THE STORY OF RAGA : A MAN'S ETHNOGRAPHY ON HIS OWN SOCIETY (II) KIN RELATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

This is the second part of an English translation of a hand-copied book which was written in the "Raga" language by the late Rev. David Tevimule in 1966. 1) "Raga" is a language spoken by the people of North Raga (northern part of Raga or Pentecost Island) in Vanuatu. The work consists of twenty chapters and concerns various aspects of North Raga culture: its origin myth, kin relations, initiation rite, rank-taking system, chiefs, and customs concerning birth, marriage, and death. In this paper I translate Chapters 6 and 7 in which Rev. David Tevimule describes traditional kin relations and explains the meaning of relationship terms. 2)

I

First of all, I summarize the materials concerning North Raga traditional social organization, relationship terminology and marriage system collected during my field research there 3) . All of the people of North Raga are now Christian. After the arrival of Christianity the system was obliged to change in some aspects. Information from different people is sometimes confusing and in all, knowledge of the traditional system is now possessed only by a few people. One such knowledgeable person is the Rev. David Tevimule, who is said to be best versed in the traditional kinship and marriage system. My materials on such systems are mainly based on his information, which is, of course, supplemented by that from other knowledgeable people.

Social Organization

The population of North Raga is divided into exogamous matrilineal moieties named Tabi and Bule. Each moiety consists of numerous named matrilineal descent groups. These descent groups are classified into four larger groups in each moiety, which have no names. I call this kind of group a cluster. Clusters
are discriminated from each other by the fact that children of male members of each group are named distinctly (Yoshioka 1985: 29, Table 2). This group functions as the most corporate group and as an exogamous unit in the alliance system. In addition to these three social groupings, there is the fourth grouping. Each moiety is divided into two groups by combining two clusters into one. I call this kind of group a division. A division is not a named group nor a corporate one, but functions only in connection with the marriage regulation. The North Raga social organization is summarized in Figure I.

It is necessary here to explain some North Raga concepts of kinship.

1) **tavalu(na)** means ‘a category’ or ‘a party’. It sometimes has the meaning of ‘opposite’. In the context of social organization, tavalu refers to a moiety.

2) **vara(na)** means ‘a category subordinate to tavaluna’. When it is used in the context of kinship or social organization, it is exclusively related to the matrilineality. It refers to a matrilineal line or a matrilineal relation. People sometimes translate it as a family. Moreover a matrilineal descent group is referred to by vara. This term is also used to indicate the cluster and the division, as well as, in some cases, the moiety.

3) **atalu(na)** means ‘a side’. Ira ataluku, which literally means ‘people of my side’, is basically used to mean ‘my cluster member’. It sometimes means ‘my moiety member’ especially in front of the moiety members. When it is used in an expression like “Inau atalun Vira Doro (I am a descendant of Vira Doro)”, it contains the meaning of cognatic descent.

4) **atalavara(na)** is used in the same way as ataluna. Atalavaran Vira Doro has the same meaning as ira ataluku. Atalavaran Vira Doro has the same meaning as atalun Vira Doro.

5) **hou(na)** means ‘a line’. In the context of kinship, houma or houhou indicates cognatic descent. “Inau atalahoun Vira Doro” means “I am a cognatic descendant of Vira Doro”.5)
6) **hava**(na) means “kin”. Although one’s **hava** mainly indicates his cluster member or his moiety member, it also indicates a member of the opposite moiety according to the context. Because in North Raga kinship concept, every people has some kinship relation with each other (See ‘Relationship Terminology’).

The whole of North Raga is divided into many named plots. The land-owing unity is the descent group, each of which possesses many plots, one of these being recognized as the group’s place of origin and bearing the name of the group itself. Its other plots are scattered here and there in places not far from this place of origin. People, whose subsistence mainly depends on slash-and-burn cultivation of taro and yam, are able to cultivate any plots owned by any descent groups in their own cluster.

A man should live on one of such plots of his cluster after the death of his father, although he is able to live on any plots of his father’s cluster (usually with his father) during his father’s lifetime. Since the plots of the
cluster are widely scattered over the whole of North Raga\(^6\), the cluster is not localized. Moreover, it should be noted that after the death of his father, a man does not necessarily live with his mother’s brother. He may live on one of many plots of his cluster, where his mother’s brother may or may not live. Therefore such a residence rule is avunculocal only in its widest sense. Marital residence is virilocal and polygyny was practised in the old times.

### Relationship Terminology

As known from the usage of the concept of hava, which I have translated as kin, ‘kin’ does not entail consanguinial relations. The consanguinial kin is not terminologically differentiated from fictive kin and every person of North Raga is categorized by a certain ‘kinship’ term. It is proper, in this sense, to use ‘relationship term’ in place of ‘kinship term’.

I have listed relationship terms with some of their genealogical specifications in Figure II. These genealogical specifications are extracted from genealogies which I collected during my field research. Taking account of the reciprocal relationships between terms (shown in Figure III), we can logically identify more genealogical specifications of each term.

Of eighteen terms listed in Figure II which are used to refer to persons, all terms without vwavwa are used with suffixed possessive particles such as -\(k\)u (-gu), -\(m\)wa and -\(n\)a which mean ‘my’, ‘your’ and ‘his/her’) respectively. Tamagu means ‘my father’, ratahiku means ‘my mother’, and taman ratahiku means ‘my mother’s father’. These terms are also used in address with such particles. Terms in parentheses in Figure II are only used in address and they are used without possessive particles. Vwawwa is accompanied by a possessive particle such as bilaku (my), bilamwa (your) or bilana (his or her). Bilak vwawwa means ‘my paternal aunt’, and vwawwa bilan Tom means ‘Tom’s paternal aunt’. Vwawwa is also used in address without the possessive particles. (For a detailed description of possessive particles, see Yoshioka 1987).

In daily life people sometimes use the verbal definition of the relationship terms. Some of such definitions made by a man are shown in Figure IV. The verbal definition is always made by thinking of a concrete genealogical relation. A man defines ratahin ratahiku as tuagaku because he calls his real mother’s real mother tuagaku. In this sense, the verbal definition of relationship terms is based on the genealogical relation.

Although I have referred to the genealogical relation, I should point out here that the North Raga terminology as a system is not based on one’s genealogical relation but one’s affiliation to the social group, that is, the cluster. The verbal
1. ratahi (mus)        MMM, M
2. tarabe (ben)        MMB, MB
3. aloa              ZS (m.s.), ZD (m.s.)
4. tuaga (tuta, tuga) MMB, eB, eZ, MM
5. tua                B (m.s.)
                     Z (w.s.)
6. tihi               yB, yZ, SS (m.s.), SD (m.s.)
7. hogosi             Z (m.s.)
                     B (w.s.)
8. sibi (bibi)        MF, MFZS, MFZDS, ZH, ZHJS, HB, HZS
                     MFZ, MFSD, MFZDD, ZHS, ZHJS, HM
9. tama (tata)        F, FZS, FZDS, ZDH
10. vwavwa             FZ, FZD, FZDD, ZDHZ
11. mabi              MMBWB, MBWB, WB, MMBDS, MBDS, DS (m.s.)
                     MMBW, MBW, W, MMBDD, MBDD, DD (m.s.)
12. nitu              MMBS, WMB, MB, S, DDS (m.s.)
                     MMBD, WM, MB, D, DDD (m.s.)
13. ahoa              H
14. tasala             W
15. bwaliga            WF, DH (m.s.)
16. habwe              HZ, BW (w.s.)
17. bulena             WB
18. huri               FZH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ratahi</td>
<td>nitu</td>
<td>hogosi</td>
<td>bulena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama</td>
<td>nitu</td>
<td>tua</td>
<td>huri</td>
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<tr>
<td>vwavwa</td>
<td>nitu</td>
<td>bwaliga</td>
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<tr>
<td>tarabe</td>
<td>aloa</td>
<td>habwe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuaga</td>
<td>tihi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibi</td>
<td>mabi</td>
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<tr>
<td>tasala</td>
<td>ahoa</td>
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* Terms in parentheses are only used in address.
* Terms such as aloa, tasala, bwaliga, and bulena are used only by men.
* Terms such as ahoa and habwe are used only by women.
* (m.s.): Men's speaking.
* (w.s.): Women's speaking.

Figure II

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A has reciprocal relation to B.
C is a self-reciprocal term.
D has no reciprocal partner.

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* Hogosi is used between different genders while tua is used between people of the same genders.

Figure III
definition mentioned above is valid only within a scope of genealogy. The table of relationship terms with their genealogical specifications is also used to analyze the terminological system only within the scope of genealogy. Moreover, in the North Raga system there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between relationship terms and genealogical relations. For example, a man who is ego's FFBDS is referred to by the term *tama* if he belongs to the same cluster as ego's father while he is referred to by the term *sibi* if he belongs to the same cluster as ego's mother's father (Yoshioka 1985: 35). This is shown in Figure V.

The relationship between terms and clusters is shown in Figure VI, which indicates that people in the opposite moiety are categorized according to their affiliation to the cluster. It should be added here that all men who belong to the cluster 'e' have *bwaliga* relation to all men who belong to the cluster 'g' while all men in the cluster 'f' have *bwaliga* relation to all men in the cluster 'h'. Therefore ego's *tama* is *bwaliga* to ego's male *sibi*, and ego's male *mabi* or *nitu* in one cluster is *bwaliga* to ego's male *mabi* or *nitu* in the other cluster.

Although those who are in the same moiety as ego are terminologically classified by the principles of generation and sex regardless of their affiliation to the cluster (see Figure VIII), men in the same cluster as ego have *bwaliga* relation to men in one cluster of the other division in the same moiety. For example, ego's *tarabe* in ego's cluster has *bwaliga* relation to ego's *tarabe* in one cluster of the opposite division. In this case, the child of the former is called *nitu* by ego while the child of the latter is called *mabi*. Such a mechanism will be further explained in the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ratahin</th>
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<th>tuagaku</th>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>taraben</td>
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<td>=</td>
<td>sibiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ratahiku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>sibiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
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<td>tarabeku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>tuagaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>mabin</td>
<td>tarabeku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>mabiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>nitun</td>
<td>tarabeku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>nituku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ratahin</td>
<td>sibiku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>sibiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>taraben</td>
<td>sibiku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>sibiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ratahin</td>
<td>mabiku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>nituku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>taraben</td>
<td>mabiku</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>nituku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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* 'f' and 'h' are clusters.

Figure V

* This figure shows the case in which ego belongs to the cluster 'a' and his real mother married a man of the cluster 'e'.
* Letters of the alphabet correspond to those in Figure I.
* Mabi-nitu shows that mabi and nitu are placed in alternate generations in the matriline.

Figure VI
Marriage System

I have already analyzed the marriage system of North Raga in a previous paper, where I showed that there are two kinds of alliance system in North Raga (Yoshioka 1985). One is the asymmetric system between clusters which is based on the sister-exchange (Figure VII-I). The unit of the asymmetrical alliance is a pair of clusters whose male members are bwaliga to each other. The other is the symmetric system between clusters which is based on the daughter-exchange (Figure VII-II). Men who are bwaliga to each other exchange the daughter of each other in marriage. The marriage regulation underlined in the former system is expressed by people as follows: a man should marry his female mabi and a woman should marry her male sibi, while such a regulation underlined in the latter system is expressed as follows: a man in one division in a moiety should marry a daughter of a man who belongs to the other division in the same moiety.

The North Raga marriage system in connection with the relationship terminology is summarized in Figure VIII. In it: (1) All tarabe, male tuaga, tua, male tihi and aloa in ego’s cluster ‘a’ marry ego’s female mabi in the clusters ‘f’ and ‘h’. (2) All tarabe, male tuaga, tua, male tihi and aloa in cluster ‘c’ marry ego’s female nitu in ‘f’ and ‘h’. Those men who have married ego’s female nitu are called bwaligaku. (3) All tarabe, male tuaga, tua, male tihi and aloa in cluster ‘b’ marry ego’s vwavwa (cluster ‘e’) in one of the alternate genera-

* Letters of the alphabet correspond to those in Figure I.
* Arrows indicate the direction of the movement of women at marriage.

Figure VII
tions and to ego's female sibi (cluster 'g') in one of the alternate generations.
(4) All tarabe, male tuaga, tua, male tihi and aloa in cluster 'd' marry ego's vwavwa in cluster 'e' of the other alternate generations and ego's female sibi in cluster 'g' of the other alternate generations. Those men who have married ego's vwavwa are called huriku. (5) All of the male members in ego's cluster refer to ego's mabi and nitu as mabi and nitu respectively. But for tama, vwavwa, and sibi, a different situation exists. Those in ego's alternate generations refer to ego's tama, vwavwa and sibi by the same terms as ego while those in the opposite alternate generations refer to ego's tama and vwavwa as

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**Figure VIII**

* Letters of the alphabet correspond to those in Figure I.
* Central lines in the boxes divide alternate generations.
* - means marriage between male member of the moiety X and female member of the moiety Y.
sibi and ego’s sibi as tama or vwawwa. (6) Men in the clusters ‘a’ and ‘c’, ‘b’ and ‘d’, ‘e’ and ‘g’, ‘f’ and ‘h’ are bwaliga to each other. Those whom the former in the pair call mabi are called nitu by the latter.

The relation between wife-giver and wife-taker is shown in Figure IX. All male members of ego’s cluster marry ego’s female mabi while female members in the same alternate generations as ego in ego’s cluster marry ego’s sibi and those in the other alternate generations marry ego’s tama.

In this section I briefly comment on the kinship and marriage system in today’s situation. As already said, the traditional system has changed in some aspects and some knowledge about it has been lost.

Even now it is a common recognition that the moiety is exogamous, and it is easy to find a man who knows that each moiety is divided into two divisions. But people are confused about how many clusters there are in each moiety. One of the reasons for such confusion may be that although in the traditional system children of male members of each cluster were distinctly named, adopt-
ing Christian names caused the naming system to change. Now only some persons have such names as their personal names. Moreover, many people do not know all the names of the descent groups in their own cluster. The relation between descent groups and cluster is explained in the myth. But the details of such a myth have been forgotten.

Among the factors which caused confusion in the social grouping, the most influential one is the change in the marriage system. Although the moiety exogamy is rigidly observed even now, it happens that a man marries his *vwavwa*, his *sibi* and even his *nitu*. The *vwavwa* marriage is most prevalent among these 'incorrect marriages', while *nitu* marriages are very few. Such marriages cause confusion in the terminological system because the latter's structure depends on the *mabi* marriage. When the terminological system is confused, the system of social grouping becomes confused because the latter has the harmonious relation with the former in the traditional system. For ex-

![Diagram](image.png)

* T=tama, V=vwavwa, M=mabi, N=nitu
* When ego marries correctly, he refers to persons in his father's cluster by the terms in parentheses.

Figure X
ample, traditionally all male members of one's father's cluster were one's *tama* but the *vwavwa* marriage has made it possible to find his *nitu* and *mabi* in that cluster (Figure X).

Even now people insist that ego in Figure VIII should marry a daughter of a man of division ‘B’. When ego marries a daughter of a man of cluster ‘c’, no confusion occurs, but when he marries a daughter of a man of the other cluster in division ‘B’, a *vwavwa* marriage and a *sibi* marriage occur. Traditionally ego's *bwaliga* is a man who has married his *nitu*. But if ego marries his *vwavwa*, he becomes *bwaliga* of the latter’s father and reciprocally he refers to him as *bwaliga*, who had been his *huri*. Because of *vwavwa* marriage, ego's *bwaliga* may become the same person as ego's *huri*, who should belong to a different cluster from that of ego's *bwaliga*. In today’s situation, these two clusters become amalgamated.

The terminological system itself is undergoing change. In my first research in this area in 1974 I never heard the word ‘*tawean*’, which is Pidgin English. But during my second research there from 1981 to 1982 I often heard this word used by the younger generation. *Tawean* means ‘brother-in-law’. A wife’s brother as well as a sister’s husband are referred to by *tawean*. This usage has resulted in the confusion of *mabi* and *sibi*. Some persons said that *mabi* and *sibi* are the same and that it is correct for a man to marry his *sibi*.

The intrinsic character of the traditional terminological system has also contributed to the present confusion. In the traditional system the genealogical relationship should not be extended to the classificatory relationship (by which I mean here the relationship outside genealogy). As already seen, one’s genealogical *tarabe* has a completely different role from the classificatory *tarabe*. The marriage with a daughter of one’s classificatory *tarabe* in a certain cluster is correct while the marriage with daughters of his *tarabe* in the other clusters is not correct. But if a man gives importance to the genealogical relations and extends it to the classificatory relation, he may insist that he marries correctly even if he marries a daughter of his classificatory *tarabe* in his division.

III

In the text of Father David the traditional kin relations are described. I supplement it here by pointing out the characteristic relationship among kin in today’s situation.

*Tarabe* in ego’s cluster (for example ego’s mother’s brother) is the property giver to ego because the inheritance rule is matrilineal. But he is not an author-
ized person and the jural authority over a man or a woman in marriage is vested not in his or her tarabe but in tama (real father or classificatory father if he is dead). In North Raga there is no tioned relationship between tarabe in ego's cluster and ego such as reported in the other matrilineal societies. There is also no tioned relationship between ego and the other kin in ego's moiety without huri. Huri is the husband of vwa vwa. Huri should be an authorized person to ego because it is said that when one's huri came near him, he ran away. Now such a custom has been lost.

Tioned relationship is found between ego and sibi. Some restrictions are placed on ego's behavior toward his or her sibi. This is described in Father David's text. Conversely, ego's mabi should observe some restrictions in front of ego. When ego marries one of his female mabi, ego calls her brothers bulena (Figure XI). It is not necessary for ego to assist his bulena while bulena should assist ego on any occasion.

![Diagram](image)

* 'd' calls 'a', 'b', and 'c' bulena while they call 'd' sibi.
* 'e' calls 'a', 'b', and 'c' mabi and they call 'e' sibi.

Figure XI

It is said that members of the same moiety should help each other. Especially, men who call each other bwaliga should do so. Bwaliga should give assistance to each other on any occasion such as ceremonial exchanges, building of a new house, or making a new yam field and so on. Even if it happens that tarabe in ego's cluster marries incorrectly ego's female nitu, such a tarabe is treated as ego's bwaliga and should behave as ego's bwaliga.

Joking behavior or funny talk is called vwa vwa. Vwa vwa is permitted between a woman and her husband's classificatory father (tama) or father's sister (vwa vwa), or between a man and his classificatory father. See Figure XII. Suppose 'd' gets angry with 'e' on some occasion. 'e' tells him that she is leaving home. But actually she hides in some place near the house. 'd' searches for her here and there and at last finds her near the house. In such a case,
‘e’ can talk with ‘a’ and ‘b’ about it and they can laugh at ‘d’. In other words, those who can laugh at a man by talking about a happening between him and his wife which disgraces him are only his tama and vwavwa, besides his wife. It is also said that ‘b’ can talk with ‘d’ about ‘c’’s funny episode such as the above. It is also said that ‘a’ can take the hand of ‘e’ and let it touch the hips of the former. When ‘a’ does so, she will make bwaraitoa to ‘d’ on the occasion of ‘d’’s rank-taking ceremony.

![Figure XII](image)

Bwaraitoa has the same meaning as vvavwau and people say that these two are the same. But it seems that the term bwaraitoa is used often on a ceremonial occasion while vvavwau is used in everyday life. Bwaraitoa is observed on three occasions at least. The first is when a child is born. In this case, a child’s classificatory tama and vwavwa steal some property of the child’s real tama and sometimes the former put a taboo on the latter’s cultivation or other things. The second is the marriage ceremony. In this case, the vwavwa of the bridegroom acts funny with his ratahi; for example, the former sprinkles water or mud on the latter. These vwavwa are given red mats called bwana⁸ (a kind of traditional money) by the parent of the bridegroom. The third is the rank-taking ceremony. In this ceremony, a man needs many pigs, which are given by some men at the ceremony⁹. When the man who is given pigs dances on the ceremonial ground in order to receive such pigs, his classificatory tama or vwavwa dances jokingly following him. This is bwaraitoa in this case. After that the man’s wife or his mother should give red mats or small red mats called bari⁰ to those who did bwaraitoa.

In North Raga, generally speaking, the wife-taker is in a superior position to the wife-giver, taking account of the following facts: that the wife-takers of ego’s cluster are ego’s sibi and tama; that one should observe many restrictions in front of his sibi; that one’s tama has jural authority over him; and that one’s tama or vwavwa has the right to laugh at him and make fun of
him. As already said, *tama* and *sibi* of male members in ego's alternate generations in ego's cluster are called *sibi* and *tama* respectively by male members in the opposite alternate generations, and *tama* and *sibi* of the latter are called *sibi* and *tama* respectively by the former. The general relationship between wife-taker and wife-giver is summarized as shown in Figure XIII.

![Diagram](image)

* means demanding a restricted behavior.  
* means using a joking behavior.

Figure XIII

IV

In this paper, I present Father David's Raga text with an English translation. His original text is not spoken one but written one and it seems to contain many writing and spelling mistakes. I made many corrections with the collaboration with Mr. Richard Leona, who is a native speaker of the Raga language and who was my collaborator in the work of this translation. Although in my earlier paper titled “The story of Raga (I)” I presented the original writing with corrected writing, in this paper I present only a corrected version of the text. Colons and periods in this text are not always in the original. They are sometimes omitted, or exchanged, or supplemented in order to clarify the relationship between the original and its translation. I have also omitted the original parentheses in the text to avoid a complexity.

Some words in the parentheses in the translation are supplemented by me to clarify the meaning of the original sentence. When the Raga word is used in the translation, I show its English translation in a bracket or explain its meaning in a footnote. As for the footnotes, those in the text are common with those of its translation.
VEVHURIN RAGA

Tavaluna 6

1) Sinobu ram mwemwearu bulbulu. Take vavine ran gita atatum Tagaro
ran matagu ram rovo, vavinen Tagaro ran gita atatum Bwatmahaña ram
matagu ram rovo. Gaha tam gita boe sa toa ram dabovi tam beve be boe
mwa lala sa toa mwa lala. Vavine nu lala sa lalagi. Gaha lalagi nu
nogo lol taulu 1930. Aroaro Qwatnapni lalagi nu wasi maragai, vavine
lagi nu gita dum tavalui atatu gaituvwa ñan kekea mai ahoana sa nituna
nu bavae la gatiguna kea nu rov mai naturigi la gatiguna kun gabe
atatu ram malolinla. Kea mwa hav vinini te ahoana ta kea mwa du lol
ute vono, ahoana mwa bev huri lalai tuana gabe havana.

2) Tabi mai tasalana, Tabi vwate mai tasalana, kera raru vi tu ba bev huri
la hala, ta vavine gairua ird tasalara raru vi tu lol ute vono. Tabi i
Tabi raru vi av dulei ba liiniiniira, tasalara raru men mai ba helheoi-
nira ba si mom bev huri tiri galia, ramuru av dulei vwate. Hage kunia
ñan aben ird Bule. Ta lol taulu 1958 nu tavuha lol ulolulua ata Melanesia
ta Rome sigai radu. Binihira lol iha gairua keki Bule sa Tabi be bulena-
na i mabina. Bule atalun Tagaro, Tabi atalun Bwatmahaña, vavineru
ramuru lala sa matagu garigí, boe i toa sa ginau rahu ñan ram lala
sa ram matagu ñan garigí.

1) In the origin myth (Chapters 1 to 5), Tagaro found a giant clam which is believed
to be the ancestral creature of one of the moieties called Bule, while Bwatmahanga
found a button shell, the ancestor of the other moiety called Tabi. A man of Tagaro
has the same meaning as a man of Bule, while a man of Bwatmahanga, as a man of
Tabi.
2) Lala contains the meaning of ‘avoidance’.
3) If lalagi is interpreted as lala-gi, its meaning is ‘a scare’. If it is interpreted as la-
lagi, its meaning is ‘a relation of marriage-to-be’.
4) Qwatnapni is a village on the west coast of the Central Raga.
5) The literal meaning of du is ‘to keep staying’.
6) Ute vono means ‘uncultivated land’.
7) In this situation, those two men belong to the same moiety. If the exact kin rela-
tionship between such persons is not known or need not be stated, people use tua
to express their relationship. Tua is used as a representative relationship between men
(or women) in the same moiety.
8) In this context hava, which I translate as ‘kin’, indicates persons in the same
moiety.
9) Each word in the sentence “Raru vi av dulei ba liiniiniira” is literally translated as
follows: raru is ‘they two’, vi is a future tense particle of the third person singular,
av is ‘to say’, dulei is ‘to separate’, ba is ‘in order to’ and liiniiniira is ‘to let them
1) People help each other. But when women (of Bwatmahanga) see a man of Tagaro they are afraid and run away, and when women of Tagaro see a man of Bwatmahanga, they are afraid and run away. Today, when we see a pig or a fowl that is nervous, we say that the pig is scared or the fowl is scared\(^2\). Women are scared or \textit{lalagi}\(^3\). (The custom of) \textit{lalagi} finished in 1930. In Qwatnapni\(^4\) of Aroaro (the custom of) \textit{lalagi} is very strong. (There) when a married woman who carries her child on her back and who is accompanied by her husband sees only one man of the opposite moiety, she runs away with her child on her back as if she were chased by men. Then she does not think about her husband and is hiding\(^5\) in the bush\(^6\). Her husband talks with his brother\(^7\) who is his kin\(^8\).

2) If (a man of) Tabi with his wife and another (man of) Tabi with his wife stop to talk on the road, the two women, (that is), their wives hide in the bush. (A man of) Tabi and (another man of) Tabi say good-bye and part\(^9\), then their wives come to salute each other and just talk for a short time, then they say good-bye. This is the case with those of Bule. In 1958 things were going well in (the area of) the Melanesian Mission\(^10\) but it was not yet under Roman Catholicism\(^11\). The meanings contained in these two names, Bule and Tabi, are \textit{bulenana} and \textit{mabina}\(^12\). Bule is a line of Tagaro and Tabi is a line of Bwatmahanga. Women of Tabi and Bule are \textit{lala} [scared] or \textit{matagu} [afraid] (if we say it) today\(^13\). Only living things such as a pig and a fowl are \textit{lala} [scared] or \textit{matagu} [afraid] (if we say it) today.

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9) \textit{Av dulei} which is an idiomatic phrase is used when men who have finished talking say good-bye and turn their heads.

10) \textit{Uolua} means 'a religion'.

11) In North Raga almost all of the villages are under the influence of the Melanesian Mission, that is the Anglican Church. David Tevimule himself was an Anglican Priest. Only Latano village and its surroundings are under the influence of Roman Catholicism. But the custom of \textit{lalagi} is not alive in this area like the other parts of North Raga. David Tevimule wants to say here that in Central Raga, which is under the influence of Catholicism, the custom of \textit{lalagi} is strong yet. In the Central district there are still a few heathen people and people of North Raga, all of whom are Christian, are conscious that the traditional custom is able to survive better in a Catholic area than in an Anglican one.

12) In this context, Father David may want to say that the name Bule originated from \textit{bulenana} (one's \textit{bule}) and Tabi from \textit{mabina} (one's \textit{mabi}). I stated in the Introduction that when male ego marries his female \textit{mabi}, her brothers become his \textit{bulenaa}.

13) Recall the fact that in North Raga the custom of \textit{lalagi} is extinct today.
3) Haže silon alagin. (1) vavine si hav uloi te ihan alaginá, (2) si hav hae te amare aben alaginá, (3) vavine si hav man te alavua aben alagina sa la vanuan alagina, (4) vavine si hav sibweri te gete sa tana lalagina nu to mare ta mwa holoe gin bwatuna. Silo huri gida atamani. Sibimwa gabe taman ratahimwa, atamani duluai aloan sibimwa, thiin sibimwa, tuan sibimwa, ira hogosi ravin vavine ram alagin atalun sibimwa. Ta gīgo atamani gov lalagi ira atalun sibimwa kun keki, (1) gosav sibweri tehe bwatun ira sibimwa, (2) gosav gao te la gatiguna sosoria, (3) nu sabuga be gov sivu aben ira sibimwa. Be gom harago gin sivumwa gov lai gari sa barí hano te kunia. Be sibimwa ratahiği gov lai bwana sa nitu boe.

4) Haže silon lai lai ginau lai sibi be kea atatu binhi marahi be gamalin ratahimwa, imwan ratahimwa, lulan ratahimwa. Bwatun sibimwa kea nu binbinhi huri gita gore didini ratahimwa la mahavana be kea tirigi. Gatigun sibimwa tanon meren ratahimwa. Avoan garagara lol vigaigai ana sa hiharina gov vev masigi, gom beve be nam galau bwatun sibi kea atamani vi vev kunia. Ta vavine vi avgaragara kea vi vev gin bwatun sibi nam bev masigi. Hiharina sa vigaigai ana vi nogo. Atatu ram binhi masigi be wani nu vev masigi.

14) Llagina is the same as sibina. As for sibi, see ‘Relationship Terminology’ in Section I in the Introduction.
15) This sentence means that a woman can not climb up a tree in front of her sibi.
16) Gete is a basket woven of coconut leaf. It is mainly used for carrying food. It is usually hung on something.
17) Tana is a shoulder-basket woven of pandanus leaf. It is often hung on something when not carried on the shoulder.
18) Atalun sibimwa here means ‘those male members in the same cluster as your sibi’.
19) A verbal definition of the relationship term sibi is made here.
20) Gari is a small shell which is used as a scraper.
21) Barí is a small red mat woven of pandanus leaves. It was a traditional G-string for men and a loincloth for women. It is also used with bwana in the ceremonial exchange. Ten baris have the same value as one bwana (see footnote 23.)
3) Then the rule of lalagi (is as follows: ) (1) A woman does not call the name of her lalagi\textsuperscript{14}; (2) She does not climb up near her lalagi; (3) A woman does not laugh uproariously near her lalagi or on the land of her lalagi; (4) A woman does not touch gete\textsuperscript{16} or t\u00e1n\u00e1\textsuperscript{17} which her lalagi's head touched when he stood up. (There is also) the rule for us, (that is,) men. All of your sisters are lalagi to the relations\textsuperscript{18} of your sibi, that is, the father of your mother, all the sister's sons of your sibi, the younger brother of your sibi, and the brother of your sibi\textsuperscript{19}. And you, man, you are (also) lalagi to those relations of your sibi as shown in the following: (1) You do not touch the head of your sibi; (2) You do not pass close behind him; (3) It is taboo to break wind near your sibi. Even if you break wind accidentally, you give gar\textsuperscript{i20} or bar\textsuperscript{i21} or something like this (to him as a fine). If your sibi is a chief\textsuperscript{22}, you give (him) bwana\textsuperscript{23} or a small pig (as a fine).

4) In this way (there is) a rule to give something to sibi (as a fine) because people think strongly that (your sibi) is gamali\textsuperscript{24} of your mother, a house of your mother, and a shelter\textsuperscript{25} of your mother. Your sibi thinks that he looked after your mother well when she was little. The back of your sibi was the place for your mother to urinate\textsuperscript{26}. (As) the swearing at a quarrel or a debate to insist that you are telling the truth, you say, "I go over the head of sibi" if you are a man. But when a woman swears, she says, "I am telling the truth, by the head of sibi." (Then) the quarrel or the debate will finish. People believe that the person is telling the truth.

\textsuperscript{22) Ratahigi} is a man who reached the highest grade in the rank-taking system.
\textsuperscript{23) Bwana} is a big red mat woven of pandanus leaves. Bwana and pigs are a kind of traditional money in North Raga and the exchange rate between bwana and pig is decided. An detailed description of such a topic will be made in the next paper titled "The story of Raga (III)".
\textsuperscript{24) Gamagi} is a men's house. It is a symbol of political integration.
\textsuperscript{25) The meaning of lulu} is 'a hole'. It is often used as a symbol of a place of refuge.
\textsuperscript{26) Recall that your sibi} is the tama (father) of your ratah (mother) in your cluster.

(1) Tata : Tata nan ginau gon taua sa vusin ginau gon taua, kea tau.
(2) Mua : Ginau iririg ta gaituvwa gaivua alozora, kea tam bevea be muan ginau.
(3) Sibi : Gaiibin ginau marahi.
(4) Mabi : Gaiibin ginau marahi.

Avgaragara bwatuna kea binih marahi lol iha gairua keki, nu sabuga, nu gogona. Gavgogona gov gania gov mate, galato nu gagasi, bwatinovu34) nu vovoroi35).


27) In this chapter, the meaning of relationship terms is described. Such terms are tata (tama or tamaagu if accompanied by the possessive particle in the first person singular), mua (ratahi or ratahiku), sibi (or sibiku), mabi (or mabiku), aho (or ahoaku), tasala (or tasalaku), nitu (or nituku), hogosiku (or hogosiku), tarabe (or tarafuku), aloa (or aloaku), tuga (tuaga or tuagaku), thi (or tihiku), bwalliga (or bwallgaku), bulena (or bulenagu), vwallwa (or bilak vwallwa), and habwe (or habweku). I do not translate such relationship terms into English. See ‘Relationship Terminology’ in Section I in the Introduction.

28) The principle meaning of tau is ‘to put’.

29) Father David further explained to me as follows : The meaning of ratahi (mother) is ratahigi (a chief).

30) The meaning of sabuga is ‘a taboo’ or ‘sacred’.

31) In my second field research in North Raga, Father David told me that the meaning of sibi or mabi is mwa ibla (mwa=it, ibi=to put a weight, -a=it).

32) Ahovwai is used when one wants to express the idea that something is protected with some kind of cover which is above it but not touching it. The roof is an example of this kind of cover.
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1) **Tata** is tau [to heap] or tatalo [to carry]. Mua is muai [first]. Sibi is ibi [to put a weight]. Sacred mabi is gaiibi [something to put a weight on]. Ahoaku is ahovwai [to cover]. Tasalaku is halaku [my road]. Nitaku is huku [my water dropped from my body].

(1) **Tata**: Tatanan ginau [something which is piled up] which was piled up or the pile that was formed. This is what tau [to heap] means.

(2) **Mua**: (Only) one big thing among small things. We call it muan ginau [the biggest one].

(3) **Sibi**: Heavy gaibi [weight] put on something.

(4) **Mabi**: Heavy gaibi [weight] put on something.

The reason for the swearing (by the head of sibi) is that people give importance to these two names (of mabi and sibi). It is sacred and (should) be observed. If you eat (the poison crab called) gavgogota, you will die. (A tree called) galato causes a rash. The stonefish makes one sick.

2) To marry. **Tasalaku** is halaku [my road] leading to the father of my wife and the mother of my wife. Ahoaku is havwainiau [covering me].

You say that something lying down (under a cover) is hidden or covered. A man always covers a woman by his powerful words. **Hogosiku** is hogoi [to give]. Its second meaning is 'one girl and one boy'. A man and his female sibling call each other in this way. **Tarabeku** is tarabehina [old one] or something which remains for a long time like dam tarabe.

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33) When a man pours water on himself, the water drops from his body. In this case, huku is used. But the metaphoric meaning of huku is 'my semen'.

34) People say that a stonefish moves in a similar way to an evil spirit. Here I translate vororoi as 'to make one sick'. Vororo is a verb which is used for a sickness caused by an evil spirit, for example mwae.

35) Father David wants to say that if one tells a lie in spite of swearing by the head of sibi, he will be so punished as when he eats gavgogona, when he touches galato (Dendrocnide spp., see Gowers 1976: 143) or when he touches a stonefish.

36) Some people said that the meaning of tasala (wife) is tausaga (a stranger).

37) When a man says hogosiku, it means 'my sister', while when a woman says hogosiku, it means 'my brother'. It is said that the word hogosi originated in hogoi (to give) because my parent gives me a sibling.

38) Vwalvwalu means 'equally balanced'. Thus nitu vwalvwalu indicates a situation in which the male children and female children are equally balanced.

39) See footnote 42.
mwa do vai Ṋava kun dam tarabe, ɬi tarabe, malogu tarabe\(^40\). Taraben ɬra aloai\(^1\) atamanı. Damu hiv garana\(^42\), atamanı hiv'garana ɬra aloana gabe tuana vavine mwa hagora. Raga sa Aroaro tarabe nu ririv bilan gai rivrivu niu loğ tano lol ute loloara, boe, toa, ginau mwa do la imwana. Kea nu ɬol ɬra aloana gabe ɬra nitun tuana vavine. Bwatuna kea mwa beve be aloaku\(^43\).

3) Aloa sa aloaku. Binihiva be dalisi sa gadali, be tano non tarabena sa ririvuana bilan tatabena rai vora non aloai duluai. Ginau duluai nu dalisi mwa do loł gaitabena\(^44\). Tarabena nu dalis goro sa nu gadal goro. Be tarabera vi mate ta tanona non ɬra aloana, rav gitagoro tasałana mai ɬra nituna\(^45\). Tuga sa tuagaku. Binihiva be tuamua\(^46\) sa boega sa vuvuñina sa gaivua sa lavo, gai ɬiriği mwa du aten ramute gai gaivua kun mwa ɬano\(^47\). Tihi sa tihiku. Binihiva be tirigi\(^48\).

4) Bwali sa bwaligaku. Binihiva be gao, bwalgaona, raran gai dolua mwa wahainia la raran gai dolua ramuru du sosori atatu vi gao dam vai la wvate. Bule\(^49\) sa bulenagu be bubulusi sa gaibulu sa gai malbihu

\(^{40}\) My tarabe here indicates tarabe in my cluster. When Father David refers to the relationship terms, he usually does so from the viewpoint of the genealogical relation. Dam tarabe means ‘an old yam’. In North Raga it is usual that people plant yams in September or October and begin to harvest them next April. They eat them all by November or December except for some yams which are preserved for a special occasion such as Christmas. Such a yam is called dam tarabe. Ihi tarabe means ‘an old banana’. In North Raga unripe bananas are used for cooking. Some bananas are not harvested and become ripe; such a banana is called ihi tarabe. Malogu tarabe menas ‘an old kava’. The root of kava is usually cut to make kava-drink one or two years after planting. The kava which lives for five years or so after planting is called malogu tarabe.

\(^{41}\) Tarabe in the expression of taraben ɬra aloai has the same meaning as that in dam tarabe, ɬi tarabe, and malogu tarabe. Here tarabe is not used as a relationship term. It means ‘old’ or ‘old one’. Therefore taraben ɬra aloai means ‘the old part of those persons called aloa (sister’s children)’.

\(^{42}\) Hiv means ‘to go down’. A new yam grows downwards from a planted yam.
3) **Aloa** or **aloaku**. Its meaning is ‘to surround’ or ‘to encircle’. The land of **tarabe** and the plants of **tarabe** will all go to his **aloa**. Everything that the **tarabe** surrounded is a present to his **aloa**. The **tarabe** surrounds his **aloa** or encircles his **aloa**. If **tarabe** dies, his land will go to his **aloas** and they will look after his wife and his children. **Tuga** or **tuagaku**. Its meaning is **tuamua** [to stand first of all], ‘bigness’, ‘the most’, ‘big’ or ‘grand’. There are small trees under a banyan tree which is a big tree just like the mother. **Thihi** or **tihiku**. Its meaning is **tirigi** [small].

4) **Bwaliga** or **bwaliwaku**. Its meaning is **gao** [to pass or to span something with another thing] or **bwaliwana** [something which is used for spanning]. When a branch of a tree goes close to a branch of another tree, a man can pass from one (to the other). **Bule** or **bulenagu** is **bubulusi** [to stick],

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latter yam becomes old and rotten but the former yam grows bigger. Such an old and rotten one is called **tarabehina** while a new one is called **garana**. The meaning of **garana** is ‘new’.

43) **Aloaku** in this context has two meanings. One is ‘my** aloa** (sister’s children)’ and the other is ‘my surrounding’. If **alo** is used as a verb, it means ‘to go round’.

44) **Gaitabe** means ‘a present’. **Gaitaben nituku** means ‘a present to my child.’ Then in this context, **gaitabena** means ‘a present to his **aloa** (sister’s son)’. **Gaitabena** here also connotes ‘preparing everything for his **aloa** (sister’s son)’.

45) A widow often remarries a male member of her husband’s cluster which is his **tarabe**, **tuaga**, **tua**, **thihi** or **aloa**. Such a man calls the child of the woman **nitu** (child) before as well as after her husband’s death.

46) Some people said that the meaning of **tuaga** (elder brother or sister) is **tuagai** (first born).

47) Father David wants to say that **tuaga** (elder brother or sister) is like a banyan tree.

48) Father David also explained to me that the meaning of **thihi** (younger brother or sister) is **nu tahihi** (**nu**=it, **tahihi**=to split unevenly).

49) In this context one should say not **bule** but **bulen** (wife’s brother).

5) Hava sa havaku be bwatumwa, limamwa, bwalagemwa, sa vataha movumwa mwa īto. Kunia lalañan varan\textsuperscript{52} iha keki gabe ira atatu havamwa īto\textsuperscript{53}. Atamani. Binihiva be wasi, muramura. Mani be manienie. Matawen bwabwa nu manienie, niu tora alo mwa du aluna nu manienie\textsuperscript{54}, ute tatagahari gov hago gaisigo gov van dum sia. Manienie kea hagea atamani\textsuperscript{55}. Vavine. Binihiva gairua. Vwate wasi maragai, vwate mwadwmada kun vinun ginai, kea vinu. Gov gitae kea tirigi gilina nu mwa-demdema, kea daualato\textsuperscript{56} rebehina nu magemua, kea tabwalugu\textsuperscript{57} rebehina mwa buge boega, kea mwa lagi rebehina mwa waswasi, kea mwa ros atatu rebehina mwa hunersi, kea mwa hago naturigi kea mwa mwa-demdema, kea vi hago atatu vatolu kea mwa lai rebehi wasi nu muramura, kea men abena be men lal iha bwatmetuaga sa bwatbwaratu sa malañvatu\textsuperscript{58}.

\textsuperscript{50} Gaibulu is used when the trunk of one tree sticks to the trunk of another tree and they look like one tree. Gaimalbhuh is used of trees which stand so close that they emit a screaming sound when the wind blows. Ihi bulu is a banana composed of two bananas stuck to each other.
\textsuperscript{51} Bav means ‘to bear’. In the case of an animal bahhu (to breed) is used.
\textsuperscript{52} Vara means ‘a matrilineal group’ or ‘a matrilineal relation’. See ‘Social Organization’ in Section I in the Introduction.
\textsuperscript{53} It is said that my hava (kin) is a part of my vara (matrilineal relation) and that sibiku, mabiku, tarabeku and so on are as it were my parts.
\textsuperscript{54} Because it may fall down.
\textsuperscript{55} I am not sure whether atamani is composed of atatu [a person] and manienie [dangerous] or of ata [at some place] and manienie.
\textsuperscript{56} See footnote 58.
\textsuperscript{57} See footnote 58.
\textsuperscript{58} When a woman is a baby, she is called naturimemea (a red child). When she is an infant, she is called naturigi (a child). When her breasts are about to swell, she may still be called naturigi but may be sometimes called huhugasbora (breasts bé-
gaibulu, gaimalbihu or ihi bulu. A man sticks to the sister of his bulena. (My) sibi sticks to my sister or (my) sibi sticks to my mother’s mother who is my female tuaga. (My) sibi married her and they had (my) mother. A man marries a woman but her hogosi is a man. This is why (the man is called) one’s bulena. Vwavwa or bilak vwavwa. Its meaning is vwavwan imwa gaituvwa [one room of a house]. When your vwavwa and your tama were little, they stayed in the room of the house of their father and mother. Habwe or habweku. Its meaning is that two women just habwehabwe [to meet each other] in one house which is that of the husband of either of the two. But (he was) lalagi to her the first time.

5) (When you say) hava [kin] or havaku [my kin] (the meaning contained in such a word) is your head, your hand, your leg, or every part of you. Like this, all men of every vara of a person called by this name are your hava. Atamani [a man]. Its meaning is ‘strong’ or ‘powerful’. Mani is manienie [dangerous]. The edge of a cliff is dangerous. An old and tall coconut tree which is (well) shone on by the sun is dangerous. In a slippery place, if you use a walking stick, you can pass there. (The word) manienie [dangerous] thus turns into (the word) atamani. Vavine [a woman]. It has two meanings. One is ‘very strong’. The other is ‘soft like the skin of something’. (In the latter context,) vavine [woman] is vinu [skin]. You will see that: when she is little, her skin is soft; when she becomes daulato, her body becomes elastic; when she becomes tabwalugu, her body becomes bigger; when she marries, her body becomes strong; when she becomes pregnant, her body swells; when she gives birth to a child, her body becomes soft; when she bears children three times, it makes her body strong and she becomes powerful; then in a short time she is called bwatmetuaga, (bwatbwatutu or malañvatu).
6) Tamaragai be togo maragai. Binihiva be wani kea nu lai tau lu ivusi 80 sa 90 sa 100. Nu magore gore. *Rebehin non mwalagelo*\(^{59}\) *nu virugurugu*\(^{60}\) vuvurininia kea mwa golo\(^{61}\). Ira ataluna\(^{62}\) ram haço maia ñan gabe ira tihina maira aloana ram lai non tano, bilan ginau duluai huba gi noro. Sobe nituna nu tabea mwa dogo kea tabetabe non tamana\(^{63}\). Kea vi lol vuron tamana vi togo\(^{64}\). Sobe be non ginau sigai, ira aloana sa ira tuana ram lol vuron tamana kea vi rahu nin tano non tamana.

\(^{59}\) When a man is a baby, he is called *naturimema* (a red child). When he is an infant, he is called *naturigi* (a child). When his voice is about to break, he may be still called *naturigi* but may be sometimes called *mwahluboa* (his voice being broken). Some years later, he is called *mwalagelo* (a young fellow). When he begins to shave his face, he is called *mwalagelo* or sometimes *mwalangaeo tuturu* (an energetic young fellow: *tuturu* = dripping). When he marries, he is usually referred to by the term *atatu* (a man). When he becomes old and has white hair, he is called *bwatavwe* (an old one). When he becomes very old, he is called *tamaragai*.

\(^{60}\) *Virugurugu* has the meanings of ‘to disappear’ or ‘to evaporate’. 
6) **Tamaragai** is **togo maragai** [to stay for a very long time]. It indicates someone who is eighty or ninety or a hundred. He staggers. The body of **mwalagelo** fades away then it becomes wrinkled. His relations only help him and his younger brothers as well as his sister's sons already take his land and everything of his as theirs. If he has a child who loves him, the child is in favor with his father. Then he pays his father's debt and he stays (on the land of his father). If there is no such person, his sister's sons or his brothers pay his debt and then live their life (by the products) from his land.

61) "**Mwa ġolo**" in this context means "it fades away" or "the fat in the body is reduced."

62) **In this context ataluna** indicates persons in his cluster.

63) Although I translate **tabea** as 'to love him', it also means 'to help him'. The noun form of **tabea** is **tabeana** and **tabetabe**. The former means 'a present' and the latter 'a favorite'.

64) **In the traditional system, it was a rule that a man should leave the land of his father after the latter's death. But Father David seems to state that if a man payed his father's debt, he could continue to live there. I will discuss such a point in detail when I describe the land tenure system of North Raga in "The Story of Raga IV".**
NOTES

1) I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. P.E. Davenport of Shinshu University who read an earlier version of this paper and improved my English.

2) In "The story of Raga [I]", I treated the first two sections of Chapter 6 of the original as sections 8 and 9 of Chapter 5. Therefore section 1 of Chapter 6 in this paper is originally section 3 of Chapter 6.

3) I was engaged in field research in North Raga in 1974, from 1981 to 1982, and again in 1985.

4) Na is a possessive particle of the third person singular.

5) It is necessary to examine what "descent" is in North Raga. I will discuss it in the forthcoming paper, where it will be also examined whether vara is properly a "descent" group or not.

6) In the case of the cluster 'a' which contains many descent groups such as Anserehubwe, Agolomwele, Lolkoi and so on, the plots of Anserehubwe are scattered in the northernmost part, the plots of Agolomwele in the north-east part, and those of Lolkoi in the central part, and so on.

7) Ego's SW belongs to the same moiety as ego. But she is categorized as mabi. For the discussion of this, see Yoshioka 1985.

8) See footnote 23 in the text.

9) This is a part of the ceremonial exchange done in the series of the Bolololi ceremony. For detail description, see Yoshioka 1983a, 1983b, and 1986.

10) See footnote 21 in the text.

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