

## 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.<sup>1)</sup> "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.<sup>2)</sup>

### 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<sup>3)</sup>. 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)**<sup>4)</sup> 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**. **Atalavaraku** 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, **houna** or **houhou** indicates cognatic descent. "**Inau atalahoun Vira Doro**" means "I am a cognatic descendant of Vira Doro".<sup>5)</sup>

Tabi (X)		Bule (Y)		
A	a	Anserehubwe	e	Aḡavauru
		Agolomwele		Avintena
		etc.		etc.
	b	Aḡarai	f	Atalai
		Arevo		Labwaño
		etc.		etc.
B	c	Atanbalo	g	Gilau
		Atavalvusi		Gimare
		etc.		etc.
	d	Amaḡao	h	Atabulu
		Inveveo		Avatgalana
		etc.		etc.

\* Anserehubwe, Agolomwele... : names of the descent groups.

\* X, Y : moieties.

\* A-D : divisions

\* a-h : clusters

Figure I

- 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-owning 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<sup>6)</sup>, 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 **-ku** (**-gu**), **-mwa** and **-na** which mean 'my', 'your' and 'his(her)' respectively. **Tamaḡu** 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. **Vwavwa** is accompanied by a possessive particle such as **bilaku** (my), **bilamwa** (your) or **bilana** (his or her). **Bilak vwavwa** means 'my paternal aunt', and **vwavwa bilan Tom** means 'Tom's paternal aunt'. **Vwavwa** 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 (mua)	MMM, M
2. tarabe (bena)	MMMB, 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, ZHZS, HB, HZS MFZ, MFSD, MFZDD, ZHZ, ZHZD, HM
9. tama (tata)	F, FZS, FZDS, ZDH
10. vwavwa	FZ, FZD, FZDD, ZDZH
11. mabi	MMBWB, MBWB, WB, MMBDS, MBDS, DS (m. s.) MMBW, MBW, W, MMBDD, MBDD, DD (m. s.)
12. nitu	MMBS, WMB, MBS, S, DDS (m. s.) MMBD, WM, MBD, 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

- \* 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

A	B	C	D	
ratahi	— nitu	hogosi	bulena	A has reciprocal relation to B.
tama	— nitu	tua	huri	
vwavwa	— nitu	bwaliga		C is a self-reciprocal term.
tarabe	— aloa	habwe		
tuaga	— tihi			D has no reciprocal partner.
sibi	— mabi			
tasala	— ahoa			

- \* 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<sup>7)</sup> (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.

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1.	ratahin	ratahiku	=	tuagaku
2.	taraben	ratahiku	=	tuagaku
3.	taman	ratahiku	=	sibiku
4.	ratahin	tarabeku	=	tuagaku
5.	mabin	tarabeku	=	mabiku
6.	nitun	tarabeku	=	nituku
7.	ratahin	sibiku	=	sibiku
8.	taraben	sibiku	=	sibiku
9.	ratahin	mabiku	=	nituku
10.	taraben	mabiku	=	nituku

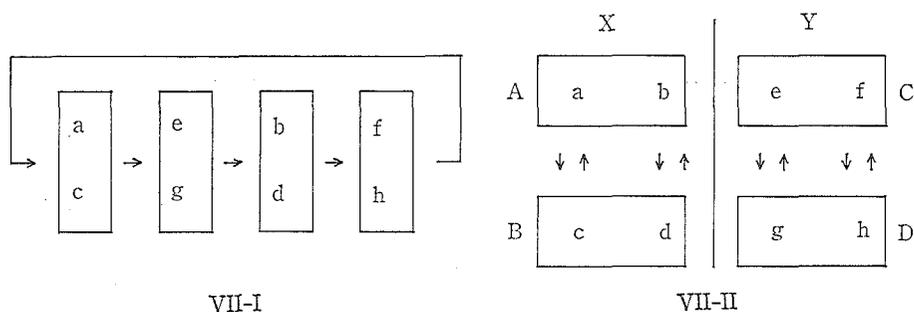
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Figure IV



### 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.

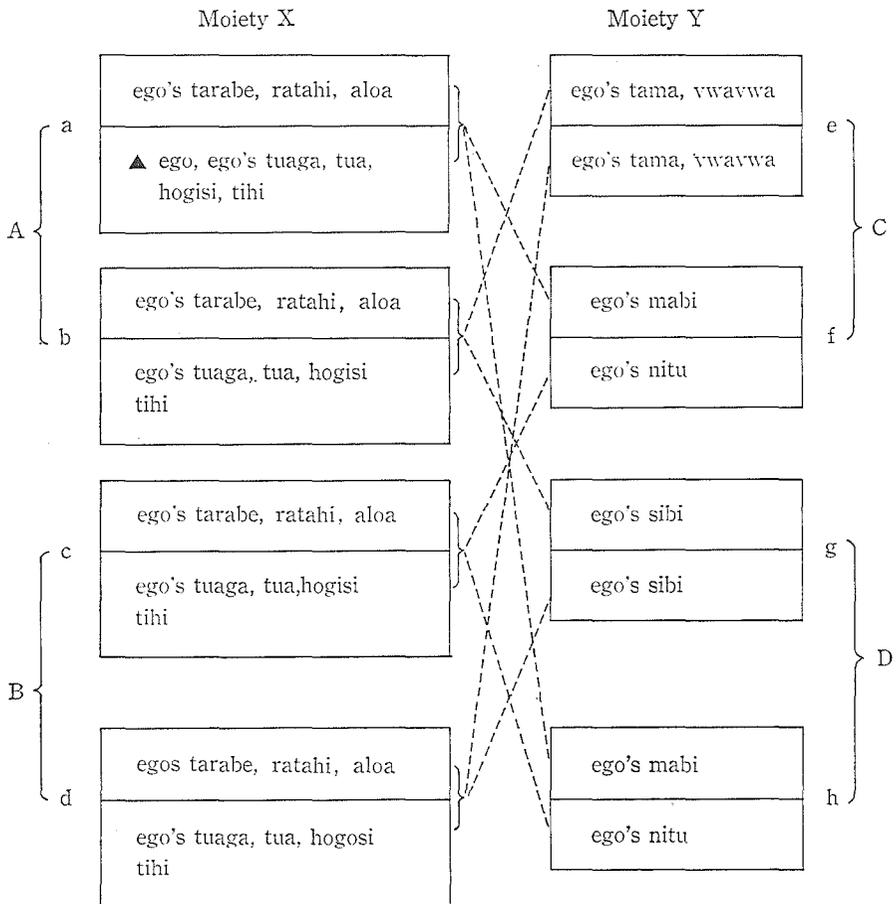


- \* Letters of the alphabet correspond to those in Figure I.
- \* Arrows indicate the direction of the movement of women at marriage.

Figure VII

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-

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

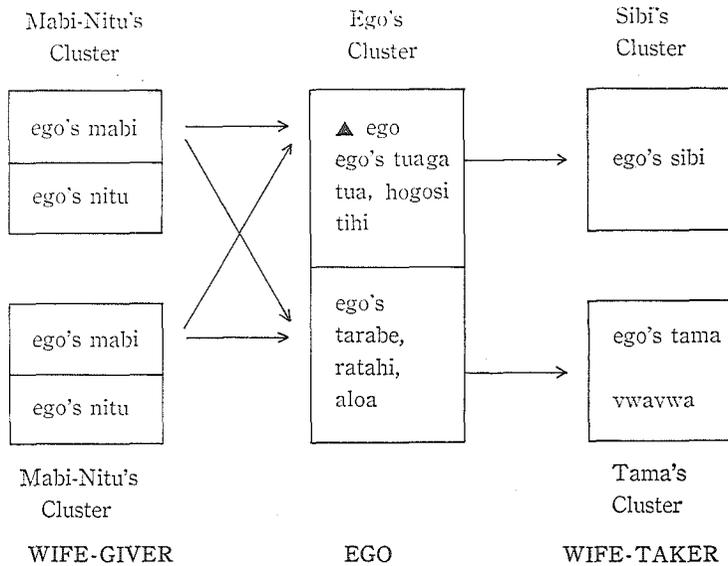


- \* Letters of the alphabet correspond to those in Figure I.
- \* Central lines in the boxes divide alternate generations.
- \* ——— means marriage between male member of the moiety X and female member of the moiety Y.

Figure VIII

**sibi** and ego's **sibi** as **tama** or **vwavwa**. (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**.



- \* The arrows indicate the direction of the movement of women at marriage.
- \* Central lines in the boxes divide alternate generations.

Figure IX

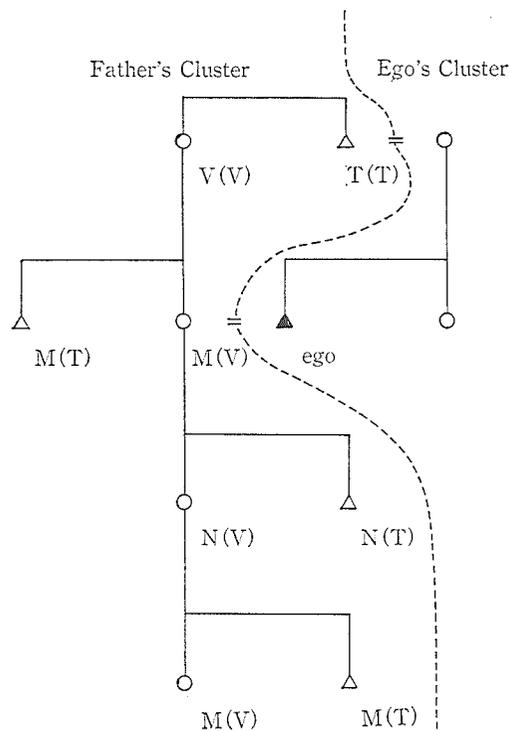
## II

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-



- \* 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.

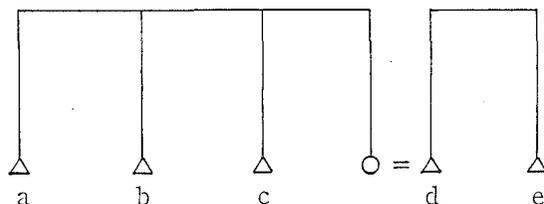
### III

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 tentioned relationship between **tarabe** in ego's cluster and ego such as reported in the other matrilineal societies. There is also no tentioned relationship between ego and the other kin in ego's moiety without **huri**. **Huri** is the husband of **vwavwa**. **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.

Tentioned 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.



\* '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 **vwauvwau**. **Vwauvwau** is permitted between a woman and her husband's classificatory father (**tama**) or father's sister (**vwavwa**), 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.

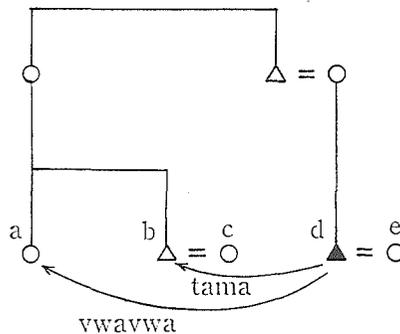


Figure XII

**Bwaraitoa** has the same meaning as **vwauvwau** and people say that these two are the same. But it seems that the term **bwaraitoa** is used often on a ceremonial occasion while **vwauvwau** 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 **bwana**<sup>8)</sup> (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 ceremony<sup>9)</sup>. 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 **bari**<sup>10)</sup> 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.

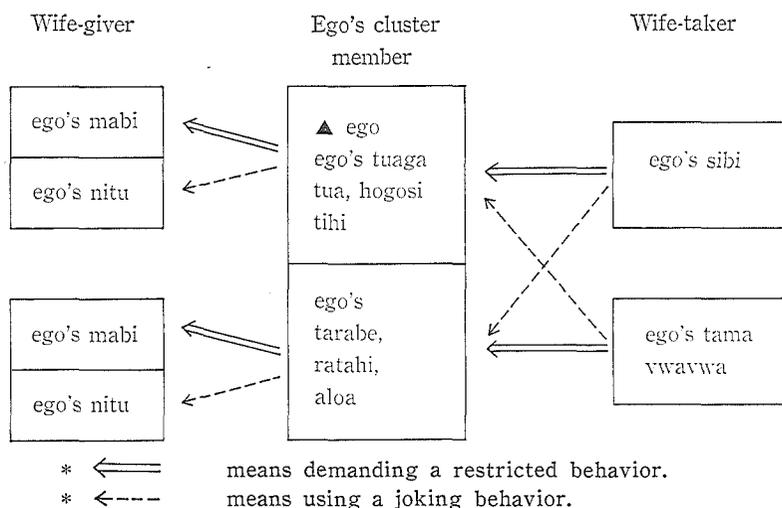


Figure XIII

## 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 atatun Tagaro<sup>1)</sup> ran matagu ram rovo, vavinen Tagaro ran gita atatun Bwatmahaña ram matagu ram rovo. Gaha tam gita boe sa toa ram dabovi tam beve be boe mwa lala sa toa mwa lala<sup>2)</sup>. Vavine nu lala sa lalagi<sup>3)</sup>. Gaha lalagi nu nogo lol taulu 1930. Aroaro Qwatnapni<sup>4)</sup> 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 maloinia. Kea mwa hav vinihi te ahoana ta kea mwa du<sup>5)</sup> lol ute vono<sup>6)</sup>, ahoana mwa bev huri lalai tuana<sup>7)</sup> gabe havana<sup>8)</sup>.
- 2) Tabi mai tasalana, Tabi vwate mai tasalana, kera raru vi tu ba bev huri la hala, ta vavine gairua ira tasalara raru vi tu lol ute vono. Tabi i Tabi raru vi av dulei ba liñiliñira<sup>9)</sup>, tasalara raru men mai ba helheloinira ba si mom bev huri tiri galia, ramuru av dulei vwate. Hage kunia ñan aben ira Bule. Ta lol taulu 1958 nu tavuha lol uloilua<sup>10)</sup> ata Melanesia ta Rome sigai radu<sup>11)</sup>. Binihira lol iha gairua keki Bule sa Tabi be bulenana i mabina<sup>12)</sup>. Bule atalun Tagaro, Tabi atalun Bwatmahaña, vavinera ramuru lala sa matagu garigi<sup>13)</sup>, boe i toa sa ginau rahu ñan ram lala sa ram matagu ñan garigi.

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- 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 relationship 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 liñiliñira**" 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 **liñiliñira** is 'to let them

## THE STORY OF RAGA

## Chapter 6

- 1) People help each other. But when women (of Bwatmahanga) see a man of Tagaro<sup>1)</sup> 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<sup>2)</sup>. Women are scared or **lalagi**<sup>3)</sup>. (The custom of **lalagi** finished in 1930. In Qwatnapni<sup>4)</sup> of Aroaro (the custom of) **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<sup>5)</sup> in the bush<sup>6)</sup>. Her husband talks with his brother<sup>7)</sup> who is his kin<sup>8)</sup>.
- 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<sup>9)</sup>, 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<sup>10)</sup> but it was not yet under Roman Catholicism<sup>11)</sup>. The meanings contained in these two names, Bule and Tabi, are **bulenana** and **mabina**<sup>12)</sup>. Bule is a line of Tagaro and Tabi is a line of Bwatmahanga. Women of Tabi and Bule are **lala** [scared] or **matagu** [afraid] (if we say it) today<sup>13)</sup>. Only living things such as a pig and a fowl are **lala** [scared] or **matagu** [afraid] (if we say it) today.

go'. Av **dulei** which is an idiomatic phrase is used when men who have finished talking say good-bye and turn their heads.

- 10) **Uloilua** 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 **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 **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 **bulenana** (one's **bulena**) and Tabi from **mabina** (one's **mabi**). I stated in the Introduction that when male ego marries his female **mabi**, her brothers become his **bulena**.
- 13) Recall the fact that in North Raga the custom of **lalagi** is extinct today.

3) Hāge silon lalagi, (1) vavine si hav uloi te ihan lalagina<sup>14</sup>), (2) si hav hae te amare aben lalagina<sup>15</sup>), (3) vavine si hav man te lalavua aben lalagina sa la vanuan lalagina, (4) vavine si hav sibweri te gete<sup>16</sup>) sa taña<sup>17</sup>) lalagina nu to mare ta mwa holoe gin bwatuna. Silo huri gida atamani. Sibimwa gabe taman ratahimwa, atamani dului aloan sibimwa, tihin sibimwa, tuan sibimwa<sup>19</sup>), ira hogosimwa vavine ram lalagi atalun<sup>18</sup>) sibimwa. Ta giḡo atamani gov lalagi ira atalun sibimwa kun keki, (1) gosav sibweri tehe bwatun ira sibimwa, (2) gosav ḡao te la gatiguna sosoria, (3) nu sabuga be gov sivu aben ira sibimwa. Be gom haraḡo gin sivumwa gov lai gari<sup>20</sup>) sa bari<sup>21</sup>) hano te kunia. Be sibimwa ratahiḡi<sup>22</sup>) gov lai bwana<sup>23</sup>) sa nitu boe.

4) Hāge silon lailai ginau lalai sibi be kea atatu binihi marahi be gamalin<sup>24</sup>) ratahimwa, imwan ratahimwa, lulun<sup>25</sup>) ratahimwa. Bwatun sibimwa kea nu binbinihi huri gitagoro didini ratahimwa la mahavana be kea tirigi. Gatigun sibimwa tanon meren ratahimwa<sup>26</sup>). Avoan garagara lol vigaigai-ana sa hihiriana gov vev masigi, gom beve be nam galau bwatun sibi kea atamani vi vev kunia. Ta vavine vi avgaragara kea vi veve gin bwatun sibi nam bev masigi. Hihiriana sa vigaigai-ana vi nogo. Atatu ram binihi masigi be wani nu vev masigi.

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14) Lalagina 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) Taña 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) Bari 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**<sup>14)</sup>; (2) She does not climb up near her **lalagi**<sup>15)</sup>; (3) A woman does not laugh uproariously near her **lalagi** or on the land of her **lalagi**; (4) A woman does not touch **gete**<sup>16)</sup> or **taña**<sup>17)</sup> 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<sup>18)</sup> 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**<sup>19)</sup>. 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 **gari**<sup>20)</sup> or **bari**<sup>21)</sup> or something like this (to him as a fine). If your **sibi** is a chief<sup>22)</sup>, you give (him) **bwana**<sup>23)</sup> 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**<sup>24)</sup> of your mother, a house of your mother, and a shelter<sup>25)</sup> 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<sup>26)</sup>. (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.

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22) **Ratahigi** is a man who reached the highest grade in the rank-taking system.

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)".

24) **Gamali** is a men's house. It is a symbol of political integration.

25) The meaning of **lulu** is 'a hole'. It is often used as a symbol of a place of refuge.

26) Recall that your **sibi** is the **tama** (father) of your **ratahi** (mother) in your cluster.

Tavaluna 7<sup>27)</sup>

1) Tata be tau<sup>28)</sup> sa tatalo. Mua be muai<sup>29)</sup>. Sibi be ibi. Sabuga<sup>30)</sup> mabi be gaiibi<sup>31)</sup>. Ahoaku be ahovwai<sup>32)</sup>. Tasalaku be halaku. Nituku be huku<sup>33)</sup>.

(1) Tata : Tatañan ginau gon taua sa vusin ginau gon taua, kea tau.

(2) Mua : Ginau ririgi ta gaituvwa gaivua alolora, kea tam bevea be muan ginau.

(3) Sibi : Gaiibin ginau marahi.

(4) Mabi : Gaiibin ginau marahi.

Avgaragara bwatuna kea binihi marahi lol iha gairua keki, nu sabuga, nu gogona. Gavgogona gov gania gov mate, galato nu gagasi, bwatinovu<sup>34)</sup> nu vovoro<sup>35)</sup>.

2) Lagia. Tasalaku be halaku vai aben taman tasalaku i ratahin tasalaku<sup>36)</sup>. Ahoaku be havwainiau. Ginau nu eno gom bevea be havwai goroe sa hogōia. Atamani mwa hogōi vavine gin non avoana muramura tagaro. Hogosiku be hogoi<sup>37)</sup>. Gairuan ginau be nitu vwalvwaliu<sup>38)</sup>. Atamani mai tuana vavine ramuru uloinira kunia. Tarabeku be tarabehina<sup>39)</sup> sa ginau

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27) In this chapter, the meaning of relationship terms is described. Such terms are *tata* (*tama* or *tamaḡu* if accompanied by the possessive particle in the first person singular), *mua* (*ratahi* or *ratahiku*), *sibi* (or *sibiku*), *mabi* (or *mabiku*), *ahoa* (or *ahoaku*), *tasala* (or *tasalaku*), *nituku* (or *nituku*), *hogosi* (or *hogosiku*), *tarabe* (or *tarabeku*), *aloha* (or *aloha*), *tuga* (*tuaga* or *tuagaku*), *tihi* (or *tihiku*), *bwaliga* (or *bwaligaku*), *bulena* (or *bulenaḡu*), *vwavwa* (or *bilak vwavwa*), 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 ibia* (*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.

Chapter 7<sup>27)</sup>

- 1) **Tata** is **tau** [to heap]<sup>28)</sup> or **tatalo** [to carry]. **Mua** is **muai** [first]<sup>29)</sup>. **Sibi** is **ibi** [to put a weight]. Sacred<sup>30)</sup> **mabi** is **gaiibi** [something to put a weight on]<sup>31)</sup>. **Ahoaku** is **ahovwai** [to cover]<sup>32)</sup>. **Tasalaku** is **halaku** [my road]. **Nituku** is **huku** [my water dropped from my body]<sup>33)</sup>.

- (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 **muau ginau** [the biggest one].
- (3) **Sibi** : Heavy **gaiibi** [weight] put on something.
- (4) **Mabi** : Heavy **gaiibi** [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) **gavgogona**, you will die. (A tree called) **galato** causes a rash. The stonefish<sup>34)</sup> makes one sick<sup>35)</sup>.

- 2) To marry. **Tasalaku** is **halaku** [my road] leading to the father of my wife and the mother of my wife<sup>36)</sup>. **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]<sup>37)</sup>. Its second meaning is 'one girl and one boy'<sup>38)</sup>. A man and his female sibling call each other in this way. **Tarabeku** is **tarabehina** [old one]<sup>39)</sup> 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 **vovoroi** as 'to make one sick'. **Vovoroi** 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 **tausala** (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) **Vwalvwaliu** means 'equally balanced'. Thus **nituvwalvwaliu** indicates a situation in which the male children and female children are equally balanced.
- 39) See footnote 42.

mwa do vai n̄ava kun dam tarabe, ihi tarabe, malogu tarabe<sup>40</sup>). Taraben ira aloai<sup>41</sup>) atamani. Damu hiv garana<sup>42</sup>), atamani hiv garana ira aloana gabe tuana vavine mwa haḡora. Raga sa Aroaro tarabe nu ririv bilan gai rivrivu niu lol tano lol ute loloara, boe, toa, ginau mwa do la imwana. Kea nu ḡol ira aloana gabe ira nitun tuana vavine. Bwatuna kea mwa beve be aloaku<sup>43</sup>).

- 3) Aloa sa aloaku. Binihiva be dalisi sa gadali, be tano non tarabena sa ririvuana bilan tatabena rai vora non aloai dului. Ginau dului nu dalisia mwa do lol gaitabena<sup>44</sup>). Tarabena nu dalis ḡoroe sa nu gadal ḡoroe. Be tarabera vi mate ta tanona non ira aloana, rav gitagoro tasalana mai ira nituna<sup>45</sup>). Tuga sa tuagaku. Binihiva be tuamua<sup>46</sup>) sa boega sa vuvuina sa gaihua sa lavoa, gai ririgi mwa du aten ramute gai gaihua kun mua n̄ano<sup>47</sup>). Tihi sa tihiku. Binihiva be tirigi<sup>48</sup>).

- 4) Bwali sa bwaligaku. Binihiva be ḡao, bwalgaona, raran gai dolua mwa wahainia la raran gai dolua ramuru du sosori atatu vi ḡao dum vai la vwate. Bule<sup>49</sup>) sa bulenagu be bubulusi sa gaibulu sa gai malbihu

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- 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* means '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 ira aloai* has the same meaning as that in *dam tarabe*, *ihi tarabe*, and *malogu tarabe*. Here *tarabe* is not used as a relationship term. It means 'old' or 'old one'. Therefore *taraben ira 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. The

[an old yam], **ihi tarabe** [an old banana], or **malogu tarabe** [an old kava]<sup>40)</sup>. **Taraben ira aloai**<sup>41)</sup> is a man. A yam grows downwards and makes a new yam<sup>42)</sup>. A man is in decay and leaves his **aloas** which his female sibling gives birth to. In Raga or Aroaro, **tarabe** plants his coconut trees in his plot and there are pigs, fowls and everything in his house. In this way, he prepares (everything) for his **aloas** who are the children of his female sibling. This is why he calls (those persons) **aloaku**<sup>43)</sup>.

- 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 **aloha**. Everything that the **tarabe** surrounded is a present to his **aloha**<sup>44)</sup>. The **tarabe** surrounds his **aloha** or encircles his **aloha**. If **tarabe** dies, his land will go to his **aloas** and they will look after his wife and his children<sup>45)</sup>. **Tuga** or **tuagaku**. Its meaning is **tuamua** [to stand first of all]<sup>46)</sup>, 'bigness', 'the most', 'big' or 'grand'. There are small trees under a banyan tree which is a big tree just like the mother<sup>47)</sup>. **Tihi** or **tihiku**. Its meaning is **tirigi** [small]<sup>48)</sup>.
- 4) **Bwaliga** or **bwaligaku**. Its meaning is **gao** [to pass or to span something with another thing] or **bwalgaona** [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**<sup>49)</sup> 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 **gara** is 'new'.

- 43) **Aloaku** in this context has two meanings. One is 'my **aloha** (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 **aloha** (sister's son)'. **Gaitabena** here also connotes 'preparing everything for his **aloha** (sister's son)'.
- 45) A widow often remarries a male member of her husband's cluster which is his **tarabe**, **tuaga**, **tua**, **tihi** or **aloha**. 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 **tihi** (younger brother or sister) is **nu tahihi** (**nu**=it, **tahihi**=to split unevenly).
- 49) In this context one should say not **bule** but **bulena** (wife's brother).

sa ihi bulu<sup>50</sup>). Atamani mwa bulus hogosina. Sibi nu bulus hogosiku sa sibi nu bulus ratahin mua gabe tuagaku vavine. Sibi nu laginia ramuru bav mua<sup>51</sup>). Atamani nu lagi vavine ta hogosin vavine kea atamani. Kea haġe bulenana. Vwavwa sa bilak vwavwa. Binihiva be vwavwan imwa gaituvwa, bilam vwavwa i tamamwa raru ririgi alolona gabe imwan tamara mai ratahira. Habwe sa habweku. Binihiva be vavine gairua ramuru siv habwehabwera alolon imwa gaituvwa gabe imwan ahoan hei ninira. Ta lalagiana amua.

- 5) Hava sa havaku be bwatumwa, limamwa, bwalagemwa, sa vataha movuvu-mwa ñoto. Kunia lalañan varan<sup>52</sup>) iha keki gabe ira atatu havamwa ñoto<sup>53</sup>). Atamani. Binihiva be wasi, muramura. Mani be manienie. Matavwen bwabwa nu manienie, niu tora alo mwa du aluna nu manienie<sup>54</sup>), ute tatagahari gov haġo gaisigo gov van dum aia. Manienie kea haġea atamani<sup>55</sup>). Vavine. Binihiva gairua. Vwate wasi maragai, vwate mwadamwada kun vinun ginau, kea vinu. Gov gitae kea tirigi gulina nu mwademdema, kea daulato<sup>56</sup>) rebehina nu maġemu, kea tabwalugu<sup>57</sup>) rebehina mwa buge boega, kea mwa lagi rebehina mwa waswasi, kea mwa ros atatu rebehina mwa huñeri, kea mwa haġo naturigi kea mwa mwademdema, kea vi haġo atatu vatolu kea mwa lai rebehi wasi nu muramura, kea men abena be men lai iha bwatmetuaga sa bwatbwatutu sa malañvatu<sup>58</sup>).

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50) **Gaibulu** is used when the trunk of one tree sticks to the trunk of another tree and they look like one tree. **Gaimalbihu** 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.

51) **Bav** means 'to bear'. In the case of an animal **bahuhu** (to breed) is used.

52) **Vara** means 'a matrilineal group' or 'a matrilineal relation'. See 'Social Organization' in Section I in the Introduction.

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.

54) Because it may fall down.

55) I am not sure whether **atamani** is composed of **atatu** [a person] and **manienie** [dangerous] or of **ata** [at some place] and **manienie**.

56) See footnote 58.

57) See footnote 58.

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 be-

**gaibulu**, **gaimalbihu** or **ihi bulu**<sup>50</sup>. A man sticks to the sister of his **bule-na**. (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<sup>51</sup>. 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 **habwehabwera** [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**<sup>52</sup> of a person called by this name are your **hava**<sup>53</sup>. **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<sup>54</sup>. In a slippery place, if you use a walking stick, you can pass there. (The word) **manienie** [dangerous] thus turns into (the word) **atamani**<sup>55</sup>. **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**<sup>56</sup>, her body becomes elastic ; when she becomes **tabwalugu**<sup>57</sup>, 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**)<sup>58</sup>.

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coming big). Some years later, she is called **daulato** (a juvenile). When she starts to menstruate, she is called **tabwalugu** (a youth). After marriage, she is usually referred to by the term **vavine** (a woman). When she becomes old and has white hair, she is called **bwatavwe** (an old one) or **bwatmetuaga** (a matured head) or **bwatbwatutu** (a stump) or **malañvatu** (a stone cave). When she becomes very old, she is called **tamaragai** (see next section).

- 6) Tamaragai be togo maragai. Binihiva be wani kea nu lai taulu ivusi 80 sa 90 sa 100. Nu maḡoreḡore. Rebehin non mwalagelo<sup>59)</sup> nu virugurugu<sup>60)</sup> vuvurininia kea mwa ḡolo<sup>61)</sup>. Ira ataluna<sup>62)</sup> ram haḡo maia n̄an gabe ira tihina maira aloana ram lai non tano, bilan ginau dului huba gi nora. Sobe nituna nu tabea mwa dogo kea tabetabe non tamana<sup>63)</sup>. Kea vi lol vuron tamana vi togo<sup>64)</sup>. Sobe be non ginau sigai, ira aloana sa ira tuana ram lol vuron tamana kea vi rahu nin tano non tamana.

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59) When a man is a baby, he is called **naturimemea** (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 **mwahiuboa** (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 **mwalangeo 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**<sup>59)</sup> fades away<sup>60)</sup> then it becomes wrinkled<sup>61)</sup>. His relations<sup>62)</sup> 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<sup>63)</sup>. Then he pays his father's debt and he stays (on the land of his father).<sup>64)</sup> 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.

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61) "**Mwa golo**" 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 **tabe** 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 contral 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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