



# The Story of Raga : A Man's Ethnography on His Own Society (V): The Gaibwalasi and Haroroagamali Rituals

Yoshioka, Masanori

---

(Citation)

近代, 108:31\*-86\*

(Issue Date)

2013-03

(Resource Type)

departmental bulletin paper

(Version)

Version of Record

(JaLCD0I)

<https://doi.org/10.24546/81005479>

(URL)

<https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14094/81005479>



# THE STORY OF RAGA: A MAN'S ETHNOGRAPHY ON HIS OWN SOCIETY (V): The *Gaibwalasi* and *Haroroagamali* Rituals

Masanori YOSHIOKA

## Introduction

This article represents a type of "experimental ethnography." Although several experimental trials of writing ethnographies (cf. Crapanzano 1980, Marcus and Fischer 1985) have been conducted, a new and general way to describe another culture has yet to be established. In this article, I present a new method of describing another culture: the culture of North Raga is described in terms of two texts. One text was written in the Raga language by a native intellectual, and I authored the second text based on my field research in North Raga.

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

reader can understand. However, this process ultimately tends to result in a monophonic description on the part of the ethnographer. To avoid inappropriately processing the raw material in this series of articles, I have provided a literal translation of the Ragan text into English; detailed notes supplement the translation, so that the reader can understand the meaning of the literal translation.

North Raga is located in the northern part of Raga, or Pentecost Island, in Vanuatu, where I conducted anthropological field research in 1974, from 1981 to 1982, in 1985, and in 1997. According to the 2009 census, the population of this area is about 4,000. Because the language spoken by inhabitants of this area was named “Raga” by a linguist, it is typically known as “the Raga language.” However, Raga is the name of the entire island in the language of North Raga, and different languages are spoken in the central and southern parts of the island.

Almost all inhabitants of the area in question are Christian, and their existence depends primarily on slash-and-burn taro and yam cultivation. Matrilineal moieties and many matrilineal kin groups can be found within this group. Marriage regulation is a kind of prescription (Yoshioka 1985). As in other parts of Northern Vanuatu, North Raga has a rank-taking system that is realized in a ritual called *Bolololi*.

The text was written by Rev. David Tevimule in the Raga language in 1966. Rev. Tevimule was born in Asaosulu in North Raga. During my second field research in 1981, he was known as *tamaragai*, which means “a very old man.” It is unclear when he was born. When I asked him about his age, he pointed to a boy near him, who looked about 14 or 15 years of age, and told me that he had been about the same age as that boy when the volcano

of Ambrym exploded. This explosion of the Ambrym volcano seems to have occurred in 1913 (cf. O'Reilly 1956). If so, he may have been well over 80 at the time of my second field research.

Rev. Tevimule grew up in North Raga and married there. He had been married for many years before his first child was born, in 1930. This child was named Harry Tevi, and he was the first ni-Vanuatu to become a Bishop of the Anglican Church in Vanuatu (Vulum 1981). After Harry was born, the Rev. Tevimule went to Lolowai on Ambae Island to attend training to become an Anglican priest. Later, he transferred to Maka College on the Solomon Islands. He then returned to Lolowai, Vanuatu in 1946 as a priest. In 1947, he began to teach at the Anglican School at Bwatnapni in the central Pentecost. After retiring from school teaching, he returned to North Raga and lived in the village of Tasvarongo. Despite his long life outside North Raga, he was well known to the local people for his extensive knowledge of local customs. To our deep regret, he passed away in 1984.

The original title of his text, which was written in the form of a hand-lettered booklet, was *Vevhurin Raga*, which means "The Story of Raga." Although it consists of 20 chapters, the first 14 chapters are presented here as his ethnography<sup>(1)</sup> and are categorized into six parts. The first part concerns the myth of the island's origin, the second concerns kin relations, the third concerns customs related to marriage, the fourth concerns relations between men and women, the fifth concerns customs related to certain rituals for boys and girls, and the sixth concerns the rank-taking ritual<sup>(2)</sup>. In this article, I consider the fifth part, Chapters 12 and 13, in which Rev. Tevimule describes such rituals as *Gaibwalasi*, *Haroroagamali*, *Lihilihi*, and *Marahamawabute*. I present the text in the Raga language along with its

English translation, the data described by Codrington, and the data collected during my field research concerning these rituals.

## I

In 1891, Codrington reported on a North Ragan ritual known as *Qeta*, which concerns a boy wearing a loincloth (Codrington 1891:92–94). Because this motif is also found in the *Gaibwalasi* ritual, I will compare these two rituals. Codrington obtained the *Qeta* data “from one who was made a member as an infant, but has seen all the proceedings of recent years.” Because this man was “initiated in his father’s arms” (Codrington 1891:93), it is certain that information about the ritual was based on his observations or hearsay rather than his own experience. After describing Codrington’s *Qeta* ritual, I will describe the *Gaibwalasi* ritual based on information from David Tevimule, who spoke to me in 1982. As he said that this ritual was no longer performed when he was born, the data described herein are also hearsay. His explanation about *Gaibwalasi*, provided in 1982, differs in some aspects from the text below, which was written in 1966.

### 1 The *Qeta* ritual, as described by Codrington

Although boys of all ages are initiated eventually, the *Qeta* initiation is generally held at about the time that a male dress, called a *malo*, is put on. None of the boys grows up without participating in this ritual. That is, putting on the *malo* and entering *Qeta* society are necessary steps in life. Although the ritual is celebrated whenever a sufficient number of candidates

are available, it may be done at intervals of 6 or 10 years. "Some great man (or two or three of them together) presides and manages the arrangements and teaches the songs and dance; the *Qeta* is said to be his or theirs. The scene of the meeting is some *ute gogona*, a place on which *tapu* has been laid" (Codrington 1891:92). This location contains many houses, at which the candidates stay during the period of their first seclusion. The payment for entrance into the society is a mat for a boy, which is given by his father or his guardian.

On the day of the ritual, boys come together, and women are kept away. No enclosure delineates the ritual ground, but a stick is placed on the ground to mark the entrance when the ritual begins. Two parties, consisting of men who have already been initiated, stand in separate groups within the mark and sing. Each boy steps over the mark. If he is wearing his *malo* while doing so, the men suddenly break the girdle string, the *malo* falls, and the boy is naked. If the candidate is too young to walk by himself, his father or the man who has paid his entrance fee carries him in his arms.

The boys are then secluded, but they are not always naked during seclusion, and each is given a new *malo*. They remain in a newly built house, except when they come out to eat, sing, and dance. The boys paint their bodies black with charcoal and do not wear any ornaments. Long rows of seats are used by the boys to sit while eating and as objects around which they loudly sing and dance. A little food is given by men who have already been initiated. The boys get nothing else to eat. The meanings of the songs taught are insignificant, and they are only used to teach the dance steps. These songs and dances do not serve as the media through which secret knowledge is communicated.

The duration of seclusion is unpredictable. Most of the men who have already been initiated leave after the first 3 days. The food becomes scarce, and each boy is given only a small portion. The boys begin to scatter and live in little houses near the gardens, but they do not return to their villages. The boys are fed and cared for by some men. (Codrington does not mention who they are.) The entire seclusion period lasts about 5 months; that is, it begins at the time of yam planting and ends at harvest time. Although the food restriction becomes easier during the later part of the seclusion, the eating of fish and shellfish remains prohibited. The beach is *gogona*, unapproachable, and no one is permitted to go there to gather shellfish.

The boys cannot wash their bodies during the seclusion period. When the first yams are dug, the period of seclusion is ended, and the boys go down to the beach to wash their blackened bodies and eat. Then, the women come and look at them. After that, the boys return to their villages and receive a name such as Tariliu or Tarisuluana after having become *tari* (Codrington 1891:92-94).

Both Codrington and Rivers describe the secret society known as *Tamate*, which is located on the Banks Islands (north of Pentecost or Raga Island), in detail (Codrington 1891, Rivers 1914). These descriptions mention another secret society, *Qat*, on the Banks Islands. Codrington described the initiation to *Qat* as follows: "…whenever a sufficient number of candidates are forthcoming, an enclosure in a retired place is made by a fence of reeds, the two ends of which overlap to make an entrance, the shark's mouth as it is called, through which it is impossible to look" (Codrington 1891:84). He noted that *Qatu* society is widespread in the northern New Hebrides, and he treats it as the same kind of *Qat* that was found on the Banks Islands. *Qeta*

in North Raga is also regarded as belonging to the same group as *Qat*.

## 2 The *Gaibwalasi* ritual, as described orally by David Tevimule

This ritual is held when a boy wears a loincloth called a *malo*. He cannot wear the *malo* before participating in this ritual. The boys who are of suitable age participate in *Gaibwalasi* together. The chiefs (*ratahigi*) who are in the highest grade, called *vira*, cut the bush open and prepare a long ritual ground called *sara*, which is not the real ground for the *Bolololi* but is the ground for the *Gaibwalasi*. They prepare a meeting-house called *gamali* in the bush at the end of the ritual ground. The chiefs who arrange the ritual are called *ira bwatua*. They also look after the novices, called *gultabu*, during the ritual. The chiefs cut long branches and insert both ends of each branch into the ground so that they are curved into a half circle. Multifold semicircular branches in a line make a kind of small tunnel that the novices (young boys) go through. The number of tunnels is the same as the number of boys. It is said that this tunnel represents a vagina. The semicircular branch is called *gaibwalasi*. (In the 1966 text shown later in this article, David Tevimule does not refer to a tunnel but to a fence made of semicircular branches surrounding the ritual ground. Moreover, I was told by another informant that this scene also includes two large semicircular entrances, under each of which a man is sitting.)

At night, a large flaming torch is placed at each end of the ritual ground. Each boy jumps in a zigzag fashion from one end of the ground to the other while holding a stick in his hand. Upon arriving at one end, he beats down the burning part of the flaming torch with his stick and then he

jumps in a zigzag pattern to the opposite end to do the same thing there. Young boys behave in this manner until morning. (Jumping in a zigzag seems to be a kind of dance and is apparently an imitation of slowly running in a zigzag pattern or dancing on the ritual ground as occurs in the opening scene of *Bolololi*.)

The boys sleep in the meeting-house that has been constructed in the bush. When they are sleeping soundly, *batua* shouting “*hoho ui, hoho ui, hoho ui ho.*” swing burning reeds in front of the boy’s faces. This action is called *havwa*. (During their stay at the meeting-house, they go through the tunnel in the morning and beat the burning torch at night, but David Tevimule’s memory was unclear on this point.) When men from other villages pass by the ritual ground, these boys shout “*hoho ui, hoho ui, hoho ui, ho.*” (In the 1966 text shown later, Tevimule says that this is a song).

Then, these *batua* cook snakes stuffed in bamboo as food for the boys. In North Raga, snakes were thought to be mediators of supernatural powers and are feared even now, after the traditional belief has disappeared. Although snake is never a food for people in North Raga, boys participating in the *Gaibwalasi* ritual must eat it. The chiefs in the village where *Gaibwalasi* is held prepare many taros. People coming together eat cooked taro and pork, whereas the young boys are forced to eat cooked snake and half-cooked taro. On the same day, the classificatory father of each boy puts a loincloth, called a *malo*, on him following the chief’s instruction. On the fifth day (David Tevimule initially said “another day,” but later he corrected this), the classificatory father of the boy cuts the loincloth belt. It slips down, and the boy’s genitals are exposed. The *sibi* (mother’s father, sister’s husband, etc.)<sup>(3)</sup> of the boy grasps his genitals and says “*hoho ui, hoho ui.*” (In the

1966 text, the person who cooks snakes and cuts the loincloth belt is called the *gultabu*. As *gultabu* is used to indicate a novice, this is curious.) The next day, the boy again wears the loincloth and puts a large red mat on his head; he then gives the mat to his classificatory father. The boy is subsequently allowed to wear a loincloth at any time, and he will usually purchase the right to use an earthen oven of the lowest grade, called a *tulai*, after several months.

### 3 Considerations

Two kinds of seclusion are mentioned in the *Qeta* ritual described by Codrington. One is the seclusion on the ritual ground, during which the young boys learn dances and songs. The other is when the boys stay near the garden until the yam harvest. During the latter seclusion, the boys do not participate in learning or rituals. The men looking after the boys during the seclusion do not seem to have particular identities, as was the case for those who played important roles in the first seclusion, as they are referred to by Codrington only as “men” (Codrington 1891:93).

The taboo on trips to the beach should be verified. Although Codrington thinks it is part of the restriction imposed on the boys, it is notable that this taboo is applicable not only to the secluded boys but also to all people. In North Raga, a taboo that prohibits doing something or going someplace is usually imposed by the chief who killed the pigs during the *Bolololi* ritual. The chief who kills the pigs enters into a state of taboo and remains secluded in the meeting-house for several days. After release from the taboo state, he emerges from the meeting-house and imposes a particular kind of

taboo, which is applicable to all the people of North Raga (Yoshioka 1994). It is reasonable to think that the taboo regarding the beach during the second seclusion described by Codrington may be a result of the chief's *Bolololi*, which would have been performed soon after the *Qeta* ritual.

Furthermore it is strange that the ritual was related to yam planting and harvesting given that the second seclusion is a part of the *Qeta* ritual because the name "*Qeta*" is not compatible with "yam." Codrington translates 70 North Ragan words in his book on Melanesian languages, including six words starting with "q." Because his orthography follows that of the Melanesian Mission, the letter "q" is applied to the compound sounds of [k], [p], and [b] (Codrington 1885:39-52, 198). According to the contemporary North Ragan spelling, this appears as the letter "bw" or "b" (Table 1).

Codrington's	Contemporary spelling	Meaning
<i>qero</i>	<i>bwero</i>	ear
<i>qatu</i>	<i>bwatu</i>	head
<i>qana</i> *	<i>bwana</i>	red mat
<i>qarinanho</i>	<i>boñi</i> **	night
<i>qoe</i>	<i>bwariñan huḡu</i> ***	nose
	<i>boe</i>	pig
* <i>n</i> = [ŋ], ** <i>ñ</i> = [ŋ], *** <i>ḡ</i> = [ŋg]		

Table 1. Six North Ragan words

According to Table I, *qeta* should be spelled *bweta* when following the contemporary rules, and the meaning of *bweta* is not yam but taro. Although it is unclear why his description of the "taro ritual" does not mention "taro," the second phase or seclusion described by Codrington should not be

considered part of the *Qeta* ritual.

I identified the following common features by comparing Codrington's description of the first phase of the *Qeta* ritual with Rev. Tevimule's description of the *Gaibwalasi* ritual: The rituals are performed when boys wear a *malo*; these boys are secluded in a meeting-house that has been newly built at the ritual grounds; during seclusion, the boys learn dances and songs; and the main motif found in the ritual is exposing the penis when the *malo* is forcibly removed. The name *Qeta* is consistent with the *Gaibwalasi* ritual described by Tevimule, in which the novice eats cooked snake and half-cooked taro while other people eat cooked taro and pork.

Although semicircular branches play an important role in the *Gaibwalasi* ritual, the description of *Qeta* does not mention the branches. However, as noted above, Codrington and Rivers described the same character for the *Qat* ritual, held on the Banks Islands and considered to belong to the same group as the *Qeta* in North Raga. It seems that the *Qeta* and *Gaibwalasi* are the same ritual.

As already mentioned, Codrington regarded the *Gaibwalasi (Qeta)* ritual as an initiation into a secret society. As he said that a boy becomes *tari* after he passes through the *Gaibwalasi (Qeta)* ritual, he believed that *tari* was a kind of secret society. However, in fact, *tari* is not a secret society but is the lowest grade in the open grade system (Yoshioka 1994:76–80, 1998). Notably, a boy who has passed through the *Gaibwalasi* ritual does not automatically enter the *tari* grade. A boy who wants to become *tari* needs to begin a new procedure and passing through the *Gaibwalasi* ritual is different from entering the grade system, which is realized through the *Bolotoli* ritual<sup>(4)</sup>.

According to Allen, an initiation ritual is characterized by two features,

secrecy and induction into a social group (Allen 1967:5-6). The *Gaibwalasi* ritual of North Raga is much less secret than is the *Tamate* ritual held on the Banks Islands, as described by Codrington and Rivers, and it is difficult to say that it is secret. Although those who pass through *Gaibwalasi* acquire some kind of status and gain some rights and privileges, they are not directly associated with the grade system or any kind of discrete social group.

*Gaibwalasi* is a ritual that every boy passes through at some time in his life. He is able to wear a loincloth made of pandanus after passing through this ritual. Wearing a loincloth that covers his genitals becomes the right of the boy. Re-exposure of his genitals after wearing the loincloth is an important character of this ritual, which is deeply associated with the male genitals. *Qat* group rituals, which are concerned with the power of male genitals, reportedly occur in West Ambae and the Small Islands (off Malakula). In particular, the Small Island ritual is characterized by a transition from a weak and effeminate boy to an adult man who has a powerful phallus (Allen 1981: 20-23, Layard 1942: 495-522). These rituals are apparently regarded as rituals of puberty, and the *Gaibwalasi* ritual in North Raga should be placed in the same category. Indeed, the *Gaibwalasi* is not an initiation ritual but rather a puberty ritual that is performed halfway between the birth ritual and the marriage ritual.

## II

The *Gaibwarasi* is a ritual for boys, whereas other rituals such as *Haroroagamali*, *Lihilihi*, and *Marahamwabute* are for women. In this section I

will describe these rituals for women.

## 1 *Maraha and Marahamwabute*

Traditionally, property in North Raga has been composed primarily of pigs and mats. As I discussed pigs in detail in *The Story of Raga III*, I describe mats woven of pandanus leaves in this section. Four kinds of pandanus mats exist. One is a whitish mat that is about 25 cm wide and 150 cm long. This is called the small white mat (*bari maita*). Another mat is similar in size but dyed red. This is the small red mat (*bari memea* or *bari*) and is used as traditional dress; that is, it is used as a loincloth (*malo*) for a man and as a waistcloth (*bari*) for a woman. Another is a whitish mat that is about 1 m wide and about 4 m long. This is called the large white mat (*bwan maita*). The last is the same size but dyed red. This is called the large red mat (*bwan memea* or *bwana*) and is treated as property.

These mats are woven of a kind of pandanus leaves called *veveo*. The leaves are soaked in water for about 1 day and then dried in the sun until the leaves turn white. Women weave mats out of these whitish leaves to make a white mat. Although a woman is able to do this by herself, typically she weaves many mats with assistance from women in the village. Whitish mats are less valued than are red mats. Red mats are traditionally exchange goods and property (*maraha*). As the technique for dyeing mats red is not known to those in North Raga, these mats are sent to the central part of the island, or a person from the central part who knows how to dye mats red comes to the North.

People south of Asaola Point, which is situated in the middle of present-

day North Raga, previously knew how to dye mats red. However, this does not mean that Raga-speaking people knew how to dye mats red. The area in which the Raga language is spoken has been expanding to the south. The original area of the Raga language extended from the northern tip of the island to Asaola Point. The area south of Asaola Point is now called Lolgiseo, which means “the place where people speak upside down.” Both historically and contemporaneously, Raga-speaking people ask individuals living to the south of where the Raga language is spoken to dye their mats red.

North Raga and Central Raga have a matrilineal moiety system, and they know which kin group of North Raga corresponds to theirs and which kin group of Central Raga they belong to. If a person wants to dye mats red, they ask a person who belongs to a corresponding group in Central Raga to do this for them. Payment for dyeing is made in pigs. The price depends on the condition of the dye job. For example, a tusked pig which is called a *ḡole*<sup>(51)</sup> is sufficient to pay for the dyeing of 15 large white mats and 10 small white mats.

The *Marahamwabute* ritual is performed when white mats become red. “*Maraha*” is “property,” “*mwa bute*” means “it jumps to come,” and the meaning of *marahamwabute* is “the property reaches.” This ritual is performed only by women. Many bamboo shoots on which many new red mats are hung are shouldered by women, and women beat slit-drums made of bamboo (Photo 1). Men do not know very much about red mat production. They prefer to be involved in the “pig business” while women pursue the “mat business.”



Marahabwabute

## 2 Women's Ranks

A grade system is used for the women in North Raga. These grades, from lowest to highest, are *mwei*, *mitari*, *mwisale*, *mitalai*, and *motari*. A woman has to kill a more valuable pig to enter the next higher grade. She then earns the right to use a certain kind of leaf as an emblem. She puts this leaf on her back as a backside ornament (*sorisori*) during a dance, which displays her rank. Table 2 shows the names of the grades and the kinds of pigs that must be killed to enter each grade. Although a woman who is *mwei* does not have the right to wear a special kind of leaf, a *mitari* woman can wear a leaf called *benbena*, a *mwisale* woman can wear *hahari* (a kind of croton), a *mitalai* woman can wear a *mabwe* (Tahitian chestnut) leaf, and a *motari* woman can wear *rau niu* (a coconut leaf). If a *motari* woman then kills a *livoala*, she can wear another leaf such as *haloñi*, even though her grade is still *motari*.

The women can kill pigs on several occasions. A girl may kill one of her

father's pigs when meat is necessary to serve guests, after which she enters the lowest grade. Although the occasions on which a woman kills a pig to enter an upper grade are not strictly prescribed, a woman may do so when she is asked to become one of the row leaders of the *havwa* dance<sup>(6)</sup>. If asked, a woman may even become an organizer of the *havwa* dance, regardless of her grade. Every woman is given the opportunity to become a row leader and must then kill a pig if one is available.

The marital ritual is another occasion on which a pig is killed. As described in *The Story of Raga III*, the bride kills a pig on the day of her marriage. Although she actually killed the pig in the past, she currently usually only taps the severed head of a pig (*bwatun boe*: *bwatu* means "a head", *n* means "of," *boe* means "a pig") with a stick. This is nonetheless expressed by the term *wehi* (to kill), and it still allows her to rise a grade (even though the severed head of a pig is regarded as less valuable than is a living pig with the same kind of tusk). On this occasion, the woman sometimes purchases an ornament such as a bracelet, which is an emblem that serves the same purpose for a woman as the aforementioned leaf. Pig-killing during the marital ritual originally had nothing to do with the purchase of emblems. Another ritual, in which women not only kill pigs but also purchase emblems, is performed separately. This is the ritual known as *Haroroagamali*, which is for women what *Bolololi* means for men.

Names of wome's grades	Pigs to be killed
1. <i>Mwei</i>	<i>udurugu</i> 1
2. <i>Mitari</i>	<i>bololwaga</i> 1
3. <i>Mwisale</i>	<i>tavsiri</i> 1
4. <i>Mitalai</i>	<i>bobibia</i> 1
5. <i>Motari</i>	<i>mabu</i> 1

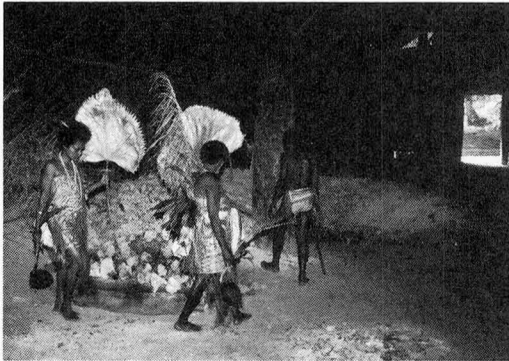
Table 2. Grades for women

### 3 *Haroroagamali*

*Haroroagamali* (*haroro* means "to enter," *a* means "into," *gamali* means a meeting-house) is a ritual in which women enter the meeting-house. In North Raga, women, with the exception of those who have purchased prescribed emblems, have traditionally been prohibited from entering the meeting-house. This ritual is still performed as part of a father's preparation. If the woman's father is a chief, she is expected to kill more pigs and purchase more emblems than are other women. *Haroroagamali* begins with a woman's dance in which women drummers beat slit-drums made of bamboo. Then, the young woman is led by a chief and one of her paternal aunts who has already finished *Haroroagamali* into the meeting-house. In the past, they stopped at each of the earthen ovens. But now, as these ovens no longer exist, an oven called a *matangabi* is newly made at the back of the meeting-house (*ute gogona*) just for this occasion. When the meeting-house becomes filled with smoke from the fire in this oven, the young woman walks around this oven four times led by the chief and her father's sister.

After they leave the meeting-house, the young woman gives a large red

mat to one of the chiefs in exchange for the oven made in the *ute gogona*. She also gives one large red mat to the chief who led her inside and one to one of her classificatory fathers for *mwa gita tahi* ("He sees the sea"). This payment originated in an old custom in which the young woman was taken by her paternal aunts to the seaside, which she had never seen before, just prior to the *Haroroagamali* ritual. This journey is still made today. In one particular *Haroroagamali*, a young woman gave a small pig (*udurugu*) to one of her classificatory fathers as a payment because this father and some of her paternal aunts took her to the seaside to bathe. In this case, the payment was called *na hiv an tahi* ("I go down to the sea"), and the payment to her paternal aunts was not required.



Haroroagamali

The pigs are killed after the mat payments. Only one pig is used in some cases, whereas many pigs are used in other cases. A woman who is already *mitalai* may kill one pig to enter *motari* or she may kill two pigs to enter *motari* if she is *mwisale*. After she kills the pig, she is given a name that includes the name of her grade (this is the same system used by men).

A woman who enters the *motari* grade is given the name of, for example, Motarifufu. Before the arrival of Christianity, both men and women were commonly known by names that denoted their grade. In those days, pigs were killed not only for this purpose but also to collect tusks, which were used as woman's bracelets in the *Bolololi* ritual of her husband or kin. In present times, these tusks may be purchased during the *Lihilihi* (*lihi* = to purchase) which is held after the pig-killing ritual.

#### 4 *Lihilihi*

Women purchase emblems during the *Lihilihi* ritual. Many wooden stakes are driven into the ritual ground in front of the meeting-house. Pigs that are to be used as payment for emblems are fastened to these stakes. Table 3 shows the emblems purchased at a particular *Lihilihi* and their prices. In the past, the feather of a barn owl (*irun visi*) and some small red mats used for layered waistcloths were also purchased. During this ritual, young women cut their hair from the upper part of one ear across the nape of the neck to the upper part of the other ear. This ritual is completed by a special event in which the father and a paternal aunt of the young woman each cuts and eats a germinated coconut (called a *vara*). This coconut sprout grows in an arc and is regarded as a symbol of the tusked pig or *livoala*.

Names of wome's grades	Pigs to be killed
1. <i>lihi gamali</i> (payment for entering the meeting-house)	1 <i>bobibia</i>
2. <i>bwalibani</i> (bracelet)	1 <i>tavsiri</i>
3. <i>homumutai</i> (long beads put around the waist)	1 <i>bololvaga</i>
4. <i>homutalvavae</i> (long beads hung over the shoulders in the shape of a cross)	1 <i>bololvaga</i>
5. <i>lalaun toa</i> (long feather at the tail of fowl)	1 large red mat
6. <i>uli memea</i> (red dye)	1 large red mat
7. <i>bunbun tabwana</i> (leaf of fan palm used as a backside ornament)	1 <i>bololvaga</i>
8. <i>bunbune</i> (leaf of a fan palm used as a traditional umbrella)	1 large red mat
9. <i>laḡa gai</i> (wooden comb)	1 large red mat
10. <i>bwañi bulu</i> (a kind of leaf used for a woman's backside ornament)	1 large red mat

Table 3. Emblems purchased during the *Lihilihi* ritual

## 5 Considerations

The *Haroroagamali* ritual is particularly notable as it gives women the right to enter the meeting-house, a place usually reserved for men. Although men in a lower grade cannot go near the earthen oven in the chief's area, women who pass through *Haroroagamali* can walk to this area and even approach the oven. Women who can freely enter the place of the chief are essentially *motari*, the women's highest grade. They are also allowed to eat special pudding called *matailonggon garovuroi*, which is usually eaten only by chiefs who have purchased the highest emblem (a colorful belt called a *garovuroi*) when they are released from seclusion at the meeting-house following killing pigs in the *Bolololi* ritual. As not every chief purchases

such an emblem, only some can eat this pudding. In this way, highly ranked women are, in certain cases, less encumbered by restraints than are highly ranked men, even chiefs.

Although women in North Raga are not able to wield political power in the way that men can, they have a social position that is relatively equal to that of men. Cultivation is done by both men and women, as is preparation of meals and child rearing. Knowledge about agriculture including, for example, the magic of making crops grow, is not monopolized by men. Women have a deeper knowledge about the myth about the origin of kin groups and a better understanding of kin relationships than do men. They, like men, exhibit their own rank in public via several emblems. Some women have more freedom in the men's sphere than men do. As Hume, who studied women's pig-killing on Maewo Island, adjacent to North Raga, stated, in North Raga, "women enjoy a great degree of freedom and independence" (Hume 1985:287).

#### Notes

- (1) The last six chapters describe the customs concerning the death and affairs of chiefs, which are regarded as a part of this ethnography. This may be published as the second part of "The Story of Raga" in the future.
- (2) When I first met Tevimule in 1974, the booklet was not owned by him. It was kept by Eichel Mwele, from whom I borrowed it. I quickly transcribed it into my field notes and returned it to him. I am not sure why Eichel Mwele kept the booklet, but the writer of the booklet is

identified on the first page as follows:

*Vev hurin Raga. hurin Lolianana Ata la Bativuna tava*

David Tevimule

Tasvaraoño

2nd. November 1966

Although I submitted the full transcribed text to the Cultural Center at Port Vila, I am not sure whether the booklet itself still exists. As the text was handwritten and was transcribed into my field notes by me, it should be checked by a native speaker of the Raga language for spelling. Although the text submitted to the Cultural Center was the original one and was not checked by a native speaker of the Raga language, the text presented here was corrected by several North Ragan individuals whom I would like to thank. Many people contributed to the translation, and I would like to give my special thanks to Mr. Richard Leona of Loltoño village. (The letter  $\bar{n}$  and  $\bar{g}$  found in the Raga language should be pronounced as [ŋ] and [ŋg], respectively.)

- (3) North Raga contains eight kin groups, and all members of one kin group, namely that of a man's mother's father, are called his *sibi*.
- (4) I will describe the open grade system as well as the *Bolololi* ritual in detail in the next paper, The Story of Raga VI.
- (5) Pigs are classified according to the size of their tusks as follows (from lowest to highest): *udurugu*, *bololvaga*, *tavsiri*, *bobibia*, *mabu*, and *livoala*. A *ḡole* is a kind of *livoala*.
- (6) *Havwa* is a magnificent dance performed halfway through the *Bolololi*

ritual. This dance, performed only by women, is performed by more than 100 women at a time.

## References

Allen, M.R.

1967 *Male Cults and Secret Initiations in Melanesia*. Melbourne: Melbourne Univ. Press.

1981 "Rethinking Old Problems: Matriliney, Secret Societies and Political Evolution." In *Vanuatu: Politics, Economics and Ritual in Island Melanesia*. ed. by M. Allen. Sydney: Academic Press.

Clifford, J.

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

Codrington, R.H.

1885 *The Melanesian Languages*. Oxford: Univ. Press.

1891 *The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folklore*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Crapanzano, V.

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

Hume, L.

1985 "Making Lengwasa: A Women's Pig-Killing Ritual on Maewo (Aurora), Vanuatu." *Oceania* 55:272-287.

Layard, J.

- 1942 *Stone Men of Malekula*. London:Chotto and Windus.
- Marcus,G.E. and M.J.Fischer
- 1985 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique:An Experimental Movement in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- O'Reilly, P.
- 1956 "Essai de Chronologie des Nouvelle-Hebrides". *Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes* 12:5-61.
- Rivers, W.H.R.
- 1914 *The History of Melanesian Society*.2vol.Cambridge: Univ. Press.  
Vulum,S.
- Vulum, S.
- 1981 "Bishop Harry Sivehi Tevi, Bishop of Vanuatu." In *Yumi stanap: Some people of Vanuatu*.eds. by B. Macdonald-Milne and P.Thomas,pp.114-117. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific and Lotu Pasifika Productions.
- Yoshioka, M.
- 1985 "The Marriage System of North Raga, Vanuatu." *Man and Culture in Oceania* 1:27-54.
- 1994 "Taboo and Tabooed: Women in North Raga of Vanuatu." In *Gender and Fertility in Melanesia*. ed. by K. Yamaji. Nishinomiya:Dept. of Anthropology, Kwansai Gakuin Univ.
- 1998 *A Graded Society in Melanesia: Kinship, Exchange and Leadership in North Raga*( in Japanese). Tokyo:Fukyosha.
- 2003 "The Story of Raga: A Man's Ethnography on His Own Society (III) Marriage. *Kokusaibunkagaku Kenkyu* 20:47-97.

## Tavaluna 12

1) Haḡe naturigi atamani mwa gaivuaga, bilan vwavwa<sup>(1)</sup> mwa weswesia gin homumutai,<sup>(2)</sup> naturigi mwa hun<sup>(3)</sup> seresere memea gi bwanana.<sup>(4)</sup> Tamana vi lai seresere gi bwanan bilan vwavwa gi mahalun<sup>(5)</sup> vuamalo, seresere vwate gi mahalun ihu voravora, seresere vwate gi mahalun vorovoro<sup>(6)</sup> loḡo. Ginou keki tamana mwa dania lol gubweñ vuroi,<sup>(7)</sup> sa lol TULAI,<sup>(8)</sup> vi vataha vwavwa bilan nituna gin lalañan ginou keki.

2) Tuai vwavwa nu weswesi nitun hogosina<sup>(9)</sup> atamani gin homumutai, taman naturigi mwa wehi gan<sup>(10)</sup> boe, nu lai seresere memea, nituna nu hunia lalai bilan vwavwa. Ta naturigi mwa weswesi ñan, ta si hav vuamalo tehe. Be tamana vi tabea<sup>(11)</sup> naturigi vi tulai sa vi wehi boe, si hav vuamalo tehe. Naturigi vi lol mwalaḡelo kun tauluna 12, 13, 14, sa 15 nu garoga huba, vi hiḡe vugo mwa du antahi vi seve garona ginia. Be ratahigi mwa hav riv te veveo<sup>(12)</sup> be vavine rav vatua gi bwanmaila vi

## Chapter 12

1) When a male child grows up, his father's sister<sup>(1)</sup> ties (a string of beads called) *homumutai*<sup>(2)</sup> around his waist, and the child puts a (large) red mat on his head<sup>(3)</sup>; he gives it (to this father's sister) as her mat.<sup>(4)</sup> His father brings a (large red) mat to his father's sister as a gift called *mahalun*<sup>(5)</sup> *vuamalo* (the meaning of which is a gift of wearing a loincloth). Another (red) mat (is brought) as a gift called *mahalun ihu voravora* (the meaning of which is a gift of a small bow that is used by children) and another mat as a gift called *mahalun vorovoro*<sup>(6)</sup> *loḡo* (the meaning of which is a gift of squeezing coconut milk for laplap). Whether his father decides to do it on a usual day<sup>(7)</sup> or at the *Tulai*<sup>(8)</sup> ritual, he will give all these things to his child's father's sisters.

2) In the past, one's father's sister used to tie (a string of beads called) *homumutai* around the waist of her brother's<sup>(9)</sup> male child. The father of the child kills a pig as her food.<sup>(10)</sup> He (namely the father) brings a (large) red mat, and his child puts it on his head to give it to his father's sister. Although the child only puts (a string of beads) on his waist, he does not put on a loincloth. If the father loves<sup>(11)</sup> his child, he (namely the child) will get (a right to use an earthen oven called) *tulai* or he will kill pigs (to enter the grade system), but he does not put on a loincloth (yet). (When) a child becomes a young boy of 12, 13, 14, or 15 years old, he has already developed pubic hair. He goes to the sea to find (a pumice stone called) a *vugo* and shaves his pubic hair with it. If a chief does not plant (pandanus called) *veveo*<sup>(12)</sup> so that women can weave white mats (out of *veveo*) and so that a woman can boil them (with

tunua vi memea, ta vi rav<sup>(13)</sup> livoala<sup>(14)</sup> gi gaon seresere<sup>(15)</sup> 100 vai aben ratahigi mwa do Gihage.<sup>(16)</sup> Be ratahigi ata Gihage vi haḡo bwanmemea vudolua, mwalaḡelo mwa la<sup>(17)</sup> mwa hiri garona gin vugo radu. Sobe nu lol vatuvai maraha, kea vi uloi bilan havwa<sup>(18)</sup>[bweta bwaro].

3) Havwa [Bweta bwaro]. Ratahigi vi riv higaon bweta,<sup>(19)</sup> ratahigi vi gitalua n̄adun hala rav lulu<sup>(20)</sup> vi en gi tanon havwa vi haḡo gamali vi en aia, ute kea vi uloinia be gaibwalasi.<sup>(21)</sup> Ratahigi kea vi bwalasi ira naturirigi aia. Haḡe ratahigi mwa uloi ira vwaliuna<sup>(22)</sup> ratahigi dodolua ram dovo gubweñin gaibwalasi. Ira mwalaḡelo gabe ran seve garora ram mai vataha vanua maira naturigi taulura 9 sa 10 sa 11 sa 12. Ram ḡoḡo lol gamalin gaibwalasi aia rav la aia huri gubweñ n̄avul gaitolu sa n̄avul gaivasi. Ta ira naturigi taulura gaituvwa sa 2 sa 3 sa 4 sa gai 5 sa 6 sa 7 sa 8 kera rav siv van batena gabe vuamalo, sa rav van ba do huri gubweñ gairua. Ira tamara maira, ira ratahira rav siv van maira naturi la huhu,<sup>(23)</sup> i mai seresere be naturigi rav hunia.

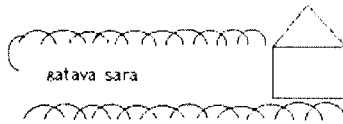
4) Haḡe ira gultabu abena.<sup>(24)</sup> Gultabu ira bwatmetua ram gita ḡoro

dyes) to become red, he gives<sup>(13)</sup> (a pig called) a *livoala*,<sup>(14)</sup> to get a bundle of 100 mats,<sup>(15)</sup> to a chief who lives in Central Pentecost.<sup>(16)</sup> Even when the Central Pentecost chief brings 100 red mats, the young boy still keeps<sup>(17)</sup> shaving his pubic hair with (a pumice stone called) the *vugo* (that is, he does not put on a loincloth yet). If he (namely the chief) finishes preparing the property (which indicates mats), he calls for (a dance called) a *havwa*<sup>(18)</sup> [raw taro].

3) *Havwa* [raw taro]. A chief plants taro all over the farm<sup>(19)</sup> and he chooses a piece of land that people prepare<sup>(20)</sup> as the place for the *havwa* dance, and prepares a meeting-house there. He calls this place *gaibwalasi*.<sup>(21)</sup> The chief reinforces (*bwalasi*) children there. The chief calls his partners<sup>(22)</sup> (who are also chiefs), and these chiefs decide on a date for the *Gaibwarasi* ritual. The young boys who have been shaving their pubic hair and children of 9, 10, 11, or 12 years of age come from various places. They gather together in the *Gaibwalasi* meeting-house and stay there for 30 or 40 days. In addition, children who are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 years of age come just on the day of *vuamalo* (which means "to put on a loincloth" ) or they stay for 2 days. Their fathers come with them and mothers come with their suckling children<sup>(23)</sup> and with mats that the children will use for *huni* (which means "to put on their heads in order to give them to their classificatory fathers or father' s sisters" ).

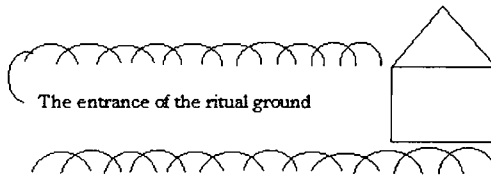
4) Now *gultabu* are there.<sup>(24)</sup> *Gultabu* (are) old men and they look after the

mwalaḡelo be ira mwalaḡelo ṅavul gaiviha ira gultabu vi dadariha maira. Sa gubweñ ran ḡoḡo vuvuri na ira mwalaḡelo maira nora gultabu, ram haroro lol gamali, ira mwalaḡelo rituai kun taulura 16, 17, 18, 19 sa ṅavulgairua gumira huba, kera mulei taulu 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, batena ran mai ran vuamalo ram haroro mai lol gamalin gaibwalasi. Gaibwalasi kun gain vidi rituai rurui ḡorogoro balsin sara tavaluna mai tavaluna kun keki.



So ira mwalaḡelo rav haroro ṅotoṅoto lol gamali, ira gultabu ran hiḡe menahin vae<sup>(25)</sup> dului gi gabi ram daua lol matan gabi ivusi na matangabi mwa ahu maragai. Wani gultabu ram lai teltele ran sagae lol bua ran tunua mwa mwanogo huba ninovi ran sinuinia gin ilava bwibwin bwasia, ran tahigia<sup>(26)</sup> gin tahi ran tun bigina bweta. Ram sarinia aben ira naturigi maira mwalaḡelo lol ahun menahin vae gea ram suwainira be gin gania vilehi. Ira mwalaḡelo ram iloe be teltele, ram lolohi matara gin ahu sa ram dei na ira naturigi gai taulu 8, 9, 10, 11, be keki teltele, ram haraḡo maira vua malo dentene ta ira gultabu

young boys; the number of *gultabu* is the same as the number of boys. When the young boys and their *gultabu* have all come together, they enter the meeting-house. Some young boys are 16, 17, 18, 19, or 20 years old and have grown a beard and (there are) others (who) are 10, 11, 12, 13, or 14 years old. They wear (false) loincloths when they come. They enter the meeting-house of *Gaibwalasi*. *Gaibwalasi* consists of semicircular wooden traps called *gain vidi*, which are inserted to surround the dancing ground from one end to the other as follows:



All of the young boys enter the meeting-house, and the *gultabu* go to find the core of (the tree called) *vae*<sup>(25)</sup> as firewood. They put the firewood in many earthen ovens (in the meeting-house and set fire to it), which makes billows of smoke. Yesterday, these *gultabu* took snakes, packed them in bamboo and cooked them. They cooked them with the leaf bud of a black palm and seasoned<sup>(26)</sup> them with seawater. They prepared (these) side dishes and taro. (Now), they shake down the bamboo to let the food out near the children and young boys in (the thick billows of) smoke of the core of *vae*. They urge them (that is, the children and young boys) to eat this food quickly. These young boys know that they are snakes, and they rub their eyes because of the smoke. The children of 8, 9, 10, and 11 years old cry (for fear) because they are snakes. They are surprised. They wear false loincloths but the

ram roto gaora i ram ḡahi malora ram haḡo bilara bibiga<sup>(27)</sup> ram guregurenira ram beve be, Hoho ui ui, Hoho ui ui.

5) Sara n̄ava keki, gultabu ran vadule bwanihun gai nunumi sa vidide<sup>(28)</sup> ran vadulea mwa du aḡeren sara tavaluna bwatbwanihu oda. Ira mwalaḡelo taulura 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 kera ram bev nora ginau<sup>(29)</sup> rav rovo boṅi vava vi rani. Ram haḡo n̄adui gai ran rovo vai aben bwatbwanihu oda ran wehi baroe tavaluna vai tavaluna. Kera ram hav rov te vatutu ta ran rov butebute. Ran n̄ara nu rovo kun n̄avan gaitolu mwabute, la n̄avan gaivasina nu n̄ara kun keki u u u, hurin buteana kunia vai votu vi wehi mavori<sup>(30)</sup> manonon bwatbwanihu tavaluna vai tavaluna. Wani nu veve be vi wehi boe, vi sese. Kea sese bolololi,<sup>(31)</sup> sese livoala gaituvwa boe tavsiri gaituvwa boe ririgi gaiwelu. Kea haḡe sese, bwativun bolololi lavoa sa vi wehi bovtaga gabe bololvaga gai 8, livoala gaituvwa bobibia gaituvwa gaisivona haṅvuluna.<sup>(32)</sup>

6) Haḡe ira mwalaḡelo ran vev ginau dului be vi ratahigi vi lagi vavine 10 sa vi tamaragaiga sa vi lol hano tehe kea nu hiḡe lol non rovoana boṅi. So rovoana be ihei nu rovo vava matana nu bulu si hav

*gultabu* cut the belt (of the loincloth), take it away, grasp the penis<sup>(27)</sup> (of the children and young boys), and shake them, saying *hoho ui ui, hoho ui ui*.

5) At this long ritual ground, called *sara*, the *gultabu* hang burning wood of *nunumi* or *vidide*,<sup>(28)</sup> (that is) they hang some burning wood at one end of the ritual ground (and other burning wood at the other end of the ground). The young boys of 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, or 20 years old, offering prayers that they will get something,<sup>(29)</sup> run (on the ritual ground) from night to morning. Holding pieces of wood, they come running to the burning wood and beat it down (with the piece of wood) at the one end (of the ritual ground) and (do so) at the other end. They do not run straight but jump. They are shouting while they are running; that is, they jump for three fathoms and at the fourth fathom they shout *u u u*. Their jumping continues in this way until they tear off the burning parts of the wood, one by one, that are making sparks.<sup>(30)</sup> (During the offering of prayers) someone says that he will kill pigs or he will make *sese*. This is the *sese* of the *Bolololi* ritual.<sup>(31)</sup> *Sese* is (to kill pigs of) one *livoala*, one *tavsiri*, and eight small pigs. This is *sese*, which is the beginning of the big *Bolololi* where tusked pigs composed of eight *bololvaga*, one *bobibia* as the ninth (pig), and one *livoala* as the tenth will be killed.<sup>(32)</sup>

6) Then these young boys pray for various things such as that they will become chiefs, they will marry 10 women, or they will live a long life. Whatever they pray for, they look for it during this running at night. The

togo tehe sa si hav haroro te a gamali ta vi rovo vava vi hovi i gultabu rav tatalo salsaloe<sup>(33)</sup> vava rav taua a gamali kea vi maturu. Sobe ihei nu muramura vi rovo vi rani, be ran wehibaro ba mate bwatbwanihu ira gultabu ra<sup>(34)</sup> vadule dolua. Ira mwalaḡelo ram gan boe ivusi bilan ratahigi bigina bweta. Ran lol kun keki gubweñ gaituvwa ram maturu tavuha gubweñgaituvwa. Gairuan gubweñi huri maturuva ira mwalaḡelo ram maturu ran bwañoro hi, ira gultabu ran bwañ here ariu<sup>(35)</sup> ran tumusia ran taua aben lol matan mwalaḡelo, hahavwanin here nu rarañ lol matara mwalaḡelo ran tabulabula, ira gultabu ran veve be, hohoui, hohoui. Haḡe ira mwalaḡelo ran holholtibwa<sup>(36)</sup> lol gamali, ramun bwanmaita gabe ran gagavuinira ran oda virimui vai votu muai gultabu vi rurutuhia be ho ui. Haḡe nu nogo na roñgagarasi,<sup>(37)</sup> ginau keki nu dadariha mai alo hañvul doman 2 boñi nu nogo lol toa varaño.

7) Ratahigi nu liñ nora gubweñ mabu ran to leñleña lol sara, ira mwalaḡelo ran to mwemwearu,<sup>(38)</sup> sa ihei si hav van te halabehe gahena ta ran to, be ihei bwatua mwala eloḡabera be men van behe ira mwalaḡelo ran tomare ran beve be, hohoui, hohoui vava vi dadariha minits<sup>(39)</sup> hañvulu wani bwatua vi rurutuhia be ho ui. Iboina kun keki:

running is as follows: everyone runs until they feel sleepy, but they (can) not stop or enter the meeting-house; they run and finally fall down. The *gultabu* holds the boy in his arms,<sup>(33)</sup> and puts him in the meeting-house. In this way he (can) sleep. If someone who is strong runs until morning and during that he beats down the burning wood and puts out the fire, the *gultabu*<sup>(34)</sup> hang a different one. Those young boys eat a lot of pork belonging to the chief and taros. They do this for the first day. They sleep well on the first night. At the second night when these young boys are sleeping and snoring, the *gultabu* make a bundle of reeds,<sup>(35)</sup> light them and put them near the face of the young boys. As the reeds heat the faces of the young boys, they jump to their feet in surprise, (then) the *gultabu* say *hohoui, hohoui*. Then the young boys go hither and thither<sup>(36)</sup> in the meeting-house. The *gultabu* (keep) burning the fringe of a white mat which they (that is, the young boys) use as a coverlet until the leader of the *gultabu* shouts *ho ui*. Then the trial<sup>(37)</sup> is over. The entire process begins at 12 o'clock at night and ends when a cock crows.

7) The chief allows them (namely the boys) to rest a day, and they do nothing at the ritual ground. The young boys stay together<sup>(38)</sup> and no one can go anywhere by himself but they (only) stay (there). If one of the leaders of the young boys starts to go somewhere, the young boys stand up and say (as singing), "*Hohoui, hohoui*" for about 10 minutes<sup>(39)</sup> until some leader shouts *ho ui*. The song is like this: *Hoho ui ui reredaeḡoa, hoho ui ui reredaeḡoa*.

Hoho ui ui reredaeḡoa, hoho ui ui reredaeḡoa. Kunia aben vataha wani bwatua nu ḡao abera ira mwalaḡelo ram lol kun keki lalainira i lol gubweñ mabuana lalai wani nu himai nin Gihage sa nin Ahivo<sup>(40)</sup> nu lago la hala abera nu lago mau huri non tausala huri non doron ta silo lalai ira bwatbwabwasi<sup>(41)</sup> be kunia.

8)<sup>(42)</sup>Gubweñ vuamalo ira mwalaḡelo ran gan teltele i ran gan bweta bwaro ran ahoñi<sup>(43)</sup> tagaro. Bwaten vuamalo ira hei ram mai mai naturigi gabe taulu 1, sa 2 sa 3 sa 4 sa 5 sa 6 sa 7. Ta abera Raga sigai kunia,<sup>(44)</sup> ta be buluian non taman natuirgi nu dadariha lol gubweñ ñavul gai 3 sa gubweñ ñavul gai 4,<sup>(45)</sup> nituna tirigi vi vuamalo dum, gabe non buluiana gin boe bigi sa hinaga, kea ratahigi vi doron. Tañbunia ivusi gabe seresere memea nu masiri alolona, gita tavaluna 12 varana 2.

9) Ira gultabu ram lai bari ririgi<sup>(46)</sup> malon vurai ran memea maragai, ran lai gaounu sa gaovuña sa homumutai ran weswesi ira bwatbwabwasi, ran lai malon vurai ran vuamalo ira bwatbwabwasi ginia. I ratahigi nu lai sersere, taman ira bwatbwabwasi ran arai seresere nu dadariha be bwatbwabwasi (mwalaḡelo) gaituvwa vi hun gaiviha lalai ira tamana. Ira bwatbwabwasi gabe ira mwalaḡelo ran tabagilu mulei vai lol tanora vuvuri ram siv vora malmasigi.<sup>(47)</sup> So wani nu rovo nu

This holds true for any leaders who pass by them. The young boys behave in this way to them and to anyone coming from Central Pentecost or from Ahivo<sup>(40)</sup> who passes by them on the rest day, whether a man walks to come as a stranger or with some purpose. The fashion of *bwatbwabwasi*<sup>(41)</sup> is like this.

8)<sup>(42)</sup> On the day of wearing the loincloth, the young boys eat snake and raw taro. They paint their faces with ash.<sup>(43)</sup> At the time of wearing the loincloth, people come with children of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 years old. But, the situation is different for such children in Raga.<sup>(44)</sup> If the support of the father of the child, who is to serve pork as a side dish or food, is sufficient for 30 or 40 days,<sup>(45)</sup> his small child can put on a loincloth. The chief wants him to do this. (Because he has) many baskets that he fills with red mats (which can be used to get a lot of food). See Chapter 12, Section 2.

9) The *gultabu* bring small red mats<sup>(46)</sup> called loincloths of semen. They are extremely red. They (namely, the *gultabu*) bring (a rope called) a *gaounu* or *gaovuña* or (beads called) *homumutai* and tie it around the waist of the *bwatbwabwasi*, and they bring the loincloth of semen, which is put on the *bwatbwabwasi* and fixed by the rope (mentioned above). The chief brings (large) red mats and the fathers of these *bwatbwabwasi* gather together by bringing enough red mats for each *bwatbwabwasi* (young boy) to put on his head to give to his (classificatory) fathers. The *bwatbwabwasi*, namely young boys, go back to their homelands where they wear a real loincloth.<sup>(47)</sup> Well,

rani ta nu vev havanau be vi lolia, si hav vahala te, vi dum kun gabe nu rovo mwa bevea be vi ratahigi la tanoi hivhivo, nu habwe dovoñana huba lol rovoana, sobe vi vora ratahigi lavoa nu habwe dovoñana huba lol non rovoana muramura, sobe vi tamaragaiga nu habwea huba, be si hav lol te bwiri hano nu habwe huba. Vevhuri be ran rovo boñi ta atmate nu rovo mulei bul<sup>(48)</sup> maira. Ira gultabu ram gitabwatoi non rovoana be nu rovo gin muramura nu hav savia tehe. Ira bwatua gabe ira gitağoro gaibwalasi ran veve lalai atmate be gom rovo roiroi ata<sup>(49)</sup> Amarama, hiv mulei vai Natabwa Aligu<sup>(50)</sup> vanuamwa aia gom roñ roron samarana gom hamai. Hağe atmate nu van nin gaibwalasi.

### Tavaluna 13

1)<sup>(51)</sup> Huri ira vavine. Ata Raga mwa doron be nituna vi tabea wani<sup>(52)</sup> kea vi riv bilan damu sa bweta sa malogu be atatu rav gitae rav urae rav volia gin bwanmemea sa boe, be boe livo sa bobibia sa livbwanbwana<sup>(53)</sup> sa mabu sa livoala. Taman vavive vi rav boe gi gaon maraha.<sup>(54)</sup> Seresere vai Gihage, seresere memea vi himai, nituna vavine daulato kea vi lihilihi.<sup>(55)</sup> Be vaigougo gubweñ lihilihi ira vavine gabe bilan vwavwa rav lalağoğo<sup>(56)</sup> mai ira tamana mulei, daualto nu wehi gara boe ran bete bwarogainia be gara mau, i boe gan sinobu maira mulei

someone ran (on the ritual ground) until daybreak and whatever he prayed to do, he will not miss it. He will be able to do as follows: If he ran saying that he would become a low-ranked chief, he had already found the sign during the run. If (he prayed) he will become a big chief, its sign was already found in his powerful running; if (he prayed) he will live long, he has already found it; if (he prayed) he will do nothing, he has already found it. It is said that when they run at night the soul also runs with them.<sup>(48)</sup> The *gultabu* know that his running is powerful, and he is not tired. The leaders who look after *Gaibwarasi* talk to the soul, "You are running and mixing with people<sup>(49)</sup> of this world. Go down to *Natawua* in *Aligu*.<sup>(50)</sup> Your homeland is there. When you hear news of the festival, come back." Then, the soul goes out of (the place of) *Gaibwarasi*.

### Chapter 13

1) <sup>(51)</sup>About women. If a person of Raga loves one's child, he<sup>(52)</sup> plants yam, taro, or kava so that people who see him tell him that they will buy it with a large red mat or a pig that is tusked such as a *bobibia*, *livbwanbwana*,<sup>(53)</sup> *mabu*, or *livoala*. The father of a woman delivers a pig (which was obtained by selling such agricultural products as mentioned above) in place of a bundle of red mats.<sup>(54)</sup> (White) mats go to Central Pentecost and red mats come back, (then) his female child, that is, a young girl will perform the *Lihilihi ritual*.<sup>(55)</sup> On the day before the *Lihilihi* will be held, women who are her father's sisters come together<sup>(56)</sup> with her (classificatory) fathers. The young girl kills a pig for their food, and they share the raw pork with each other. A pig is cooked for the people along with (other) food in the earthen

nu vwaliana<sup>(57)</sup> mai hinaga mwa du a ima a gamali.<sup>(58)</sup> Daulato vi lihi ginau, ① kea vi lihi bwatibani, ② lalau gain toa, ③ lalaun visi, ④ vi rav liuliu rau bunbune gi sorina,<sup>(59)</sup> ⑤ vi lihi huhunana rau bunbune gairua sa gaitolu sa gaivasi sa gailima, ⑥ ulina vai lol havwa, ⑦ vi weswesi varovon homu ivusi, ⑧ vi tagara livon boe ivusi, ⑨ vi talbavai homu vi alo huhuna gairua gin homu, ⑩ vi tagiri lilibena dalis bwatuna,<sup>(60)</sup> ⑪ vi lihi barimemea be vi teteli<sup>(61)</sup> bari gairua sa gaitolu sa gaivasi sa gailima.

2) Nitun ratahigi na daulato ratahigi vi riv bilan veveo ira vavine rav vatua vi to gi bwanmaita barimaita. Kea vi ware kera hañvulu sa atatu gaiviha<sup>(62)</sup> huri tai gabin maraha.<sup>(63)</sup> Ratahigi vi haḡo gamali gara matan gabi gogona<sup>(64)</sup> ivsi alolona. Kea vi uloi atatu hañvulu sa gaiviha vi lai bwanara huri vinun vaone gai<sup>(65)</sup> be rav tun<sup>(66)</sup> maraha alolona<sup>(67)</sup> i nu gitalua vavine gaiviha huri labwe(malabwelabwe).<sup>(68)</sup> Ratahigi nu vugeri<sup>(69)</sup> seresere memea vataha ira vavine hiri labwe. Ratahigi vi ware vavine nin Gihage huri tun maraha, vavine vwate huri tavi bwagavi<sup>(70)</sup> alun bwanmaita i barimaita. Vataha lalaḡova nu votu vuvuri gubeñ tuntun mwa en ira atatun utuutu wai ivusi. Sinobu huri lalaḡova kun

oven<sup>(57)</sup> at the meeting-house.<sup>(58)</sup> The young girl purchases the following things: ① this girl purchases (a bracelet called) *bwatibani*; ② a long feather from the tail of a fowl; ③ a feather of a barn owl; ④ she puts a leaf of fan palm upside down on her back as a back ornament<sup>(59)</sup>; ⑤ she purchases two, three, four, or five fan palm leaves as an umbrella; ⑥ the paint used at *havwa* dance; ⑦ she wears many (beads called) *homu* around her waist; ⑧ she puts many (round) pig tusks around her wrist; ⑨ she wears (beads called) *homu* diagonally across her shoulders so that they go around her two breasts; ⑩ she shaves the hair around her neck<sup>(60)</sup>; ⑪ she purchases small red mats and wears<sup>(61)</sup> two, three, four, or five as a waistcloth.

2) In the case that a young girl is a child of a chief, he plants his pandanus so that the women would weave (leaves of) it to make a white small mat or a white large mat. Then he calls 10 people or so<sup>(62)</sup> and asks them to cut (firewood called) *gabin maraha*<sup>(63)</sup> (which is used to boil white mats together with dye to make them red). The chief makes a new meeting-house in which there are many sacred earthen ovens.<sup>(64)</sup> Then, he calls 10 people or so to whom he gives red mats for (the work to take) the skin of (a bishop tree called) *vaone*.<sup>(65)</sup> They will boil<sup>(66)</sup> the (white) mats in it.<sup>(67)</sup> The chief chooses some women who scrape *labwe* or *malabwelabwe*.<sup>(68)</sup> The chief gives<sup>(69)</sup> a large red mat to each of the women who scrape *labwe*. The chief calls a woman from Central Pentecost to boil mats (with dyes). Another woman (is also called from Central Pentecost) who makes patterned paper<sup>(70)</sup> that is put on the large and small white mats. Everything is prepared; then the day of lighting is settled. Many draw water. Twenty people pursue this work and

20, ram gan boe ivusi maragai. Maraha nu memea vuvuri ratahigi nu tavwera<sup>(71)</sup> gin boe sa bwanmemea dodolua nin bwanmemea gara mwa du.

3) Ratahigi nu vua la siñisiñi gi gubweñin tulai non nituna atamani i nituna vavine huri lihilihi. Vavine nu lihilihi kun keki, ira vavine mataisao gin iboi gin siñisiñi ram digo vataha boñi la alo gaibitu va<sup>(72)</sup> vi votu alo hañvulu doman gairua sa alo gaituvwa vai batena ira vavine rav tigo vi rani, vwavwa bilan daulato gabe bwatua vi tomuai daulato raru vi haroro lol gamali gogona, raru vi votu vataha matan gabi gogona dului, raru vi bwihavare,<sup>(73)</sup> ira bilan vwavwa rituwai rav lai vavine daulato vai Aligu sa hava vwavwanhao tamana nu visigai ginia be si hav hivo te aia vaivotu kea vi lihilihi. Vaigougo tulai non hogosin daulato ran gel matan gabi nu roro, toa ivusi nu wehiana gi bigin tulai, ta boe ivusi mau nu wehiana gi bigi huri lihilihi sa maraha vi vute.<sup>(74)</sup> Tulai naturigi atamani nu varahi boe atatu ran haḡo bwatugehi boe, naturigi nu varahia gin bwalagena vuvuri nu wehi bwamate boe nu ware iha moli<sup>(75)</sup> i natuirigi nu togo sosori gabi nu oda lol matan gabi roro keki kun minet 10. Vaigougo maraha vi bute, kun keki muan bolololi non naturigi. Tamana nu vev lalai havana<sup>(76)</sup> vwate vi mai vi wehi bolaba bilan nituna,<sup>(77)</sup> havana vwate vi tigo bilan naturigi ira tarua keki ramuru wehi bolaba ramuru digo naturigi vi hun bwanara huria. Gaitolun samsamara mantani naturigi vi hun bwanan tamana vwate huria.<sup>(78)</sup>

they eat very much pork (so these foods should be prepared too). After the mats become red, the chief pays<sup>(71)</sup> them with a pig or large red mat, which are different from newly made red mats, as their wages.

3) The chief beats a slit drum as (a notice of) the date of the *Tulai* ritual for his son and for the *Lihilihi* ritual for his daughter. A woman does *Lihilihi* as follows: Those women who have singing and slit-drum knowledge perform the *tigo* dance every night from 7 o'clock to<sup>(72)</sup> 12 or 1 o'clock until the day (of *Lihilihi*), when the women perform the *tigo* dance until morning. A sister of the father of the young girl, acting as a leader, guides her to enter the sacred meeting-house: they stop at every sacred earthen oven and go outside.<sup>(73)</sup> Some of her father's sisters take the girl to *Aligu* or some beach where her father prohibited her to go until she did *Lihilihi*. Tomorrow (there will be) *Tulai* of the brother of the young girl. (Today) people dig a deep earthen oven and he (namely, the brother of the young girl) kills many fowl as side dishes (served) in *tulai*, while she has killed many pigs as side dishes (served) in *Lihilihi* or *Marahamwabute*.<sup>(74)</sup> At *Tulai*, a male child kicks a pig that people hold down. After the child kicks it with his foot, he kills (another) pig and takes the name of *moli*.<sup>(75)</sup> The child stays near the burning fire in the deep earthen oven for 10 minutes. Tomorrow mats will come. This is the first *Bolololi* for his child. His father asks one of his kin<sup>(76)</sup> to come and perform the *bolaba* dance for his child,<sup>(77)</sup> and another kin to perform the *tigo* dance for his child. Those two perform the *bolaba* and *tigo* dances, and the child gives large red mats, which he puts on his head, to them for (performing) this (celebration). The third celebration is *mantani*, and the child gives a large red mat to one of his (classificatory) fathers for (performing) this (celebration).<sup>(78)</sup>

4) Mosomoso tavuha gaitolu keki sinobu atamani i vavine ram samara ram hala ran vwelu<sup>(79)</sup> alolona. Atagun samsamara gaitolu nu nogo, atatu nu vosarau ram lolo siñisiñi wani havan naturigi nu rovo lol sara nu vwelui bololvaga. Ramuru rovo mai tamana. Tamana nu tomuai naturigi nu hala atagun tamana vai aģeren sara tavaluna ramuru rovo dalis wani mai boe, i ran gairotogai siñisiñi<sup>(80)</sup> wani non boe nu veve be volin sorin nitumwa rau mwele bololvaga. Tamana nu ñis rot raun mwele nu taria la gaon naturigi. Vataha hei ran vwelui boe. Maraha nu vute be bwanmemea 100, bua vatu ñañava hañvulu bwana bari ran dule alura. Vwavwa bilan naturigi vwavwa bilan tamana ran datalo bisirai bua 10, kera ran lol siñisiñi,<sup>(81)</sup> naturigi mai tamana ramuru hala vataha varan vavine gabe ram datal maraha, raru vi hun bwanara huria,<sup>(82)</sup> iboina kun keki.<sup>(83)</sup>

5) Haģe nu nogo na maraha bute ram bigi bwana mwa du, naturigi nu hae lol tora. Tora bugoro ran bebesia aģeren sara naturigi nu togo aia lol bugoro mai boe ririgi ivusi [lahoa]. Ran ul lol matan naturigi gin ulo vwaiaño memea. Aia lol bugoro siñisiñi tirigi nu en aia wani

4) At the three wonderful amusements, (both of) men and women celebrate them by (raising their hands in the manner of) *hala* and *vwelu*.<sup>(79)</sup> After the three amusements are finished, a man claps his hands, people beat slit-drums, certain kin of the child begin to run (slowly to dance) on the ritual ground, and (after that) he brings (a pig called) *bololvaga* (and stands at the end of the ritual ground). Then the child (starts to) run with his father (from one end of the ritual ground). The father guides the child, who runs after his father stretching both of his arms down, until the other end of the ritual ground, where they go around the man and the pig. Then, the sound of the slit-drums stops,<sup>(80)</sup> and the man who brought the pig says, "The payment for the back ornament for your child, (namely) the leaf of cycad palm, is *bololvaga*." The father breaks off a cycad palm leaf and puts it into the belt of the child. Every man (who runs in the ritual ground) brings a pig. The property, namely 100 large red mats, arrives. Large red mats and small red mats are hung on 10 long and strong bamboo poles. The father's sisters of the child and the father's sisters of his father shoulder the 10 bamboo poles and they beat the slit-drum.<sup>(81)</sup> The child and his father dance while raising their hands around every woman who shoulders mats. They give the mats to them by putting them on their heads for performing these dances.<sup>(82)</sup> The song is like this.<sup>(83)</sup>

5) After the property (that is, the mats) has arrived, they fold the mats and the child goes to *tora*. *Tora* is an enclosure that surrounds the end of the ritual ground in a square. The child stays there with many small pigs [*lahoa*] in the enclosure. They paint the face of the child orange. There is a

nu wehi siñisiñi nu tagelegele aluna. Atatu vwate nu tore boen tora, nu uloi boe tirigi lahoa<sup>(84)</sup> gi bololvwaga sa livo sa bobibia sa mabu, kea toretore dentene ta halana mau kunia, naturigi nu hun bwanan tamana vwate aia i nu nogo kunia. Naturigi nu van lol sara nu tu. Ira vavine ran vwelu ran hala atagun ira atamani<sup>(85)</sup> lol bolaba mai tigo<sup>(86)</sup> ran van mai nora seresere ran vugeria aben bwalagen naturigi nu tu lol sara be bwanan naturigi.<sup>(87)</sup> Atagu atatu ivusi ran vwelui boe lol sara bwana keki ira vavine ran vugeria aben naturigi. Bwana rituai ran en gi vuron naturigi<sup>(88)</sup> ta rituai ratahin naturigi nu tau bileahinia,<sup>(89)</sup> ira vavine rituai ran dabagilu mai bwan dodolua<sup>(90)</sup> ta boe dului atatu ran vweluinia kea vurona. Ram doron seresere tamana i ratahina ramuru dau aluna<sup>(91)</sup> sobe sigai mwa du gi vurona dului. Haḡe tamana i ratahina ramuru lai atalun seresere gara naturigi nu hunia lalai ira tamana mai vwavwa bilan naturigi, ta ira hei ran roñoe be wani non maraha vi memea ran lai boe ivusi lalainia i nu lol ginau dodolua gin boe. Tuai huba maraha memea sigai radu wani non maraha memea nu lol vurona gin tavalun maraha.

6) Haḡe keki lalai ira sinobu dului ata Raga gabe ira atatu hihivo sa ira ratahigi lalavoā dului gabe ram hav riv te bilara veveo be nora

small slit-drum in the enclosure, and somebody beats it with the rhythm of *tagelegele*. Another man speaks about pigs in *tora*. He addresses a small pig of *lahoa*<sup>(84)</sup> as *bololvwaga*, a tusked pig, *bobibia* or *mabu*. In this way, this is a false speech, but the procedure goes like this. The child gives a large red mat to one of his (classificatory) fathers on his head, and then everything is over. The child goes to the ritual ground and stands there. The women, who run (at the ritual ground) by raising their hands after men<sup>(85)</sup> in the rhythm of *bolaba* and *tigo*,<sup>(86)</sup> come with their large (red) mats and unfold them near the feet of the child, who is standing on the ritual ground. These mats are of the child.<sup>(87)</sup> After many men (have finished) bringing pigs to the ritual ground, the women unfold the large red mats near the child. Some of the large red mats become the child's debt,<sup>(88)</sup> but the mother of the child uses some for exchange.<sup>(89)</sup> Some women go back home with different mats.<sup>(90)</sup> But, all of the pigs that men have brought to the ritual ground become his debt. If they want red mats (as counter-gifts for pigs), his father and mother put them on the head of their child<sup>(91)</sup> (and give them to the men who brought pigs). If they do not want them, (then) every pig becomes his debt. Then, his father and mother take some of the new red mats and their child gives them to his (classificatory) father and his father's sisters in the manner of *huni*. Anyone hearing that the mats will become red gives him many pigs, and he (can) do several things by using the pigs. Those who did not have red mats before, (now) get red mats (and) he pays back his debt with some of (these) mats.

6) Now the following is for all people of Raga, whether they are low-ranked men or big chiefs, who do not plant their pandanus so that their mats would

maraha vi bute mai bolaba mai tigo,<sup>(92)</sup> kea nu vua siñisiñi gubweñ 10 sa 20, gubewñ loli<sup>(93)</sup> non nituna, wani nu habwe dum seresere nin rosona mau, sa nu vol tirigi nin Gihage, kea nu vev lalai havana<sup>(94)</sup> gairua be vwate vi wehi bolaba vwate vi tigo haḡe ran lol ginau dului kun la varan buka keki gai 4 gai 5.<sup>(95)</sup> Boe ririgi ata lol tora( bugoro sa bebes goro) naturigi nu vol ① lalaun manu visi ② bwibwin taḡure memea ③ adomae ④ bwatibwani. Be naturi madue vi malaḡeloga vi lol ginau dului keki.<sup>(96)</sup>

come (being carried by women who dance) to the rhythm of *bolaba* and *tigo*.<sup>(92)</sup> (Such) a man informs the day of *Bolololi*.<sup>(93)</sup> of his child by beating a slit-drum for 10 or 20 days. He can take out red mats from his own property or he purchases some from Central Pentecost and talks to two kin<sup>(94)</sup> of the child that would perform *bolaba* and *tigo*. Then, they do things as mentioned in Section 4 and 5<sup>(95)</sup> of this chapter. With small pigs in *tora* (namely the enclosure or a fence in square form), the child purchases ① a barn owl feather; ② a young red sago palm leaf; ③ (a leaf of croton called) *admae*; and ④ (a bracelet called) *batibani*.<sup>(96)</sup>

## Notes

(1) Although the possessive case of the word for kin is usually indicated by suffixes such as *-ku*, *-mwa*, *-na*, which mean “my,” “your,” and “his (or hers),” respectively, the word *vwavwa* is preceded by a possessive marker such as *bikaku* (my), *bilamwa* (your) or *bilana* (his or hers).

(2) *Homumulai* is a string of beads made of a shell called *ḡol*.

(3) *Hun* is a short form of *huni*, meaning “to give a mat to one’s father or father’s sister in the manner of putting it on one’s head.”

(4) *Bwana* is a large red mat woven of pandanus leaves that is used as traditional money.

(5) *Mahalu* is a kind of *mwemwearuwa*, which means a gift for which a counter-gift is expected

(6) *Voro* is a verb that means to squeeze the shaved flesh of a coconut to produce coconut milk.

(7) *Gubweñ vuroi* means anytime or “not a special day.” *Vuroi* means “nothing.”

(8) *Tulai* is a kind of earthen oven. The meeting-house, called *gamali*, contained (and, in some places, still contains) earthen ovens that carry a rank and are used by a limited number of members who have the right to use them. The highest-ranked earthen oven is located farthest back in the meeting-house, whereas the lowest-ranked is at the front of the house, which is near the entrance. The rank of *tulai* is the lowest, which is a temporary oven made outside the meeting-house at a special ritual, which is also called *tulai*.

(9) *Hogosi* means “sibling.” A man’s *hogosi* means his sister, whereas a woman’s *hogosi* designates her brother.

(10) *Gan boe* means “a pig as a food for the child’s father’s sister.” Cf: *Gaku* means “my food,” *gamwa* means “your food,” *gana* means “his or her food,” and *garu* means “their food” .

(11) *Tabe* means “to love.” *Tabea* means “to love him (or her).” *Tabe* also means “to give because of love.” Cf: *Tabeana* means “a gift for which there needs to be no counter-gift.” When one wants to say thanks, he just says *tabeana*.

(12) *Veveo* is a kind of pandanus tree. People weave a mat out of its leaves. *Bwanmaita* is a large whitish mat that has not yet been dyed. For details, see the Introduction.

(13) *Rav* is a short form of *ravae*, which means “to pull a rope fastened to the front leg

of a pig." If one gives a pig to someone, he should fetch a pig to pull a rope fastened to its front leg. In this way, *ravae* sometimes means "to give."

(14) *Livoala* is a pig whose tusks grow into a circle. In North Raga, a pig is ranked according to the size of its tusks. Pigs are classified as follows (from the lowest to the highest rank): *udurugu*, *bololvaga*, *bogani*, *tausiri*, *bohere*, *bobibia*, *mabu*, and *livoala*. See Figure 1 of Raga Story III.

(15) *Seresere* is a general term for a mat. *Gaon seresere* is a bundle of mats.

(16) There are three main language areas on Pentecost Island: the northern, central, and southern areas. *Gihage* means the central part of the island, where most people speak the *Apma* language.

(17) *La* is a short form of *lago*, meaning "to walk."

(18) *Havva* is a large-scale dance that is performed mainly by women. In this case, it is called *bweta baro* (row taro).

(19) A farm plot is called an *uma*. An aggregate of *uma* is *higao*.

(20) *Lulu* means "to dig". In this case *lulu* is the same as *vagahai*, which means "to prepare."

(21) *Bwalasi* is "to cross one's legs or arms." *Gaibwalasi* is literally a crossing stick and usually means the diagonal beams that reinforce a door. In this context, *bwalasi* sometimes means "to reinforce." However *gaibwalasi* here indicates crescentic sticks that are inserted around the ritual ground, and it is also the name of a ritual performed at this place, as was described in detail in the Introduction.

(22) *Vwaliuna* is an answer. In this case, it means a partner.

(23) *Naturi la huhu* is composed of *naturi* (child), *la* (at), and *huhu* (breast).

(24) *Abe* means "nearby." *Abeku* means "by me," *abemwa* means "by you," and *abena* means "by him or her or it." "*Mwa do abemwa?*" means "Do you have it?"

(25) *Vae* is a short form of *bwatvae*. *Bwatvae* is a plant used to make a rope for hitching a pig; its leaves are used as toilet paper.

(26) *Tahi* means "sea." *Tahigia* is composed of *tahigi*, meaning "to season with seawater", and *a*, which is an objective suffix.

(27) *Bibiga* is a small fish and is used to indicate the penis of a child.

(28) Both *nunumi* and *vidide* are regarded as suitable trees for firewood.

(29) *Ram bev nora ginau* is composed of *ram* (they), *bev* (to talk), *nora* (their), and *ginau* (something). People use such an expression when they pray to get something.

- (30) *Mavori* is a spark and *manono* is the burning part of the wood.
- (31) *Bolololi* is a ritual in which the grade system is realized. During this ritual, people kill and exchange pigs to achieve a higher rank.
- (32) See Note 14 regarding the kinds of pigs.
- (33) *Tatalo salsaloe* is "to hold somebody in one's arms." *Tatalo* means "to shoulder."
- (34) *Ra* here is a short form of *ran*, which is the past tense of *ram*.
- (35) *Bwa<sup>n̄</sup>* here ariu means "to bundle reeds to make a torch."
- (36) *Holholtibwa* literally means "to go ahead with one's head pointing here and there." *Holo* means "to stick one's head." *Nam holo boro* is "I head the ball," whereas *Buluki hologo* is "A bull is making a dash at you" .
- (37) *Ro<sup>n̄</sup> gagarasi* is composed of *ro<sup>n̄</sup>* (*ro<sup>n̄</sup>o*: to hear) and *gagarasi* (pain) and means "a trial."
- (38) Although, in this context, *mwemwearu* means "to stay together," it usually includes the meaning of mutual aid. *Mwemwearuana* is one of the most important concepts involved in mutual aid, and *mwemwearuvwa* is a gift for which a counter-gift is expected.
- (39) *Minitis* is borrowed from Bislama, Vanuatu Pidgin, and its origin is the English word "minutes."
- (40) North Raga is divided into five districts, and the northernmost district is *Ahivo*. The other districts, from north to south, are *Alau*, *Aule*, *Aligu*, and *Lolkasai*.
- (41) A novice or young boy is called a *bwatwabwasi*, the meaning of which is uncertain. (84) *Lahoa* is a small pig classified as *udurugu*. *Udurugu* includes four kinds of pigs *lahoa*, *botuguana*, *udurugu* and *udurubasiga*, (from the lowest to the highest rank).
- (42) In the original text written by David Tevimule, this section is the first section of Chapter 13. Based on its content, I treat this section as Section 8 of Chapter 12.
- (43) *Aho<sup>n̄</sup>i* means "to paint one's face with ash or charcoal, etc."
- (44) The meaning of *sigai kunia* is "not like this." Although *abera Raga sigai kunia* seems to mean "these children in Raga do not eat snakes and raw taros," people have explained that this means "these children in Raga do not wear loincloths in the *Gaibwarasi* ritual."
- (45) This seems to indicate the period of isolation during the *Gaibwarasi* ritual. Therefore, the sentence here means that even small boys from 1 to 7 years of age are

able to wear loincloths (*vuamalo*) if their fathers support the ritual by giving sufficient food and so on during this period.

(46) *Bari* is a small red mat. *Bari tirigi* is smaller than a usual *bari*.

(47) *Malmasigi* is composed of a *malo* (loincloth) and a *masigi* (real).

(48) *Bul* is a short form of *bulu* (together).

(49) *Ata* is a short form of *atatu* (people).

(50) *Aligu* is one of five districts in North Raga; it is situated in the eastern coastal area. See Note 40. *Natavwa* is a plot of land that is the origin of a kin group known as the *Natavwa*.

(51) In the original text written by David Tevimule, this section is the third section of Chapter 13. See Note 42.

(52) *Wani* means "somebody."

(53) Although *liubwanwana* is regarded as a kind of *mabu*, it is, strictly speaking, a slightly lower rank than is *mabu*.

(54) White mats are usually sent to Central Pentecost, where they are dyed red. Pigs are used to pay for dyeing the mats red. The meaning of *maraha* is "property," particularly that used for red mats, which are important for exchange goods.

(55) *Lih* means "to purchase." *Lihilihi* is one of the women's rituals held to advance in rank.

(56) *Lala* is a short form of *lago lago*, and *gogo* means "together."

(57) *Vwalia* is a verb that means "to make *vwavwaligi*." *Vwavwaligi* is a noun that means cooking by baking taros, yams, meat, or vegetables in an earthen oven.

(58) The phrase *a imwa a gamali* means "in the meeting-house." If one says *a imwa i a gamali*, it means "in a house and in the meeting-house."

(59) *Solina* is a leaf emblem put on one's backside. Several kinds of leaves are used as emblems, and each of these indicates rank.

(60) She shaves the hair around her neck from over the ear across the nape to the other ear.

(61) *Teteli* is a verb meaning that "a woman wears a small red mat as her waistcloth."

(62) *Gaiyiha* means "how many?"

(63) *Gabin maraha* is composed of *gabi* (firewood), *n* (of), and *maraha* (property, red mats).

(64) Traditionally, the meeting-house contained many earthen ovens, and persons in

the low grades were prohibited from approaching some of these, which were sacred.

(65) This skin should be carefully taken off by rotary cutting.

(66) The meaning of *tun* is "to set fire."

(67) Mats are put in a container made of this skin with water and dye.

(68) The dye is made of the skin of the root of a kind of creeper called *labwe*. Women scrape the skin off the dried *labwe* root. *Malabwelabwe* is said to be the correct name for *labwe*.

(69) The meaning of *vugeri* is "to unfold." When one gives a red mat for some kind of payment or gift in the ritual, the mat should be unfolded on the ground.

(70) *Bwagavi* is patterned paper made of a banana leaf.

(71) *Tavwe* means "to pay as wages."

(72) *Va* is a short form of *vava*, which means "until."

(73) The ritual described here is called *Haroroagamai* (the meaning of which is "to enter into the meeting-house"). Women, with the exception of those who had performed this ritual, were traditionally prohibited from entering the meeting-house.

(74) "*Maraha vi vute*" is a future tense form of "*maraha mwa bute*," the meaning of which is "the treasure arrives." The term *marahamwabute* is sometimes used as the name of the ritual.

(75) *Iha moli* is a name given to a man who has achieved the grade of *moli* such as *Molmemea*, *Molgaga*, and so on. See Raga Story VI.

(76) *Havana* means his kin. In this context, it is one of the classificatory fathers of the child.

(77) *Bolaba bilan nituna* means "*bolaba* dance belonging to his child." The dance performed here, *bolaba* or *tigo*, is regarded as a kind of emblem that the child should receive.

(78) The literal translation of *vi hun bwanan tamana vwate huria* is that "he will put a large red mat of one of his (classificatory) fathers on his head for this."

(79) When people dance or perform on the ritual ground, some men or women are dancing or stepping around them and raising their right or left hands or both hands. This action is called *hala* or *vwelu*.

(80) *Gairotogai* is a verb that means "to beat the fixed rhythm, which is the sign that the sound of slit-drums will cease after it."

(81) This is the scene of the *Marahamwabute* ritual. The slit-drum used here is a small

one made of bamboo and is held in the hand.

(82) Both the father's sisters of the child and the father's sisters of his father shoulder the bamboo and beat the bamboo slit-drum. The child and his father give mats to them for such performances, and these are presented in the manner of *huni*.

(83) David Tevimule did not identify the song.

(84) *Lahoa* is a small pig classified as *udurugu*. *Udurugu* includes four kinds of pigs *lahoa*, *botuguana*, *udurugu* and *udurubasiga*, (from the lowest to the highest rank).

(85) This is the opening scene of the *Bolololi* ritual, which is named *boemwarovo* (*boe* means "a pig," *mwa* means "it," and *rovo* means "to run" ). During *boemwarovo*, many men run slowly one after another in a zigzag fashion on the ritual ground. After running they stand at the end of the ritual ground with pigs. They give the pigs to the novice, namely, central figure of this *Bolololi* ritual. While a man is running, his female kin, such as his sisters, mothers, and so on rush to the ritual ground and run (or dance) after the man while raising their hands. This action is called *vwelu*.

(86) The man runs or dances to the rhythm of the slit-drums. Many kinds of rhythms exist; these include *bolaba* and *tigo*.

(87) The literal translation of *bwanan naturigi* is "a large red mat for the child." Some of these mats are given to the child as his debt.

(88) *Vuro* means "a debt." It is one of the important concepts concerning the gift-exchange system in North Raga. *Vuro* is a gift that requires a counter-gift. It is usually given to someone without his requesting it; therefore, he becomes indebted involuntarily.

(89) This is the scene called *bwanluluñi*, in which the mats of the daughters of the man (who is the central figure in this *Bolololi*) and those of his father's sisters are exchanged.

(90) She received a mat that differed from her own at the *bwanluluñi* exchange.

(91) As frequently mentioned, a mat being put on one's head should go to one's father or father's sister. In this context, David Tevimule writes that those mats will go to the men who brought pigs to the ritual ground. However, these men are not necessarily his real or classificatory fathers.

(92) If a man plants pandanus, called *veveo*, he can get many pandanus leaves, which are woven by women to make large white mats. If he has many large white mats, he

can send them to Central Pentecost to dye them red. When red mats are made, they are carried by women who dance to the rhythm of *bolaba or tigo*.

(93) Whereas the verb *lol* means “to do,” the verb *loli* means “to do *Bolololi*” .

(94) This is usually the classificatory father of the child.

(95) In the original, David Tevimule wrote Sections 6 and 7.

(96) Today, these things are purchased in the *Bolololi*.

(よしおか まさのり・文化人類学)