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# The Story of Raga: A Man's Ethnography on His Own Society (VI): Rank-taking Ritual

Masanori YOSHIOKA

## INTRODUCTION

This is the sixth 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. An introduction is also provided, describing the data collected during my field research on the same topic.

The original title of David Tevimule's text, which was written in the form of a hand-copied booklet, 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, rank-taking ritual, chiefs, certain rituals for boys and girls, and customs concerning birth, marriage, and death. In this paper, I translate Chapter 14 in which David Tevimule describes the rank-taking ritual, which is related to the public graded society.

The islands in Northern Vanuatu were known to anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an area where the so-called “secret society” as well as the “public graded society” existed (cf. Codrington 1891, Rivers 1914). Anthropologists studying Vanuatu during that time were mainly interested in the former type of society, and thus information concerning the graded society was incomplete. In contrast, in the later twentieth century, the public graded society became one of the

main themes for Vanuatu anthropology and detailed studies were made (cf. Allen 1981). I also examined the graded society of North Raga in detail in my ethnography on North Raga based on my field research<sup>1</sup> (Yoshioka 1998). In this paper, I describe the ritual aspects of the graded society of North Raga.

## 1 Pigs

Pigs (*boe*) play an important role in the rank-taking ritual called *Bolololi*. Pigs are the most valuable exchange goods, and the main purpose of the *Bolololi* ritual is to kill pigs and purchase several insignias by paying in pigs. Pigs are mainly divided into sows (*dura*), bisexual pigs (*ravwe*), and boars. The latter two kinds of pigs have tusks and the bigger the tusks are, the more valuable the pigs are considered. Although the bisexual pigs played important roles in the past because their tusks were bigger, it is currently said that such pigs no longer exist in North Raga. Therefore, boars play important roles in today's *Bolololi*. Hereafter in this paper, the term "pig" refers to a "boar."

There is no special name for a boar in the Raga language, so the word indicating all kinds of pig, *boe*, is used to refer to a boar. *Boe* is broadly classified into two categories. One is *udurugu*, which refers to a boar not yet castrated, and the other is *bovtaga*, which refers to a castrated boar. The boar, sometime after birth, begins to grow tusks called *basina* from its upper jaw. The pig at this growth stage is called *udurubasiga*; it is considered ready for castration and its *basina* tusks are extracted. The *basina* are extracted because they hinder the growth of the tusks growing from the lower jaw. These tusks, called *livo*, mark the value of the pig. It is said that boars should be castrated; otherwise they will fight each other and break the

valuable *livo* tusks.

The numbers in Table 1 refer to the “kind” of classified boars. Pigs from no. 1 to no. 4 are classified as *udurugu*, whereas those from no. 5 to no. 26 are *bovtaga*. The tusks from the lower jaw grow in an arc shape at the stage of *bobibia* (no. 11) and the top of the tusk may touch the cheek. At that point, the cheek is cut so that the tusk may grow through the cheek smoothly. The tusk grows in the shape of an arc and the tip eventually reaches the lower jaw again. Then the tooth of the lower jaw, which touches the tip of the tusk, is extracted. In this stage, the tusks of most pigs stop growing because their tips reach the bone of the lower jaw and cannot easily continue to grow. There are few pigs with bigger tusks than *livoaltavaga* (no. 17). Only some pigs whose tusks grow without touching the lower jawbone reach the stage of *livoalbasiga* (no. 18). It is said that now there is no man who has ever seen a pig with a bigger tusk than *livoallivoa* (no. 22).

Table 1 Class and kind of pig

class and name	kind and name	glossary
A <i>udurugu</i>	1 <i>lahoa</i> ( <i>lahoa</i> = testicles)	a pig that has testicles
	2 <i>botuguana</i> ( <i>bo</i> = pig, <i>tugu</i> = to join with a rope)	a pig that is tethered by a rope
	3 <i>udurugu</i> ( <i>duru</i> = to block)	a pig that goes anywhere
	4 <i>udurubasiga</i> ( <i>basina</i> = a tusk growing from the upper jaw)	a pig that has basina
B <i>bololvaga</i>	5 <i>bololvaga</i> ( <i>lol vana</i> = in the mouth)	a pig whose tusks are inside the mouth
	6 <i>lañvonosia</i> ( <i>laño</i> = fly, <i>vonosia</i> = to alight on it)	a pig whose tusks are invisible when a fly alights on them
	7 <i>bogani</i> ( <i>gani</i> = to eat)	a pig whose tusks* are visible when the pig eats and opens its mouth
C <i>tavsiri</i>	8 <i>tavsiri</i> ( <i>tai</i> = to cut, <i>siri</i> = to scratch)	a pig whose tusk breaks the upper lip
D <i>bobibia</i>	9 <i>bolivoa</i> ( <i>livo</i> = a tusk)	a pig who has its tusks
	10 <i>bohere</i> ( <i>here</i> = to swing by wind)	a pig whose hair reaches its tusks when the wind blows
	11 <i>bobibia</i> ( <i>bibia</i> = to reach)	a pig whose tusks reach its cheeks

E <i>mabu</i>	12 <i>livbwanbwana</i> ( <i>livo</i> = tusk, <i>bwana</i> = large red mat) 13 <i>mabu</i> ( <i>mabu</i> = to rest)	(the meaning is not known) a pig whose tusks reach the bone of the lower jaw
F <i>livoala</i>	14 <i>huimosi</i> ( <i>hui</i> = bone, <i>mosi</i> = to break) 15 <i>goletirigi</i> or <i>livoalgole tirigi</i> ( <i>gole</i> = to prepare, <i>tirigi</i> = a little) 16 <i>golelavoa</i> or <i>livoalgolelavoa</i> ( <i>gole</i> = to prepare, <i>lavoa</i> = big)	a pig whose tusks go into the bone of the lower jaw a pig whose tusks are preparing to again grow up a little from the lower jaw a pig whose tusks are preparing to extend greatly from the lower jaw
G <i>livoaltavaga</i>	17 <i>livoaltavaga</i> ( <i>tavaga</i> = to split into two parts)	a pig whose tusks grow long enough to split the bone of the lower jaw
H <i>livoalbasiga</i>	18 <i>livoalbasiga</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>basina</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set of tusks like the number-4-type pig
I <i>livoallolvaga</i>	19 <i>livoallolvaga</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>olvaga</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-5-type pig
J <i>livoalgani</i>	20 <i>livoalgani</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>gani</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-7-type pig
K <i>livoaltavsiri</i>	21 <i>livoaltavsiri</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>tavsiri</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-8-type pig
L <i>livoallivoa</i>	22 <i>livoallivoa</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>livoa</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-9-type pig
M <i>livoalhere</i>	23 <i>livoalhere</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>here</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-10-type pig
N <i>livoalbibia</i>	24 <i>livoalbibia</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>bibia</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-11-type pig
O <i>livoallivbwanbwana</i>	25 <i>livoallivbwanbwana</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>livbwanbwana</i> )	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-12-type pig
P <i>livoalmabumulei</i>	26 <i>livoalmabumulei</i> ( <i>livoala</i> + <i>mabu</i> , <i>mulei</i> = again)	a pig whose tusks form a circle and starts to grow the second set like the number-13-type pig

\*Pigs have two tusks growing from the lower jaw. Sometimes one of the tusks grows quickly and becomes bigger than the other. In this case, the kind of the pig may be adjusted according to the size of the bigger tusk.

Since the pigs are classified according to the rough size of the tusk, it is difficult to exactly determine the kind of pig. That is, there are no strict criteria by which to differentiate, for example, *bololvaga* (no. 5) from

*lañvonosia* (no. 6). However *lahoa* (no. 1) can be clearly differentiated from *lañvonosia* (no. 4), which is in turn decidedly regarded as different from *tavsiri* (no. 8). This is because *lahoa* has no tusks whereas *lañvonosia* has tusks, and the tusks of *lañvonosia* do not grow outside the mouth whereas those of *tavsiri* do. According to such concrete indices, certain kinds of pigs are combined into a class. People call pigs from no. 1 to no. 4 *udurugu* (class A) and pigs from no. 5 to no. 7 *bololvaga* (class B). The class of *tavsiri* (class C) is composed of only one kind of pig. The class of *bobibia* (class D) is differentiated from *tavsiri* by the former having arc-shaped tusks and the latter having straight tusks that have not yet begun to curve. The pigs in class E, *mabu* whose tusks reach the lower jaw, are clearly differentiated from the pigs in class F, *livoala*, because the tusks in class F do not stop growing at the lower jawbone (i.e., the tusks continue to grow).

Although classes are clearly delineated, numerous disputes occur regarding the classification of pigs. For example, it is often disputed whether a pig whose tusks have just begun to curve is in class C or D. In one case, a pig that was declared to be in class F was given to a man, but after slaughtering this pig, he found that its tusks did not grow over the lower jawbone. In such a case, the claim by the giver of the pig is usually maintained and the receiver can only grumble about it.

## 2 Outline of the *Bolololi* Ritual

Codrington reported that the name of the public graded society in North Raga was *Loli* (Codrington 1891:114), whereas it was called *Suge* in the Banks Islands and *Huqe* in Ambae (Codrington 1891:104, 113). It seems strange that the name in North Raga would be completely different from those in other parts of Vanuatu. During my field research, I did not find any

name for the graded society. It seemed that people might not think that the graded system can be considered a “society,” and I found only that people call the ritual concerning the graded system *Bolololi*.

As shown in Table 2, in North Raga there are presently four grades for men, named from lowest to highest as *tari* (meaning “to lay the foundation” or “a male child or son”), *moli* (whose meaning is not known to the people), *livusi* (meaning “to climb over the hill”), which is also called *udu* (meaning “half”) or *garai* (meaning “to get over”), and *vira* (meaning “a flower”). To enter the upper grade, it is necessary to kill pigs of a prescribed class and prescribed number as well as to purchase certain kinds of insignia by paying in pigs of a prescribed class and number. A man who enters the last grade *vira* is called *ratahigi*, a traditional political leader translated as *jif* (chief) in Bislama, Vanuatu Pidgin.<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to kill a pig of class B to enter the first grade *tari* and to kill a pig of class C or D to enter the second grade *moli*. Although people kill pigs in these cases in a fixed fashion, special rituals are not settled. Those who enter these grades are usually children whose fathers make them kill pigs to be served as side dishes during feasts. After this, the child enters the grade of *moli*. He should then purchase a special insignia during his tenure in the *moli* grade, and this performance should be done in a special ritual. This is the first *Bolololi*. The ritual has

Table 2 Grade and pig-killing today

grade	pigs to be killed to enter the grade		specific pig-killing required while in a particular grade		
	class	number	name	class of pig	number
<i>tari</i>	B <i>bololvaga</i>	1	-----	-----	-----
<i>moli</i>	C <i>tavsiri</i> or D <i>bobibia</i>	1	-----	-----	-----
<i>livusi</i> ( <i>udu</i> , <i>garai</i> )	E <i>mabu</i>	1	<i>sese</i>	any class	10
<i>vira</i>	F <i>livoala</i>	1	<i>mabuhāñvulu</i>	<i>mabu</i>	10

many variations according to which grade is to be entered or what kind of insignia is to be purchased. *Bolololi* is a general term indicating the series of these rituals.

Certain characters appear and play important roles in *Bolololi* rituals. One of them is the man who will kill pigs and purchase insignias in the ritual, referred to as a novice or “a central figure.” He is the chairperson of the *Bolololi* ritual as well as of the feast held after *Bolololi*. Preparations for a *Bolololi* usually begin 10 days before the ritual and are made in cooperation with residents of the village where the *Bolololi* will be held, for whom feasts of dining and drinking kava<sup>3</sup> are held every day until the day of *Bolololi*.

Although the yams and taro used in the feasting are brought by the villagers, the side dishes and kava are served by the central figure of the *Bolololi*. When the ritual is approaching, a big shelf is made, on which the central figure heaps up yams or taro for the feast on the day of *Bolololi*. Villagers also voluntarily pile up their own yams or taro to help the central figure.

*Bolololi* is performed on the ritual ground called sara and the feast after *Bolololi* is held in the meeting-house called *gamali*. The ritual ground as well as the meeting-house are said to be possessed by men who already entered the *vira* grade, namely, chiefs (*ratahigi*). Although there are some villages with plural meeting-houses, generally there is only one meeting-house in a village. Since there are usually multiple chiefs in each village, the meeting-house is said to be commonly owned by these chiefs. The central figure of *Bolololi* is counseled by these chiefs concerning what kind of insignia he will purchase, what grade he will enter, and so on. Some of these chiefs play important roles in *Bolololi* such as by explaining the class of pigs and informing people of the “pig name” (*iha boe*) of the central figure when he kills the pig. The pig name is associated with the name of the grade and is



given to a man whenever he kills a pig to enter a certain grade. For example, if a man kills a pig and enters the grade of *moli*, he is given a name such as Molgaga, Molmemea, Molture, and so on. If the grade is *tari*, the pig name may be Tarihala, Tariliu, and so on. The chiefs playing roles in the ritual direct the proceedings and also must give formal approval to the central figure.

In *Bolololi*, several kinds of dances are performed in the beginning of the ritual. This is followed by the stage of *boemwarovo*, meaning “a pig runs.” In this stage, many men run slowly on the ritual ground in a zigzag fashion to the rhythm of the slit-drums. They are the men who will give pigs to the central figure. Here, I call them “pig-givers.” The central figure does not provide all of the pigs used for insignia payments and killing to enter the upper grade. Even if the central figure has enough pigs to use in the ritual, he should receive pigs from many men during the “a pig runs” stage. The stage of “a pig runs” is then followed by the stage of killing pigs and of purchasing insignias.

A man who holds the first *Bolololi* is in the grade of *moli*. When he wants to enter the grade of *livusi*, it is necessary for him to kill one pig of class E. If a man of *livusi* enters the last grade, *vira*, he should kill one pig of class F. Killing only one pig to enter the upper grade is a minimum requirement, and men try to kill more pigs than is required because the more pigs a man kills, the more prestige he can accrue. The pigs are beaten to death. This action was, in the past, associated with acquiring the supernatural power called *roroño*. People believed that the more they killed pigs, the more supernatural power they obtained. Today, this belief is disappearing. However, it is still considered praiseworthy for a man to destroy his valuable goods (that is, he kills his pigs) and give them as meat to people at the feast after the ritual. A man who killed only one pig to enter

the upper grade would be subject to ridicule.

Before entering the *vira* grade, *sese* is required. *Sese* refers to the killing of 10 pigs of any class. Even if a man of the *livusi* grade kills eight or nine pigs, this is not considered *sese*. After entering the grade of *vira*, a man cannot enter a higher grade no matter how many pigs he kills. However, a chief, who is of the *vira* grade, will aim to kill 10 pigs of class E, which is called *mabuhāñvulu*. With this, the chief attains a higher rank. The word *loli* within *Bolololi* means “to perform.” In *Bolololi* many spectators surround the ritual ground, and it is necessary for a man to reveal his rank and display his power in front of many spectators.

In the past there were five grades and the number of the pigs to be killed was much greater than today.<sup>4</sup> This is shown in Table 3. Great chiefs

Table 3 Grade and pig killing in the past

grade	pigs to be killed to enter the grade		specific pig-killing while in a particular grade		
	class	number	name	class	number
<i>tari</i>	B <i>bololvaga</i>	1	-----	-----	-----
<i>moli</i>	C <i>tavsiri</i> or D <i>bobibia</i>	1	<i>sese</i>	any	10
<i>udu garai bağa</i>	E <i>mabu</i> or F <i>livoala</i>	1	-----	-----	-----
<i>livusi</i>	any	10	-----	-----	-----
<i>vira</i>	higher class than C <i>tavsiri</i>	10	<i>Bohudorua</i>	any	100
			<i>livohañvulu</i>	higher than C <i>tavsiri</i>	10
			<i>bobibiahañvulu</i>	D <i>bobibia</i>	10
			<i>livbwanbwanahañvulu</i>	E <i>livbwanbwana</i>	10
			<i>mabuhāñvulu</i>	D <i>mabu</i>	10
			<i>livoalḡolehañvulu</i>	F <i>livoalḡole</i>	10
			<i>livoaltavagahañvulu</i>	G <i>livoaltavaga</i>	10
			<i>bovtagahudorua</i>	higher than B <i>bololvaga</i>	100
			<i>livohudorua</i>	higher than C <i>tavsiri</i>	100

in the past who killed more pigs came up with new pig names for themselves. As mentioned above, a man in *vira* cannot rise to a higher grade, regardless of the number of pigs killed. Thus the pig name associated with the grade does not change. If new names are acquired by killing more pigs, these names are not associated with the name of the grade. For example, two such names are famous today. One is Huhuñanvanua and the other is Tuğorovanua. The former was a name that was chosen by the chief Viradoro. Viradoro is a proper pig name. After Viradoro entered the grade of *vira*, he kept killing pigs. He finally named himself Huhuñanvanuau, meaning “the peak of the island.” The latter name Tuğorovanua, meaning “to stand shutting out the island,” is that of the chief Viramasoi. These names are so famous that some people today think that they are names of grades that are even higher than *vira*.

### 3 Giving and Taking of Pigs

*Bolololi* is also called “*bisines pig*” in Bislama, Vanuatu Pidgin. It is called “pig business” because in *Bolololi* the giving and taking of pigs is the main theme of the stages of “a pig runs” and purchasing insignias. Here I explain the giving and taking of pigs in the stage of “a pig runs.”

In this stage, the pig-giver, after running in zigzag fashion on the ritual ground, stands at one end of the ground with his pig. He tells the class or the kind of the pig to the central figure. He also tells him “the way of giving.” There are basically two ways of giving pigs: *vuro* and *bugu*. If the pig is given as *vuro*, the pig-receiver should give back a pig of the same class in the stage of “a pig runs” of future *Bolololi* of the pig-giver. Because of this, *vuro* is often translated as a debt. The return-giving is called *halavuro* or *sobwe*, and the latter’s noun form is *sobwesobwe* or *sobwesobweana* (Figure 1).

If the novice, namely, the central figure of the *Bolololi* formerly gave pigs as *vuro* in the *Bolololi* rituals of several men, these men may return pigs now as *sobwesobwe* in the stage of “a pig runs.” It is not certain whether they will return pigs in this *Bolololi* because the date of the returning is not fixed although the returning is obligatory. Moreover even if the pig-giver asks the pig-receiver to give back a pig, the latter often declines saying that he has no pigs with him. A man who decides to hold *Bolololi* usually asks men to whom he gave pigs as *vuro* to return pigs as *sobwesobwe*. However, it depends on the intention of the pig-receiver whether he will return a pig as *sobwesobe*. Therefore, it is not until the man whom he gave a pig as *vuro* starts to run on the ritual ground in the “a pig runs” stage that the central figure knows that the man is returning a pig as *sobwesobwe*. Additionally, the central figure of *Bolololi* only expects that pigs will be given as *vuro*. In this case too, only when a pig-giver starts to run on the ritual ground does the central figure know that they are making *vuro*.

When a pig of class B (*bololvaga*) is given, the pig-giver usually says in a loud voice, “Your debt is *bololvaga* (*Vuromwa bololvaga*).” But he sometimes says, “Your *masa* is *bololvaga* (*Masamwa bololvaga*).”<sup>5</sup> *Masa* means a pig that should be killed. Although it depends on the intention of the pig-receiver, namely the central figure of the ritual, whether a pig given simply as *vuro* may be used as payment for insignia or killed in order to enter the upper grade, a pig given as *masa* should be killed in the ritual. If the central figure wants to use this pig as the payment for insignia, he should get the

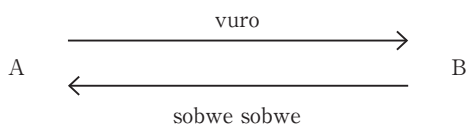


Figure 1 Transaction concerning *vuro*

permission of the pig-giver. Even if the pig is *sobwesobwe*, namely a returned pig, it can be appointed as *masa* and the right of how to use it is preserved by the pig-giver. In a *Bolololi* I observed, a man brought a pig as *sobwesobwe* and appointed it as *masa*. The central figure of the ritual (the pig-receiver) wanted to use it as a payment and negotiated with the giver. But the negotiations broke down and the man took back his pig. The central figure wanted to use the *masa* pig for payment because he otherwise lacked a pig of the class needed to purchase the insignia. This happens because, until the ritual starts, the central figure cannot know how many and what kinds of pigs will be given as *vuro* or given back as *sobwesobwe*.

A pig given as *bugu* is different from a pig of *vuro* and is brought without fail to the ritual ground on the day of *Bolololi*. This is because a pig of *bugu* is requested in advance from a particular man, who agrees to bring the pig on the day of the ritual. On the night before *Bolololi*, a feast to drink kava is held in the village meeting-house. At that time, the man who was asked to make *bugu* would be the first to drink kava, showing that he is a *bugu*-giver. The pig given as *bugu* should be of a class higher than class D. The giving of a pig as *bugu* should be returned but the manner of return is completely different from that of *vuro*. Suppose the *bugu*-giver is A, the *bugu*-receiver is B, and the *Bolololi* of B is *a* (Figure 2). First, A runs on the ritual ground in the stage of “a pig runs” of *Bolololi a* and gives a pig as *bugu* to B. Then in the latter stage of *Bolololi a*, B gives two pigs and one or two large red mats to A. This is the first counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver. The two pigs are respectively called *tautau* (meaning “to put”) and *laitali* (meaning “to give a rope tethering a pig”). The red mat is called *tavwen gana* (payment for a bait). It is said that the payment for a bait is a necessary token of gratitude because much care is needed to breed and raise a pig with very big tusks. The class of these pigs and the number of

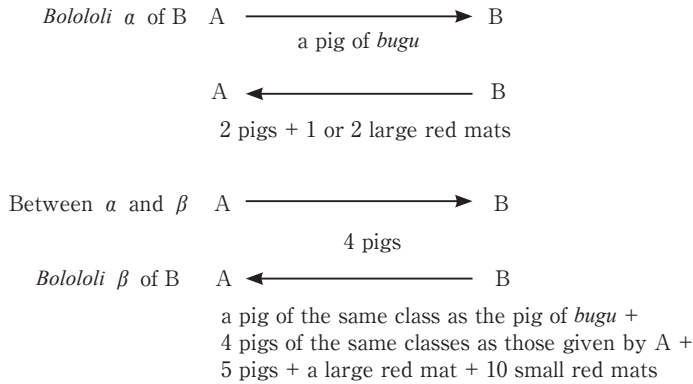


Figure 2 Transactions concerning *bugu*

red mats depend on the class of the pig of *bugu* (Table 4).

At some time after *Bolololi a*, B holds a *Bolololi*. Suppose this *Bolololi* is  $\beta$ . Between *a* and  $\beta$ , A gives four pigs to B. This is called *sariboe* (meaning “to poke a pig”). If A gave two pigs to B in *Bolololi a*, the number of *sariboe* pigs is three. In this way, B would receive 5 pigs before his *Bolololi \beta*. Then in *Bolololi \beta*, B gives 10 pigs, one large red mat, and 10 small red mats. This is the second counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver. Of the 10 pigs, five pigs are of the same class as the pigs given by A. The class of the other five pigs is said to become higher if the class of *bugu* is higher. In fact, however, it depends on the number and the class of pigs that are given to B on the day of the ritual and it would not be proper for A to complain about the class of these five pigs. The ten pigs are tethered to 10 sticks that have been driven into

Table 4 First counter-giving for *bugu*

<i>bugu</i>	pig of class F	pig of class E	pig of class D
<i>tautau</i>	pig of class E	pig of class C	pig of class B
<i>laitali</i>	pig of class C	pig of class B	pig of class A
<i>tavwen gana</i>	2 large red mats	1 large red mat	1 large red mat



between the giver and the receiver continues for longer than for *tabeana*, but may be shorter than *vuro* for which a counter-gift should be given.

These three categories of *tabeana*, *mwemwearuvwa*, and *vuro*, although schematically differentiated, are actually intertwined. There are some cases in which a thing given as *tabeana* is regarded by the receiver as *mwemwearuvwa* while a thing of *mwemwearuvwa* is thought of as *vuro*. Such treatments are said to be proper because the relationship between the giver and the receiver will continue for a longer time. In North Raga the spirit of reciprocity is very important in people's lives. Reciprocity or mutual aid is expressed by the word *mwemwearuana*. The intertwining of these concepts explained above is thought to strengthen *mwemwearuana*, the reciprocity or mutual aid. *Tabeana* may be considered a kind of *mwemwearuana* because it is done in order to help the receiver. *Vuro*, namely the debt, is also regarded as the starting point of the relationship of *mwemwearuana* and the counter-gift to the *vuro*, that is, *sobwesobwe* is also thought to be a kind of *mwemwearuana*.

Different from these three kinds of exchange, *bugu* is used only in the case of pig-exchange in *Bolololi* and seems to be independent from the above three concepts. However, it is possible to find the concepts of *tabeana*, *mwemwearuvwa*, and *vuro* in the giving and taking of *bugu*. The first counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver is composed of two pigs and red mats. These two pigs (i.e., *tautau* and *laitali*) are said to have the same character as *tabeana*. These pigs are given without requiring or expecting a counter-gift. After that, four pigs are given to the *bugu*-receiver and pigs of the same valuation as these pigs and the pigs of *bugu* should be given back. This is the manner in which *vuro* proceeds. Furthermore, the 10 pigs in the second counter-giving are called *boen mwemwearuvwa* (pig of *mwemwearuvwa*). A man explained this to me as follows: "These pigs will go back in the future to someone in the village of the man who received the pig of *bugu* or someone



in the same kin group as the man. If the man who gave the pig of *bugu* could not give back 10 pigs to the *bugu*-receiver, the son of the former may do so. This is not the rule. This is the same case as that in which if you are given food, you may give it back sometime. It does not matter if you do not do so." The character of *mwemwearuvwa* is clearly expressed here. The 10 pigs given in the second counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver are also called *nodaru gai profet*, borrowing the word of *profet* from Bislama. This means "sticks of profit for the two of us." It is noteworthy that the profit is thought not to go to one person (i.e., the *bugu*-giver) but is shared by two persons, the *bugu*-giver and the *bugu*-receiver. This also expresses the character of *mwemwearuvwa*.

Now, we can consider these concepts of exchange found in North Raga in relation to the three kinds of reciprocity, namely generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity, and negative reciprocity, proposed by Sahlins (1972:193-195). These concepts of reciprocity seem to be complementarily related to each other at first glance, but closer examination reveals that they are not. According to Sahlins, the generalized reciprocity varies from a pure gift to a gift for which a counter-gift is expected. The gift for which the counter-gift is required is excluded from this kind of reciprocity. The excluded gift now seems to be included in the concept of the balanced reciprocity. However, the balanced reciprocity proposed by Sahlins is applied to the gift for which the equivalent counter-gift should be made "within a fixed period." The gift for which the equivalent counter-gift should be made "at some time in a future," like *vuro*, is excluded from this concept. The third concept, negative reciprocity, applies when one receives a gift unilaterally, such as through an act of haggling or plunder. This may, at first glance, seem like the inverse form of generalized reciprocity, but this is actually not the case because this concept applies only when elements such as hostile relations between the

giver and the receiver occur.

*Tabeana* in North Raga is a kind of pure gift and can also be considered a kind of generalized reciprocity. But since this reciprocity is also applied to the gift for which a counter-gift is expected, *mwemwearuvwa* seems to be the best case. However, in fact it is not the case because *mwemwearuvwa* swings between two extreme cases, one of which is *tabeana* for which the counter-gift is not settled and the other of which is *vuro* for which the equivalent counter-gift is obligatory. As mentioned, *vuro* is not encompassed by the concept of balanced reciprocity because the counter-gift for *vuro* is not given within a fixed period. The time when the counter-gift is made depends on the intention of the *vuro*-receiver. In contrast, *bugu* has the same character as the incremental gift-giving (Gregory 1982:54) or profit-making exchange found widely in Papua New Guinea (Strathern 1971, 1983). Is the profit-making exchange explained by the concept of negative reciprocity? According to Sahlins, the negative reciprocity is found in the case of haggling or plunder and comes in effect between persons with remote relationships such as hostiles (Sahlins 1972:196-204). However, *bugu* in North Raga or the profit-making exchange in Papua New Guinea is not made between hostiles but rather between relatives or friends. In this way, the three concepts of reciprocity proposed by Sahlins are not applicable to the concepts of exchange found in North Raga.

## 5 First *Bolololi*

As described above, the first *Bolololi* is a ritual in which a man in the grade of *moli* purchases a special insignia. This insignia is a string of beads made of shell, which is called *bani*. The following description is mainly based on field data concerning a *Bolololi* ritual that was conducted in Labultamata

village in 1981.

In the ritual, men first perform three kinds of dances called *bolaba*, *tigo*, and *mantani*, respectively. The first two are performed to the accompaniment of slit-drums, whereas the last is danced to a rhythm made by beating a bundle of bamboo shoots. These dances are followed by the stage of “a pig runs.” First a conch shell is blown. Then men beat slit-drums and a man starts to run on the ritual ground. If he comes to the ground from side A in Figure 4, he first runs straight ahead on the fringe of the ritual ground to side B. He then runs slowly toward side B in zigzag fashion in the middle of the ground to the rhythm of the slit-drums. He repeats the same actions twice.

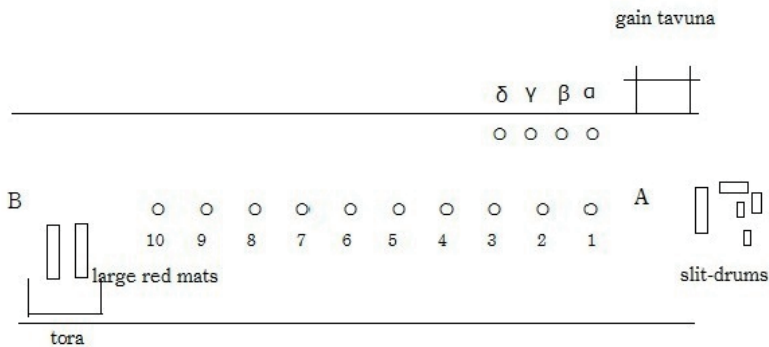


Figure 4 Ritual ground of *Bolololi*

It depends on the man whether the running starts from side A or B. If two men start to run simultaneously from sides A and B, each runs straight on each side of the edge of the ground. They then run in a zigzag fashion, crossing each other’s paths on the way. People think of this running as a kind of dance. After running they stand at the end of the ground with their pigs.



photo 1 "A pig runs".

The central figure of the ritual is usually led in by a man of a higher grade. These two men run slowly in zigzag fashion toward the man who is standing with his pig. Then the sounds of slit-drums stop and the pig-giver describes his pig. After his speech, the two men go around the pig-giver a few times in counterclockwise direction and touch the hem of his clothes. Then they take the pig away. The slit-drums start to be beaten again and another man begins to run.

Those who run on the ritual ground run to the rhythm of the slit-drums. Although it is not known who will run on the ritual ground until a man actually starts to run, the rhythm of the slit-drums is different from man to man. The leader of the drummers decides on the rhythm after he sees who has begun to run. There are given rhythms for the slit-drums. In the case of the *Bolololi* in which a string of beads is purchased, the first runner should run to the rhythm of *bolaba*. The rhythms of other men depend on their insignias. A man who has not yet obtained a string of beads should run to

the rhythm of *bolaba* or *gaintavuna*. A man who purchased a string of beads in a *Bolololi* ritual can run to the rhythm of *tigo* or the same ranked rhythm, for example, *silonstima*. However, if a man wants to run to the rhythm of *gori* or *maña*, he should make a special payment for it. The rhythm of the slit-drums is a kind of insignia. Those who run in the stage of “a pig runs” usually put a leaf ornament on their backs. This leaf ornament is also a kind of insignia, which I will further explain in Section V of this Introduction.

When a man is running in the zigzag fashion, women sometimes rush from the spectators to the man and begin to run behind him. This is a kind of joking conduct called *bwaraitoa* (see The Story of Raga III), and the women are the man’s father’s sisters. During their running, some women also come out from the spectators and hand out small red mats or hang them on the shoulders of women who are running on the ritual ground. These women are the sisters or classificatory mothers of the man. This action is called *lağasi*.

After the first runner finishes running, the central figure of the ritual goes to the place called *tora* (see Figure 4). This is done only in the *Bolololi* of purchasing a string of beads. The central figure receives a cycad palm leaf at *tora*. When a man kills pigs in *Bolololi*, the pigs are tethered to the trunks of cycad palms. The action in the *tora* shows that he is purchasing the right to use the trunk of the cycad palm in *Bolololi*. The pig given by the first runner is used for the payment for this leaf. After many men finish running, the last runner starts to run. He is the giver of a string of beads.<sup>6</sup>

After running, the bead-giver stretches his right hand aloft on which a string of beads hangs. The central figure approaches him and from the back he takes the beads.

The stage of “a pig runs” is over and the central figure goes to the *tora* again, where he makes the payments for *bolaba* and *tigo* dances. A large



photo 2 Taking a string of beads

white mat that has been hung on the bar of wooden framework called *gain tavuna* is now laid down in the *tora*. The central figure stands at the entrance of *tora*. A *ratahigi*, namely a chief, gives a speech concerning *tora*. In front of the central figure there are two large red mats, each of which is used for the payment for *bolaba* and *tigo*. A classificatory father of the central figure who was asked to perform the *bolaba* dance is called and given a red mat that is then put on the head of the central figure. This action is called *huni* or *hunhuni* (see The Story of Raga III). Another classificatory father who was asked to perform the *tigo* dance is also given a red mat in the same manner. A white mat is given to the giver of a string of beads. There are three dances: *bolaba*, *tigo*, and *mantani*. The payment for the *mantani* dance is made during the dance. A large red mat is given to a classificatory father of the central figure in the manner of *huni*.

Next is the first counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver. The central figure of the ritual, that is, the *bugu*-receiver gives two pigs and red mats to the *bugu*-

giver. In the ritual ground, two sticks are driven into the ground and a pig is tethered to each stick. If a pig is not brought to the ritual ground for some reason, a leaf of *varisañvulu* is bound around the stick. Although a pig of *tautau* and a pig of *laitali* are counter-gifts to the *bugu*-giver, the central figure usually purchases some kind of insignia with the pig of *tautau* or *laitali* from the *bugu*-giver. In the first *Bolololi*, it is usual to purchase the right to use a leaf of *varisañvulu* as a back ornament; the purchase is made with a pig of *tautau* from the *bugu*-giver. In other words, a pig of *tautau* is used for the counter-gift as well as for the payment for a leaf insignia.

Next is the stage of the payment for a string of beads called *bani*. Ten sticks are driven in the ritual ground and a pig is tethered to each stick. A chief explains about these pigs. The central figure stands at one end of the row of sticks and the man who gave the beads in the stage of “a pig runs” dances (running slowly) toward him to the rhythm of the slit-drums. The bead-giver has a kind of croton called *hahari moli*, a leaf called *sese adomae*, and the red tip of the leaf of sago palm called *bibitağure* in his hands and a feather of a barn owl called *irun visi* on his head. These three kinds of leaves and the feather are also given to the central figure along with a string of beads. Ten pigs, two large red mats, and 10 small red mats are paid for these insignias. Table 5 shows the general classes of pigs used as payment

Table 5 Payment for the string of beads

stick	the class of the pig
1	D
2	higher class than E
3	B or A
4	B
5	C
6	B
7	B
8	B or A
9	B or A
10	B or A



for the string of beads. The pig tethered to stick 1 is the payment for the beads (*gaiutun bani*) and should be of class D. The pig at stick 2 is called “the substitute for the pig to be killed (*matan masana*).” This pig is of the same class as the pig killed by the central figure to enter the grade of *livusi* in this *Bolololi*. The man who gives the string of beads also gave a pig to be killed in this *Bolololi*. That is, he gave a pig as *masa* (and also as *vuro*) to the central figure of the ritual in the stage of “a pig runs.”



photo 3 Payment for a string of beads

The central figure killed a pig to enter the grade of *tari* and another pig to enter the grade of *moli*. These pigs were given by his real father or classificatory fathers. It is said that these pigs are *tabeana* of the father. The father who gave those pigs, in this turn, becomes a giver of beads. Since he comes with a pig that the central figure will kill to enter the grade of *livusi*, the former gives, in total, three pigs to the latter. It is said that the first two pigs are *tabenana* and the last pig is *vuro*. *Tabeana* is a gift to which a



counter-gift is not expected. A pig given as *vuro* is refunded as *matan masana* as noted above.

After the stage of the payment for the string of beads follows the stage of pig-killing. In the case of the *Bolololi* held in Labultamata described here, the central figure killed four pigs. In the ritual ground, four trunks of cycad palm were driven and pigs were tethered to them. Men began to beat the slit-drums and the central figure whose body was painted red, the upper grade man who led him, some of his sisters, classificatory mothers, and classificatory fathers who followed him all ran in zigzag fashion to the rhythm of the slit-drums. When he killed one of the pigs, a chief stated his pig name in a loud voice. The same was done for the other pigs. The pig name he got when he killed pigs that were tethered to cycad palms  $\delta$  (class C),  $\gamma$  (class E), and  $\beta$  (class D), was Udulalau, and when he killed the last pig  $\alpha$  (class F), he was named Livusiliu (See Figure 4). After that he was known as Livusiliu.

## 6 Payment for Insignias

The insignias other than those purchased in the first *Bolololi* are mainly classified into three categories. One is a category of dress composed of, from the lowest to highest value, a white skirt woven of pandanus leaves named *mahañamaita*, a red skirt woven of pandanus leaves named *tamağamanğa*, and a colorful belt woven of pandanus leaves set with shells named *garovuroi*. These were originally articles of clothing to be worn when a man killed pigs. A white skirt should be put on when a man made first *sese*, a red skirt when he killed 10 pigs to enter the *vira* grade, and a colorful belt when he killed 10 pigs of class E, namely *mabuhañvulu*.

The same method of payment is applied to all these dress insignias.

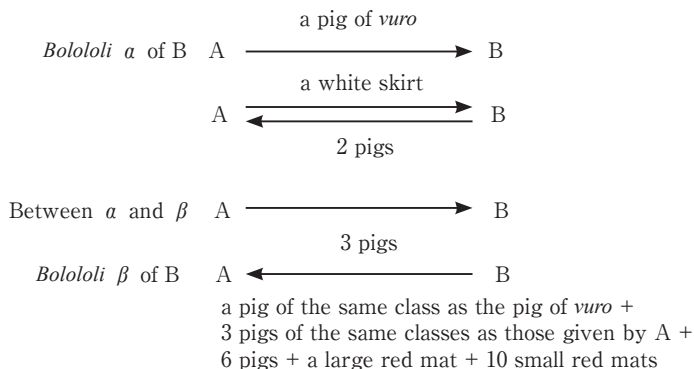


Figure 5 Purchase of the white skirt

Here, I describe a case of the purchase of a white skirt. Suppose the giver of the insignia is A and the receiver is B (Figure 5). When B thinks that he will purchase a white skirt in the *Bolololi*, he looks for a man to give it to him and gets his agreement. On the day of his *Bolololi a*, A gives a pig to B as *vuro* in the stage of "a pig runs." In the latter stage, A now gives a white skirt to B and B gives two pigs to A. One pig is called *volin mahañamaita* (the payment for the white skirt) and should be of class D. The other pig is called *tohebweresi* (to make *bweresi*: *bweresi* = decorations made at the four corners of the bottom of the basket woven of pandanus leaves) and is usually of class B. Between *Bolololi a* and *beta*, A gives three pigs to B. If A does not give a pig in the stage of "a pig runs" of *Bolololi a*, he gives four pigs here. Then in *Bolololi beta*, B gives 10 pigs along with a large red mat as well as 10 small red mats to A. These 10 pigs are called *boen mahañamaita* (pigs of white skirt).

Figure 5 shows a model case, but there are some cases in which 10 "pigs of white skirt" are given in *Bolololi a* or a white skirt is not given in *Bolololi a* but will be given afterward. In any case, the substantial payment for the white skirt is composed of eight pigs, a large red mat, and 10 small red mats.

For a red skirt and colorful belt, the manner of payment is the same, but the classes of the two pigs that are given first in the *Bolololi*  $\alpha$  become higher (Table 6). Similarly the classes of the three pigs given by A between *Bolololi*  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  become higher and the last 10 pigs also are of higher class. Take an example of the belt. In a *Bolololi* I observed, a man A gave four pigs of class E to B, and in the same *Bolololi* the former gave the colorful belt to B. B gave a pig of F which is called *volin garovuroi* (the payment for colorful belt) and a pig of E called *dovonbovo* (to measure one's hips). In the same *Bolololi* A gave 10 pigs called *boen garovuroi* (pigs of colorful belt). These 10 pigs are usually tethered to 10 sticks but in this *Bolololi* only eight pigs were tethered while two bags were bound to two sticks. These were bags containing the heads of pigs. It is possible to pay with the head of a dead pig but the class of the pig is regarded as one rank lower (Table 7).

These dress insignias are comparatively durable. They pass to others' hands in *Bolololi* rituals. If a man who has purchased a white skirt in his *Bolololi* is asked to give it in someone's *Bolololi*, he should part with it. Now

Table 6 First payment for the skirt and the belt

Insignia	first pig		second pig	
	name	class	name	class
white skirt red skirt belt	<i>volin mahañamaita</i>	D	<i>tohebweresi</i>	B
	<i>volin tamağamağa</i>	F	<i>tohebweresi</i>	E
	<i>volin garovuroi</i>	F	<i>dovonvobo</i>	E

Table 7 Second payment for the belt

stick	kind of pig	class of pig
1	<i>mabu</i>	E
2	<i>mabu</i>	E
3	<i>mabu</i>	E
4	<i>tavsiri</i>	C
5	head of <i>livoala</i>	E
6	head of <i>bobibia</i>	C
7	<i>tavsiri</i>	C
8	<i>tavsiri</i>	C
9	<i>tavsiri</i>	C
10	<i>livoala</i>	F

he has no actual article. However, he can have a new skirt made. His wife will weave a white skirt of pandanus leaves. If he wants to make a new red skirt or belt, he should pay a pig of class E for dyeing a white skirt red or making a belt. A man who has not purchased such an insignia in the *Bolololi* ritual cannot give it to another man in *Bolololi*, even if he processes it.

Another category of insignia is leaves. This insignia shows the right to put a leaf on one's back as an ornament when a man performs dances or runs in the stage of "a pig runs." The leaf insignia is categorized as, from the lowest to highest valuation, *varisañvulu*, *bwalbwale*, and *malugetuḡe*, all of which are from kinds of ti tree. People reported that the highest valued leaf is *vuhuñanvanua*, but I never observed the use of this kind of ti tree leaf as a back ornament. The payments for leaf insignias are shown in Table 8.

Table 8 Payment for leaf insignias

insignia	Payment
<i>varisañvulu</i>	one pig of class C
<i>bwalbwale</i>	one pig of class F
<i>malugetuḡe</i>	one pig of class F
<i>vuhuñanvanua</i>	one pig of class F

The last category is that of dance. The dance insignia may be classified into two kinds, which I call dance insignia 1 and dance insignia 2, respectively. Dance insignia 1 comprises several dances performed at the beginning of the *Bolololi* ritual. In the first *Bolololi*, three kinds of dances, *bolaba*, *tigo* and *mantani*, are performed. At the next *Bolololi* another dance called *havwana* is performed every time. There is no special payment for *havwana*, but *gori*, *havwan lavo*, and *havwan boe* should be purchased with pigs. A large red mat is given to the father of the central figure who is asked to perform a dance every time such a dance is performed. Dance insignia 2 represents the right to run to a specified rhythm in the stage of "a pig runs." As mentioned above, a man in his first *Bolololi* can run to the

rhythm of *bolaba*. After finishing the first *Bolololi*, one has the right to use the rhythm of *tigo*. *Gori* of dance insignia 2 is automatically granted when the *gori* dance for dance insignia 1 held in the beginning of the *Bolololi* is purchased. The payments for dance insignias are shown in Table 9.

It is noteworthy here that these insignias are often purchased from the *bugu*-giver. As an example, I explain the case of the purchase of a white skirt. Although the insignia-giver A normally gives a pig of *bugu* plus four pigs, in total five pigs to B (Figure 5), in this case A gives a pig of *bugu*, a white skirt, and three pigs to B (Figure 6).

In fact there were some cases in which fewer than three pigs were given between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . In contrast, B first gives two pigs and a large red

Table 9 Payment for the dance insignia

dance insignias 1 and 2		payment to obtain the insignia	payment every time the dance is performed
1 or 2	name of insignia		
1	<i>havwana</i>	-----	a large red mat
1 2	<i>gori</i> <i>gori</i>	a pig of class C	a large red mat
1	<i>havanlavo</i>	a pig of class E	a large red mat
2	<i>maña</i>	a pig of class E	-----
1	<i>havan boe</i>	a pig of class F	-----

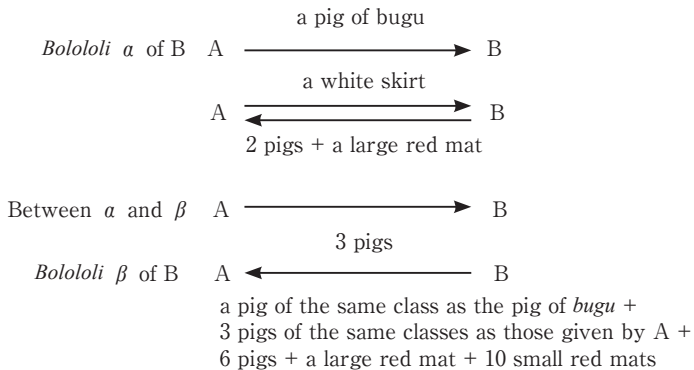


Figure 6 Purchase of the white skirt from the *bugu*-giver

mat to A. These are *tautau* and *laitali* but simultaneously they are also *volin mahañamaita* and *tohebweresi*. Similarly 10 pigs serve two roles, one of which is a second counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver and the other of which is *boen mahañamaita* (pigs of white skirt). If the *bugu*-giver and the insignia-giver are different, B should actually give seven pigs and mats to the former and eight pigs and mats to the latter, in total 15 pigs and several mats. However, B loses only eight pigs and mats if B purchases a white skirt from A, who is at the same time a giver of *bugu*. Interestingly, people in North Raga do not seem to care about the difference between these two cases and the central figure may attain the same prestige in both cases.

In the case in which a leaf insignia or a dance insignia is purchased from the *bugu*-giver, a pig of *tautau* (one of two pigs given to the *bugu*-giver) serves as the payment for the insignia. In this way, a pig of *tautau* is used to purchase several insignias. In a case I observed, a man who had obtained every dress insignia, every dance insignia, and two leaf insignias (*varisañvulu* and *malugetuḡe*) purchased new insignias with pigs of *tautau* from the *bugu*-givers. The new insignias were *valen siñisiñi* (a hut of tamtam) and *tanbona* (a platform in front of the meeting-house). Whatever insignia is purchased, it is actually free if obtained from a *bugu*-giver. Therefore some newly invented insignias may appear. If another man thinks that it is a nice insignia, then he may get it in his *Bolololi*. Eventually, a personal insignia may become a public insignia. I wonder whether the two leaf insignias of *bwalbwale* and *vuhuñanvanua* were originally personal insignias. Today, some people think of them as public insignias but others do not think so.

In North Raga people often use the same thing as different objects. The feast is a good example. In North Raga if a man dies, the funeral ritual is held on the day of the death, and on every tenth day after the man's death a kind of feast or ceremonial dinner is held by his relatives in each of several

villages.<sup>7</sup> Suppose a foreigner visits one of those villages where a feast is held. If the host welcomes the foreigner, the funeral feast is also used as a welcome feast. Suppose two pigs are killed by a son of the host to enter the grade of *tari* and *moli* and the meat is served as side dishes for the attendants of the feast. Now the host can insist that he supplied two pigs for the side dishes in the feast on the tenth day of the dead and can also insist that he offered two pigs to feast the foreigner. Furthermore it is reasonable for him to insist that he gave two pigs as *tabeana* to his son to enter the grade of *tari* and *moli*.

It does not matter to the people how much property is consumed “in total.” The important thing is how much property he could nominally consume for each event. The man who holds a funeral feast which also serves as a welcome feast and who prepares three pigs for the side dishes in the feast is more praised than a man who holds two different feasts, one of which is for the dead man and the other of which is for a foreigner and who prepares two pigs for the side dishes in each feast. The fact that a man can purchase an insignia from a man who gave him a pig of *bugu* can be understood from the same viewpoint.

## 7 Several Steps of *Bolololi*

There are several steps in the series of *Bolololi* rituals.<sup>8</sup> I already described the first *Bolololi* in detail in which a string of beads called *bani* is purchased. Here I will summarize subsequent *Bolololi* rituals.

### 1. *Mwelvavunu*

A man holds his next *Bolololi* some years after his first *Bolololi*. This time, he

gives 10 pigs to a man who gave him a pig of *bugu* in his first *Bolololi*. This first giving of 10 pigs to a *bugu*-giver is called *mwelvavunu*. Ten trunks of cycad palm are driven into the ritual ground and pigs are tethered to these 10 cycad palms.



photo 4 *Mwelvavunu*

- 1) The stage of dance. Usually the *havwana* dance is done. In some cases, *gori* dance may be performed.
- 2) The stage of “a pig runs.”
- 3) The stage of the first counter-giving for the *bugu* that is made this time. Two pigs and red mats are given to the *bugu*-giver. If the *gori* dance was performed, *gori* as a dance insignia is purchased here for a pig of *tautau*. If not, a leaf insignia, *malugetuḡe*, may be purchased here (the lowest ranked leaf insignia, that is, *varisañvulu*, was already purchased in the first *Bolololi*.)
- 4) The stage of purchasing a food called *gaganiva*. Although not obligatory to purchase for every man, if a man wants this food, it should be



purchased in this *Bolololi*. *Gaganiva* is composed of taro, yams, a whole pig, kava, sugarcane, and coconut fibers. The payment is made with a pig of class C.

- 5) The stage of pig-killing. A man who holds this *Bolololi* is usually in the grade of *livusi*. Even if he kills some pigs here, he cannot enter the *vira* grade.
- 6) The stage of giving 10 pigs to the previous *bugu*-giver. This is the stage of *mwelvavunu*.

## 2. *Bolololi* in which a man purchases a white skirt and makes *sese*.

The central figure here is now in the grade of *livusi*. He must kill 10 pigs before he enters the grade of *vira*. When a man kills 10 pigs, he should wear a white skirt.

- 1) The stage of dance. *Havwana* dance is performed. If he obtained the right to perform the *gori* dance in the previous *Bolololi*, this dance may also be performed in this *Bolololi*.
- 2) The stage of “a pig runs.”
- 3) The stage of the first counter-giving for the *bugu* in this *Bolololi*. A white skirt is purchased with a pig of *tautau* and *laitali*.
- 4) The stage of *sese*. Ten trunks of cycad palm are driven into the ritual ground to which 10 pigs are tethered. A man, the central figure, wearing a white skirt, kills these pigs one after another. When a man performs *sese*, he should give a pig of class B to a man who already did *sese*. This giving is called *tabe mwelen sese* (to lift up a cycad palm for *sese*). (*Tabe* or *tabeana* also means a gift that does not require a counter-gift.) Usually it is done a day before *Bolololi* for *sese*.

- 5) The second counter-giving for the *bugu* that was given in the previous *Bolololi*. Here 10 pigs are given to the *bugu*-giver.



photo 5 Sese. A man wears a white skirt.

- 6) The state of taboo after *Bolololi*. A man who killed 10 pigs in *Bolololi* becomes tabooed (*gogona*). He should be secluded in the meeting-house for 10 days. During this seclusion, a man who is of the same or upper grade prepares meals for him. He cannot wash his body during this period. After 10 days, he comes out of the meeting-house and kills<sup>9</sup> a small pig of class A or so. Then he is released from the state of taboo.
- 7) Putting a taboo. A man who was released from the state of taboo, in turn, has a power to put a taboo on the land. On the tenth day, a feast is held where a special food such as a laplap pudding called *matailoḡon mahañamaita* (laplap pudding<sup>10</sup> of white skirt) is made. The man gives a large red mat to a man (or more men, if he wants) who has already killed 10 pigs wearing a white skirt. Then a pig of class B or so is given to the man who took care of the novice (that is, the central figure)

during his seclusion. After eating the pudding with men of the same or higher grade, the novice goes to the land of his kin group and washes his body. Then he places a taboo to prohibit anyone taking something for some years from the plot of land where he washed his body (Yoshioka 1994:81-82, 1998:218).

### 3. *Bolololi* to enter the grade of *vira*

A man who is in the grade of *livui* and finished performing *sese* will hold a *Bolololi* to enter the grade of *vira* in order to become a *ratahigi*, a chief.

- 1) The stage of dance. *Havwana* and *gori* are performed. Sometimes *havwan lavoa* is made.
- 2) The stage of “a pig runs.”
- 3) The stage of the first counter-giving for the *bugu* made in this *Bolololi*. The central figure may purchase the insignia of the *havwan lavoa* dance or a leaf insignia with the pig of *tautau*.
- 4) The stage of pig-killing to enter the grade of *vira*. The novice may kill some pigs among which at least one pig of class F is included. If he did not make *sese* in the previous *Bolololi*, he may here kill 10 pigs. If he kills 10 pigs each of which is in class E or higher, it is called *mabuhañvulu*. In each case, a pig of class F should be included. In this way, the pig-killing can have two roles one of which is that for entering the grade of *vira* and the other of which is the prescribed killing of 10 pigs.
- 5) The stage of purchasing a branch of Malay apple (*gaviga*). This is a characteristic stage of this step of *Bolololi*. *Vira* means a flower. The flower of the Malay apple is a symbol of *ratahigi*, the chief. In the ritual ground, a branch of Malay apple is driven and a large red mat is put on

it. Near it, a stick is driven into the ground and a pig of class E is tethered. A chief breaks a small branch of the Malay apple and puts it on the back of the novice. He takes the pig of class E and a large red mat, which are the payment for the branch of Malay apple. This pig is called *tai gaviga* (to cut a tree of Malay apple). This is a necessary procedure for the novice to become a chief. He can purchase a branch of Malay apple with a pig of *tautau* of the *bugu* if he does not purchase a leaf insignia or a dance insignia in stage 3. However, because the payment for the Malay apple is a pig of class E or higher, the *tautau* of the *bugu* should also be of class E or higher and thus the pig of the *bugu* should be higher than class F. In this case, the pig of *tautau* is, as mentioned above, called *tai gaviga*, whereas the pig of *laitali* is called *riv gaviga* (to plant a Malay apple). The branch of the Malay apple should be given by a man of the grade of *vira*. If the *bugu*-giver is not a chief, a chief puts the Malay apple branch on the novice's back in the ritual, but the pigs are given to the *bugu*-giver. Here, this chief plays his role voluntarily.

- 6) The stage of second counter-giving for the previous *bugu*. If the novice purchased a white skirt from the *bugu*-giver, the 10 pigs here serve both as a second counter-giving and *boen mahañamaita* (pigs of white skirt).
- 7) If he kills 10 pigs in this *Bolololi*, he will get the power to place a taboo.

#### 4. *Bolololi* to purchase a red skirt and a belt.

A man who has become a chief wants to obtain a red skirt and a belt. Since he must prepare many high-class pigs, the number of *bugu*-givers may increase. Although in the past a man wore a red skirt when he killed 10 pigs to enter the grade of *vira*, at present, the red skirt is purchased after a man becomes a chief.

- 1) The stage of dance. *Havwana* and *gori* are performed. If *havwan lavoa* was made in the previous *Bolololi*, it is also performed here.
- 2) The stage of “a pig runs.” A magnificent dance called *havwan boe*, which is performed only by women, is inserted into the stage of “a pig runs.” This dance may be performed in this *Bolololi* or is made in the previous one. After the dance is finished, payment for it is made to the organizer of the dance. It is not possible to pay with pigs of *tautatu* or *laitali*.
- 3) The stage of the first counter-giving for the *bugu* in this *Bolololi*. If there are three *bugu*-givers, three stages in which the novice gives two pigs and red mats to the *bugu*-givers occur. A red skirt or a belt may be purchased here with pigs of *tautau* and *laitali*.
- 4) The stage of pig-killing. It is not necessary to kill pigs in this stage, but it is generally expected.
- 5) The stage of the second counter-giving for the previous *bugu*.



photo 6 Purchase of *garovuroi* (belt).

- 6) The payment of *boen tamağamağa* (pigs of red skirt) or *boen garovuroi* (pigs of belt) is sometimes made here. This means that the second counter-giving for the *bugu* is also made here.
- 7) A man who is of the grade of *vira* can put a taboo on the land whenever he kills a pig in *Bolololi*. After 10 day's seclusion in the meeting-house, he eats a special laplap pudding called *matailoğon tamağamağa* (a pudding of a red skirt) or *matailoğon garovuroi* (a pudding of a belt).

## 5. *Bolololi* of *mabuhañvulu*

It is difficult for a man to hold this step of *Bolololi* using only his own pigs because 10 pigs whose classes are higher than class E should be killed. If some of these pigs are given by others in the stage of "a pig runs," these pigs may not be *vuro* but *bugu* because they are in a class higher than E. If there are many *bugu*, many pigs are used for counter-giving and their tusks should be big. These pigs are difficult for the central figure to prepare by himself and are thus obtained as *bugu*. The procedure of this step of *Bolololi* is the same as the previous one. In this *Bolololi*, the novice should give a pig of class C to a man who already made *mabuhañvulu*, which is called *tabe mwelen mabuhañvulu* (gift for the cycad palm for *mabuhañvulu*). The ten pigs to be killed are tethered to 10 trunks of cycad palm as in the case of *sese*.

## 6. Further steps of *Bolololi*

Since a man should make the second counter-giving for the *bugu* made in the previous *Bolololi*, another *Bolololi* will be held. In this *Bolololi*, a man may kill pigs. Even if he kills pigs after becoming a chief, his grade as well as his pig name will not change. However, when he thinks that he has killed enough

pigs, he may try to give his name as Vuhuñanvanua (the top of the land) or Tuğorovanua (to stand shutting out the island). In one case, a chief gave his name as Tanmonock, which seems to be a name from the Central Pentecost language.

In *Bolololi* a man is expected to show his strong power by killing more than the prescribed number of pigs and by purchasing insignia with more pigs than prescribed. In fact, chiefs who kill many pigs are thought to exhibit strong power. However, not all men can behave like this. The six steps of *Bolololi* described above are model cases. Some of the procedures described in those steps may be replaced. For example, although people say that it is not proper to obtain multiple insignias in only one *Bolololi*, this actually does occur. In one *Bolololi* I observed, a man who was in the grade of *livusi* but had not yet received any insignias attained the string of beads called *bani*, the leaf insignia of *varisañvulu*, and a white skirt and performed *sese*, *mwelvavunu*, and purchased a branch of Malay apple to enter the grade of *vira*. In this case, the pig killed to enter the grade of *vira* was included in the pigs for *sese*. He also purchased a white skirt with the pigs of *tautau* and *laitali*, and he made *mwelvavunu* by tethering 10 pigs to cycad palm trunks, which served both as the second counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver and as pigs of white skirt.

## Notes

1. My field research in Vanuatu was conducted from August to December in 1974, from April in 1981 to March in 1982, from August to October in 1985, from July to September in 1991, from September to October in 1992, from August to October in 1996, from August to October in 1997, in September in

- 2003, from August to September in 2004, in August in 2011, in August in 2012, and September in 2013.
2. *Ratahigi* is called *jif* (chief) in Bislama but is not a “chief” as defined by Sahlins. Although the position of *ratahigi* is regarded as highly successful, it is achieved by great effort. A *ratahigi* may take a middle position between a “big man” and a “chief.” But it is different from a “great man” as proposed by Godelier (1986). For a more detailed discussion, see Yoshioka 1998 (Chapters 11,12,13,14, and 15) and Nari and Yoshioka 2001.
  3. Kava is called *malogu* in North Raga and is a kind of Piperaceae shrub. The sap of its roots is a favorite drink.
  4. According to Codrington, there are 12 divisions corresponding to the earthen ovens in the meeting-house. The first five are *ma laḡelu*, *gabi liv hañvulu*, *ma votu*, *gabi rara*, and *woda*, which are the inferior steps. The sixth step *moli* “is the first that is important” and contains three steps. The ninth step is *udu*, the tenth *ḡarae*, eleventh *livusi*, and the last *vira* (Codrington 1891:114-115). Since he said that the youth in the *moli* step assumes a name with the prefix *Moli*, it seems that the last four names (*moli*, *ḡarae*, *livusi*, and *vira*) denote the name of the grade, and the first five names correspond to the divisions in the meeting-house. In contrast, Rivers presented eight names for the grades, *tari*, *moli*, *bwaranga*, *osisi*, *virei*, *livusi*, *dali*, and *vira*, stating that only *tari*, *moli*, and *vira* were found at the time of his research (Rivers 1914:210). I did not find the grades named *bwaranga*, *osisi*, *virei*, or *dali* in my field research, although I found that there was once a famous chief named Vireimala. His grade was *vira* and he assumed the name with the prefix *Virei*. *Virei* may be another name for the grade of *vira*. *Dali* is used with the prefix of the name of the grade such as *Viradali* and may not be the name of a grade.
  5. In some cases I observed, I found that each man who gave a pig as *masa* actually shot an arrow at the pig he brought to the ritual ground. The arrow



was not a true one but only a twig and was shot using a makeshift bow. Therefore the arrow did not puncture the pig, although it is said that in the past, sharp arrows were used that actually stuck in the pigs.

6. In the *Bolololi* held at Labultamata village, the men who were not *bugu*-givers ran as last runners because they arrived at the village very late. They had been asked to prepare bull meat for the feast after *Bolololi* and the preparations had taken a long time.
7. North Raga is a matrilineal society with a rule of avunculocal residence. Since the land of a kin group is divided into numerous plots scattered around the whole of North Raga, the members of the same kin group live in different places even if they follow the avunculocal rule. The recent tendency of virilocal residence also promotes such living patterns.
8. I observed every step of the *Bolololi* ritual during my field research, except for the *Bolololi* of *mabuhañvulu*. The descriptions of *Bolololi* in this paper are based on data I collected during my field research from 1981 to 1992.
9. Here he uses a stone rather than a club to kill a pig. To kill a pig in this manner is not referred to as *wehi* (to kill) but as *boha* (to throw).
10. *Loḡo* is a kind of pudding. Grated taro, yams, bananas, and so on are wrapped in banana leaves and then baked by means of hot stones in an earthen oven.

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## Tavaluna 14

1) Huri vataha iha lavoa ata Raga sa Aroaro. Tari . Tarileo sa Tariwale sa Tariliu sa Tarimaleña, sa vahata iha gabe Tari. So keki nu mai nin vuamalo lol gaibwalasi gabe wani nu gan bweta bwaro nu bigia gin teltele sa ran tuntun lol matana boñi. Gita Tavaluna 13-1, Tavaluna 12-6.


2) Iha Moli. Molgaga sa havate Moli, keki nu varahi boe gin bwalagena i nu wehi bwatun boe.<sup>1</sup> Mwalaḡelo vi vagañ bilan boe gi matan boe nu wehia nu Moli ginia, havana vwate sa tamana nu lai boe kea nu Moli ginia. Be bilan mwalaḡelo nu togo na boe, vi bibia sa livbwanbwana sa mabu kea boe gea lualua non mawalaḡelo. Lualua<sup>2</sup> binihiva be boe kea mwa ravlua<sup>3</sup> mwalḡelo vai lol matan gabi gogona dolua.<sup>4</sup> Boe kea vi to aten tavuna  baten mwalaḡelo vi lai homu bani. Wani nu lai boe mwalaḡelo nu wehia vi hagai bilan bani.<sup>5</sup> Malaḡelo nu vua la siñisiñi gubweñ 10 sa 15, 20. Kea nu vua gubweñin boe hanvulu sa 20,<sup>6</sup> ira atatu rav vwelui<sup>7</sup> boe lalainia gi boe bilan bani.<sup>8</sup> Keki taman mwalaḡelo vi mai vi lol bilan havana, ta bolaba tigo sigai, kea nu nogo huba gabe nu hae<sup>9</sup> lol tora. Gita Tavaluna 13-8. Gubweñ loli maboñ gaituvwa mwalaḡelo nu wehi siñisiñi ta nu haḡorurui gai bilan siñisiñi nu uvuvigi.<sup>10</sup> Ninovi ute ravravi atatu ran lol siñisiñi be wehiwehi nona, rav uv taivan bilan boe<sup>11</sup> gabe bobibia sa hava boe mabu, garigi maboñ wani nu uvuvigi. Tamana vwate nu vev be vi lol bilan havana kea nu lai sinobu ran lol havana gin iboi ivusi, iboi kea ihana tanube, dolua nin iboin bolaba mai tigo i savagoro.<sup>12</sup> Mwalaḡelo nu hala<sup>13</sup> nu alora. Wani nu vosa rau<sup>14</sup> kera la siñisiñi galgaina<sup>15</sup> nu rovo lol sara nu van huri non boe nu tugu nu tu mai

## Chapter 14

1) About every big name for the people of Raga or Aroaro. *Tari*. Tarileo or Tariwale or Tariliu or Tarimaleña, or some name like Tari so and so. Such a thing (that is, to take a name of Tari so and so) comes after putting a loincloth in the *Gaibwalasi* ritual where one ate raw taro with snakes as side dishes or people lighted (a bundle of reeds) in front of one's face at night. See Section 1 of Chapter 13 and Section 6 of Chapter 12.

2) The name of *moli*. Molgaga or Moli something. This (name is given after) a man kicked a pig with his leg and he beat the pig on the head to death.<sup>1</sup> The young boy feeds his pig as a substitute for a pig that he killed. He became *moli* by (killing) a pig that one of his kin or his father gave to him. The pig of the young boy becomes *bobibia*, *livbwanbwana*, or *mabu*. This is *lualua* of the young boy. *Lualua*<sup>2</sup> means that this pig leads<sup>3</sup> him to another sacred earthen oven.<sup>4</sup> This pig will be put under *tavuna*  (at *Bolololi*) when the young boy will take *homu*, (that is a string of beads called) *bani*. A man having given a pig to the young boy who killed it gives a string of beads<sup>5</sup> (to him). The young boy has beaten the slit-drum for 10, 15, or 20 days. This means he hopes that at the day people will come with 10 or 20 pigs.<sup>6</sup> People will bring<sup>7</sup> pigs to him as pigs of *bani* (namely a string of beads).<sup>8</sup> A father of the young boy comes to perform his *havwana* dance but there is no *bolaba* dance or *tigo* dance. These were finished when he performed a ritual<sup>9</sup> at the *tora*. See Section 6 of Chapter 13. First thing in the morning of the day (of *Bolololi*), he beats the slit-drum. He holds a drumstick and beats out (a rhythm called) *uvuvigi*.<sup>10</sup> In the evening of yesterday, people beat the slit-drum and made (a rhythm called) *wehiwehi*, and they blew a conch shell to notify<sup>11</sup> that the pig is *bobibia* or *mabu* or

aģeren sara. Ran lol siñisiñi, mwalaģelo nu hala<sup>16</sup> dalisia nu haravia.<sup>17</sup> Kera nora boe ririgi ran tugura ran mai ram du aģeren sara wani loli nu hala nu van nu alora boe ririgi gabe basira mwa du radu la lol vara la bwatura, silo sigai be atatu vi hala mai boe tirigi.

3) Wani kea nu lai boe mwalaģelo nu varahia nu wehia tuai huba, kea nu vosa rau ram lol siñisiñi nu rovo gi nogonan boe rovo, kea nu tu nu avo nu vev ginau ivusi vava nu vev nogonana be masamwa<sup>18</sup> livo gon wehia sa bobibia sa hava boe kunia. Ran lol siñisiñi ,mwalaģelo nu hala<sup>19</sup> nu haravia ta wani kea nu hagai bani (homu), mwalaģelo nu rarau gin lima matua, wani nu avo nu vev boe nu wehia nu vev be bilam garovuroi,<sup>20</sup> ta bani ñan kea. Be hei dolua nu vwelui boe mwalaģelo vi utu bani ginia (utu be voli).<sup>21</sup> Kunia rav vagohai gaituvwa sa 2  . Mwalaģelo vi bio gai muan boe aluna boe tirigi bwana gaituvwa. Wani ratahigi non mwalaģelo nu avo vava nu torea be Molgaga<sup>22</sup> na vol ġaria bwalbwale lalainigo gin bohore sa livbwanbwana, mwa habwego mai ba laia.<sup>23</sup> Ran lol siñisiñi wani nu halai ġaria mwa ieu ieu<sup>24</sup> nu rov dalis

what kind. Today, in the morning, he beats out (a rhythm of) *uvuvigi*. Since he asked one of his (classificatory) fathers to make his *havwana* dance, the father collects people to perform *havwana* dance with the singing of many songs. (Collectively,) the name of these songs is *tanube*, which is different from that of *bolaba*, *tigo*, and *savagoro*<sup>12</sup> dances. The young boy goes round them raising his hand.<sup>13</sup> Someone makes *vosa rau*.<sup>14</sup> The men of slit-drums beat out the rhythm.<sup>15</sup> The man runs on the ritual ground, (and after that) he brings a pig and stands at the end of the ritual ground. The slit-drums are beaten (and) the young boy comes, stretching both his arms down,<sup>16</sup> turns round the man, and touches the hem of the man's clothes.<sup>17</sup> Those men whose pigs are small ones bring them and stand at the end of the ritual ground. The man who is making *Bolololi* comes, stretching his arms down, and circles them. These small pigs are ones whose upper tusks are still inside their mouths and it is not the case that a man with (such) a small pig runs on the ritual ground.


3) The man who gave (two) pigs (before) to the young boy claps his hands. The young boy already kicked one (of the two pigs to enter the grade of *tari*) and killed the other (to enter the grade of *moli*) before. They beat the slit-drums and he runs as the last person at (the stage of) "a pig runs." Then he stands (at the end of the ritual ground), saying many things. As the last words, he says, "Your tusked pig,<sup>18</sup> which you will kill, *bobibia*," or (he describes) any kind of pig in a similar way. They beat the slit-drums and the young boy runs<sup>19</sup> (on the ritual ground) and touches the hem of his clothes. Then the man raises one of his hands on which a string of beads [*homu*] is hung. The young boy scoops up the string of beads with his right hand. The man talks about the pig that the young boy should kill and says, "(This is) your (belt called) *garovuroi*,"<sup>20</sup> but this is just a string of beads. A

mwalagelo mai boe 2 bwana gea. Nu avo nu hahara mawalagelo sa avkari be garigi gom dau bwatun nom ute ratahigi,<sup>25</sup> nam tari sorimwa keki alumwa. Nu haravia.

4) Keki boen bani, boe hañvulu bwana 2 bari 10.

  bwana

Mwalaḡelo nu vol ḡaria gin bilana gabe nu togo la gain tavuna lalai Viradoro.<sup>26</sup> Gita Tavaluna 14-2. Ta boe hañvulu non atatu dodolua muan non wani Viradoro nu vol ḡaria lalainia kea mwa uloina be gaiutun bani<sup>27</sup> bilan Molgaga. Ratahigi mwa avo nu toretore. Mwalaḡelo nu tu hurin boe muana nu bio gai, ratahigi be Molgaga na utu bani lalainigo Viraliliu gin mabu i nu tore vataha boe ririgi. Vira nu hala gin samsamara nu avo vai ñava nu harav Molgaga. Ira wani dodolua ram mai ran tugu boe<sup>28</sup> gai 9 alun vurona damu sa bweta sa malogu sa boe, ta Vira vi vano mai boe muana rav uv taivana<sup>29</sup> ute ravravi, bwana gairua bari hañvulu atatu rav lai ñotoe la vurona Vilaliliu. Ihan ira lavoa ata Raga.

different man (from the man who gave the string of beads) brought a pig (to the young boy at the stage of “a pig runs”), and he purchases the string of beads with this pig [*Utu is voli*].<sup>21</sup> Then people tether a pig to a stick or two pigs to two sticks.  The young boy stands by the first stick while putting his hand on it, to which a pig is tethered, a small pig (tethered to the second stick) and a large red mat being (there). Someone who is a chief for the young boy keeps talking and gives a speech saying, “Molgaga<sup>22</sup> purchases (a leaf of ti tree called) *bwalbwale* from you with *bohere* or *livbwanbwana*. Come and take it.”<sup>23</sup> People (begin to) beat the slit-drums and a man comes holding (a leaf of a) ti tree. Shouting “*Ieu, ieu*”,<sup>24</sup> he goes round the young boy, two pigs, and large red mat there. He gives advice to the young boy or offers his congratulatory speech saying, “Today you begin to walk to the place of chief.”<sup>25</sup> I put your back ornament on you.” He touches the hem of the man’s clothes.

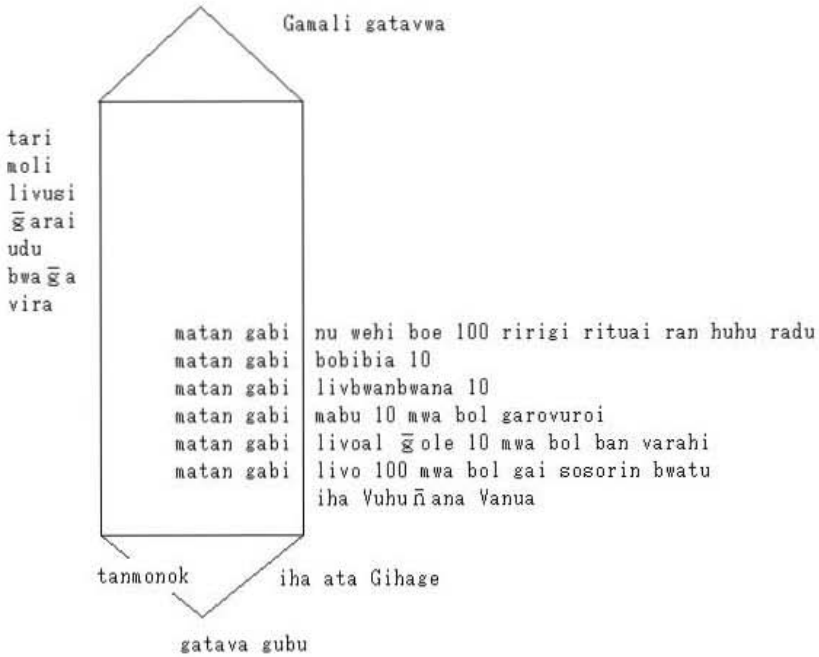
4) This is *boen bani*, namely the pig of a string of beads, which is composed of 10 pigs, two large red mats, and ten small red mats.



*b w a n a*

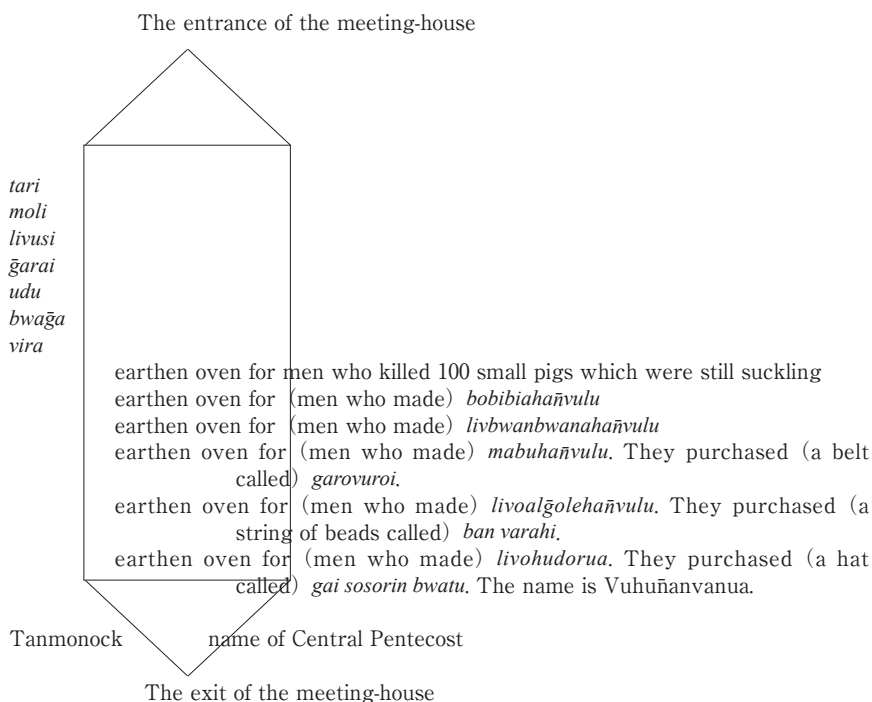
Molgaga purchases (a leaf insignia of a) ti tree from Viradoro<sup>26</sup> with his pig, which was put under the *gain tavuna*. See Section 2 of Chapter 14. By the way, the 10 pigs (mentioned above) are not given wholly to the giver of a string of beads but (rather) are taken by different persons. The first pig (among the 10 pigs) was given by Viradoro from whom he (namely Molgaga) purchased a leaf of a ti tree. This pig is called *gaiutun bani*<sup>27</sup> of Molgaga. A chief makes a speech. The young man stands by the first pig and he put his hand on the stick (to which the first pig is tethered). The chief says, “Molgaga purchases a string of beads from you Voraliliu with *mabu*.” And he explains about every small pig. Vira(liliu) comes running






5) Molgaga men lol mwelvavunu, kea nu vua la siñisiñi gubweñ hañvulu sa 15 sa 20, kea nu hiḡe Viradoro, i Viradoro nu sari boe gaivasi<sup>30</sup> lalainia gi buluina<sup>31</sup> gaituvwa gabe Viradoro nu vweluinia Molgaga nu utu (voli)<sup>32</sup> bani ginia lalai Viraliliu. Molgaga nu vugaituvwa ira vavine


excitedly stretching his hands down and talks for a long time and he touches the hem of the clothes of Molgaga. Several persons come to take<sup>28</sup> nine pigs as the repayments of Vilaliliu's debts of yams, taro, kava, or pigs. But Vira(liliu) takes the first pig, for which people blew a conch shell<sup>29</sup> in the evening (of the day before *Bolololi*). Persons take away completely a large red mat and small red mats as repayments of the debts of Vilaliliu. Big names of North Ragan people:



5) Molgaga performs *mwelvavunu*. He beats the slit-drum for 10, 15, or 20 days and he looks for Viradoro. Viradoro gives four pigs<sup>30</sup> to him as his aid<sup>31</sup> besides a pig that Viradoro gave to Molgaga who used it to scoop [purchase]<sup>32</sup> a string of beads from Viraliliu. On the day before the *Bolololi*

ran vwali rovhuri, rovhuri be ginaganiana damu bweta sa loḡo ihi ran nubwae gi robo robo kun keki  , bigina dura boe, ihana durahaḡo. Ira vavine ran raha<sup>33</sup> loḡon damuturi ran sinuinia ihana loḡon havwana. Rovhuri atatu gaiviha ran vwelui boe, rovhuri Bule<sup>34</sup> rav taua aben ira vavin Bule, ravhuri Tabi rav taua aben ira vavin Tabi, rav siv betea lalai ira atatu vavine atamani be mara nu gas ihei vi gan tehe.



6) Uteravravi atatu ran wehiwehi la siṁsiṁi. Be boe bilan Molgaga abena rav seserainia alun taivan boe livo.<sup>35</sup> Taiva gaituvwa, boe ran tav gulina nu dadaga livona nu sivia ihana livbwanbwana. Taiv gai 2, boe livona nu dum huina kea mabu ihana, sa livona nu siv huina ihana ḡoletirigi vwate ḡolelavo taivara gai 3, boe livona nu siv huina nu boe nu tavaga ihana livoaltavaga taiva gai 4 ihana harituri. ① Tavsiri ② bolivoa ③ bohere ④ bobibia boe kera keki taiv gaituvwa ṇan, ⑤ livbwanbwana taiva ihana tarere ta taiva ivusi, ⑥ mabu livona nu tutui la huina, ⑦ ḡole livona nu van lol huina taivara ihana kuramwele taiva ivusi, ⑧ livoaltavaga taivan harituri taiva ivusi (livoaltavaga nu maurina livona nu sivi bwalhena), ⑨ livoal tavsiri sa nu bibia mulei taivana ihana kuramwele rav kuramwele vuvuri taiva vwalvwaliu silo be taivan livoaltavsiri sa livoalbibia. Ran geli bilan mwele haṇvulu nu rani maboṇi. Molgaga nu uvuvigi hohov tamana vwate nu vaguni bilan havwana abena i nu avoi boe aben hei be vi mai maia gi matan buguna lalai Viradoro.<sup>36</sup>




of Molgaga, women make *rovhuri*. *Rovhuri* is a food composed of a pudding of yams, taro, or bananas, which is subdivided into small pieces wrapped with leaves like  and a side dish of which is a female pig that is named *durahaŋo*. Those women make<sup>33</sup> a pudding (of a kind of yam called) *damuturi* and they put vegetables on it, the name of which is *loŋon havwana*. The (pudding called) *rovhuri* is for all persons who gave pigs (in the stage of “a pig runs” in the ritual). *Rovhuri* for *Bule* moiety<sup>34</sup> is put near those women of *Bule*, and *rovhuri* for *Tabi* moiety is put near those women of *Tabi*. These women distribute them so that whatever men or women who are hungry (can) eat some.

6) In the evening people beat the slit-drums to the rhythm of *wehiwehi*. If Molgaga has pigs in hand, people notify the kind of tusks of the pigs by blowing a conch.<sup>35</sup> The first conch is for a pig for which people cut the skin of its cheek, which bleeds (at its cheek), and whose tusk grows going through there. The name of the pig is *livbwanbwana*. The second conch is for a pig whose tusk reaches its bone (of lower jaw), the name of the pig being *mabu*. Or the name of the pig whose tusk cleaves the bone (of the lower jaw) is *ŋoletirigi* and *ŋolelavo*, the conch for these pigs being the third one. The pig whose tusk cleaves the bone and splits it is named *livoaltavaga*. The conch for this pig is the fourth one and (the sound of this fourth conch) is named *harituri*. For those pigs such as ① *tavsiri*, ② *bolivoa*, ③ *bohere*, and ④ *bobibia*, only one conch (is used). ⑤ (For) *livbwanbwana*, many conches (are blown), (the sound of) conches being called *tarere*. ⑥ *Mabu* is the pig whose tusk reaches the bone. ⑦ *Ŋole* is the pig whose tusk goes into the bone, (the sound of) the conch for this pig is called *kuramwele*, and many conches (are blown). ⑧ (For) *livoaltavaga*, (the sound of) the conch is *harituri* and many conches (are blown). [The tusks of *Livaltavaga* grow through its jaw]. ⑨

7) Ran geli bilan mwele hañvulu ihana mwelvavunu. Ran hera vinun niu ran sistaritari houa kun keki, mwele



. Gubweñ gailima nu tu radu ran gel mwele. Bolololi sinobu ran votu ran libo havwana la siñisiñi, keki siñisiñi  , sinobu atamani vavine ran lol havwana. Molgaga nu avoi matan buguna livoala aben Vireimwele nu avoi boe mabu gi non tautau<sup>37</sup> aben Livusiloñi. Molgaga vi vol gori lalai Vireimwele vi vol valen siñisiñi<sup>38</sup> lalai Livusiloñi. Boe nu rovo, ta atatu ivusi ran vwelui boe ririgi kera ran tugu nora boe ran tu aģeren sara, ke ran vwelui bololvaga sa livo sa mabu livoala, kera ran hala lol sara,<sup>39</sup> Viradoro nu rovo gi nogonana, siñisiñina gori.<sup>40</sup>


8) Boe nu rov tuhi, gabe haģea men tau mulei Vireimwele mai Livusiloñi boe livbwanbwana bilan Molgaga ġole bilan Molgaga ran tugu livbwanbwana    Ratahigi dolua nu avo nu torea, “Molgaga


(For) *livoaltavsiri* or a pig whose tusk become *bibia* again, the name of (the sound of) the conch is *kuramwele*. People make (the sound of) *kuramwele* then (the sound of) the answer of the conch (is blown). This is the way for (the sound of) the conch for *livoaltavsiri* or *livoalbibia*. They drive 10 (trunks) of cycad palm in the morning. Molgaga beats the rhythm of *uvuvigi* and waits for one of his (classificatory) fathers who calls people together to perform his *havwana* dance. And he arranges for someone to come and give a pig to Viradoro which is the substitute for the pig of his *bugu*.<sup>36</sup>


7) People drive 10 (trunks) of cycad palm. This is called *mwelwvunu*. People connect fibers of coconut and make a line as follows: Cycad palms.



During five days, these cycad palms which people drove are left untouched. (On the day of) *Bolololi*, people come and they beat the slit-drums for *havwana*. The slit-


drums are (like this.)  The female as well as male persons perform the *havwana* dance. Molgaga arranged the matter of a pig of *livoala*, which was a substitute for the pig of *bugu*, with Vireimwele. Molgaga arranged the matter of the pig of *mabu* for his *tautau*<sup>37</sup> with Livsinoñi. Molgaga will purchase (the insignia of) *gori* from Vireimwele and he will purchase (the insignia of) a hut of slit-drums<sup>38</sup> from Livusiloñi. (The stage of) “a pig runs” began. Many persons who came with small pigs brought their pigs and stood at the end of the ritual ground. Those who came with *bololvaga*, a pig which has tusks, *mabu* or *livoala*, ran at the ritual ground stretching their hands down.<sup>39</sup> Viradoro ran as the last runner to the rhythm of *gori*.<sup>40</sup>

8) (The stage of) “a pig runs” is over, then he gives back (pigs) to Vireimwele and Livusiloñi. Pigs are *livbwanbwana* and *gole* of Molgaga. People tether *livbwanbwana*.  Another chief makes a speech

na vol tuhi valen siñisiñi lalainigo Livusiloñi gin livbwanbwana, laitalin<sup>41</sup> bilan boe bogani na taugo<sup>42</sup> mai udurugu, tavwen gana<sup>43</sup> bwana, mwa habwego mai ba laia.”<sup>44</sup> Ram lol siñisiñi Livusiloñi be ieu ieu ieu kea nu hala nu avo nu harav Molgaga. Volin gori boe livoalḡole  bolivoa bololvaga udurugu bwana gaituvwa. Ratahigi nu avo aluna nu veve be Molgaga vol tuhi gori gin livoalḡole, na vol varisañvulu gin bolivoa, na laitali gin bololvaga na taugo mai udurugu, na tavwe gan boe gin bwana lalainigo Vireimwele mwa habwego mai ba laia.<sup>45</sup> Vireimwele nu hala nu avo dalisia ran lol siñisiñi gin gori.

9) Molgaga nu to mwa binihia be vi vora vwaliura ratahigi lalavoa. ① Kea nu lai bilan dura lalañan gairua kun boe lalavoa i huri boe ririgi kun boe lalavoa mwa bahuu nu hav vora te ivusi kun boe ririgi nu vahuhu hañvulu doma. ② Kea nu riv uman malogu.<sup>46</sup> ③ Uman damu. ④ Uman bweta. ⑤ Nu haḡo gamalina. ⑥ Nu haraḡoḡo ira havana sa atatu dului, ⑦ nu lagi vavine gairua sa 3 sa gai 4. Molgaga kea mwalaḡelo, ginau gaibitu keki bwativun ute ratahigi ata Raga. Ihei gan ginau sa man malogu sigai vi volia aben Molgaga rav volia gin seresere sa nitu boe sa lalañan boe mwa botu livoala.

10)<sup>47</sup> Molgaga mwa doron be vi wehi boe ririgi gaivwelu gaisivona boe mabu hañvuluna livoalḡole i vi vagohai bololvaga gai 8 gaisivona bobibia

and says, “Molgaga purchases a hut of slit-drums from you Livusiloñi with *livbwanbwana*. *Laitali*<sup>41</sup> of his pig is *bogani* and he gives<sup>42</sup> *udurugu* to you. *Tavwen gana*<sup>43</sup> is a large red mat. Come and take them.”<sup>44</sup> People beat the slit-drums, Livusiloñi who is saying “*Ieu, ieu, ieu*” runs stretching his arms down, he makes a speech, and he touches the hem of the clothes of Molgaga. The payment of *gori* is *livoalḡole*,  (and) *bolivoa*, *bololvaga*, *udurugu* (and), a large red mat (are further put there). A chief gives a speech on the pig and says, “Molgaga purchases *gori* with *livoalḡole*, and he purchases (a leaf of) *varisañvulu* with *bolivoa*, he makes *laitali* with *bololvaga*, he gives *udurugu* to you, and he pays wages for feeding of pig with a large red mat to you, Vreimwele. Come and take them.”<sup>45</sup> Vreimwele comes running stretching his arms down and gives a speech turning around them. People beat slit-drums with the rhythm of *gori*.

9) Molgaga keeps thinking that he will join a group of big chiefs. ① Then he prepares two kinds of sow, one that is big and the other that is small. The big pig is the one that does not bear many babies while the small pig is the one that bore over 10 babies. ② Then he makes a garden of kava.<sup>46</sup> ③ The garden of yam. ④ The garden of taro. ⑤ He has his meeting-house. ⑥ He calls his relatives or all people together. ⑦ He gets married to two, three, or four women. Molgaga is a young boy, and these seven things are the starting point to becoming a chief of people of Raga. Whoever does not have something to eat or kava to drink purchases it from Molgaga. People purchase it with a red mat or a small pig or with a pig of any kind up to *livoala*.

10)<sup>47</sup> Molgaga wants to kill (ten) pigs among which eight pigs are small, the ninth pig is *mabu*, and the tenth pig is *livoalḡole*. And he (wants to) give



hañvuluna mabu tutui<sup>48</sup> lalai Livusiloñi. Molgaga nu hiġe Livusiloñi tuai nu lai boe gai 3 gai buluin gaituvwa gabe Livusiloñi nu vweluinia tuai.<sup>49</sup> Molgaga nu veve be Vireimala vi van livoala ġole vi wehia mai mabu, mabu vi wehia la muan bilan mwele.<sup>50</sup> ① Virasese nu vol malogu bilan Molgaga gin bohère. ② Baġasale nu vol malogu bilan Molgaga gin mabu. ③ Taġataġa nu vol malogu bilan Molgaga gin bolivoa. ④ Viratiro nu vol damu bwetan lolon moru mai malogu gin livoala tavaga lalai Molgaga nu vagaha lolona<sup>51</sup> gin bwana. ⑤ Vireilañi nu vol bweta malogu alolon bweta gin livoalġole nu vagaha lolona gin bololvaga. ⑥ Viranbani nu mwin malogu 3000 nu volia lalai Molgaga gin livoal tavaga nu ñabe rarana<sup>52</sup> gin bobibia nu vagaha lolona gin bwana.

11) Molgaga men loli lalai Livusiloñi. Molgaga nu veve be Livusiloñi vi van<sup>53</sup> livoaltavaga vi wehia vi vira ginia. Molgaga nu veve be Garalolboe vi weswesia gin gaomahaña. Molgaga nu vev lalai Virasani vi vwelui livoalġole mai mabu. Molgaga nu tai gaviga<sup>54</sup> lalai Livusiloñi gin mabu non Virasani nu riv gaviga<sup>55</sup> gin bohère gabe Virasese nu vol bilan malogu ginia. Molgaga vi tore matan masana<sup>56</sup> gabe Livusiloñi nu vanae gin volin malogu gabe Viranbani nu mwinua livoaltavaga. Molgaga nu vagohai boe hañvulu doman gai 2 lalai Livusiloñi domana gai 2 gabe tai gaviga i riv gaviga. Molgaga nu vol gaomahaña gin mabu lalai Garalolboe mabu gabe Baġasale nu vol malogu bilan Molgaga ginia. Molgaga nu vol tuhi gori, Molgaga nu vol gaomahaña<sup>57</sup> gin livoalġole gabe Vireilañi nu vol bweta ginia nu dovoñ bobona<sup>58</sup> gin bolivoa gabe

(ten) pigs among which eight pigs are *bololvaga*, the ninth pig is *bobibia*, and the tenth pig is *mabu tutui*<sup>48</sup> to Livusiloñi. Molgaga already found Livusiloñi and Livusiloñi gave three pigs (to him) as pigs added to the first pig that he had given to Molgaga before (in the *Bolololi* of Molgaga).<sup>49</sup> Molgaga asked Vireimala to bring *livoalḡole*, which Molgaga kills together with *mabu*. *Mabu* is the pig that he kills at the first trunk of cycad palm.<sup>50</sup> ① Virasese purchased the kava of Molgaga with *bohere*. ② Baḡasale purchased the kava of Molgaga with *mabu*. ③ Taḡataḡa purchased the kava of Molgaga with *bolivoa*. ④ Viratiro purchased yams, taro planted between small mounds of yam, and kava with *livoaltavaga* from Molgaga (and) gives a large red mat as *vagaha lolona*.<sup>51</sup> ⑤ Vireilañi purchased taro and kava planted in the taro garden with *livoalḡole* (and) he gives *bololvaga* as *vagaha lolona*. ⑥ Vilanbani drank 3,000 (cups) of kava, which he purchased from Molgaga with *livoaltavaga*. He gives *bobibia* as *ñaberarana*<sup>52</sup> and a large red mat as *vagahalolona*.

11) Molgaga holds a *Bolololi* for Livusiloñi. Molgaga (already) asked Livusiloñi to shoot an arrow<sup>53</sup> to *livoaltavaga* (on the ritual ground), which he would kill to become *vira*. Molgaga (already) asked Garalolboe to put a white skirt to him. Molgaga (already) asked to Virasani to bring *livoalḡole* and *mabu*. Molgaga makes *taigaviga*<sup>54</sup> to Livusiloñi by (using) the *mabu* of Virasani. He makes *rivgaviga*<sup>55</sup> by (using) *bohere* with which Virasese purchased kava of Molgaga. Molgaga gives a speech saying that as the substitute pig<sup>56</sup> for the pig to which Livusiloñi shoots an arrow, *livoaltavaga* (used for) the payment of Viranbani (to Molgaga) for the kava he drank is appropriated. Molgaga gives 12 pigs to Livusiloñi. The two last pigs are (used for) *taigaviga* and *rivgaviga*. Molgaga purchases a white skirt with *mabu* from Garalolboe, which is a pig with which Baḡasale purchased kava of Molgaga.

Vireilañi nu vagaha lolon bweta ginia. Molgaga nu lol masana atamua gabe nu sese Vireimala nu van boe mwa wehia. Keki Molgaga mwa wehi bobibia hañvulu<sup>59</sup> mwa bagohai livo hañvulu Livusiloñi mwa aloe. Keki malele be wani vi ratahigi vi lai bilan dura amua sa vi ririvu amua vi garui bilan boe amua la rosona vi vuroga gin boe mabu la bilana mwa do gi udui livo, si hav ura te boe gabe bilan dura sigai.

12) Wani nu lai bilan dura nu ġolea be vi ligo bwalaġo Maewo sa vi hohov Tavnavo ( Malekula) rav mai ba liñi livoala Raga. Lañi gadue taron Tavnavo ran mai vai Raga mai livoaltavaga livoalgani livoaltavsiri livoalbibia livoalmabu i mulei vavine ata Raga rituai bilara livoala abera ram doron bwalaġo. Livoalġole boena gai 5, ① muan tavsiri, ② bogani, ③ bololvaga, ④ bololvaga, ⑤ boe udurugu. Livoaltavaga bwalaġona gaibitu, ① bohore, ② tavsiri, ③ bogani, ④ bololvaga, ⑤ bololvaga, ⑥ bololvaga, ⑦ udurugu. Livoallolvaga livoalbwasiga livoalgani sa tavsiri sa livoallivo sa livoalhere sa bibia sa livoalmabu bwalaġora mwa hurin tovtovon livon boe.

13) Boe gaon maraha (seresere<sup>60</sup>). Wani nu rav gaon maraha<sup>61</sup> vai Gihage sa Lolkasai sa vai aben hei ñan abera sibora vataha ute kun garigi District, ① bololvaga, seresere 5, ② bogani, seresere 7, ③ tavsiri,

Molgaga already purchased (the insignia of the dance of) *gori*. Molgaga purchases a red skirt<sup>57</sup> with *livoalḡole* with which Vireilañi purchased the taro (of Molgaga). He makes *dovoñbobo*<sup>58</sup> with *bolivoa*, which Vireilañi gave as *vagahalolona*. Molgaga gives back the substitute for the pig at which Virelmala shot an arrow and which Molgaga killed at *sese*. Then Molgaga kills 10 *bobibia*.<sup>59</sup> He gives 10 tusked pigs (to Livusiloḡi) around which Livusiloñi circles. This is the track that a man who becomes a chief follows. He first of all gets a sow or he sets out food plants. He should first of all get pigs as his property. He will be given a pig of *mabu* as *vuro*, the tusk of which draws a semicircle. He (can) not ask for a pig if there is no sow belonging to him.

12) A man who has his sow prepares to exchange pigs with people of Maewo. Or he waits for people of Tavnavo (Malakula) to come in order to bring *livoala* to Raga. In Tavnavo the wind (called) *gadue* blows and they come to Raga with *livoaltavaga*, *lovoalgani*, *livoaltavsiri*, *livoalbibia*, or *livoalmabu*. And if some women of Raga also have their *livoala*, they want to exchange pigs, *Livoalḡole* (is exchanged for) five pigs (such as) ① first one *tavsiri*, ② *bogani*, ③ *bololvaga*, ④ *bololvaga*, ⑤ pig of *udurugu*. (If the pig is) *livoal tavaga*, the pigs exchanged for it are seven (such as) ① *bohere*, ② *tavsiri*, ③ *bogani*, ④ *bololvaga*, ⑤ *bololvaga*, ⑥ *bololvaga*, ⑦ *udurugu*. (In the case of) *livoallolvaga*, *livoalbasiga*, *livoalgani*, *livoaltavsiri*, *livoallivoa*, *livoalhere*, *livoalbibia* or *livoalmabu*, the pigs exchanged for it differ according to the size of its tusk.

13) Pigs (exchanged) for the bundle of property [(large red) mats<sup>60</sup>]. Somebody takes the pigs<sup>61</sup> to Gihage, Lolkasai, or any place in what is called the district today if there are some who have their own mats. ① *Bololvaga* (can

seresere 10, ④ bolivoa, seresere 13, ⑤ bohere, seresere 16, ⑥ bobibia,  
 seresere 20, ⑦ livbwanbwana, seresere 40, ⑧ mabu, seresere 50, ⑨  
 livoalḡole, seresere 60, ⑩ livoalḡole lavaa, seresere 80, ⑪ livoaltavaga,  
 100.<sup>62</sup>

be exchanged for) five (large red) mats, ② *bogani*, seven (large red) mats, ③ *tavsiri*, 10 (large red) mats, ④ *bolivoa*, 13 (large red) mats, ⑤ *bohere*, 16 (large red) mats, ⑥ *bobibia*, 20 (large red) mats, ⑦ *livbwanbwana*, 40 (large red) mats, ⑧ *mabu*, 50 (large red) mats, ⑨ *livoalḡole*, 60 (large red) mats, ⑩ *livoalḡole* lava, 80 (large red) mats, ⑪ *livoaltavaga*, 100.<sup>62</sup>

## Notes

1. When a man enters the grade of *tari*, he should kill a pig. But he does not kill it with a club but kicks it with his leg. When he enters the grade of *moli*, he should kill it by means of a club or a kind of bludgeon.
2. The meaning of *lua* is "sufficiently" or "decidedly." *Gitalua* is composed of *gita* ("to see") and *lua* and means "to understand."
3. The original meaning of *ravlua* is "to pull sufficiently" or "to pull out."
4. Since traditionally there were some earthen ovens related to the grades in the meeting-house, another sacred earthen oven (*matan gabi gogona dolua*) means an upper grade.
5. *Hagai bilan bani* means "to raise one of his hands on which his string of beads is hung and to give it."
6. "*Nu vua gubweñin boe hanvulu sa 20*" literally means that "he notifies the day of 10 pigs or 20 pigs."
7. *Vwelui* means "to bring a pig after finishing running in a zigzag fashion on the ritual ground with stretching their arms down."
8. The payment for the string of beads in *Bolololi* ritual is mainly composed of 10 pigs, which is called *boen bani*.
9. *Hae*, translated as "to perform ritual," literally means "to go up."
10. *Uuvigi* means "to beat a biggest slit-drum by rub-a-dub with a drumstick."
11. *Taivan bilan boe* is the sound of the conch shell that announces the kind of pig.
12. *Savagoro* is a kind of dance performed by beating time with their hands.
13. *Hala* here means "to dance or step raising a hand or both hands."
14. *Vosa rau* roughly means "to clap hands," but the precise meaning is "to put a leaf on a rounded hand and beat it with the other hand to make a sound." This is a sign to start running in the stage of "a pig runs." A man who wants to start running does so.
15. *Galgaina* means "to beat the slit-drums after deciding what kind of rhythm is

proper.” The leader who beats the biggest slit-drum decides the rhythm and notifies the other drummers when he can identify the dance insignia of the man who is starting to run on the ritual ground.

16. *Hala* here means “to run slowly or dance at the ritual ground stretching both of one’s arms down.” Cf. Note 13.
17. When a man or a woman is given something in the ritual, he or she usually circles the giver several times in the counterclockwise direction; after that he or she makes *haravia* which is “to touch the hem of the clothes, or sometimes the waist, of the giver with both hands.”
18. *Masa* means “a pig which should be killed in this *Bolololi* ritual.” See Section III of the Introduction.
19. Here *hala* is translated as “to run.” See Note 16.
20. *Garovuroi* is the highest valued insignia whereas a string of beads called *bani* is the lowest valued. This is a false statement.
21. *Voli* is a verb meaning “to purchase.” When a man purchases something in a store or in the ritual, the word *voli*, meaning “to purchase,” is used. *Utu* is only used in the stage of purchasing the string of beads in the ritual.
22. Here David Tevimule describes the case in which a man named Molgaga held a *Bolololi* ritual in which he purchased a leaf insignia with the pigs of the first counter-giving for the pig of *bugu*. See Section 6 of the Introduction.
23. The literal translation of “*mwa habwego mai ba laia*” is “He finds you to come to take it.” This is used in a ritual as a cliché when a man who gives something to another man wants the latter to come and take it.
24. “*Ieu ieu*” is a shout of celebration.
25. “*Gom dau bwatun nom ute ratahigi*” literally means that “you put the foundation of your place of chief.”
26. Viradoro was a famous big chief in North Raga whose name was found in the description of Rivers (1914). He was the *bugu*-giver in the *Bolololi* of Molgaga



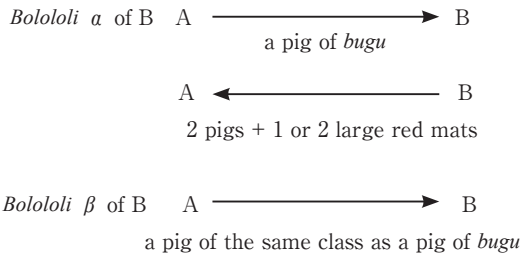
described here. In Section 3, David Tevimule described that “some man” received two pigs and a large red mat from Molgaga as a payment for a kind of leaf of a ti tree. This is the first counter-giving for the pig of *bugu*.

27. *Gaiutun bani* means “the payment for a string of beads.” See also Note 32.
28. *Tugu boe* literally means “to untie the rope by which the pig is tethered.”
29. See Note 11.
30. *Sari boe gaivasi* literally means “to stick four pigs” but in this context, the phrase “*sari boe*” indicates the gift of pigs from the *bugu*-giver to the *bugu*-receiver, which is made between two *Bolololi* of the *bugu*-receiver. See Figure 2 in Introduction.
31. *Bului* means “to help” and any kind of gift, even if it is a forced loan such as *vuro*, is said to help the receiver. *Mwemwearuana*, namely reciprocity or mutual aid, is realized by the action of *bului*.
32. *Utu* literally means “to scoop” but here *utu* means “to purchase.” See Note 21. In order to get a string of beads, Molgaga in fact gave 10 pigs to Viraliliu, the first of which was called the payment for the beads (*gaiutun bani*).
33. The literal meaning of *raha* is “to grate.”
34. North Raga has matrilineal moieties named *Tabi* and *Bule*, respectively.
35. *Taivan boe livo* literally means “the conch for tusked pig.”
36. The pig mentioned here is included among 10 pigs of the second counter-giving for the pig of *bugu*. Since it is of the same class of the pig of *bugu*, that is, the tusk is a big one, it may become the object of a new *bugu*. In that case Molgaga may ask someone to give him a pig at his *Bolololi* and get the latter’s permission to do so. This is the meaning of *avoi boe*.
37. *Tautau* usually points to the first pig of two pigs that are given to the *bugu*-giver as the first counter-giving. See Section 3 of the Introduction. But here it may point to a pig (maybe, it is the second highest class one) among 10 pigs of *mwelvavunu*. Molgaga asked Vireimwele for a pig of *livoala* as *bugu* and

Livusiloñi for a pig of *mabu* as *bugu*.

38. A hut of slit-drums is a kind of personal insignia that is purchased from the *bugu*-giver. See Section 6 of the Introduction.
39. This means that the men who bring small pigs do not run at the ritual ground.
40. This does not mean that the last runner should run to the rhythm of *gori*. It is just because Viradoro purchased the right to dance to the rhythm of *gori*.
41. *Laitali* is the second pig of two pigs as a counter-giving for the *bugu*.
42. *Taugo* literally means “to put (something) to you.” David Tevimule described here that Molgaga gave a pig to the *bugu*-giver, Livusiloñi, in addition to two other pigs. This was a pig for the payment of an insignia of a hut of slit-drums, which is also *tautau*, and a pig of *laitali*. In my field research, I could not find a case in which a man gave another pig besides the two pigs, namely a pig of *tautau* and a pig of *laitali*, in the first counter-giving to the *bugu*-giver.
43. The first counter-giving for the *bugu* is usually composed of two pigs and a large red mat. A large red mat put near these two pigs on the ritual ground is called *tavwen gana*, meaning “the wage for feeding”.
44. Here Molgaga made the first counter-giving for the *bugu* and he purchased a leaf insignia of *varisañvulu* with the pig of *tautau*. This transaction is noteworthy in two aspects. First, the class of the pig of *tautau* was too high. Generally, today a pig of *tautau* is *tavisiri* (class C) if the pig of *bugu* is *mabu* (class E), but Molgaga gave *livbwanbwana* (class E) as *tautau*. Second, Molgaga purchased a leaf insignia of *varisañvulu* in this *Bolololi*, but he had already purchased a leaf insignia of *bwalbwale* in his previous *Bolololi* (see Section 3 of Chapter 14). Molgaga purchased a leaf insignia of higher value first and that of lower value later (cf. Table 8 of the Introduction).
45. Molgaga was given *livoala* as *bugu* by Vireimwele. Here Molgaga gave back *livoalḡole* to Vireimwele, with which the former purchased a dance insignia of *gori*. Molgaga further gave two pigs as *tautau* and *laitali* and purchased a leaf

insignia of *varisañvulu* with the pig of *tautau* from Vireimwele. In this case, the second counter-giving for the *bugu* is not made by 10 pigs but by only one pig, namely the pig of *livoalḡole* given to Vireimwele by Molgaga. During my field research, only one man insisted that there are two kinds of transaction concerning *bugu*. One is the usual transaction shown by Figure 2 in the Introduction and the other is shown by the following figure:



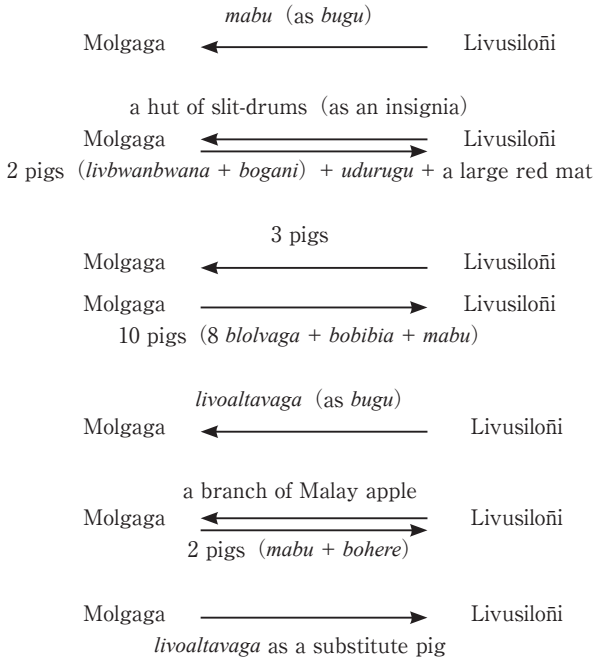
I have never observed this, but the transaction between Molgaga and Vireimwele described here by David Tevimule may be an example of such a case.

46. *Rivuman malogu* means “to plant kava all over the garden.”
47. In the original text written by David Tevimule, this section is Section 0 of Chapter 15, the next section is Section 1 of Chapter 15, the following section is Section 2 of Chapter 15, and the last section is Section 3 of Chapter 15. However, I treated these sections as those included in Chapter 14 since the first two sections are dedicated to the rank-taking ritual and the last two sections describe the exchange of pigs and mats.
48. *Mabu tutui* is a pig whose tusk just reaches the lower jawbone. *Tutui* means “to reach.”
49. Livusiloñi was a *bugu*-giver at the last *Bolololi* of Molgaga. To a *bugu*-giver the receiver gives two pigs in his *Bolololi*, then between this *Bolololi* and the future *Bolololi* of the receiver, the giver gives three or four pigs to the

receiver, and finally the receiver gives 10 pigs to the *bugu*-giver in a future *Bolololi*. See Figure 2 in the Introduction.

50. Ten pigs are tethered to 10 trunks of cycad palm, which means that these pigs are to be killed. Although usually the most valuable pig is tethered to the first trunk of cycad palm, David Tevimule says here the second most valuable pig, that is *mabu*, is tethered to the first trunk.
51. The meaning of *vagaha lolona* is “to clean the garden up.”
52. The meaning of *ñabe rarana* is “to break its branch.” This is said to be a kind of profit that a man should pay only when he purchases a good deal of kava.
53. *Van* is a short form of *vanae* that means “to shoot an arrow at the pig at the ritual ground.” A man who brought a pig to the ritual ground at *Bolololi* sometimes shoots an arrow at the pig. This is the pig of *masa*, which is the pig that the central figure will kill. The arrow is not a true one but only a twig and is shot by a makeshift bow.
54. *Taigaviga* means “to cut (a branch of) Malay apple.” If a man becomes a chief called *ratahigi*, he should have a branch of Malay apple placed on his back in the ritual. The payment for this is called *taigaviga*.
55. If a man purchases a branch of Malay apple from the *bugu*-giver, he should do it with two pigs in the first counter-giving for the pig of *bugu*. In this case the first pig is called *taigaviga* and the second *rivgaviga*, the meaning of which is “to plant a tree of Malay apple.”
56. *Matan masana* means “the substitute pig for the pig to be killed.” In the case of Molgaga, he was given a pig of *livoaltavaga* as *bugu* by Livusiloñi and he killed it to enter the grade of *vira*. Then here he gave it back to Livusiloñi. It is not clear whether Molgaga gives only one pig to Livusiloñi. Although the pig of *matan masana* is usually included in the 10 pigs as the pigs of the second counter-giving for the *bugu*, this case may be the same as the transaction described in Note 45. The following figure shows the transactions between

Molgaga and Livusiloñi.



57. *Gao mahaña* usually points to the white skirt called *mahañamaita*, woven of pandanus leaves, but here it is not the case because he already purchased a white skirt with *mabu* from Garalolboe. Therefore here Molgaga may purchase a higher insignia than a white skirt, that is, a red skirt called *tamağamağa*.
58. *Dovoñbobo* is a pig that is added to *volin garovuroi* (the payment for a colorful belt called *garovuroi*). But Molgaga here may purchase a red skirt and the pig added to *volin tamağamağa* is not *dovoñbobo* but *tohebweresi* (see Table 6 in the Introduction). It is not clear whether Molgaga here purchases a red skirt or a colorful belt.
59. Molgaga made *sese*, that is, a killing of 10 relatively small pigs in this *Bolololi*. David Tevimule, however, wrote here that he made *bobibiahañvulu*, that is a pig killing of 10 *bobibia*. I am not sure if this is a simple mistake by David

Tevimule or if he means that Molgaga made a pig killing of 10 *bobibia* in his next *Bolololi*.

60. Although *seresere* is a general term for a mat, it usually means a large red mat.
61. *Gaon maraha* is a bundle of mats. *Rav* is a short form of *ravae*, which means “to pull a rope fastened to the front leg of a pig.” It is strange that a bundle of mats is pulled as if it were a pig. Maybe David Tevimule meant to write here “*boen gaon maraha*,” which means pigs (exchanged) for a bundle of mats.
62. This may be the exchange rate in the past. The number of mats exchanged for each class of pig seems to be excessive by today’s standards. See Figure 5 of The Story of Raga III.

## ラガ物語— ある男の自分自身の社会についての民族誌 VI: 位階取得儀礼

吉岡 政徳

本論は、ヴァヌアツ共和国ペンテコスト島の北部(北部ラガ地方)出身のテフィムレ老が、自分の社会について自らラガ語で手書きノートに綴った民族誌的記述と、人類学者である筆者が、当地での自らのフィールドワークに基づいて得た情報をもとに書いた民族誌的記述を並置する形で提示する一種の実験的民族誌の第6部にあたる。テーマは、北部ラガ地方で現在も息づいている位階階梯制に関するもので、テフィムレ老は、それを具現する儀礼を中心に記述している。人類学の文脈では、ヴァヌアツ北部は、階梯制結社が存在するところとして多くの議論が行われてきた。テフィムレ老が記述しているものは、この階梯制結社に関連する儀礼であり、現在の北部ラガ地方の“伝統”の中核を占めるものである。本論の前半では、筆者自身の得た民族誌的データをもとに、位階階梯制、それを具現する儀礼の記述を行うと共に、人類学的理論との関連でそれらを分析したものを提示している。その後、テフィムレ老の位階取得儀礼に関する民族誌的記述をラガ語と英語の対訳で提示しているが、ラガ語の文法や単語の意味ができるだけ伝わるように、逐語訳の形で英訳を試みている。なお、現地語による現地文化の記述は、いくら直訳してもその意味を伝えることが難しい。というのは、言葉の背後にある文化的な規範や価値観が前提となって話が進んでいくからである。本論では、ラガ語、英語訳に共通する注を多量につけることで、テフィムレ老の記述した民族誌を解説していく。

*Keywords: experimental ethnography, graded system, Vanuatu, Raga language, ritual*

キーワード: 実験的民族誌、位階階梯制、ヴァヌアツ、ラガ語、儀礼