña*.

Although such a *tañataña* is an offense against the rules for sexual activity and married life in North Raga, it usually results in marriage, in which case it is still considered to be wrong, although it is tolerated.

Tañataña applies not only to sexual intercourse before marriage but also to adultery, which has a serious impact on a married couple. Adultery is punished by a fine of a pig, the type of which varies depending on the nature of the case. In one case involving a married man and an unmarried woman, the married man gave a pig called a *bobibia* to the woman's father, while the latter handed a pig called a *tausiri* over to the married man's wife. In a case involving a married man and a married woman, the former gave *livoala* to the latter's husband and a certain amount of money to his wife, while the latter gave *tausiri* to the wife of the former⁽²⁾. Although the relationship between the offenders and the villagers is fully restored, as long as the fines are paid, the relationship between husband and wife is not so easily restored. When the marital relationship becomes worse, or if it has not been good from the start of the marriage, it is not unusual for the wife to leave home and for people to call her *vavin toa* (a fowl woman); this is explained further in Section 4 of Chapter 10 in this paper.

It is generally thought that a "fowl woman" will return home in the course of time, that is, after two or three years, although she has had the freedom in this time to wander anywhere she wants to go. In the past, a husband was said to have brought his wife back tied by a string, as if she were a pig, although today men do no such thing and wait patiently at home for a "fowl woman" to return. It is not a wise policy for a woman who leaves home to take refuge in her father's house (not only her true father, but also one of her classificatory fathers) because it is her father's duty to return her to her husband with some kind of payment by way of a fine. In one case, a father brought a daughter back to her husband, together with a large red mat and a meal of taro and yam as a fine payment. There are certainly cases in which the "fowl woman" does not return

to her husband, and the divorce is approved after a conference of the fathers of the husband and the wife⁽³⁾.

Tañataña is also used for cases of attempted or accomplished violations, the former of which is settled when the offender's side pays a fine to the father of the victim. In one case, a young man tried to force a young woman down to an isolated seashore, but she managed to run away. In the village court, held by the village chiefs, this young man was publicly accused by the woman's father and was sentenced to pay a fine of one pig, called a *bobibia*, to the woman's father. After the court's decision, a kava party⁽⁴⁾ was held, at which the offender and the father of the victim drank kava together, meaning that the offender's crime had been forgiven. In fact, the young man continued his life as before, following this incident.

The case of an accomplished violation is beyond the limits of today's village courts, although every type of this kind of crime had been judged there in the past. In today's North Raga, a serious crime, such as a rape, is judged in the national court, and an offender who is punished by the law of Vanuatu goes to jail if he or she is found guilty.

II

Although many women of North Raga today give birth to children in the hospital, in the past it was common for childbirth to occur in the house of the expectant parents. The woman giving birth and a midwife remained in this house while the husband was obliged to wait in the meeting house called the *gamali*. There was no special house assigned for childbirth. It was said that a woman became pregnant⁽⁵⁾ when she missed a menstrual period⁽⁶⁾. Several foods were prohibited for pregnant women, including birds, fish, flying fox, octopus, and hermit crab. Although, according to Codrington (Codrington, 1891:229), the husband should not eat marine products such as hermit crab lest a swelling appear

on the body of their child, as far as I know, husbands generally appeared to be free of such prohibitions. In addition, it is said that there are no special customs in cases of twins or of babies born buttocks first⁽⁷⁾.

After the birth of a child, *bwaraitoa* was and is performed. *Bwaraitoa* is a kind of joking ritual that is performed by one's classificatory *tama* (father), *uwavwa* (father's sister) or *sibi* (mother's father and mother's father's sister) in which they celebrate the birth of the child or express joy. It is also made in marriage ceremonies and the *bolololi* ceremony. On occasions of childbirth, people perform two kinds of *bwaraitoa*, one of which is called *togotogoi* and the other is called *noiñoi*. Although it has been said that only the baby's father's sisters performed this behavior in the past, the classificatory fathers of the baby also do so today. The joking ritual called *togotogoi* involves the stealing of some possessions of no great value, such as fowls, from the true father of a newborn by its father's sisters and the classificatory fathers. The *noiñoi* involves placing a leaf of the ti-tree on the yam, taro, kava, or other farm products of the true father of the baby; the baby's father's sisters and the classificatory fathers perform this action. *Noiñoi* is a kind of taboo that prohibits the true father from harvesting these products. The relatives tie the tip of the leaf and the leafstalk in order to make a knot when a male child is born, while the tip of the knotted leaf is pushed into the knot when a female child is born.

Bwaraitoa is usually performed by several of the father's sisters and classificatory fathers who have a close relationship with the true father of the baby. The ritual is usually performed for the first child born. However, I know of a case in which *bwaraitoa* was performed when a man's fifth child was born. This occurred because his fifth child was the first male child. He and his sisters and brothers were extremely glad and the father's sisters and the classificatory fathers of the baby performed *bwaraitoa*.

In the past, it was customary for the mother and her baby to stay inside the

house for ten days after childbirth. On the tenth day, one of the mother's brothers would put a piglet or a large red mat in front of the house, and would say, "I let you out of the house," after which the mother and baby could leave the house and walk freely around the village. The red mat or the piglet was a kind of gift, called *tabeana*⁽⁸⁾, to the child by its mother's brother. At present, such a custom seems to have disappeared, and it appears that a woman who gives birth to a child in her house rather than in the hospital is able to walk freely around the village even after three days if she has recovered her strength.

One of the most important rituals for a newborn child has been the *hunhuniana*. This represented his or her first *huhuni*, in which the end of an unfolded large, red mat was put over his or her head and handed to his or her classificatory father or father's sister. According to Codrington, *hunhuniana* (in his word *huhuni*) was held on the tenth day after the birth of the first-born child, after the baby had remained in the house with its mother for those ten days. Although *hunhuniana* is sometimes held today, it does not appear necessary to perform this ritual when the first child is born. In one case I encountered, the ritual was held for the third-born child, and mats were given to three classificatory fathers and three of the child's father's sisters.

Codrington has noted that on the tenth day after childbirth, the father of the baby gives many large red mats and as much food as he can to those relatives, who have fed his confined wife for ten days; at the same time, the relatives put numerous large red mats and strings that are tethering pigs on the head of the baby to give to its father. Codrington called this ritual *huhuni*. He explained that these mats and pigs were given as the testimony that the relatives would act as surrogate parents to the newborn child (Codrington 1891:230-231). This is inconsistent with my description, because Codrington insisted that the mat-provider who puts mats over the head of the newborn plays a role similar to that of a guardian to the baby; however, I was told by the people of North Raga that

the mat-receiver played such a role.

The placement of a mat over an individual's head is said to be spiritual, because the head is believed to be the source of a supernatural power called *roroño*. In the past, *roroño* played a central part in the religious life of the people, who believed that this power was found not only in animals but also in inanimate objects, such as a special stone called *rabwe*. In the case of animals the power was thought to be lodged in their heads while in the case of inanimate objects, it was believed that a spirit called *vui* that stayed in the *rabwe* possessed the power. Traditionally, there were many kinds of *rabwe*; a stone of thunder (*rabwen bahilo*), a stone of rain (*rabwen uhe*), and a stone of hurricanes (*rabwen siritano*), among others. The spirit in such a stone did not work spontaneously, but only worked when a man with a strong *roroño* cast a spell on it. Although *roroño* plays a smaller role in the religious life of contemporary Christian people than it did in the past, they believe today that it is a source of the ability to speak well, kill many pigs, and earn people's trust.

Placing a mat on the head may, in effect, carry *roroño* over to the mat-receiver, rather than convey it to the mat-provider; the mat-receiver may be the classificatory father acting as a substitute for the true father, or the receiver may be the father's sister acting as a female father. It seems reasonable to suppose that the mat-receiver, not the mat-giver, as Codrington insisted, should be treated as a surrogate parent of the newborn.

Notes to Introduction

- (1) The members comprising the opposite half of the male ego are the *tama* (father, father's sister's son, father's sister's daughter's son, etc.), *vwavwa* (father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc.), *sibi* (mother's father, mother's father's sister, mother's father's sister's child, mother's father's

sister's daughter's child, etc.), *mabi* (mother's brother's daughter's child, etc.) and *nitu* (son, daughter, mother's brother's child, etc.). For a detailed description of the kin relationships, see "The Story of Raga II".

- (2) *Bobibia* is a boar whose tusks curve upwards towards its cheeks, *tavisiri* is a boar whose tusks come out of its mouth and pierce the upper lip, and *livoala* is a boar whose tusks curve around to draw a second arc. For a detailed description of the kinds of pigs, see Yoshioka, 1998.
- (3) There is no Ragan word for divorce. As mentioned in Chapter 10 in this study, the divorce is completed when the bride price is returned.
- (4) Kava is a beverage prepared from the roots of the plant of the same name (*Piper methysticum*). See the Introduction in "The Story of Raga III".
- (5) In the Raga language, "she is pregnant" is expressed as "*mawa ros atatu*" (*mwa* = she, *ros* = to carry, *atatu* = a man) .
- (6) In the Raga language, menstruation is called "*harov non vavine*" (*harov* = sick, *non*= of, *vavine* = woman).
- (7) Twins are called *malava* and a baby born buttocks first "*mwa bora hantai*" (*mwa* = he or she, *bora* = to be born, *hantai* = bad).
- (8) As described in "The Story of Raga III," *tabeana* is a gift that does not require a return gift.

Tavaluna 10⁽¹⁾

1) Be tabwalugu nu togo la imwa² ta non doroniva huri mwalaḡelo dolua, vi lalagi⁽³⁾ ahoana gubeñ ivusi, si hav avo te maia vai ñava. Sobe tabwalugu nu ravega huri mwalaḡelo kea tasalana vi avo vilehi maia. Vi tun damu, maboñi damu vi nogo, vi vev lalai ahoana be gam ginau nu nogo. Mwalaḡelo vi laia vi gania. Raru vi van loloara, ahoana vi tari ariu dalis damu sa bweta ute hengaivua vi veve be bilamwa geki. Mwa hogos tasalana ginia be ratahina i taman tabwalugu raru si hav binihi te nitura be mwa gan hano⁽⁴⁾. Kera ran hiḡe bweta virihidara⁽⁵⁾, damu tugairua⁽⁶⁾, kea harabulutai. Atagun gubeñ hañvulu tamana i ratahin tabwalugu raru vwavwaligi raru ros geten ginaganiana bwaro gairua⁽⁷⁾, ramuru mai aben ira lagi. Ta mwalaḡelo nu vwavwaligi la gamali, tasalana nu vwavwaligi la imwa mai sibina, ratahin ahoana. Ram ban loloara⁽⁸⁾, ram lai damu sa bweta, gete non ratahin vavine⁽⁹⁾ nu marahi kun kilo 16 sa 20 be si hav haḡo te dumia ira habwena⁽¹⁰⁾ rav taua⁽¹¹⁾ sosori vanuara.

2) Vuvugeva i get marahi i lagi atamani vi lai nitu boe sa bwan seresere, vi tau bwaligana⁽¹²⁾ maia, vi lai bwan seresere, vi tau bilan atatu maia. Bilan atatu be ratahin tasalana. Bilan atatu vi ravai seresere vi en la ulun ginaganiana bwaro i rav av dulei. Vataha ira taman tabwalugu gaivasi mai ratahina gaivasi⁽¹³⁾ rav sirosiro⁽¹⁴⁾ dului. Ira lagi raru vi taura mai bwana. Ira vwavwa bilan tabwalugu lagi kera mulei rav tau ginagan vavine gabe ran gan

Chapter 10

- 1) If a girl who is married⁽²⁾ loves another boy, she may act in an alienated manner⁽³⁾ to her husband over many days, and she may not talk with him over a long period. If she is proud of her husband, she talks with him soon after their marriage. She will heat up yams in the morning, and when they are ready to eat, she will say to her husband, "Your food is ready." The husband then takes the food and eats it. The couple will then go to their farm. The husband puts canes into a field of yam or taro in the shape of a large circle and says, "This is yours." He gives her the field because her mother and father (at this point usually) take no notice of what their child eats⁽⁴⁾. They [her parents] have (already) found (a kind of taro called) *bweta virihidara*⁽⁵⁾ and (a kind of yam called) *damu tugairua*⁽⁶⁾. This is (a form of marriage) vow. Ten days after (the marriage ceremony), the father and mother of the girl cook food in an earth oven. The parents then take two sacks filled with raw food⁽⁷⁾ and visit the young married couple. The husband cooks in the earth oven in the meeting house while his wife cooks in the earth oven in their house with her *sibi*, the mother of her husband. They visit the farm⁽⁸⁾ and harvest yams or taros, (which are placed in the sack of the girl's mother). The weight of the sack of the girl's mother⁽⁹⁾ usually ranges from 16 to 20 kg. If the girl's mother cannot carry it (because of its weight), then (those who are related to her as) *habwe*⁽¹⁰⁾ carry it and put it down⁽¹¹⁾ near their village.

- 2) Food is cooked in the earth oven and (there is) a heavy sack (that is filled with raw yams or taros). The married man brings a small pig or a large red mat and gives it to his *bwaliga*⁽¹²⁾. He brings (another) large red mat and gives it to *bilan atatu* [his person]. *Bilan atatu* means the mother of his wife. She puts the mat over the raw foods (in the sack) and they say good-bye. Each of the girl's four (classificatory) fathers and her four (classificatory) mothers⁽¹³⁾ do *sirosiro*⁽¹⁴⁾ and

loḡona⁽¹⁵⁾. Ira ratahina kera gabe ran vugeri bwana baten lagi⁽¹⁶⁾ kera mulei rav tau ginaganiana, ta ataman lagi si hav taura te mai hano⁽¹⁷⁾ ta hurin doroniva non ahoana. Rav van loloara rav lai gara lol bilana. Haḡe ira lagi ramuru siro taman tabwalugu mai ratahina. Kera raru vwavwaligi maboñ, bigina nitu boe sa toa. Raru vi van ba lai ginaganian bwaro. Ahoana vi ros gina mwa nogo, tasalana vi ros gina bwaro, ramuru botu ta vwavwaligi mulei la imwan bwaligan mwalaḡelo. Ram do bulbulu ram gan ginau. Raru vi maturu vai gougo, bilan atatu vi vwavwaligi, bigina toa sa nitu boe. Rav van loloara rav lai gina bwaro rav taura maia. Bwaligana i bilan atatu raru vi lai bwana sa nitu boe raru vi taura maia. Iha mwemwearuana⁽¹⁸⁾ keki maremare ban maremare mai⁽¹⁹⁾.

- 3) Be vavine lala sa aleñ busbusi⁽²⁰⁾ kea vi tun damu si hav veve te lalai ahoana be gam damu ta vi hiv avare ahoana mau vi laia vi gania. Raru vi lago tabwalugu vi lago lol marahiana⁽²¹⁾. Raru vi lol rovoga vi tu hautu nin ahoana, vi av maia ta si hav avo te kun week ivusi, vai votu raru vi van loloara tabwalugu vi duei toi sibona vi gasia sa vi haḡo uvere sibona, ahoana vi veve be mai ba lai damu ba hogonia ta vavine vi vwaliua be gov tabe noḡu gete lalaiau⁽²²⁾. Ramuru botu la imwa ta kera saraḡo. Ramuru rihui rovogan gara ginau kun gubweñ gaiviha ta vavine mwa mana be ahoana mwa lol balagari hano loloara sa la hala sa la imwa, sinobu ram iloe be lagiana nu bulu huba⁽²³⁾ lalagiana nu nogo.

the married couple present them with large red mats. The married girl's father's sisters, who ate the laplap pudding¹⁵ (at the marriage ceremony), also visit with food for the girl. Her (classificatory) mothers, who unfolded large red mats at the marriage ceremony⁽¹⁶⁾, also bring food for the girl. But whether or not the married man gives them something⁽¹⁷⁾ (in return) is up to him. The women go and take their food from his farm. Then the married couple visit the father and mother of the girl. The young couple cook food in the earth oven in the morning. A side dish is made from pork or chicken; (additionally) they will go (to their farm) to get raw food. The husband carries (a sack filled with) cooked food and the wife carries (a sack of) raw food. When they reach (the village of the wife's parents), (they find) another *vwavwaligi* [cooking in the earth oven] in the house of the *bwaliga* of the boy. Everyone gathers and they eat, and the young couple sleep (there) until the following day. "His person" [the wife's mother] cooks (yams or taros) in the earth oven. A side dish is made from chicken or pork. They [the parents] go to the farm, harvest raw food, and give it to the couple. The boy's *bwaliga* and his person [the wife's mother] bring a large red mat or a small pig and give it to the couple. This type of interchange⁽¹⁸⁾ is called *maremare ban maremare mai*⁽¹⁹⁾.

- 3) If a girl is timid or shy⁽²⁰⁾, she does not say, "Your food is ready," to her husband, although she will cook yams (for him). After she goes outside, her husband will take the yams and eat them himself. When they walk together, she might have a sullen look⁽²¹⁾. When they work on the farm, she keeps her distance from her husband. Although he may talk to her, she does not answer for several weeks. Eventually, when they go to their farm (although the husband does not tell her to do this), the girl takes a piece of sugarcane and chews it or picks (a kind of vegetable called) *uvere*. When her husband tells her to come and put yams into a basket, the girl answers and says, "You will help me carry my basket"⁽²²⁾. They then arrive at the house together. (Once) the two have worked

4) Haḡe vavin toa⁽²⁴⁾ vi maturu mai ira tamana i ira ratahina⁽²⁵⁾. Lagia ninovi, garigi ira tamana i ira ratahina ran tabagilu atagun tañmosi⁽²⁶⁾, tabwalugu ute vi ravravi kea vi vano vi maturu hala behe kea mwa doron. Ahoana mai ira tamana gabe nu hun bwanara⁽²⁷⁾ ram hiḡe ram laia ba mai kunia boñi i gubweñ ivusi sa vula, ram av dali maia. Ta bilan vwavwa vi veve be gom lol hantai tamamwa mai ratahimwa i mwemwearuana mwa hav tavuha tehe, mwalaḡelo nu hora be gos dohi barihai⁽²⁸⁾. Ta vavin toa vi veve be nam doron maragainia mahaḡea ta mwa lol hanigi vwavwa, binihiḡu mwa du la mwalaḡelo kahaḡa. Vi vev ihana lalai bilan vwavwa. Bilan vwavwa mwa iloe wani gea nu tau mai vavine vwate mwa ñis roto ramun barina mai ramun bwana lol bwaraitoa gabe ran samalaḡa ran waḡwaḡarira ran hovi lol bwaraitoa⁽²⁹⁾, ramun bari mwa en lol tanon vavin suwai⁽³⁰⁾ lol ute vono.

5) Vwavwa bilan tabwalugu vi vev lalai ira tamana be rav tugu boe. Tamana vwate vi van aben wani gea vi veve be nitumai keki non binihiva mwa du alumwa. Kea be ue, nu kalkalo aluku la hala nan ḡao. Wani vi lai boe⁽³¹⁾, vavine vi togo aben ahoana mulei. Sobe wani nu tau ramun bari mai bwana, non binihiva vi bulu mai tabwalugu gem siv lol vamulena⁽³²⁾, kea vi sigia be vavine

together for several days, collecting food, the girl might laugh when her husband does something foolish on the farm, or on the road, or in the house. People know then that the marriage has been finalized⁽²³⁾, and that the state of *lalagi* has ended.

- 4) At present, a *vavin toa*⁽²⁴⁾ sleeps in the room where her father and mother sleep (on the night of the marriage ceremony)⁽²⁵⁾. Yesterday there was the marriage ceremony. Today[the day after the marriage ceremony], the woman's fathers and mothers return home after a food called *tanmosi*⁽²⁶⁾ has been prepared. In the evening, the girl runs away and sleeps wherever she chooses. Her husband and his fathers, to whom he gave large red mats in the manner of *hunhuni*⁽²⁷⁾, look for her and bring her back. The same thing occurs every night for several days, for as long as a month, but they cannot persuade her not to run away. Eventually, her father's sister says, "You oppose your father and mother and the spirit of mutual aid does not go well. The man[your husband] sends us a message that you have changed your mind⁽²⁸⁾." But the *vavin toa* says, "I want him very much, but (do you know) what has happened, Aunt? My heart belongs to the young man over there." She tells her father's sister the man's name. Her father's sister knows that this man has asked another woman to pluck off fragments of the fringe of a small red mat and a large red mat during the *bwaraitoa*⁽²⁹⁾, (which is a ritual) in which women are pleasurably excited, scratch each other, and fall down. In addition, the fragments of fringe of the mat were placed on (the ground called) *tanon vavin suwai*⁽³⁰⁾, in the bush.
- 5) The girl's father's sister tells the fathers of the girl that they may pay a fine. One of her fathers goes to the young man and says, "The heart of our daughter is given to you." The young man says, "Yes. She had been climbing up a tree just above me when I passed by." (If this story proves to be true), the girl's father will take a pig (and give it to the young man as a fine)⁽³¹⁾, and the girl will live

mwa dentene vai aluku. Ira taman wani kea ram sigia maia. Mwalaḡelo lagi vi lol hano ? Vi vev lalai ira tamana i non ratahigi rav togo bulbulu rav vului boe nu dadariha mai tamwata non ira ratahigi dodolua be kera gai 4 sa 6 sa 10.

6) Haḡe mwalaḡelo vi van vi tai ihei la vanuan wani nu tau ramun bari ramun bwana⁽³³⁾. Bwaloana kekhadogaha huri lalagiana. Kalkalo be vavine nu hav bwatai⁽³⁴⁾ lalagina⁽³⁵⁾ nu ḡao la hala. Aleñan mwalaḡelo nu butu⁽³⁶⁾ be vi lavoa vai noñoiha i boe aben tamana mai ratahina mai ira hogosina sa non ratahigi gabe tarabena sa tuagana nu butu alun boe ivusi. Ta mwalaḡelo ñan non binihi nu sigai huri ute lavoa be vi hae aluna tasalana nu lol vavintoa kea vi van vi lagi atatu dolua. Bwatuna be tamana i ratahina kera mulei atatu hivhivo, mwalaḡelo vi lai mulei non ligoligo⁽³⁷⁾ gabe bilan boe.

7) Vavin rovo⁽³⁸⁾. Tabwalugu nu to la imwan tamana nu roñ roron mwalaḡelo be bilan hinaga, bilan boe, non seresere sa mwa bañan tausala non ratahigi. Lol lagoan bulbulu vi to bulus bilan vwavwa vwate vi tentene be vwavwa⁽³⁹⁾, nam barihai wani kahaḡa mwa gita mutmutaiau. Bilan vwavwa vi vevea be go sav gitae tehe, mwa doron gidaru gea. Tuhuba vi la bulbulu maira, daulato vi sovui mwalaḡelo rai mana. Sa tabwalugu gea vi habwe tasalan taraben mwalaḡelo vi

with her husband again. If the young man had put fragments of the fringe of a small red mat as well as a large red mat on (the place called) *tanon vavin suwai*, in the hope that he might make love to her, and he had removed them⁽³²⁾ (after his desire had been fulfilled), he could deny what had happened and say, "She is telling a lie about me." (In addition), the fathers of the young man may lie. What is the married man to do? He asks his fathers and his chiefs to gather together, and they prepare enough pigs to make peace with that man's chiefs, who may number four, six, or ten.

- 6) The (married) man will then go to kill someone in the village of the man who put down fragments of the fringe of a small red mat as well as a large red mat⁽³³⁾. A fight results from the couple's state of *lalagi*. *Kalkalo* is when a woman climbs up a tree and picks a bread fruit⁽³⁴⁾ when her *lalagi*⁽³⁵⁾ passes by. The attitude of the man who dared to fight⁽³⁶⁾ indicates that he will become an important man. He dared to fight because he was backed up by many pigs (i.e., the pigs were available for the reconciliation afterwards) that belonged to his father, mother, sister, or his chief, who is his mother's brother or elder brother. If the man is not able to think like an important man (as in the example above), who stands higher than his wife who has undertaken *vavin toa*, his wife will go away and marry another man. If his father and mother are persons of no importance as well, the young man takes back his bride wealth⁽³⁷⁾, which consists of pigs.
- 7) *Vavin rovo*⁽³⁸⁾. A girl lived at the house of her father and heard rumors about a young man whose provisions and pigs were plentiful, and that he had many large red mats; (another rumor was that he was generous), and that he had prepared meals for the guests of his chief. On one of the occasions when people gather, the girl is accompanied by one of her father's sisters and she tells a lie, saying, "Aunt⁽³⁹⁾, I dislike that man who is glancing at me." Her father's sister

tatal nitun traben mwalaḡelo sa nitun tuan mwalaḡelo⁽⁴⁰⁾ vi veve lalai naturigi be gon marahi boro gaivua⁽⁴¹⁾, gov gaivuaga gov dodi la lebwelebwenigo ba ate bolvolo be atat ramen talvuñuinigo⁽⁴²⁾. Ira vavin dodolua mai ratahina rav vwaliua be gom gitae mala, mwa rovo hurigo gea. Kea tabwalugu vi mana vi gan bañon naturigi sa vi veve be gom binihi be atatu mwa doronigo? Keki avoan vovu non vavin rovo.

Chapter 11

- 1) Haḡe tabwalugu vi van lol bilana, vi gel damu sa bweta, vi taua vi tu. Gem hiv antahi, vi bula bigi⁽⁴³⁾ sa nu gel gavwe⁽⁴⁴⁾ sa nu vwirihi bilan toa. Vi van mai ginaganiana vi haroro ḡoro⁽⁴⁵⁾ tamaragai vavine sa atamani. Vi veve be gam ginau geki tuga sa tata sa mua sa vwavwa sa sibi⁽⁴⁶⁾. I tamaragai vi veve be aiḡa mwei, e, gom matginiau mwei, gom sabweleinigo huri hano, nam do mwa ñava bonogai, kera teti ram haḡo maiau mwa savira, be namen mate ta sigai. Garigi men haharae. Be gov lagi ta ahoamwa si hav avo te alumwa, gov lai bilam dura bilam toa gov uloi atatu vai lol imwamwa. Gov van loloara gov lol rovoga gov mai mai ginaganiana gabe rau⁽⁴⁷⁾, sinu, toi, non here⁽⁴⁸⁾. Gosav bwihavare te soñsoño huri lalañan ginau gea, bere ahoamwa gem binihi be gom hiḡe dali atamani giru tatauleo vai lol utevono.

says, "You do not see him. He likes us." When she walks with the other girls, she jeers at the young man and they laugh. Or, if she sees the wife of the young man's mother's brother, she carries a child of the boy's mother's brother or a child of his brother⁽⁴⁰⁾ on her back, and she says to the child, "You are heavy and your hips are big⁽⁴¹⁾. When you grow up, you will walk proudly, casting a side-ways glance at people who are looking at you (as if they were spectators)⁽⁴²⁾." The other women and the mother of the child answer by saying, "You look at her, son. She is chasing after you." This girl laughs and she kisses the child, or she says, "Do you think anybody loves you?" This is the joke of *vavin rovo*.

Chapter 11

- 1) Eventually, the girl goes to her farm, digs yams or taros, and cooks them. Then, she goes to the sea, where she looks for marine products to use in a side dish⁽⁴³⁾, or she catches a coconut crab⁽⁴⁴⁾, or her fowl. With these foods, she visits⁽⁴⁵⁾ an old woman or an old man. She says, "This food is for you, *tuga* or *papa* or *mama* or *aunt* or *sibi*⁽⁴⁶⁾." And the old person says, "No, daughter! Ah! You work hard for me, daughter. Why do you spoil yourself (by making food for me)? I have done nothing for a long time. People here give me food, which makes them tired. Although I feel I am going to die, I am not." Then, this older person teaches the girl (about marriage among other things). "If you marry and your husband does not speak harshly to you, you bring your sow and fowl to your house to cook, and you invite people to your house. You go to your farm, work, and return with provisions such as (leaves called) *rau*⁽⁴⁷⁾, vegetables, sugarcanes, and a bundle of reeds⁽⁴⁸⁾. You should not go outside except when doing these things lest your husband think that you are looking around for a man and that you two have promised to go into the bush together."

2) Gov vañan bilan boe gov leahi gaona non tali viri⁽⁴⁹⁾ vi tu gaoḡao. Boñi nom here⁽⁵⁰⁾ vi eno, gov vavatu boñi. Be gov to aben nitun ratahigi⁽⁵¹⁾, ta gov tau nom ñadun gabi vi eno, i mam tahi vi tu, tau gina bwaro si hav mosmosi te nin lolon imwamwa, gov tavi nom gabi, bere non tausala ram batu boñi gov lol haninira gabe nu voligo gi tasalan nituna⁽⁵²⁾. Gov gita raran malogu⁽⁵³⁾ non tausala ram mwinua, si hav golo te, gov rivua be gov habwe nom ginau aluna⁽⁵⁴⁾. Sobe gov to aben mwalaḡelo madue, gov vora hehein ratahina, gov lol ginau dului uhu mwei, gov tari ahoamwa alun tanon ratahigi. Heheleiana giḡo vina bere ram beve be gom uloi atamani gin nom manana. Gov rarai ira hogosimwa bere ram roñ lehin nom bwatigoro, ram busbusi, ram dugu boen vuromwa huri nom ginahantai, ram wehira⁽⁵⁵⁾ huri nom ginahantai. Mwei, ram bere dunugo gin gabi lol bilara bwatmwele. Be tamaragai non bwana sa bari memea sa nitu boe sa gan malahi, vi tau maia⁽⁵⁶⁾. Sobe non hano sigai nu lai silo ratahigi lalai tabwalugu⁽⁵⁷⁾.

3) Tabwalugu men siv binihi be men rovo huri mwalaḡelo⁽⁵⁸⁾, mwa av sovsovu huria. Nu vatu non tañsarisarigi mwa du mwa lai bwan seresere gairua sa gaituvwa mai bari memea vi sarinia lol tañsarisarigi. Vi vev lalai bilan vwavwa, vavin lagi sa bwero, vwavwa daulato sigai, be taru van ba gon tauau aben mwalaḡelo kahaḡa, sa tabwalugu gahena. Be tabwalugu gahena, tamana i ratahina ram maturu radu mwa domare mwa lai non taña nu hogonia gin bwana i bari nu tau dahulinia. Ratahina i tamana raru leña, tabwalugu ata tuwai non tañbunia mau nin non tamana mai ratahina, bwatuna gea vi raun

- 2) "You feed your pig and renew the rope tethering the pig⁽⁴⁹⁾ in order that it all stays well. In the evening, bring a light⁽⁵⁰⁾, and do your weaving by it. If you marry the child of a chief⁽⁵¹⁾, you must keep firewood, salt, and raw food to hand lest these things lack in your house. Chop firewood in advance, otherwise, if his guests come in the evening, what will you do for them? (You should make preparations), because the chief has let you become the wife of his child⁽⁵²⁾. Collect a proper quantity of kava roots⁽⁵³⁾ so that the guests can drink kava juice. If the stem of the kava plant has not yet withered, plant it so that you will find something on it⁽⁵⁴⁾. If you marry a young man who is an orphan, you become a substitute for his mother and you must do everything, daughter! Then you will put your husband in the role of chief. You should not laugh boisterously, lest people say that you call a man with your laughter. You should look after your brothers well, because if they hear a rumor of your faults, they will feel ashamed, and have to pay a fine for the debt that results from your misconduct, and they may be killed⁽⁵⁵⁾ as a result of your misconduct. Daughter, if this does not happen, then people will burn you to death near the stems of their cycad palms." If the old person has a large red mat, a small red mat, a small pig, or something to eat, he or she gives it to the girl (as a returngift)⁽⁵⁶⁾. Even though he or she has no thing (to give), he or she has given the girl (knowledge about) the ways of the chief⁽⁵⁷⁾.
- 3) When a girl is giving her heart to a boy⁽⁵⁸⁾, she begins to jeer at him. There is (a sack called) *tansarisarigi* that she weaves. She puts one or two large red mats as well as a small red mat into this sack. She says to her father's sister who is married or a widow, but not to her father's sister who is not married, "Let's go. Please take me to the boy over there." Or, the girl (goes) by herself. If she goes alone, she wakes up while her father and mother are still sleeping and takes out a sack into which she puts a large red mat and a small red mat. She has hidden this sack. Her mother and father do not know about it. Previously, the girl has

non taña raru vi leña.

4) Haḡe nu rani ta tanon tabwalugu mwa du nu vano, visiu ran tu radu vi votu la imwan tamana vwate mwa do la vanuan mwalaḡelo aia⁽⁵⁹⁾. Wani mai tasalana ramuru iloe be kea mwa rovo bwatuna nu hogon non maraha nu teteli bari gara⁽⁶⁰⁾. Kera raru vi hudaligi ta vi vevea be nam mai huri mwalaḡelo. Kera raru vi vevea lalai mwalaḡelo mai tamana i ratahina, i roroi mwa botui vanuan tabwalugu.

5) Ira tarua keki mwalaḡelo mai tabwalugu kera nitun vira gairua mai motari⁽⁶¹⁾ gairua ute lavoa dului, boe hañvulu muana livoala⁽⁶²⁾ liñliñiana mabu i boe dura hañvulu. Gita Tavaluna 9 - 4-5⁽⁶³⁾. Vev hurin halan lagia aia. Ihana nu wehi boe livoala nu motari. Kea nu ros atatu, havana nu tai non simaño gin bwana⁽⁶⁴⁾. Kea nu haḡo nituna atamani, ira gitaḡoro ran seloi waḡana⁽⁶⁵⁾. Tuagana vavine nu mai mai seresere memea, naturigi nu hunia gi gogonan bwatu. Gubweñina kea nu tavwe⁽⁶⁶⁾ ira gitaḡoro gin seresere sa nitu boe, ram gan ginau. Ira havan tamana be ira vavine ram dogotogoi⁽⁶⁷⁾. Ram ban loloara, ram lai damu, bweta, malogu, toa, ta ram dau ñoiñoi gi dovoñan rau ḡaria⁽⁶⁸⁾.

had her own sack, which was different from that of her father and her mother. Thus, she (is able to) take out her sack without being noticed by her parents.

- 4) When the day breaks and the village of the girl wakes as usual, she has gone. While there was still starlight, she had arrived at the house of one of her fathers who lives in the same village as the boy⁽⁵⁹⁾. This man and his wife know that she pines for a boy because she has packed her mats into her sack and wears a new waistcloth⁽⁶⁰⁾. They pose questions and she replies, "I came here for a boy." They tell the boy and his father and mother her intentions, and the news reaches the girl's village.

- 5) If these two individuals, that is, the young man and the girl, are the children of two *vira* and two *motari*⁽⁶¹⁾, who are important men, ten pigs, the first of which is *livoala*⁽⁶²⁾ (are necessary for the bride price); the pigs of *liñiliñiana* are *mabu*, and the sows should number ten. See Sections 4 and 5 of Chapter 9⁽⁶³⁾ for the complete story about the road to marriage. The name that is given when the girl kills a *livoala* pig is *motari*. When she becomes pregnant (her kin give her a large red mat, called) *havana nu tai non simaño gin bwana* [the relative cut his young coconut by a large red mat]⁽⁶⁴⁾. If she gives birth to a male child, the midwives shout as they would shout for a canoe⁽⁶⁵⁾. Her female *tuaga* come to visit her with large red mats and place the ends of an unfolded mat on the sacred head of the child. The next day, she gives⁽⁶⁶⁾ the midwives large, red mats or small pigs, and they partake of a meal. The female relatives of the child's father perform (a ritual called) *togotogoi*⁽⁶⁷⁾. They go to the farm (belonging to the child's father) and take yams, taros, kavas, or fowl. Then they leave a knotted leaf of the ti-tree as a mark of taboo⁽⁶⁸⁾.

6) Naturigi nu vora ute vi boñi, tamana vi tumus ariu gaituvwa, vi bula lol matan naturigi, vi uloi ihana⁽⁶⁹⁾. Ira bilan vwavwa ram ros damu ram liñ gete gan naturigi. Naturigi atamani si hav bwihavare tehe. Tamana vi visigai ginia⁽⁷⁰⁾ vi en alolon imwa gubweñin ratahina vi hañvulu vi garuhi kaburai bibilin bavavana. Atagun kea ratahina vi van dum loloara sa hala behe, ta naturigi vi dei taiva vi uvi ratahina vi mai vi huhu. Kunia vi hohovi be tarabena sa havana vwate vi lai nitu boe sa seresere vi tu matboñon imwa vi veve be nam lai bwihavarenigo gin seresere⁽⁷¹⁾. Ratahina vi vavae raru vi dalis wani kea varua⁽⁷²⁾. Seresere vi en gi non naturigi.

7) Tamana vi tov gubweñ hunhuniana⁽⁷³⁾ lalai sabin naturigi, sibina gabe taman ratahina, sibina gabe taman tamana⁽⁷⁴⁾ ram hori gabi. Ira havan naturigi⁽⁷⁵⁾ ram mai mai nitu boe, seresere, bari memea. Ram bugeria la bwatun naturigi. Naturigi mwa hunia gi bwanan ira havan tamana atamani i vavine. Ginau dului mwa du gi vuron naturigi mai ratahina. Hunhuniana. Naturigi atamani mwa hunhuni, naturigi vavine mwa hunhuni, kera saraḡo ñano. Ira havan tamana ram dau maḡomaḡo la liman naturigi vain taḡure mwa hiria gi livo⁽⁷⁶⁾ sa ñadun gomu mutai⁽⁷⁷⁾ gairua ram daua haltavalun bugun limana.

- 6) After a child is born, when it gets dark, the (new) father lights a reed to cast light over the face of the child, and gives the child a name⁽⁶⁹⁾. The father's sisters carry (baskets filled with) yams and bring baskets filled with food for the child. A male child may not go outside. The father prevents this happening⁽⁷⁰⁾. The child stays in the house until the tenth day (after his birth), by which time his mother has washed all the dirty things from the childbirth. After that, his mother can go to the farm or anywhere else: when the child cries, a trumpet shell sounds and she returns to nurse it. In this way, the child waits for his mother's brother or another relative to place a small pig or a large red mat in front of the house and to say, "I let you go outside by giving you a large red mat⁽⁷¹⁾." The mother of the child goes outside and the mother and child walk around this man twice⁽⁷²⁾. This large red mat is given to the child.
- 7) The father of the child announces the date of *hunhuniana*⁽⁷³⁾ to the *sibi* of the child. The *sibi*, that is, the father of the child's mother and the father of the child's father⁽⁷⁴⁾ pile and burn firewood. The relatives of the child⁽⁷⁵⁾ come with small pigs, and large and small red mats. They unfold a large red mat and place the end of it on the child's head. The child places the end of unfolded mats on his or her head and gives these mats to male and female relatives of his or her father. Everything is a debt for the child and the mother. *Hunhuniana*. The male child performs *hunhuni* and the female child does *hunhuni*. Only both of them (perform this act). The relatives of the father put a bracelet called *mañomaño* on the wrist of the child, which is made of fruits of the sago palm shaved into the shape of a pig's tusk⁽⁷⁶⁾, or they put two short (beads that are from a long string of beads called) *gomu mutai*⁽⁷⁷⁾ on the child's other wrist.

Notes

- (1) I have supplemented the words in the English translation. The words in the square brackets are added for additional explanation. The letter \bar{n} and \bar{g} found in the Raga language should be pronounced as [ng] and [ngg], respectively.
- (2) The literal translation of "*tabwalugu nu togo la imwa*" is "a girl stayed at a house".
- (3) *Lalagi* is a kinship term. See Chapter 6 in "The Story of Raga III" for more details. When it is used as a verb, it means to be afraid or to be alienated.
- (4) This is because their child has married a man who now has a responsibility to take care of her.
- (5) It is said that if one plants two taros jointly after rubbing them against one's knee four times, two taros of the same size will grow. People say that these taros seem to be a couple.
- (6) This is a yam consisting of two yams stuck together.
- (7) According to the custom of *sirosiro* (see Section 2 of Chapter 10), each of them should carry such a sack in addition to the one filled with food cooked in the earth oven.
- (8) This is a field that the husband gives to his wife.
- (9) Rev. Tevimule uses *tabwalugu* and *vavine* to refer to a woman; the former term usually refers to a young woman, which I translate here as a girl, and the latter is a general term for a woman, which I translate in some cases as girl and in other cases as woman. A female in North Raga is called *naturigi* when she is a child, *daulato* when she is a young girl, *tabwalugu* when she is a young woman, and then *vavine* as an adult woman, while a male is called *natirigi*, *mwalaḡelo*, *mwalaḡelotuturu*, and *atatu*, respectively, at these stages in life. See "The Story of Raga III" for more details.
- (10) The term of *habwe* is used only by a woman and it indicates her husband's sister or her brother's wife. See the Introduction and Chapter 6 in "The Story of Raga II" for details.
- (11) In this context, the term *taua* means "to carry it and put it down".

- (12) The term *bwaliga* is used only by men. It indicates the wife's father or the daughter's husband. Here, it means the wife's father. See "The Story of Raga II" for more details.
- (13) "*Ira taman tabwarugu gaivasi*" means the classificatory four fathers of the girl who are the joint givers of the bride price with her real father. "*Ratahina gaivasi*" indicates the wives of these four men. See "The Story of Raga III" for details.
- (14) According to tradition, on the tenth day after the marriage ceremony, the real parents of the bride visit the newly married couple. This is called *sirosiro*. The classificatory fathers and mothers or the bride's father's sisters will do the same thing at some point after the visit of the parents. These actions are also called *sirosiro*.
- (15) The literal translation of "*ran gan loḡona*" is "they ate laplap pudding", but in this context, this indicates that they received large red mats called the leaf of laplap (*raun loḡo*) at the marriage ceremony. See "The Story of Raga III" for details.
- (16) This means that these persons participated in the ritual exchange of large red mats and pigs called *liṇiliṇiana* during the marriage ceremony. See "The Story of Raga III" for details.
- (17) *Hano* (something), in this context, means a small pig or a large, red mat.
- (18) *Mwemwearuana*, which is translated here as interchange, means mutual aid based on the reciprocity that penetrates all of life in North Raga.
- (19) The meaning of "*mare*" is "up or above", "*ban*" means "to go," and "*mai*" means "to come". The phrase "*maremare ban maremare mai*" is used, for example, when a man from village A marries a woman from village B and a woman from village A marries a man from village B.
- (20) "*Aleṇ busbusi* (*aleṇ* = *aleṇana* = a fashion, *busbusi* = shy)" means a shy person.
- (21) The word-for-word translation of "*lago lol marahiana*" means "to walk in the heaviness".
- (22) "*Gov tabe noḡu gete lalaiau*" consists of the words "*gov*" (you will), "*tabe*" (to lift up, to love), "*noḡu*" (my), "*gete*" (basket), and "*lalaiau*" (towards me). The noun form of *tabe* is *tabeana*, which is a form of exchange that does not require a return gift but is

regarded as mutual aid, that is, *mwemwearuana*. This means that *tabeana* may be given back by *tabeana* in the future. In this way, "*gov tabe noḡu gete lalaiau*" implies that the girl assists her husband to put yams into the basket and in return he assists her to shoulder the basket. Her words also imply that she will begin volunteering to undertake actions that benefit the couple before her husband asks her to do so, because her words show that she has an intention to shoulder the basket, although her husband only asked her to put yams into the basket.

- (23) The implied meaning of "*lagiana nu bulu huba*" is that "they have sexually united".
- (24) The word-for-word translation of *vavin toa* is "a fowl woman".
- (25) This differs from the usual situation in which a newly married couple do not sleep with their parents.
- (26) *Taṇmosi* is food cooked in the earth oven by the bridegroom. See the Introduction to "The Story of Raga III" for details.
- (27) *Hunhuni* is an action in which one puts the end of an unfolded large red mat on his head and gives it to his father or to his father's sister. See the Introduction to "The Story of Raga III" for details.
- (28) "*Gos dohi varihai la muana avoana*" means "you run counter to the first saying". *Gos* is a personal pronoun in the second person in a subjunctive mood. "*Gos mai tas gania*" means, "If you had come, we would have eaten it".
- (29) As for the *bwaraitoa* associated with the marriage ceremony, see the Introduction in "The Story of Raga III" for details, in which you will find a word "*bwalaioa*" that is a misspelt word.
- (30) This is one of the taboo places (*ute sabuga*). It is said that if a man wants a woman to leave her husband, he comes here and practices magic.
- (31) If a woman is climbing up a tree, and her male *sibi* who passes by looks up at her, then she should marry him. In the past, when polygamy was practiced, she should marry him even if he was already married. Since polygamy is prohibited today, her father should fine the other man if he is already married.

- (32) The literal meaning of *vamulena* is "an answer", but in some cases it means "an anti-dote" or "a remover". In this context, it means the removal of marks of magic.
- (33) This is why his father or his chief prepared pigs for reconciliation.
- (34) "*Hav bwatai*" means that one plucks off a breadfruit by twisting the y-shaped wood.
- (35) *Lalagina* means *sibina*, that is, a potential husband.
- (36) *Butu* means "to stand strongly" or "to behave powerfully". "*Nam butu alun noḡu mane*" means "I am powerful and backed up by my large amounts of money".
- (37) *Ligoligo* has the same meaning as *volin vavine* (bride price). A pig, fastened to sticks on the ceremonial ground during the marriage ceremony as a bride price, is called *ligoligo* (*ligo* = to fasten).
- (38) The word-for-word translation of *vavin rovo* is a chasing woman (*vavin* = *vavine* = a woman, *rovo* = to run). She is chasing after a man whom she loves.
- (39) When people of North Raga say "aunt" in English or "anti" in Bislama it means *uwavwa*; when they say "uncle" in English or "angkel" in Bislama, it means *tarabe*.
- (40) Both a child of the mother's brother of the boy and a child of the boy's brother are classified by the young woman as her child. Since the young man whom she loves should be her *sibi*, both his mother's brother and his brother are also her *sibi*. For more details of kinship and marriage in North Raga, see Yoshioka, 1985.
- (41) This is a kind of joke.
- (42) This phrase implies that the child will become an important man and will be the envy of other people.
- (43) The word-for-word translation of "*vi bula bigi*" is "she will throw light on the side dish".
- (44) "*Gel gavwe* (*gel* = to dig, *gavwe* = a coconut crab)" means "to dig a hole to capture a coconut crab inside it".
- (45) "*Haroro ḡoro*" means "to enter and to shut". This expresses the situation of a person entering the house, who shuts the entrance so that those who were already in the house cannot go outside. The usage of "*haroro*" instead of "*haroro ḡoro*" in this context

is not a mistake.

- (46) She has some kind of kin relationship with this old man or woman. She calls this person *mama* in some cases and *aunt* in other cases according to the relationship. For her, *tuga* is an elder sister or an older person within the same generation as the grandparents, in the same matrilineal line as the speaker. In this context, *tuga* can be translated as grandpa or grandma. *Tata* is an address form of *tama*, and can be translated as papa. *Mua* is translated as mama for the same reason. *Sibi* in this context indicates the mother's father or mother's mother, which also translates as grandpa or grandma.
- (47) The meaning of the word *rau* is "a leaf". However, in some cases it means "a leaf that is used in cooking in an earth oven".
- (48) The meaning of *here* is a light. In the past, people used a flaming reed as a light. Reeds are usually carried in a bundle.
- (49) *Tali viri* means twisted strings. *Tali* is a synonym for *gao*.
- (50) This may be a flaming reed, as mentioned in Note 48.
- (51) The literal translation of this clause is "if you live with a child of a chief".
- (52) "*Nu voligo gi tasalan nituna*" is literally translated as "he purchased you as the wife of his child". In this context, to purchase means to pay a bride price.
- (53) The literal translation of "*gov gita raran malogu*" is "you will see the stems of the kava plant".
- (54) "*Nom ginau aluna*" (your thing on it) means "a new kava plant is growing from it".
- (55) "*Ram wehira*" (*ram* = they, *wehi* = to kill, *-ra* = them) means "those who suffer from the misconduct of the girl kill her brothers".
- (56) "*Tau maia*" means "to give back to her". Since the girl gives food to the old person, the old person gives something in return to her.
- (57) "*Silo ratahigi*" (*silo* = voice, law, *ratahigi* = chief) means "a way of a chief". The old person teaches the girl a way for the couple to proceed in order that her husband may become a chief.
- (58) The word-for-word translation is "a girl is just thinking to chase after a boy".

- (59) In North Raga, the males who belong to the same matrilineal group as one's father are called one's *tama* (father). Since North Raga is an avunculocal society, and the small areas dominated by matrilineal groups are dispersed throughout the whole of North Raga, it is probable that an individual can find his classificatory father in any village in North Raga (cf. Yoshioka, 1998:45-55).
- (60) A small red mat is a traditional waistcloth for a woman.
- (61) *Vira* is a name for the highest grade of men while *motari* is a name for the highest grade of women.
- (62) Father David may be referring to Section 5 and Section 6.
- (63) The pig is ranked according to the size of its tusks. From the smallest sized tusks upward, pigs are called *udurugu*, *bololvaga*, *tausiri*, *bobibia*, *mabu*, and the largest is called *livoala*. See Figure 1 of "The Story of Raga III" for details.
- (64) This is an idiomatic phrase concerning infant betrothal. It is used when the parents of a boy give a small pig or a large red mat to a pregnant woman, who calls the mother of the boy *vwavwa* (father's sister), with the intention that if she gives birth to a girl, they will let their child marry the girl. See Section 1 of Chapter 8 in "The Story of Raga III" for details.
- (65) The midwives shout in the same way as they call a canoe.
- (66) *Tavwe* is payment for labor of some kind.
- (67) *Togotogoi* changes to *dogotogoi* just after a bilabial sound. *Havana* indicates the moiety member or the cluster member. *Havan tamana* usually means one's father's brother (*tama*) or father's sister (*vwavwa*).
- (68) The word-for-word translation of "*ram dau ñoiñoi gi dovongan rau garia*" is "they put *ñoiñoi* as a (taboo) mark (consisting) of a leaf of ti-tree."
- (69) This is a traditional naming ceremony. The word-for-word translation of "*uloi ihana*" is "to call one's name".
- (70) This does not mean that his father does so physically; it means that the newborn child is regarded as being under the control of his father until a certain ceremony has been

undertaken by his mother's brother, which will be explained in the next note.

- (71) This is the ceremony that allows the mother and her child to leave the house in which the child was born. This ceremony seems to show that the child's mother's brother removes the restriction imposed on the child by his father. The word-for-word translation of "*nam lai bwihavarenigo gin seresere*" is "I let you go outside with a large red mat".
- (72) The mother's brother stands in front of the house and a large red mat is placed beside him. After his speech is over, the mother, holding the child, leaves the house and walks around this man and the mat twice, and then takes a mat.
- (73) *Hunhuniana* is a name for the ceremony that provides the first opportunity for the child to perform *hunhuni*. For more details about *hunhuni*, see the Introduction of "The Story of Raga III."
- (74) Today, both the father's father and his sister are classified as *tuaga*, while the mother's father and his sister are known as *sibi*. However in the past, every grandparent was referred to as *sibi*.
- (75) See Note 67.
- (76) In North Raga, a pig-killing ceremony has been, and continues to be, conducted by men as well as women, who use the tusks of the pigs they kill as bracelets.
- (77) The word-for-word translation of *ñadun gomū mutai* is "part of (a string of long beads called) *gomū mutai*", which is one of the objects that women purchase in the ceremony called *Lihilihi*. The details of this ceremony are described in "The Story of Raga V."

References

Clifford, J.

1988 *The Predicament of Culture : Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ.Press.

Codrington, R.H.

1891 *The Melanesians: Studies in their anthropology and folklore*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Crapanzano, V.

1980 *TUHAMI: Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press.

Marcus, G.E. and M.J. Fischer

1985 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Movement in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Yoshioka, M.

1985 "The Marriage System of North Raga, Vanuatu," *Man and Culture in Oceania* 1:27-54.

1988 "The Story of Raga : A Man's Ethnography on his Own Society(Ⅱ) Kin Relations." *Shinshudaigaku Kyoyobu Kiyo (Journal of the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Shinshu University)* 22:19-46.

1998 *Melanesia no Ikaikaiteisei Shakai - Hokubu Raga ni okeru Shinzoku, Koukan, Ridashippu (A Society of Graded System in Melanesia - Kinship, Exchange and Leadership in North Raga)*, Tokyo: Fukyosha

2003 "The Story of Raga: A Man's Ethnography on his Own Society(Ⅲ) Marriage." *Kokusaibunkagaku Kenkyu (Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies: Faculty of Cross-Cultural Studies, Kobe University)* 20:47-97.