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PACIFIC STUDIES

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OMENGEREDAKL: AESTHETICS OF SOUND AND VOCAL MUSIC IN PALAU

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Omengeredakl are group chants sung on the islands of Palau, West Micronesia. They stand out from the rest of the repertoire of Palauan vocal music because of certain musical features not found in other extant Palauan songs. The distinctly Palauan sound of this song type, and how this "audible locality" is manifested in song, has at times been used extensively in the localization of Self, and at times less so. The article argues that this has led to changes in the popularity of omengeredakl over the course of the last century.

AS IN MUCH OF MICRONESIA, the performing arts in Palau are not so much about creating a new composition or dance as they are about the act of performing and the resultant performance. Here, song and dance are first and foremost an affirmation of cultural roots, an affirmation disguised in (vocal) sound and body movement. By no means does this make the actual song and dance secondary; on the contrary, it fills both chant and choreography with a sense of cultural belonging that adds an aura of grandeur to every presentation of traditional performing arts.

Palau is the westernmost island group in Micronesia. About 500 miles southeast from the Philippine coast, the island group stretches about 370 miles from north to south covering an area that has a total land mass of 177 square miles and is currently home to a population of 21,000. When the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands evolved into the political landscape we know today, Palau opted not to join the Federated States of Micronesia and opted to become politically independent instead. This

political status was eventually achieved in 1994, closing the chapter on nearly a century of Spanish, German, Japanese, and American political control. Today, Palau's musical lore bears the remnants of the island nation's colonial history.[1] Some musical genres have completely fallen out of the repertoire; others have undergone significant transition. Still others have retained much of what seems to have been their musical essence prior to the colonial period. Such musical change is but one facet of an overall cultural shift. But when music changes, there is more at stake than the expression of the shifting images of individual and group identities; when music changes, the aesthetics of sound are in transition as well. This is not a straightforward process that momentarily affects the whole array of musical expression in a given culture; rather, transition in music tends to yield timely, tangible effects. This is why at any given point in time, some musical genres have persisted while others have not, and some song types have altered their musical language (instead of dying out) while others (perceivably) have remained stable.

Looking at musical phenomena through the lens of the cultural dynamics that have brought them about is vital for understanding the meaning(s) that sound carries. But looking back at precisely these cultural dynamics through the lens of musical aesthetics is equally necessary to grasp the complexities of the process by which music both expresses and reinforces cultural transition.

Frequency band singing is one aspect of Palauan musical aesthetics that has fundamentally shaped the Palauan understanding of the musical beauty of group singing, especially in the genre called *omengeredakl*.[2] Omengeredakl are still part of the contemporary Palauan vocal music repertoire today, but they have been losing popularity since the second half of the twentieth century. Interestingly, however, there have been attempts to revive this genre in recent years; this is a singular phenomenon in Palau. To understand this revival's nature and background, it is necessary to situate omengeredakl within the context of the Palauan culture as well as to analyze its musical features in some detail. This way, one is able to gain insights into the question of why omengeredakl have fluctuated in popularity during the last century.[3]

Omengeredakl, *Bóid*

The group chant omengeredakl is performed by a chorus with, ideally, two soloists and consists of a flexible sequence of four basically standardized structural units as well as an interpolated, spoken or recited passage. One of these four units is delivered by the entire chorus, and it is in this section that a frequency band is established by the singers. In music, a frequency band is a specific range of pitches in close vicinity sounding at the same time.

The development of such a sound band is brought about by the individual pitches changing, thus resulting in pitch variation within the upper and lower frequency limit of the sound band. Simply put, while a melody is a succession of pitches in time, a frequency band is the development of a pitch cluster in time. The frequency band lends form to this musical unit of omengeredakl; the changing upper and lower limits of this frequency band are such that the band is narrowed down at phrasal ends and in this way functions as a central marker of the musical structure.

Omengeredakl, as a word, implies that something is sung in a loud voice. Etymologically it is related to the nouns *kerredakl, keredekiil,* and *kerrekord.*[4] In a musical context, omengeredakl means "to begin a song."[5] The word *bóid,* on the other hand, often used interchangeably with omengeredakl in Palauan colloquial language, is related to the verb *omoid,* which means to "travel between places."[6] However, as a musical term, bóid refers to a specific genre dealing with travel-related content that is most often sung in the omengeredakl idiom. Thus, omengeredakl denotes a musical form, whereas bóid is a specific textual content. In this article, I shall therefore use the term bóid when referring only to textual content, and omengeredakl in other contexts.

Augustin Krämer, an anthropologist of the early twentieth century, observed in 1909 that bóid is a "song that is usually performed by three men, sung softly, and then picked up by the crowd."[7] Some bóid can indeed also be performed by an individual instead of a group (a group, in this context, means more than three persons). When performed by a single individual, however, the text is recited rather than sung, which, according to the Palauan conception, brings the musical item into an entirely different musical genre; it is no longer omengeredakl, but a solo chant.[8]

Traveling has a far-reaching, complex meaning in the Pacific. The word bóid not only relates to the physical movement of people in space, but also extends to anything that "takes you traveling around with this song"[9]—anything that makes the listener's imagination wander. Traveling in Palau inevitably means interacting with other communities, whether they are groups or individuals, and therefore, bóid implicitly or explicitly deal with the relationships between villages, clubs, and other communities.[10] As such, bóid "can be praising as well as teasing" of another person[11]; in either case, they directly address the opposite group or individual. Japanese anthropologist Hijikata, who did his research in Palau in the early 1940s, illustrates the metaphorical meaning of the word bóid: "If a man committed adultery, and people knew about it, someone would bring this hearsay to the *cheldebechel* (club), and a song would be composed about it. Everyone then sings this song and dances all over the village."[12] Here, it is the hearsay of adultery that is "traveling." In keeping with such an open interpretation, bóid is also described as a "popular rumor-song."[13]

Omengeredakl are still considered a decisive part of Palauan lore today, even though they are mainly within the cultural knowledge of the elder generation. Community elders even make efforts to revitalize omengeredakl singing by deliberately putting it on the programs of local cultural fairs because, according to them, omengeredakl have been underrepresented on such occasions in recent decades. Their popularity has declined indeed.[14] Unlike most other genres of evolved Palauan traditional music,[15] however, new bóid were composed until at least the 1950s. One of the most popular bóids in today's Palau was composed as late as the end of World War II by people from the southern island of Peleliou who had been transferred to the more northern Airai State. When they returned to their island, they offered this bóid as a token of gratitude to the people of Airai, whom they thanked for their support and hospitality.[16] This story illustrates that until the end of World War II, the genre was not only an active part of culturally prescribed behavior, but had also maintained its function within the social fabric of Palauan society.

Krämer calls bóid/omengeredakl "dance songs," a term that might place too much emphasis on the dance component: "During the dance song bóid everybody gets up, merely in order to clap their hands on their thighs."[17] As far as performance is concerned, historical descriptions and contemporary performances are in accord: one performer, also acting as a prompter (see musical analysis below) who inserts spoken phrases between the remaining parts of an omengeredakl, usually claps his hands at prescribed points, and underlines the lyrics by means of gestures and dance movements. Other singers may join in by clapping their hands. While gestures may play a role, body movement seems to be optional today. As one of my Palauan interlocutors described it: "[omengeredakl] are sung by a group: the leader explains the verses, and one person 'deviates' from the group, keeping the rhythm. The leader starts the chant; the 'paddlers' continue the chant—this is the crowd, at least four people—and then there is the person who departs from the main melody."[18] So distinct functions exist within the group that delivers the omengeredakl. In Palauan terminology, the *melemotem* prompts or "explains" the song texts in between the formal units of the omengeredakl; the *meruchodl* is the singer who, as a soloist, begins the sung section of an omengeredakl; the *esbe* is a "counterpart" singer (the "one person who departs from the main melody")[19]; the *melikes* is the chorus leader; and the *rokui* is the chorus itself. Melemotem, meruchodl, esbe, and melikes are referred to as the *lebuchel*, the "leaders."[20]

The melemotem primarily serves to call the lyrics to everybody's mind. To do so, the melemotem recites the upcoming text lines in full length in between the formal units; the line is then taken up by the chorus (there

may be slight temporal overlapping between recited and sung text). The melemotem is then followed by the meruchodl, who starts the sung part of the omengeredakl by singing the respective stanza's first line.

Melikes means "to speak (i.e., words of song which others will sing in response)."[21] This word actually is part of canoeing vocabulary; its narrow meaning is "to pole (a canoe)." This metaphor neatly depicts the melikes' function: to guide the "crew" or chorus through the "water" of the musical fabric.

The word esbe, related to Palauan *mengesb*, describes the lunar constellation during which the moon stands right in the center of the sky. This word is applied to the solo part of omengeredakl because its "sound is almost like the moon up there,"[22] a phrasing that nicely mirrors the Palauan notion of tonal space. Interestingly, the term also means "to sing out of tune,"[23] which, in Palauan does not carry the negative connotation that this expression has in English, as it is the kind of "out of tune" that allows for the establishment of the genre's core characteristic, the frequency band. Based on the term's distinct musical significance, another lexical meaning of the word esbe is "to sing 'with an especially high-pitched voice' as the only person in the group."[24] The esbe is an important part of omengeredakl singing: it significantly shapes the musical form, as I will show shortly. Even if the esbe function is not delivered, however, the piece is still distinguishable to the Palauan listener as omengeredakl.[25]

(El) Rokui, finally, simply means "all of them,"[26] and in the context of omengeredakl, the chorus. The choristers usually join in *un à un:* there is no clear-cut "chorus entry" that would further underline the demarcation of the formal units. This leads to a gradual build-up of a frequency band rather than to its instantaneous emergence.[27]

Musical Form

Omengeredakl consist of a flexible sequence of four roughly standardized structural units plus the interpolated, spoken, or recited melemotem passages. The melodic progression of the four units (A, B, C, D) generally follows a scheme that is roughly uniform throughout one piece but that may differ to some degree among different performances. In any case, the contours of the phrases maintain their recognizability across different performances. One omengeredakl recording will be analyzed in some detail below in order to illustrate the musical nature of this genre.

Figure 1 is a transcription of an omengeredakl that was recorded in 2005.[28] It was sung by three elderly women, the lowest possible number of singers in an omengeredakl. This partly accounts for the fact that in this recording

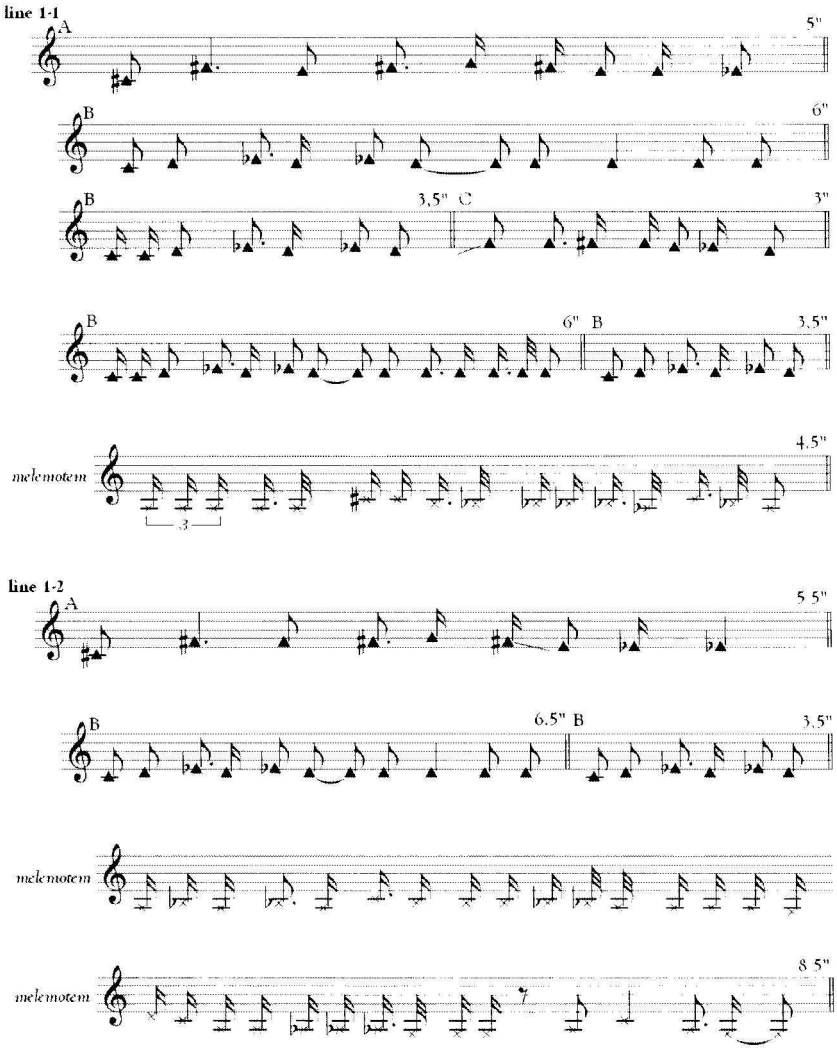

FIGURE 1. **Transcription of an omengeredakl recorded in 2005 (Abels 2008, 54). Ibau Demei Oiterong, Ilong Rubasch Isaol, Magdalena Demek Towai, singers.**

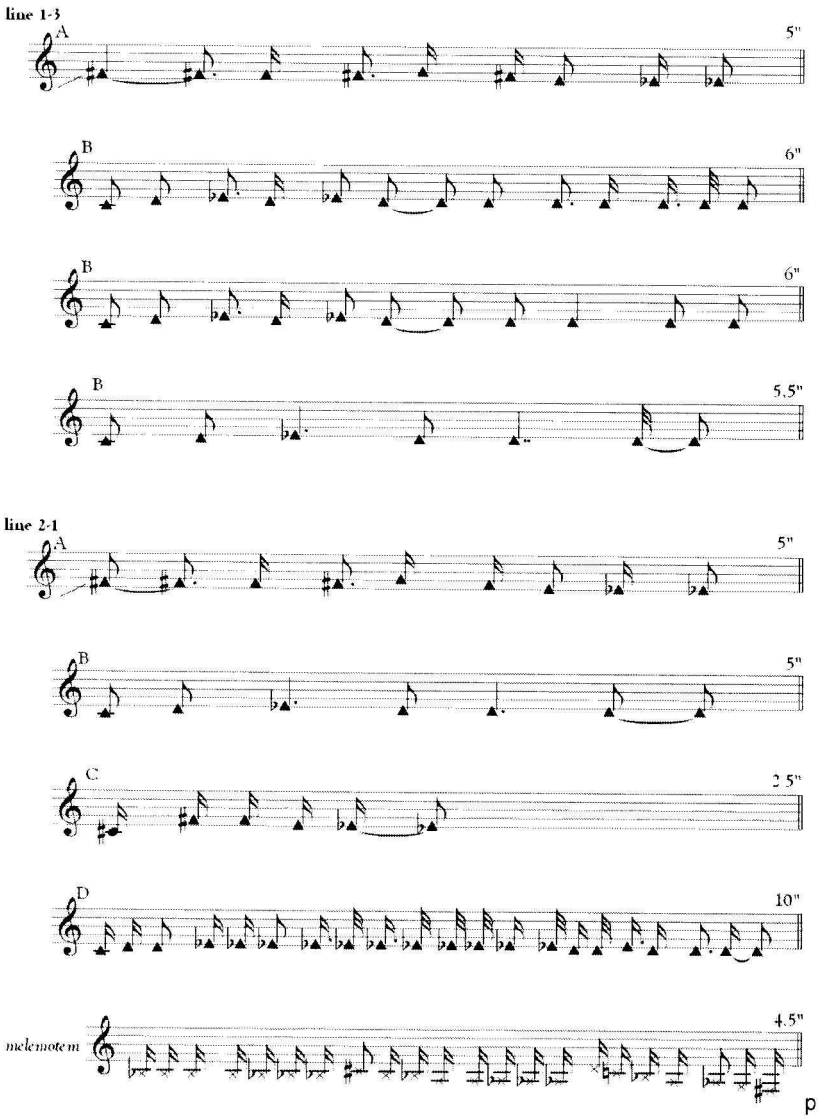

FIGURE 1. **Continued**

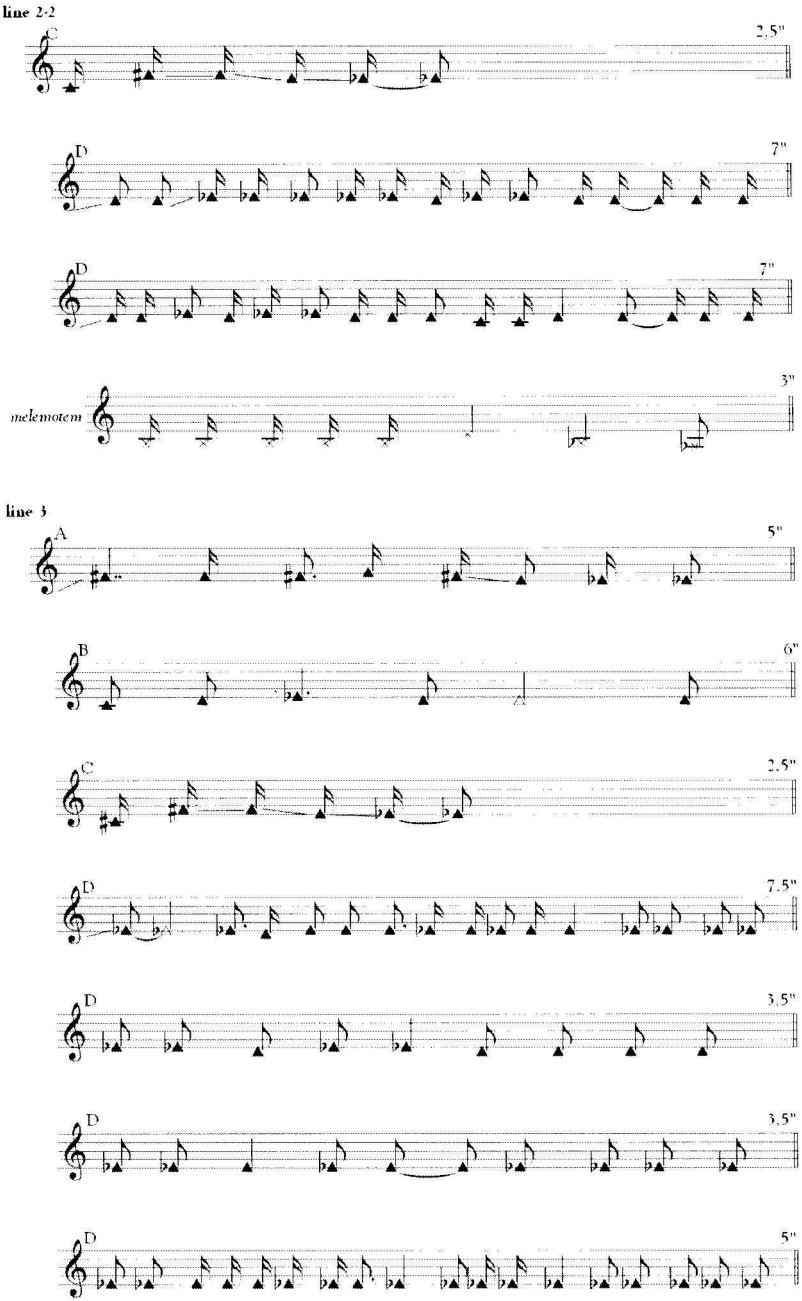

FIGURE 1. **Continued**

the role of the esbe is nearly absent; another arguably more decisive reason for eliminating the esbe is the growing unfamiliarity with the omengeredakl repertory in contemporary Palau, which might have instilled a feeling of insecurity about musical and/or textual details even among these singers, who are widely considered specialists in bóid repertory. With the vanishing of performance spaces, even specialists' knowledge is diminishing.

This omengeredakl has the following structure:

(line 1-1) A B B C B B
[melemotem: spoken intersection]
(line 1-2) A B B
[melemotem: spoken intersection]
(line 1-3) A B B B
(line 2-1) A B C D
[melemotem: spoken intersection]
(line 2-2) C D D
[melemotem: spoken intersection]
(line 2-3) A B C D D D D

All phrases of this bipartite piece form rhythmically closed units, and they are separated by a short break. The rhythmic pulse accelerates and decelerates permanently in the course of the piece to an extent that cannot be captured in staff notation. Melodically, this omengeredakl displays general characteristics of the Palauan musical language such as the undulating melodic structure typical of pitch progression in Palauan music in phrases A, B, and D and the descending *melos*, which is approached from below at the outset in phrase C.

Phrase D is the core element of the final formula of omengeredakl. This function accounts for its nonsyncopic, beat-oriented rhythmic structure, which stands in contrast to the rhythmic designs of phrases A and B. Giving room to increased vocal accentuation and rhythmic acceleration, it allows for the piece's tension to culminate toward the end. A decisive means of achieving this climax is the *stretta* architecture of the inner tempo, which for the last four D phrases of the music shown in Figure 1 amounts to 128, 154, 154, and 308 (i.e., the inner tempo of the fourth D phrase is double that of the second and third D phrases).

The spectrum of the inner tempo for this musical example is shown in Table 1.

Phrases A and C are relatively stable in the absolute temporal design when compared with the durational compass of phrases B and D. Owing to fluctuations in tempo, their minimum and maximum inner tempos are in both cases 24 beats per minute apart, which equals 0.4 beats per second.

TABLE 1. **Inner tempo of the 2005 omengeredakl.***

Formal Unit	Spectrum of Absolute Duration	Spectrum of Inner Tempo
Phrase A	4.5–5	96–120
Phrase B	3–6.5	60–140
Phrase C	2.5	120–144
Phrase D	3.5–10	120–154; concluding phrase D: 308
Melemotem section	3–8.5	160–280

* Accuracy of measurement is 0.5 seconds.

With the exception of the penultimate line, which is the opening unit of the final movement, all lines commence with phrase A followed by phrase B. In general, AB is a typical line opening in omengeredakl, but it is not necessarily used as continuously as it is in this instance. Another characteristic feature of omengeredakl evident in this example is the tendency to use unit D where unit B was used in the earlier stanzas of a song; this usually occurs in the second half. All items in the corpus finish on D, and the stretta repetition of D at the end is also characteristic of the genre. These characteristics are all handled flexibly; e.g., B does surface in the concluding lines, and first halves do contain D in places, even if the majority of performances show a different structure.

The aspect distinguishing omengeredakl from all other genres in Palauan music is the rendition of the chorus' part in a heterophonic way that can only remotely be captured in conventional staff notation: this is the frequency band. It makes use of the specific possibilities inherent in group singing. While the actual melody as notated in the examples serves as a point of reference to all choristers, usually only one singer actually follows it. The remaining vocalists, with the exception of the esbe, literally fill out the vertical tonal space surrounding this melodic point of reference within a roughly defined scope. By producing pitches within the immediate vicinity of the main melody's pitch they establish the frequency band, which yields the characteristic sound effect of omengeredakl.

The esbe (not featured in the example shown in Fig. 1), entering either roughly on beat with the chorus or with a slight time displacement, then proceeds to add another vocal part to the thick musical texture, which usually commences on a pitch spectrum above that employed by the chorus. In the following example, the esbe melody slowly descends in pitch toward the phrasal ends, while the chorus remains around the established frequency band. Within a phrase, therefore, the esbe and chorus parts slowly converge.

As the esbe part draws nearer in pitch to the chorus in the course of the musical phrase, it adds to the frequency band's narrowing upper contours.

Usually, two descending melodic esbe phrases occur per formal unit. In this regard, the esbe part may be viewed as a quasidiminution of the chorus' unit that occurs solely on the level of musical form and does not affect the (inner) tempo. The end of the first esbe phrase is an interior phrase conclusion. The final movement of the phrase differs from this interior phrase conclusion in that the chorus also narrows the frequency band, in addition to the esbe approaching its part in pitch. An interior phrase conclusion in omengeredakl is therefore signified by converging contours of the frequency band and the concurrently maintained tonal friction generated by a frequency band stable in contours. However, in the final formula, the frequency band is narrowed down to a width that is perceived by the listener as a distinct (and consonant) pitch and no longer as a dense frequency band.

This way, the development of tonal friction is used as a marker of musical form, since it defines the shape of those musical phrases in which the chorus takes part. Figures 2–4 illustrate this by showing the development of spectral density in the course of single chorus phrases in an omengeredakl recorded in 1963.[29]

Clearly, the musical development focuses on the vertical dimension of sound. All three diagrams show the final narrowing of the frequency band, which by establishing a small plateau of narrow frequency range at the phrasal end brings the phrase to its conclusion.

Figures 5–7 show a visual of the same parameter with respect to another recording prepared in 2005.[30]

Representative of the other items in the corpus, the figures show that this musical characteristic is a constant in diachronical comparisons of omengeredakl singing. Unlike recording 1, there is an esbe singer in the second recording. Her part is notated in small staff. Some additional general characteristics of esbe parts that are illustrative of omengeredakl can be pointed out in this example:

1. The esbe part may fall below the chorus' melodic line.
2. While in omengeredakl, there tends to be no descending melos in the chorus' melodic lines, the esbe phrases proceed in a descending course. Given the vertical orientation of sound development as described earlier, the overall sonic impression is therefore that of a descending melos in spite of the chorus part's nondescending melodic contours.
3. In all other genres of Palauan vocal music, one descending melodic line normally matches one formal unit. In omengeredakl, on the other hand, a two-phrased esbe part matches one chorus phrase. This is

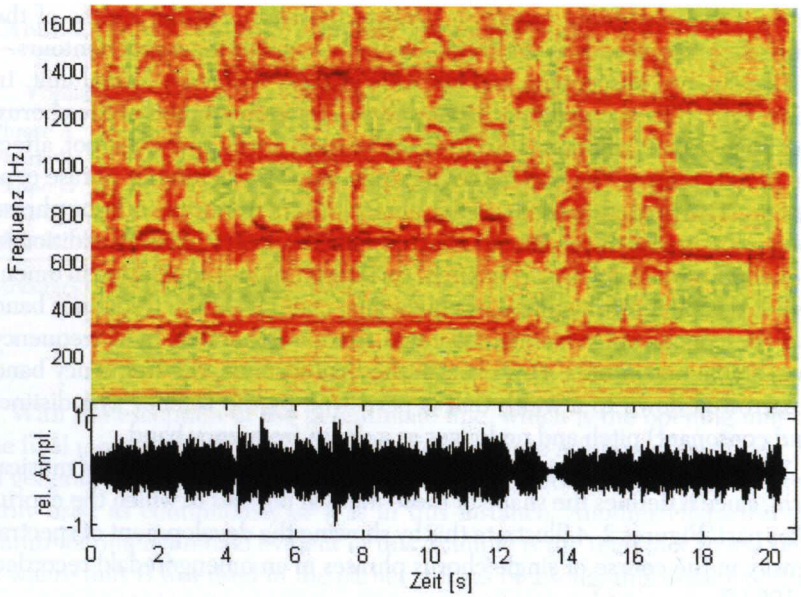

FIGURE 2. **Spectrogram of phrase 8 of recording Smith I-2. Frequenz indicates frequency; rel. Ampl., relative amplitude; Zeit, time.**

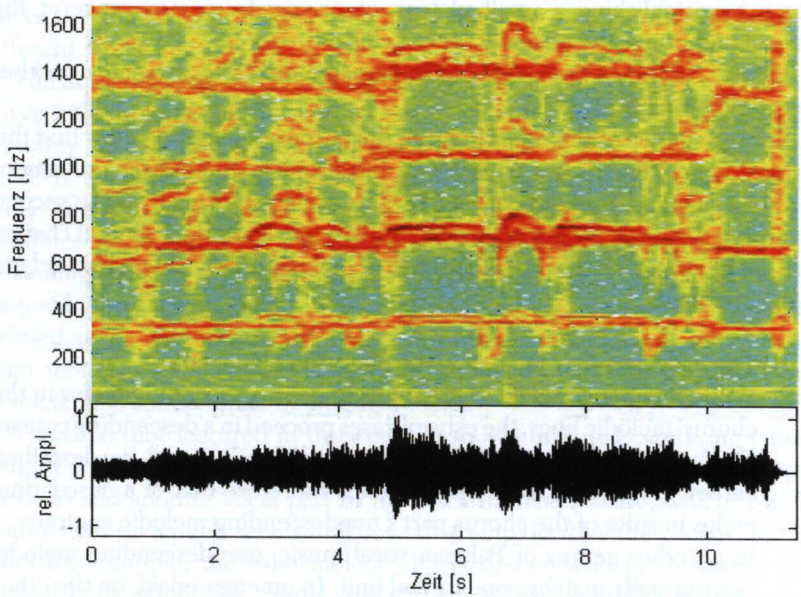

FIGURE 3. **Spectrogram of phrase 9 of recording Smith I-2.**

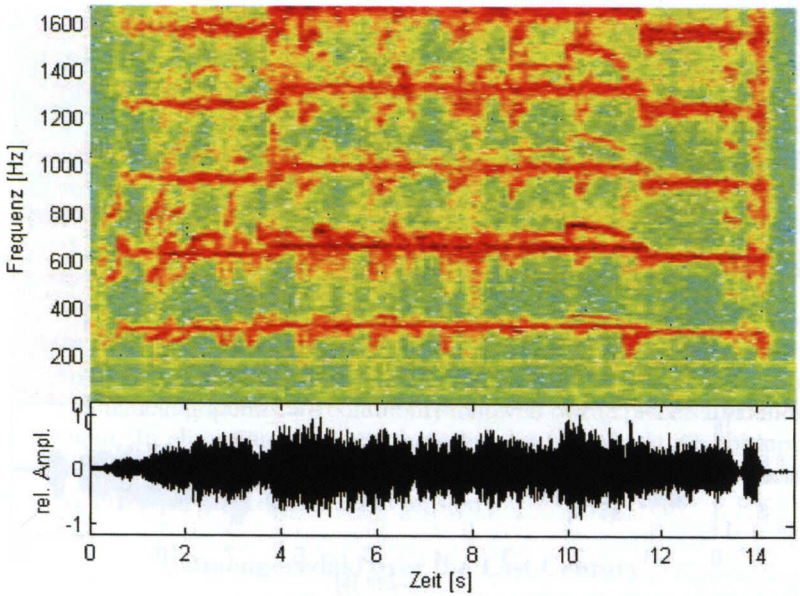

FIGURE 4. **Spectrogram of phrase 17 of recording Smith I-2.**

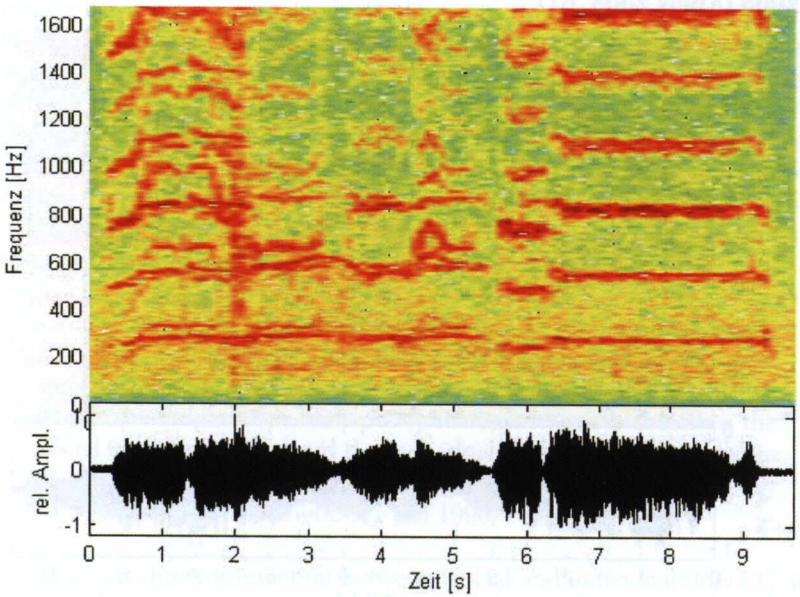

FIGURE 5. **Spectrogram of phrase 2 of a keredekiil recorded in 2005 (Abels 2008, 61).**

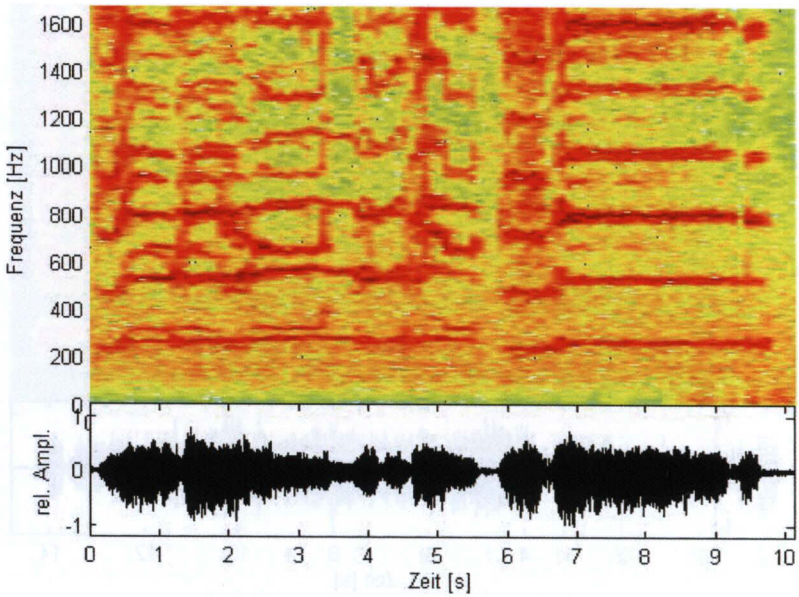

FIGURE 6. **Spectrogram of phrase 4 of a keredekiil recorded in 2005 (Abels 2008, 61).**

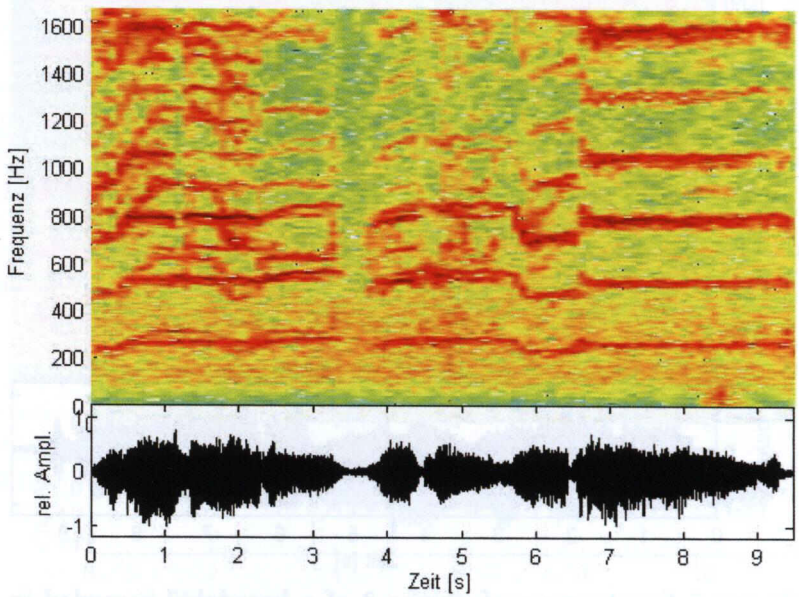

FIGURE 7. **Spectrogram of phrase 6 of an omengeredakl recorded in 2005 (Abels 2008, 61).**

possible because the final musical development mainly focuses on the development of the frequency band, i.e., that of tonal friction, instead of punctual melodic evolution. This shows that in Palauan singing, a marker of musical form in one genre, such as descending melos, can be assigned different functions in a different context where the respective original function is fulfilled by another musical parameter.

4. During the course of the exploration of tonal space, intervals larger than a major second usually appear in the context of musical densification only, i.e., when a piece is leading to a dramatic climax. In omengeredakl, an acceleration of a rhythmic pulse also serves this end. In such a context, pitch distances between esbe and the chorus' frequency band's reference pitch as large as a fourth may occur. Such dramatic highpoints are commonly followed by the piece's final movement. In climaxing passages, the esbe also tends to stress the upper tonal center much more than in the rest of the piece, which also serves as a means to increase musical tension.

Omengeredakl over the Last Century

Over the course of the last century, omengeredakl singing's musical characteristics have been maintained. At the same time, the genre's popularity during the same time period has experienced remarkable ups and downs. Other genres of Palauan music have declined in popularity, or changed on the level of musical form and content, and the somewhat wavy history of omengeredakl's popularity over time is a singular phenomenon in Palau. Evidently, it is connected with ongoing identity construction in and through musical transformation and stability in Palau over this time period.

Music is performance in flux; at the same time, it is a site for the sounding, yet unobtrusive, negotiation of Self. Put a different way,

> identity is *mobile*, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being; [. . .] our experience of music—of music making and music listening—is best understood as an experience of this *self-in-process*. Music, like identity, is both performance and story, describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind; identity, like music, is a matter of both ethics and aesthetics. (Frith 1996, 109)

There is a direct interaction between (social and individual) identity and music-making practices. Because of the necessarily dynamic nature of the former, the latter can be looked upon as one expression among several of the discursive status quo, a snapshot of a perpetual development. Music "isn't a

way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them" (Frith 1996, 111). As such, it is inextricably linked with several conceptual categories and parameters of the individual's way of thinking, all of which relate to the imagination of Self in its diachronical and spatial environment. This linkage, in turn, bonds the individual as well as the community with the sonic item, and different musical modes of expressing ideas produce different statements of musical identity.

Some of the various constructions of identity that find expression in Palauan music exclude and repudiate the Other by musically incorporating it. At the same time, they tend to maintain a very local essence on those levels that have always been of primal importance to the Palauan concept of the performing arts: function and message. The solo chant *chesols* provides an example for this.[31] Omengeredakl, on the other hand, have displayed stability in musical form and content; the frequency band is a constant in both historical and contemporary omengeredakl performances. This is in spite of its clear incompatibility with both the Japanese and the Euro-American musical languages, which have been important musical idioms for the most significant musical transformations in Palau since World War I, including the afore-mentioned example of chesols. Other song types in Palau have adjusted to suit changing tastes over time; omengeredakl, however, have not. Instead, they have been declining in popularity since around World War I, but they never completely dropped out of the Palauan repertoire as other genres have, including the only other known genre that made use of sound band singing, the funeral chant *kelloi cheldolm*. From the mid-1990s onward, conscious efforts have been made to preserve this musical genre. One must ask why.

Frequency band singing requires a specific sense of the vertical space in music, a sense that is innate to Palauan (evolved) traditional music. It is a performative technique requiring a Palauan conception of the organization of tonal material and yields a distinctly Palauan sonic effect. A Palauan artisan described the essence of the Palauan arts by saying that the "Palauan artist or craftsman expresses his esthetics—and his viewers recognize it—in the excellence of his craftsmanship [. . .]."[32] This perspective can be seen in the performing arts in the emphasis placed on the performative beauty of frequency band singing. In displaying his performance skills, the Palauan chanter aims to demonstrate "the excellence of his craftsmanship," which complements his knowledge of the chant's words and its proper context. Add to this the functional component of chants, and musical aesthetics can be said to legitimize the chanter as well as his definition of what is "proper" in the given context. In this subtle way, his "craftsmanship" becomes inseparable from the context and purpose of the chant—from the significance of a statement disguised by singing in a given situation.

I argue that chants, including omengeredakl, have become a resource for the expression of various agendas, and "a sometimes potent ideological weapon in contemporary political action aimed at furthering sectional interests."[33] The seeming contradiction in Pacific constructions of identity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is the focus on continuity with yesterday's (imagined) lifeworlds while identities are reconstituted in order to retie the Self within rapidly changing circumstances. Chants could become, in other words, a resource in the articulation of identifications in the present and the future because they sound undeniably local. Sounding local, however, was regarded as important in varying degrees in the course of the last century. In contemporary Palau, the sound of chant is the evocation of age-old knowledge; the act of chanting is the implementation of rightful authority (Abels 2008; Yamaguchi 1967). The construction and consolidation of power structures, as well as the individual's place within them, has always been the main purpose of chants, including omengeredakl, and therefore they are very much capable of localizing Self by communicating a sense of predisposed continuity and a cultural raison d'être.

The local is not a hotly contested space in Palau, but the localization of Self, by its very nature, is. More than any other realm of culture, music, and especially chanting in Palau, provides the space to assert its role in global society. Even though the musical specifics of omengeredakl may not have been regarded as anywhere near vital for Palauan culture during the last century, they are a "constitutive feature of modern subjectivity"[34] today. In being performed, they make the intangible concept of local identity very real. The apparent contradiction in Pacific constructions of identity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is in the perceived incompatibility between the concern with preserving continuity with yesterday's (imagined) lifeworlds, and the reconstitution of cultural identities in order to appropriately locate the communal Self within rapidly changing circumstances. In this environment, chants may become a resource that enables articulation of the past, present, and future cultural identities because of their undeniably local sound. The performance of chants renders the intangible concept of local identity very real. By involving language, gestures, and desires in performance, "music gives us a real experience of what the ideal could be."[35] At the same time, the patina[36] of the chants, the nostalgia attached to them, remains prominent and holds legitimizing power, but the contemporary function of chants of evoking a nostalgic yearning for an imagined past does not make them sonic museum pieces. On the contrary, the transient meanings that Palauan chants convey are multilayered and multivocal, as several voices at a time express differing and individual constructions and interpretations of cultural identity. The sonic signifier "chant," in a broad sense, has

retained an important place in Palauan culture. In the precolonial context, the signified was relatively static, but in the contemporary context, it is dynamic. Omengeredakl's functional flexibility in combination with its idiomatic, patina-laden stability has allowed an old genre to be filled with new meaning—meaning that is generated by the circumstances of the contemporary world, as collectively and individually perceived. Omengeredakl allow both performer and listener to (re)construct an imagined continuity with the ideational cultural constant "chant." They give to the listener different identities by placing these styles in contemporary contexts, giving us a "real experience of what the ideal could be" (Frith 1996).

NOTES

1. See Abels (2008).

2. This article is based on my doctoral fieldwork and recording activity in Palau from 2005 to 2007, my subsequent doctoral thesis (see Abels 2008), and analyses of twelve additional historical recordings (dating from between 1909 and 1965; a description of these collections can be found in Abels 2008). The words omengeredakl and bóid can be both singular and plural.

3. See endnote 14.

4. The labels keredekiil and kerrekord, which are also often applied to omengeredakl items, refer to a mode of performance. In everyday conversation, the terms bóid, keredekiil, and kerrekord are more common than omengeredakl, and they are sometimes used interchangeably (Tosko Sehat, Belsechel Philip, Victoria Johanes, Uodelchad Krai, Ibul Rechelbang, Matsko Omengkau, Oribech Josep, Vicenta S. Olkeriil, Masako Mongami, Kiyoko Sumang, pers. comm., February 18, 2005; Ibau Demei Oiterong, Ilong Rubasch Isaol, Magdalena Demek Towai, pers. comm., February 23; Idip Ngiratiou, Rikel Moses, Vicenta Idip, pers. comm., February 27, 2005). Compare Yamaguchi (1967), who does not list omengeredakl as a musical form, but describes bóid, keredekiil, and kerrekord as separate, nonrelated musical genres.

5. Ibau Demei Oiterong, Ilong Rubasch Isaol, Magdalena Demek Towai, pers. comm., February 23, 2005. Translator: Nancy Wong, Koror

6. Josephs (1990, 260).

7. "[. . .] gewöhnlich von drei Mann leise gesungen, dann von der Menge aufgenommen [. . .]" Krämer (1929, 297).

8. Then the musical form is usually *chesols*. Informant A, pers. comm., March 18, 2005.

9. Informant A, pers. comm., March 18, 2005.

10. Palau Society of Historians (2002, 27); Parmentier (1987, 98).

11. Palau Society of Historians (2002, 27).

12. Hijikata (1993, 196).

13. Hijikata (1993, 196).

14. Wilhelm Rengiil, one of my interlocutors, expressed this view (pers. comm., February 14, 2005). There are no extant statistics that prove or disprove this impression; however, it was shared by all Palauans I talked to about omengeredakl. Also, with all due caution, the occurrence of omengeredakl in the various recordings over time (mine notwithstanding) may be taken as indicative of this development: 1 of 4 recordings from the Hamburg South Seas Expedition recordings from 1909 was an omengeredakl (25 percent); so were five (or 10.4 percent) recordings from the 1936 Siemer collection (stored at the Phonogram Archives, Berlin); six recordings from the 1963 collection of Barbara B. Smith (the recordings of which fill six audio CDs); 4 of 12 (or 33.3 percent) items published by the Bureau of Arts and Culture in 2002, Koror; and four recordings prepared by myself. Further information on all of these collections can be found in Abels (2008).

15. The term "evolved traditional" in the sense I am using it here is based on the definition by Kaeppler (1992, 314 ff.). In Kaeppler's use, "evolved traditional" art forms are those that are in "continuation of traditional art (for example, as it was recorded at the time of European contact) that has evolved along indigenous lines, retaining its indigenous basic structure and sentiment." In identifying musical structure and sentiment as constants, Kaeppler uses the term in order to prevent music that has been incorporating nonstructural changes (such as pitch and timbre variations) from being categorically distinguished from their precontact forms, while at the same time pointing out that a perceivable difference from earlier forms does exist. Such differences need qualification in each individual case. But music is also a signifying practice, and the sentiment attached to both signifiers and signified is highly contextual, and therefore not unaffected by changes in its social environment. Therefore, I am using the term in a broader sense; evolved traditional music, in my usage, describes musical genres that may display tangible sonic deviances from earlier forms as well as developments in the conceptualization (including Kaeppler's "sentiment") of certain genres or sound events, while being identified by Palauans themselves as standing "in continuation of traditional art." Any developments in sonic result and sentiment have to be described in due detail in each case. For an earlier usage of the term "traditionally evolved," see Bailey (1978, 12).

16. Riosang Salvador, pers. comm., February 15, 2005.

17. "Beim Tanzgesang bóid steht alles nur auf, um unter Händeklatschen sich auf die Schenkel zu schlagen." Krämer (1926, 317). Krämer associates bóid with the "hand-clapping dances" "malagolei" and "iangsól."

18. Riosang Salvador, pers. comm., February 15, 2005.

19. It seems that there has been a tendency in Palau to assign the esbe part to exceptionally high-pitched male voices whenever such voice qualities are available. Although apparently there were few such voices, these men were sought after and considered capable of delivering the esbe part particularly well. Informant A, pers. comm., January 19, 2006.

20. Palau Society of Historians (2002, 21).

21. Josephs (1990, 163).

22. Informant A, pers. comm., January 18, 2006.

23. Josephs (1990, 179); informant A, pers. comm., January 18, 2006.

24. Josephs (1990, 179).

25. As a matter of fact, in contemporary omengeredakl singing, which has become a rare event, the esbe part is sometimes omitted for want of skilled singers or sufficient familiarity with the repertoire.

26. See Josephs (1990, 190, 293).

27. In the musical example shown in Figure 1, the chorus part has been notated in a manner implying pitch-distinct realization. However, the melodic line is inevitably rendered as a frequency band rather than a sequence of distinct pitches, which is the main constituent of the characteristic Palauan group singing.

28. Recording Abels 54.

29. Barbara B. Smith, recording 2 from CD I (digitized version of reel-to-reel recordings from her 1963 Palau fieldwork). Pacific Collection, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. For further details on these acoustical analyses, see Abels and Braasch (2006).

30. Recording Abels 61.

31. See Abels (2008, 228 ff.).

32. Ramarui (1980, 8).

33. Tonkinson (2000, 169).

34. Appadurai (1996, 3).

35. Frith (1996, 123).

36. "Patina" has been defined by Grant McCracken (1988) as referring to that trait of goods, items, and practices through which their age becomes indicative of their high position in existing value structures. "The patina of objects takes on its full meaning only in a proper context, of both other objects and spaces for these assemblies of objects and persons who know how to indicate, through their bodily practices, their relationships to these objects" (Appadurai, 1996, 75).

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INDIGENOUS INFORMANTS OR SAMOAN SAVANTS? GERMAN TRANSLATIONS OF SAMOAN TEXTS IN *DIE SAMOA-INSELN*

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Most studies of Samoan culture and language published since 1900 rely on Augustin Krämer's seminal ethnography *Die Samoa-Inseln*. It is unusual for a scholarly work to become so accepted and beloved by an indigenous people, but Samoans hand down copies of *Die Samoa-Inseln* from generation to generation. They particularly prize the extensive Samoan language texts that appear side by side with their German translations. However, an analysis of Krämer's personal diaries reveals that his grasp of the Samoan language was at best rudimentary. I suggest that the German translations instead reflect the efforts of highly sophisticated Samoan informants who had a complete grasp of the chiefly rhetoric of Samoa as well as a strong working knowledge of the German language.

AUGUSTIN KRÄMER IS CONSIDERED the foremost student of Samoan culture. His monumental two-volume work, *Die Samoa-Inseln* (1902, 1903), is considered by both Samoan and non-Samoan scholars alike to be the most authoritative work written on Samoan ethnology (Freeman 1983, 285). Key to the scholarly stature of *Die Samoa-Inseln* is Krämer's mastery of intricate and detailed Samoan texts. Krämer's ear for spoken Samoan was unequalled by foreign visitors. His transcriptions of kava speeches, proverbs, genealogies, funeral customs, and the structure of ancient Samoan polities, legends, and performances that fill the pages of *Die Samoa-Inseln* are deeply appreciated by the Samoan people, who are astonished that a foreigner could attain such a deep knowledge of their chiefly rhetoric.

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There are two possible competing hypotheses for Augustin Krämer's understanding of Samoan language and culture. Perhaps Krämer indeed had an intricate knowledge of the nuances of spoken and written Samoan, including chiefly Samoan. Alternatively, perhaps Krämer recruited sympathetic Samoans to ghostwrite the Samoan texts in *Die Samoa-Inseln* and to assist him with their translation into German. I suggest that the key to resolving these two competing hypotheses is a close textual analysis of Krämer's personal unpublished diaries. In order to address these issues and the significance of Krämer's ethnographic study of the Samoan islands, it is important to understand the cultural template of Samoa before European contact and the cultural and political dynamism of Samoa after European contact, prior to Krämer's first visit for a German trading company.

Samoa before European Contact

Social stratification in Polynesian societies varied in degrees and was not dependent on duration of human development or time of colonization of a certain island or atoll. Samoa and Tonga, the earliest Polynesian islands to be colonized according to archeological evidence of Lapita pottery as well as linguistic evidence, were at very different levels of social stratification at the time of first European contact. The Tongan empire was ruled by a single king (*Tui*) and a linked spiritual leader (*hau*), while Samoa was ruled by warring chiefdoms, although ethnohistorical evidence suggests episodic political consolidation by deified female chiefs (Nafanua, Salamasina). Though each archipelago and islet society was of course unique, scholars classify different Polynesian societies into three basic categories of societal stratification: traditional, open, and stratified (Kirch 1984: 31–34).

Traditional Polynesian societies, which occurred in places such as Pukapuka or Futuna, showed little stratification. Though conical clans were headed by ambilateral chiefs, the role of these chiefs in society was minimal and nonreligious and had no bearing on political or military activities. The next level of stratification in Polynesian societies, Sahlins (1958) suggests (as reported in Kirch), is open. Succession within open conical clans was patrilineal, though younger brothers through war and other means often disputed these claims. Open societies had a medium level of stratification—chiefs (*ali'i*) headed political and military campaigns and played a role in religious affairs. Under this classification scheme, Samoa could be considered an open society. In the most stratified societies, such as Hawai'i, Tonga, or the Society Islands, chiefs or regional kings (tui) took on a much greater and separate role than they did in traditional or open societies. Conical chiefs were not only responsible for political and military decisions, they were also

a part of religion and many were seen as deity. The difference in lifestyle between a commoner in a stratified society and an ali'i (high chief) was acute (Kirch 1984: 31–40). In Samoa special fish, certain portions of baked pigs, and access to fine mats were restricted to the high chiefs, who also engaged in prestigious sports and recreation, such as fowling, and a form of shuffleboard called *tupe*, from which commoners were restricted. An elaborate rhetoric evolved around the chiefs, with their wives, children, houses, boats, livestock, and even personal anatomy referred to by special chiefly terms.

In Samoa, chiefly titles were (and remain today) linked to both family and the land, and for that reason Samoa is one of the few countries that possesses a special land and title court. Samoans claim that there is no title unassociated with a parcel of land and no land parcel unlinked to a title. As will be seen later, the distillation of chiefly titles and their linked lands, transcribed by Krämer, is one reason that his ethnographic study is held in such high regard by Samoans. Certainly there are few other ethnographic works that are regularly used in courts of law to adjudicate disputes between individuals and villages concerning chiefly titles and lands. Typically villages were divided into several *fuiala* or ramages, which consist of linear parcels occupied by the descendents of a single ancestor. In Hawai'i such ramages were linked to watersheds and were called *aupua'a*, so any particular village and any kinship group sharing common descent from a single ancestor had unrestricted access to seacoast, coastal lands, midlands, and mountain rainforests. This normally ensured drinking water; access to the sea for fishing and sustenance; midlands where staple food crops such as taro, breadfruit, and yams could be cultivated; and access to primary rainforests that contained plants useful for both sustenance and medicine. Because of the ramage system, each village and each kinship group within the village could be self-sufficient (Kirch 1984: 31–34).

Despite the capability for autonomy, much interaction between individual villages and groups was facilitated by the chiefly or *matai* system. Just as different villages contained different chiefly titles that would then be passed down to the eldest son (or, as was often the case, another son or member of the village if he contested it), different levels of honor and respect were given to these different titles. A great chief would bring honor not only to his family but also to his village when he interacted with other leaders in a polite and respectful manner.

In Samoa there are two kinds of chiefs: high chiefs and orators (*tulafale*) (Kennedy 1974, 273). The high chiefs of a village function like the board of a corporation, setting strategic goals for the village and ensuring that the village's social standing in the region is always increasing. Orators function like the management of a corporation and are focused on execution of the

village goals and tactical management of day-to-day life in the village. High chiefs are given the most prominent positions at village functions and honored portions of mats and pigs based largely on the preeminence of their titles and families. Orators are able to reallocate the earthly goods of entire villages based solely on their personal mastery of arcane genealogies and chiefly rhetoric.

An orator has to recite without hesitation from memory intricate legends, lineages, proverbs, and oral histories. While high chiefs preside, orators must conduct all major cultural activities such as chief investiture ceremonies, weddings, births, and funerals. They must declaim with eloquence, reflecting deep cultural understanding of the genealogies and histories of their own and visiting villages. Style and flow are important. It is not unusual for a talking chief to stand and recite one particular history for over an hour. Various talking chiefs will debate one another and take turns reciting different information to bring honor to his family and to his village. Orators who are perceived as weak, tentative, or unprepared watch helplessly as all of the mats, pigs, and crops brought to a cultural function are reallocated by a better prepared orator from another family or village. For this reason, the most potent cultural duo in Samoa was a high-ranked high chief accompanied by a highly skilled orator conversant in the genealogies and proverbs of Samoa.

Samoa after European Contact

European contact with Samoa first came in 1722. Jacob Roggeveen, a Dutchman, headed an expedition to the unknown parts of the Pacific Ocean for the West India Company upon three boats: *Den Arend, Thienhoven*, and *De Africaansche Galey*. While aboard *Thienhoven*, he spotted what is now present day Ta'u, the easternmost island of the Manu'a group of the Samoan islands, which is in sight of Ofu and Olosega islands. The second European visitor to Samoa, Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1782), named Samoa "l'Archipel des Navigateurs" (The Archipelago of the Navigator Islands) and spotted present day Ta'u on May 3, 1768. Like Roggeveen, he chose not to set anchor or explore any terrain.

Several decades later, on December 7, 1787, Samoa received first physical contact with Europeans when the Frenchman La Pérouse and his men set foot on Tutuila island. The encounter was brief and tragic. La Pérouse and his men renamed Samoa the "Savage Islands" (La Pérouse 1799).

This new name and the reputation for ferocity that came with it protected Samoa for half a century from entanglements with other European traders, whalers, and explorers until 1830, when missionary John Williams from the

London Missionary Society arrived aboard his ship the *Messenger of Peace*. He brought a Samoan convert from Raratonga, and his message of a new kingdom from over the seas unwittingly fulfilled an ancient prophecy by the ancient deified chief Nafanua.

After the *Messenger of Peace* landed, interaction between Samoa and Europeans became much more regular. Soon traders, whalers, criminals, adventurers, explorers, and escapists came to the islands. Different nations, most notably America, Germany, Great Britain (and subsequently New Zealand), would vie for control of this stronghold in the very heart of Polynesia.

The Samoan language was first reduced to a written orthography in the 1830s, when missionaries from the London Missionary Society, George Pratt and Charles Wilson, translated the Bible directly from the Greek into Samoan. The London Missionary Society also published pamphlets in Samoan. Yet despite their lack of a written language for over 1400 years, the Samoans kept extremely detailed accounts of histories, family relations, wars, religion, and cultural matters, passed down orally from generation to generation. The transmission of this cultural knowledge was of paramount importance to Samoan society and government.

The Role of German Trading Companies in the South Pacific and German Corporate-Funded Research

Germany entered the colonial scene in the South Pacific in the mid-1800s. At that time there were two dominating ideologies in Germany about possible and future expansion into colonial states. The first ideology was aggressively colonial. Owing to various social ills and increased urbanization, there were many citizens in what we now call Germany left unemployed. Some argued that Germans needed expansion room, a place in a warm climate where German citizens could lead traditional German peasant lives and pass on German culture, language, and traditions to their children, thus continuing the German ideals of order, efficiency, and prosperity. The second ideology behind German expansion was one not so much of spreading German culture and ideals abroad but of making profits. Tradesmen saw German expansion as a way to increase their incomes. Woodruff Smith divides the two ideologies this way:

> Between 1840 and 1906, two concepts of colonialism constituted the dominant colonial ideologies in Germany. . . the two concepts can be called the "emigrationist" and the "economic." (1974, 641)

These two basic ideologies and variations of them continued in debate for the entirety of Germany's experiment with colonialism. In different localities, one or the other would take precedence.

Unlike British colonialism in the South Pacific, which, while intrinsically exploitive, claimed to increase the social, medical, and political well-being of indigenous peoples, German conquests in the islands were driven primarily by economic and strategic considerations. For the most part Germans did not seek to replicate German society in the Pacific. In contrast, Great Britain did seek to impose British manners, education, social betterment, and bureaucratic order on indigenous peoples who they believed existed in a benighted state and lived chaotic lives. Instead, the Germans sought to create new opportunities for German merchants, both as exporters and importers, and to seize geopolitically important positions superior to those of their European competitors. The lack of a German unified nation left much of the colonization effort to be carried out by transnational corporations who, in the style of modern-day Halliburton, produced economic gain when necessary by projecting quasi-military presence. These trends brought Samoa into the era of gunboat diplomacy.

The first major trading company in the Pacific was the Hamburg-based J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn, which first entered Polynesia from Valparaiso, Chile. Godeffroy & Sohn set up their headquarters for Pacific trade in Apia, Samoa, in 1857. The return on their investments was quickly repaid: they dominated Pacific trade through the 1850s and 1860s, largely because of the firm's well-established trading status and strong financial backing during the early years of operation. They quickly outstripped all of their British competitors in sheer number of shipping vessels. The initial major items of trade for this German company were coconut oil, sea turtle shell, and mother-of-pearl. Coconut oil was originally extracted in the coconut groves. Later, they shipped copra (dried coconut flesh) to distant factories where the oil could be more efficiently extracted. Workers at Godeffroy & Sohn ingeniously created a way to increase their profit from this enterprise fivefold, and other trading companies soon followed suit. Instead of shipping whole coconuts to be cut and dried later, the coconuts were first cut in half, dried out to make copra, and the leftovers were used as cattle feed (Firth 1977, 4).

Though copra trading excelled at this time, German trading in the Pacific had a negligible impact on the international market. Copra produced and traded from the Pacific Islands represented only a small fraction of the copra that was sold in Germany. As a result, Pacific trading amounted for less then 1/7th of 1 percent of all trade in Germany in 1911 (Firth 1977, 5).

The reach of Godeffroy & Sohn soon grew to cover most of Polynesia with stations in disparate outposts such as the Marshall Islands, the Duke of York Islands, and the Marquesean Islands. All collected goods were first shipped

to Apia before they began their sometimes long journey to Europe (often stopping in Australia and other islands before reaching their end). Boats would be sent out to these various islands once or twice a year for collection. Thus, the German trading system in the Pacific, at least for J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn, depended on the port in Apia, Samoa, for trade without relying on any Samoan agricultural enterprises (Firth 1977: 4–5). The powerful reign of Godeffroy & Sohn did not continue forever, however. Owing to a low crop year and poor planning, they declared sudden bankruptcy in 1879.

German traders pushed heavily for German annexation of Samoa under official sanction. If Germany annexed Samoa, then the traders would have exclusive rights to Samoan trading, plantations, and ports and could oust the British and Americans. Such sanction would rid German companies of competition with the trading companies of other countries and would provide greater control over Apia harbor.

Augustin Krämer

It is into this context that the German Augustin Krämer stepped as a young man. At this point in his life, Krämer had just finished studying medicine in Tübingen and Berlin. It does not seem surprising that he was apt for adventure since his parents had been world travelers and he himself had been born in Chile.

In the midst of the European paradigm that viewed colonized nations populated by different races as social inferiors in desperate need of civilization, Krämer was different. Despite his training in the racially charged German anthropological theories of the time, Krämer was charmed by the Samoan people and found much to admire and respect in their societies.

Krämer returned to Germany after living in Samoa and wrote the two-volume work *Die Samoa-Inseln*, which only recently was translated into English as *The Samoan Islands*. In this monumental ethnological and anthropological work, Krämer not only drew heavily from his own experiences with the Samoan people but also articulated precise details of Samoan culture. Genealogies, histories, cooking methods, medicinal practices, fishing techniques, and other detailed observations on Samoan culture are described with scientific precision. Because of the minute observations that Krämer made, *Die Samoa-Inseln* is considered to be the most comprehensive anthropological work on the Samoan people ever written.

Description of Krämer's Diaries

I was surprised to discover upon my arrival at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart that Krämer kept only two diaries during his two-year visit to the

Samoan islands. One was marked 1894, and the other 1895. The diaries were well worn, and while I obtained permission to transcribe the diaries, I was not granted permission to photograph them.

Krämer's diaries were quite exciting to look at. It is clear by their content that he enjoyed his time in Samoa. He drew pictures of boats and animals and plants alongside his text. Whenever Krämer visited another island, he drew an anchor sign. In this way he created his own little codes. Krämer was not satisfied to merely observe and record; he also actively engaged in local social activities. Several of his dance cards are neatly folded into his diaries. He also cut out newspaper articles about Germany, Bismarck, and himself. He even included the obituary of Robert Louis Stevenson.

At times his text was difficult for me to decipher since parts of the diaries have water damage, and often his handwriting was so blurred that the letters were difficult to transcribe. One helpful advantage I picked up while carefully scrutinizing Krämer's diaries was that Krämer's handwriting was more easily decipherable when he wasn't writing in German. Hence, the English and Samoan entries in his diaries were the most understandable. I posit that Krämer's handwriting improved when he wrote in English or Samoan because he was writing slower and more carefully. In any case, because of the legibility of most of the Samoan entries (those that were not water damaged), I was able to extract the passages out of his diary that he wrote in Samoan. What follows is a textual analysis of several of these Samoan entries.

Analysis of Krämer's Diary Entries

Diary transcription from 19 July 1894. Saesau au i Apia i le afiafi emula muta le Valelia i ?S?G?—angi.

Corrected Samoan. Na sau a'u i Apia i le afiafi , ae sa gata i Valelia i ___/

English gloss of the corrected Samoan. I came to Apia in the evening, but stopped at Valelia (Valerie's) for ____.

Analysis of Krämer's Samoan text. Krämer here demonstrates poor understanding of time tense indicators and combines two together with the verb in "Saesau." "Sa" means a past activity that takes a long time to transact, like a war or geological process, and "e" is a timeless tense indicator, suggesting that the action began long ago and continues today. Neither is correct, and when placed together they are meaningless—the past tense time indicator "Na" would have been correct here. "Emula" is not a word, but "muta" means to end a process; for ending a journey, the Samoan verb "gata" is more correct. Krämer's diary entry indicates broken Samoa with poor understanding of Samoan grammar. As indicated here and later in his diary, he may have had a Samoan girlfriend named "Valelia" (Valerie).

Diary transcription from 19 July. Sa mauauu i "setuse maile teine: iaetusi alu i le Taua, (i Salemo i Aana)."

Corrected Samoan. Sa maua a'u i se tusi mai le teine: "ia e tusi mai pe afai e te alu i le taua (i Salemo i Aana)."

English gloss of the corrected Samoan. I received a letter from the girl: "write me if you are going to the contest between Salemo and A'ana."

Analysis of Krämer's Samoan text. Many foreigners initially have difficulties with Samoan pronouns, which have single, dual, and multiple forms in inclusive and exclusive configurations. Here, Krämer incorrectly conflates the verb "maua" (to receive) with the personal pronoun "a'u" (I). His limited vocabulary is exhibited by his inability to construct the future imperfect "pe afai e te alu" (if you will go), although he does correctly use the imperative "ie e tusi" (you should write). The girl who wrote him may have been Valelia.

Diary transcription from 7 August. Siva o le Valelia i le fale Samoa i Sogi.

Corrected Samoan. Na ou siva ma Valelia i le fale Samoa i Sogi.

English gloss of the corrected Samoan. I danced with Valelia (Valerie) in the Samoan house in Sogi.

Analysis of Krämer's Samoan text. No time tense indicator or personal pronoun is associated with the verb. He incorrectly used the definitive article "le" with a person's name. This is very broken Samoan, but perhaps it was written in a hurry.

Diary transcription from Thursday 9 August. Se san du i Sogi\, Sa va'ai le Saee, sa nofo ile matafaga. . . ink thins out . . .i lugo o nui el nusia. Fau mavo nale alu 'ese.

Corrected Samoan. Na ou alu i Sogi. Sa ou vaai Saee, sa nofo i le matafaga . . . i luga o nu'u o nusila. Na ou alu i ai ma toe alu 'ese.

English gloss of the corrected Samoan. I went to Sogi. I saw Saee sitting on the beach . . above the New Zealand village. I went and then left.

Analysis of Krämer's Samoan text. Krämer again incorrectly used the indefinite past time tense indicator "sa" instead of the more appropriate definite time tense indicator "na." In the first sentence Krämer confused the verb "sau" (to arrive) with "alu" (to go). In the third sentence he misspelled the preposition "i luga" (above). His last sentence is barely intelligible.

Diary transcription from 23 August 1894. Moe za nofo i le afife tasile it ula i le fale.

Corrected Samoan. Sa ou moe ma nofo i le afiafi e sili i le itula i le fale.

English gloss of the corrected Samoan. I slept and then sat in the evening for more than an hour in the house.

Analysis of Krämer's Samoan text. This is a bit more complex sentence than Krämer previously attempted in his diary, but it still represents broken, ungrammatical Samoan.

Diary transcription from 16 May 1895. Sa taumiu i Apia Vlelia mai Salelesi i Atur i le i tual le fitu. Se savoli i a mai le lauea lena ilemea leo fiamoe lava ia mia nofo i le fale i le po. Na sozola i le fa ile as ivaiusu (Toeupu ma se fafine).

Corrected Samoan. Na ou ta'amilo i Apia ma Valelia mai Salelesi i Atur i le itula e fitu. Na savavalai e aumai la'ua lena i le mea lea na fia moe lava ma na nofo i le fale i le po. Na ou sosola i le fa i i le iva usu (Toeupu ma se fafine).

English gloss of the corrected Samoan. I wandered in Apia with Valelia (Valerie) from Salelei to Atur at seven o'clock. We walked to bring those two to the place to sleep in the house that night. I snuck out at 4:00 for the 9:00 work start (Toeupu and a woman).

Analysis of Krämer's Samoan text. There are consistent problems in his use of time tense indicators, personal pronouns, and prepositions.

Analysis of Samoan Texts in *Die Samoa-Inseln*

Unlike the grammatically constrained, broken Samoan passages that Krämer wrote in his personal diary, the published Samoan texts (which always appear with German translations) in *Die Samoa-Inseln* are flowing, grammatically nuanced, and culturally sophisticated. These texts appear to be highly accurate transcriptions of oral legends, proverbs, and instructions spoken by culturally adept Samoans. The Samoan texts appearing in *Die Samoa-Inseln* can be placed into two general categories: ethnographic (descriptions of Samoan life and instructions on Samoan technologies and procedures) and cultural (legends, village hierarchies, and oral histories). The ethnographic texts are typically straightforward and use standard Samoan language narrative constructions, with "ua" being the typical beginning time tense indicator, suggesting past ongoing action. Krämer never used this common narrative time tense indicator in his own diary entries. Reading his ethnographic texts in Samoan is similar to reading an instruction manual. Sentences are short, and unique grammatical features of Samoan (reflexive subjects, verbless sentences, etc.) sometimes occur.

By contrast, the cultural texts are much more complex, often indicating that the speakers were conversant not only in regular common Samoan language but also in chiefly rhetoric. It is these passages that have most interested Samoan readers of *Die Samoa-Inseln*, not only because of their compelling subject matter, but also because of their extraordinary eloquence

and poetic features. Samoans are simply stunned that a foreigner could have possibly transcribed, understood, and translated such passages. The passages commonly use the reflexive place holder "ai," which is an advanced feature in Samoan grammar and which was never used by Krämer in his own diary.

An example of such an important, eloquent passage can be found in *Die Samoa-Inseln*'s account of the origin myth of Samoa. The name of the archipelago "Samoa" can be broken into two separate Samoan words: *Sa* (forbidden) and *Moa* (chicken). Alternatively, "Sa" can be translated as a prefix meaning "The people of," and "Moa" can be translated as "the physiological center of being." Thus, there are four possible literal translations of "Samoa" if, indeed, the word can be reduced to its component parts (which may not necessarily be true):

1. "Forbidden chicken"
2. "Forbidden center of being"
3. "People of the chicken"
4. "People of the center of being"

The first interpretation was recorded in a myth by Krämer that refers to the ancient progenitor of the Samoan people, Tagaloalagi. Tagaloalagi, the primary cultural hero of Samoa, was regarded as a deity and in many myths is said to be the creator of the world. "Of the primitive gods, the chief place is assigned to Tangaloa, or, as he is sometimes called Tangaloa-langi, Tangaloa of the Skies," missionary John Stair recorded in 1897:

> He was always spoken of as the principal god, the creator of the world and progenitor of the other gods and mankind. In one tradition that gives an account of the formation of the earth, mention is made of other divinities or helpers, Tangaloa-tosi, also styled Ngai-tosi (Ngai the marker), and Ngaiva'a-va'ai (Ngai the seer or beholder), also called Tangaloa-va'a-va'ai. These two helpers are introduced as being sent by Tangaloa to complete the formation of the bodies of the first two of mankind, and to impart life to them. (1897, 212)

In this sense, as creator of the world and humankind, Tagaloalagi bears some similarity to Jesus Christ (Colossians 1:16). In ancient Samoan legends, the father of Tagaloalagi is named Lu.

Tagaloalagi also is credited with creating Samoa. Some legends indicate that as these divine progenitors of the Polynesians sailed by in a raft, Tagaloalagi stole and ate one of the chickens belonging to Lu, who captained

the raft. On such a voyage, eating of the breeding stock was strictly forbidden, and so by eating the forbidden chicken, Tagaloalagi had violated a great taboo. Lu therefore banished Tagaloalagi to a mortal, temporal existence on the archipelago that was nearby, which came to be known as "Samoa." Here is Krämer's transcription of the oral Samoan text together with his German translation. Krämer's transcription of this Samoan text evidences significant cultural and cosmological sophistication. For comparison purposes, I also include separate English translations of both the Samoan and German passages.[1]

'O le ali'i lenei na fai lona sā moa; sā le 'aiga se moa e se tasi.

'O le mea lea na igoa ai lenei atunu'u 'o Samoa ona 'o Lu.

Ona ō ifo lea 'o Tagaloalagi, 'ua latou gaoi le sā moa a Lu.

Ona tau ai lea 'o le taua. Ona fasia lava lea 'o Satagaloalagi.

Ona tulia lava lea 'o Satagaloalagi. 'Ua pā ia le lagituaiva i le mea, 'o i ai le tamaita'i o Lagituaiva.

Ona fai mai lea 'o le ali'i o Tagaloalagi ia Lū: Ia e fa'amolemole, 'a e 'avatu le tamaita'i o Lagatuaiva ma togiola o le nu'u nei.

Dieser Häuptling machte sein Tabū für die Hühner; keiner durfte Hühner essen.

Deshalb heisst diese Inselgruppe Samoa, wegen des Lu.

Da kamen die Leute des Tagaloalagi herunter, und stahlen die mit Tabū belegten Hühner des Lu.

Darauf tobte der Krieg und die Leute des Tagaloalagi wurden geschlagen und in die Flucht gejagt.

Sie drangen bis zum neunfältigen Himmel an den Ort zurück, wo das Mädchen Lagituaiva war.

Darauf sprach Tagaloalagi zu Lu: Ich bitte um Vergebung. Ich will dir das Mädchen Lagituaiva als Lösegeld des Ortes hier bringen. (1902, 1:25)

(Sentence 1)

Samoan Literal Translation

'O	le	ali'i	na	fai	lona
(noun indicator)	the	high chief	(past tense)	made	his
sā	moa;	sā	le	'aiga	se
taboo	chicken;	taboo	The	eating	a
moa	e	se	tasi.		
chicken	by	any	one.		

Krämer's German Translation

Dieser	Häuptling	Machte	Sein	Tabū	für
This	chief	made	his	taboo	for
die	Hühner	keiner	durfte	Hühner	essen.
the	chickens	no one	allowed	chickens	eat.

Translation from Samoan

This high chief made his chicken taboo; eating a chicken was taboo for anyone.

Translation from German

This chief made his taboo for chickens; no one was allowed to eat chicken.

(Sentence 2)

Samoan Literal Translation

ʻO	le	mea	lea	na	igoa
(noun indicator)	the	thing	That	(past tense)	name
ai	lenei	atunuʻu	ʻo	Samoa	ona
(reflexive)	this	country	of	Samoa	because
ʻo	Lu.				
of	Lu.				

Krämer's German Translation

Deshalb	heisst	diese	Inselgruppe	Samoa	wegen
That is why	called	this	group of islands	Samoa	because
des	Lu.				
of	Lu.				

Translation from Samoan

That is why this country is named Samoa because of Lu.

Translation from German

That is why this group of islands is called Samoa, because of Lu.

(Sentence 3)

Samoan Literal Translation

Ona	ō	ifo	lea	ʻo	*word missing*
Then	(go, plural)	down	then	(noun indicator)	(sa)
Tagaloalagi,	ʻua	latou	gaoi	le	sā
Tagaloalagi,	(past)	they	stole	the	taboo
moa	a	Lu.			
chicken	of	Lu.			

Krämer's German Translation

Da	Kamen	die	Leute	des	Tagaloalagi
Then	came	the	people	of	Tagaloalagi
herunter	und	stahlen	die	mit	Tabū
down	and	stole	the	with	taboo
belegten	Hühner	des	Lu.		
imposed	chickens	of	Lu.		

Translation from Samoan

Then Tagaloalagi went down, they stole the forbidden chicken of Lu.

Translation from German

Then the people of Tagaloalagi came down and stole the chickens with the imposed taboo of Lu.

(Sentences 4–6)

Samoan Literal translation

Ona	tau	ai	lea	ʻo	le
Then	fought	(reflexive)	then	(noun indicator)	the
taua.	Ona	fasia	lava	lea	ʻo
war.	Then	struck	really	then	(noun indicator)
Satagaloalagi.		Ona	tulia	lava	lea
people of Tagaloalagi.		Then	chased	really	then

ʻo	Satagaloalagi.
(noun indicator)	people of Tagaloalagi.

Krämer's German Translation

Darauf	tobte	der	Krieg	und	die
Thereupon	raged	the	war	and	the
Leute	des	Tagaloalagi	wurden	geschlagen	und
people	of	Tagaloalagi	were	struck	and
in	die	Fluchte	gejagt.		
in	the	Flight	hunted.		

Translation from Samoan

Then the war (for this reason) was fought. The people of Tagaloalagi were struck. Then the people of Tagaloalagi were chased away.

Translation from German

Thereupon the war raged and the people of Tagaloalagi were struck and hunted into flight.

(Sentence 7)

Samoan Literal translation

ʻUa	pā	ia	le	lagituaiva	i
(Past)	Burst	those	the	beyond the ninth heaven	on
le	mea,	ʻo	i	ai	le
the	where	noun indicator		existed	the
tamaitaʻi	ʻo	Lagituaiva.			
maiden	Noun indicator	Beyond the ninth heaven.			

Krämer's German Translation

Sie	drangen	bis	zum	neunfältigen	Himmel
They	came through	until	to the	ninefold	heaven
an	den	Ort	zurück	wo	das
on	the	place	back	where	the

Mädchen	Lagituaiva	war.
girl	Lagituaiva	was.

Translation of Samoan

Then the region beyond the ninth heavens burst on the scene, where the maiden Lagituaiva was.

Translation of German

They came through until the place of the ninefold heaven where the girl Lagituaiva was.

(Sentence 8)

Samoan Literal translation

Ona	fai	mai	lea	ʻo	le
Then	said	to	then	(noun indicator)	the

aliʻi	ʻo	Tagaloalagi	ia	Lū:	ia
chief	(noun indicator)	Tagaloalagi	to	Lū:	(imperative)

e	faʻamolemole,	ʻa	e	ʻavatu	le
you	Please	but	you	take	the

tamaitaʻi	ʻo	Lagituaiva	ma	togiola	o
maiden	(noun tense indicator)	Lagituaiva	as	redeemer	of

le	nuʻu	nei.
the	country	this.

Krämer's German Translation

Darauf	sprach	Tagaloalagi	zu	Lu:	Ich
Thereupon	spoke	Tagaloalagi	To	Lu:	I

bitte	um	Vergebung	Ich	will	dir
ask	for	forgiveness	I	want	to you

das	Mädchen	Lagituaiva	als	Lösegeld	des
the	girl	Lagituaiva	as	ransom	for

Orts	hier	bringen.
place	here	to bring.

Translation of the Samoan

The said the Lord Tagaloalagi to Lu: Please, take this maiden Lagituaiva as a redeemer for this place.

German Translation

Thereupon Tagaloalagi spoke to Lu: I ask for forgiveness. I want to bring to you, as ransom for this place, the girl Lagituaiva.

Discussion

This Samoan creation myth is grammatically and culturally sophisticated, far beyond Krämer's ability to understand and write Samoan as evidenced by the broken, ungrammatical Samoan expressions he wrote in his personal diaries. The sophisticated use of time tense indicators, the nuanced use of the reflexive "ai," the general conformity with Samoan narrative tradition, and the use of chiefly rhetoric all suggest that Krämer himself could not have translated these passages into German. Further evidence that Krämer could not have transcribed or translated this passage is found within the text itself.

Although the first two sentences of the legend correspond well in both Samoan and German, distinct and revealing differences begin in the third sentence between the Samoan text and Krämer's German translation. In Samoan, the text reads "Then Tagaloalagi went down, they stole the forbidden chicken of Lu." Krämer's German translation of this Samoan passage reads "Then the people of Tagaloalagi came down and stole the chickens with the imposed taboo of Lu." Since the plural Samoan verb "ō" (to go) is used in the original Samoan text instead of the singular verb "alu," it is clear that more individuals than just Tagaloalagi went down. This suggests a typographical error in the Samoan text—the prefix "sā" ("the people of")—was left out. However, Krämer's German translation adds this important clarification ("die Leute *des*"), which does not appear in the Samoan text, suggesting that Krämer could not have translated this from the Samoan text as transcribed. Only a speaker fluent in chiefly Samoan and with direct knowledge of this Samoan legend would have been able to spot and correct this missing word in the original Samoan text in the German translation. If Krämer could not have done this himself, then a Samoan informant—likely a chief conversant in the German language—added this missing detail.

More discrepancies between the Samoan text and the German translation occur in sentence 7. In Samoan, the text reads: "Then the region beyond the ninth heavens burst on the scene, where the maiden Lagituaiva was." This is

different from the German translation "They came through until the place of the ninefold heaven where the girl Lagituaiva was." The operative verb in the Samoan text is "pa," which in Samoan according to the dictionary of Milner (1966) translates as "1. Burst . . . 2. Go off, explode" and which Pratt's earlier dictionary (1862) translates as "1. to explode, as a gun, thunder, &c, 2. to burst, as an abscess."

In Samoan cosmology, the various heavens are concatenated and one heavenly plane of existence can sometimes burst into a lesser sphere. Hence, when Samoans first saw Europeans, they called them "papalagi" or "palagi" literally meaning "the heavens have burst," suggesting that such unusual white individuals must have come from a different universe or heaven. Although this Samoan theory of overlapping universes would fit in quite well with modern topologists, who suggest that parallel universes not only may but must (to fulfill quantum mechanic theory) exist within a few millimeters of our current dimension, such a concept would be incomprehensible to a nineteenth-century German schooled in an era before Riemann space was part of the physics and mathematics curriculum. Here again, Krämer's German translation evidences an understanding of Samoan cosmological view of the concatenated heavens beyond what the Samoan text indicates—the German "translation" adds information not present in the Samoan text.

The German verb "drangen" is the past tense of "dringen" which the 2005 Oxford Duden German Dictionary translates as "1. penetrate, come through . . . 2. press, or urge." The translator failed to use the correct German translations of the Samoan word "pa"—"platzen" or "explodieren." Again, this suggests that a knowledgeable Samoan, conversant both in the myth and in Samoan cosmology but unable to express his cosmology in meaningful terms to a German contemporary, provided Krämer with a watered-down version of the myth. Certainly, Krämer could not have derived his German translation from the Samoan text alone.

Possible Clues to the Real Translator

Augustin Krämer worked in a colonialist period when the rights, personal dignity, and individuality of indigenous peoples were routinely overlooked. Few indeed are the names of indigenous people—such as Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark expedition—recorded with gratitude for teaching or otherwise assisting foreign travelers. Krämer, however, was an exception in recognizing the dignity of the indigenous people he studied. In his forward to *Die Samoa-Inseln*, after acknowledging several German professors, he demonstrated honor and respect for the Samoan people themselves.

> Aber wie dem sein mag, niemanden werden einst Zeit, Mühren und Opfer gereuen, in dem Bewusstsein, in direkter oder indirekter Weise mit dazu beigetragen zu haben, das geistige Eigentum der dahinsterbenden pacifischen Völker am Abend ihrer eignartigen Kultur und Weltanschauung zu retten. (1902, 1:3)
>
> (No one will ever regret having devoted time, effort and sacrifice, in the conviction that he has contributed directly or indirectly to the preservation of the cultural heritage of a slowly dying-out peoples of the Pacific in the evening of their unique culture and philosophy of life. [1994, 1:vii])

Krämer was perhaps less candid in reporting his own linguistic limitations:

> Einen Vorteil hatte ich nur schon im voraus durch die Kenntnis des Landes und der Sprache, die, wenn auch dürftig, doch nicht gering angeschlagen warden darf. Dass ich mich aber auf diese Kenntnis namentlich der Sprache nicht allzusehr verliess, wird man aus dem folgenden ersehen. . .
>
> Um möglichst Urkunden zu liefern, habe ich stets danach getrachtet, den samoanischen Text urschriftlich zu erhalten. Alle Texte sind demgemäss Originale und wurden entweder so gewonnen, dass ich von Samoanern selbsthändig gemacht Aufzeichnungen aufgriff und abschrieb oder, was zumeist erfolgte, die mündliche Erzählung mir oder meinem Diener, einem Halbblut Fred Pace, in die Feder diktieren liess. (1902, 1:3–4).
>
> (One advantage I had in advance through my acquaintance with the country and with the language, both of which although limited must not be considered negligible. However the reader will see from subsequent accounts that I did not rely unduly upon this knowledge, particularly not of the language.
>
> In order to bring original documents wherever possible, I always sought to obtain the Samoan text as recorded for the first time. All texts are therefore originals and were obtained either by my securing the notations made by the hands of Samoans and copying them . . . or by having the oral account dictated to me or to my servant, a half-breed Fred Pace. [1994, 1:4])

This stunning revelation shows the reason that the Samoan texts recorded by Krämer are written in such flowing, grammatically correct Samoan: they were themselves written by fully literate Samoans, most of whom were chiefs.

Who were these unknown Samoans who wrote such remarkable accounts of their cosmologies, legends, and culture? Krämer gives us a few clues:

> [Ich habe] reiche Anregungen empfangen [und] viel Häuptlinge und Sprecher kennen gelernt und nach Apia eingeladen. . .Hier hatte ich mir ein Haus in Sogi, in der Nähe des Regierungsplatzes Mulinu'u, wohin die Samoaner von allen Inseln strömen, gemietet, und hier empfing ich täglich meine Getreuen. (1902, 1:4)
>
> (. . . I received numerous leads and met many chiefs and orators whom I invited to Apia . . . I had rented a home in Sogi [a part of Apia] near the government square Mulinu'u where Samoans from all the islands gather in great numbers, and there I received my loyal friends. [1994, 1:4])

To entice his Samoan guests from distant islands and villages to remain, he offered them surgical procedures:

> . . . in deren Dienst ich meine ärtzliche Kenntnisse stellte, um von ihnen ihre Manuskripte zu erhalten. Den letzteren vermochte ich sogar nach Apia zu locken, wo ich ihm sein elefantiastisches Skrotum operierte und ihn dadurch wenigstens 8 Tage für meine Zwecke festlegen konnte, freilich ohne besonderen Nutzen. Dies praktikable und radikale Mittel habe ich später noch öfter angewandt, um mir die Hilfe von Samoanern zu sichern, die sonst nicht zu haben gewesen wären. (1902, 1:5).
>
> (. . . at whose disposal I placed my medical knowledge in order to get their manuscripts from them. The latter I was indeed able to lure to Apia where I operated on his elephantiastic scrotum and thus pinned him down for at least eight days to pursue my objectives, alas without particular benefit to me. Later I frequently employed this practical and radical measure to secure from Samoans help which otherwise could not have been available. [1994, 1:5])

Since the texts are written in chiefly Samoan language, spoken principally by orators, it is to Samoan orators that we must look for leads to Krämer's principal informant. Krämer, in his preface, gives us this key detail:

> Dort gelang es mir, allerdings erst nach langer Zeit, den alten Sprecher Sauni von Tufulele, der übrigens schon als Maunu von

> Leulumoega bei Stuebel genannt ist, zu gewinnen, der, vor 1830 geboren, noch aus der vorchristlichen Zeit stammt und auch unter den Samoanern allgemein als einer der wissendsten gilt. (1902, 1:4).
>
> (This is where I succeeded—to be sure, only after a long time—with for the old orator Sauni . . . who, born prior to 1830, is of the pre-Christian era and is generally looked upon by the Samoans as one of the wisest men among them. [1994, 1:5])

Krämer also credits another informant: "Neben Sauni war es hauptsächlich noch Salaia von Siumu, von dem ich namentlich am Anfang viel Kunde erhielt" (1902, 1:4). ("Besides Sauni, it was mainly also Salaia of Siumu from whom I gleaned much information, particularly at the beginning" [1994, 1:5]).

This Salaia, however, did not rely solely on his memory: "Er besass eine Reihe von Stammbäumen aufgezeichnet" (1902, 1:4). ("He had in his possession a series of recorded pedigrees" [1994, 1:5]).

That Krämer was so deficient in his understanding of the Samoan language to personally translate these texts is evident in his handling of texts from the Manu'a islands, part of the Samoan archipelago to the east:

> welche wenige Jahre vor ihrem Tode die Überlieferungen von Manu'a sich in die Feder hatte diktieren lassen, und welche ich nun abzuschreiben Gelgenheit hatte. Nach sechstägiger Arbeit hatte ich dies glücklich vollendet; ich hatte die Texte, aber keine Übersetzung. . . Die alten Samoaner von Upolu konnten aber die Überlieferungen nicht übersetzen. (1902, 1:5)
>
> (who had the Manu'a traditions dictated to her a few years prior to her death and which I now had the opportunity to copy; I had the texts but no translations. . . The old Samoans of Upolu, however were not able to translate the traditions. [1994, 1:5])

Krämer credits another orator, Leiato of Aoa, a village on Tutuila island, with translating:

> ohne den [Leiato] ich die Übersetzungen nicht zuwege gebracht hätte. . . ich habe doch nie die Übersetzung vorgenommen, ohne meinen Dolmetsch und Diener Feleti (Fred) bei mir zu haben, um allen Irrtum auch meinerseits auszuschliessen." (1902, 1:5)

> (Without him [Leiato] I would have not been able to bring about the translations. . . I nevertheless never undertook a translation without having my servant and interpreter and servant Feleti (Fred) at my side to exclude all misconceptions. [1994, 1:6])

Conclusion

Owing to the poor standard of Samoan language skills evidenced in Krämer's personal diaries, it is highly unlikely that Krämer can be considered the sole author of *Die Samoa-Inseln*. I was interested in Krämer's diaries originally because I knew they had never before been published and also because of my deep interest in both Samoan and German cultures. My original academic goal was to get Krämer's diaries published and to bring any new anthropologic information from Krämer's personal diaries to light. I had no idea how important this new anthropological information would become. To suggest that Augustin Krämer was not the primary author of *Die Samoa-Inseln* was unanticipated when I began my research.

While I was in Samoa investigating this hypothesis I found that the homes and dance halls described by Krämer are gone. (There have been several major hurricanes in the last hundred years.) Instead my greatest resource became the national library of Samoa, the Apia Library. Here I found not only copies of most of Krämer's works, but also the German/English newspaper of the islands, *die Samoansiche Zeitung*. Though *die Samoansiche Zeitung*'s run was short—less than six years—its publication dates coincide with Krämer's residence in Samoa. After carefully reading issue after issue of the newspaper I found several articles that named Krämer, quoted passages from *Die Samoa-Inseln*, or described his views of native peoples. With permission from the librarian I then photographed these various articles. They have become extremely useful in placing Krämer into a more historical context, as well as showing the immediate impact that *Die Samoa-Inseln* had—not only in Germany but in the islands themselves.

I have not yet definitely identified who actually wrote *Die Samoa-Inseln*, yet I do have several leads. Since the language of the texts is written in chiefly Samoan, spoken principally by Samoan orators, Samoan orators probably played a key role in the translation process. Krämer lists several of these orators in his introduction to *Die Samoa-Inseln*. As previously mentioned, they include an old orator named Sauni, the orator Salaia of Siumu, and another orator, Leiato of Aoa.

I suggest that today Krämer might be considered more an editor or compiler of *Die Samoa-Inseln* than sole author, although in the context of his

times he was gracious to mention his indigenous informants in his introduction. Such recognition of indigenous informants was definitely not required in early twentieth-century anthropology. My analysis of Krämer's own language abilities from his diaries in the Linden Library in Stuttgart allowed me to assess his own personal contributions to *Die Samoa-Inseln*.

It is interesting to note that claims of linguistic inadequacy were later to hound other foreigners researching Samoan culture. Three decades after Krämer's residency in Samoa, a young American anthropologist performing her doctoral dissertation research in Samoa stunned the world with her assertion that adolescence in Samoa is typically untroubled because of the absence of sexual restrictions present in western societies. Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* instantly became a best seller, but its basic premise was questioned after her death when Harvard University Press published Australian researcher Derek Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. "Mead greatly underestimated the complexity of the culture, society, history, and psychology of the people among whom she was to study adolescence. Samoan society, so Mead would have it, is 'very simple,' and Samoan culture 'uncomplex'." (Freeman 1983).

In his claim that Samoa is not simple, Freeman appealed to Krämer:

> As anyone who cares to consult Augustin Krämer's *Die Samoa-Inseln*, Robert Louis Stevenson's *A Footnote to History*, or J. W. Davidson (1979) *Samoa mo Samoa* will quickly discover, Samoan society and culture are by no means simple and uncomplex; they are marked by particularities, intricacies, and subtleties quite as daunting as those which face students of Europe and Asia. (1983, 285)

Clearly Augustin Krämer's work has stood the test of time, and it rightly deserves the accolades modern researchers and the Samoan community have given to it. I suggest, however, that the Samoan people themselves should also share in this praise, including those knowledgeable orators and informants who helped Krämer produce the volumes that he himself could not have done alone.

NOTE

1. For German translations, I used the *Oxford-Duden German Dictionary: German-English, English-German*, 3rd ed., ed. O. Thyen, M. Clark, Werner Scholze-Stubenrecht, J. B. Thyen Sykes.

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LAND AGENDAS VIS À VIS A *MAKANI* (WIND) DISCOURSE: DECONSTRUCTING SPACE/PLACE POLITICAL AGENDAS IN HAWAI'I

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This paper analyzes conservation and tourism agendas in Hawai'i as they progressed together in the late 1950s. The two are interconnected and positioned land, people, and culture in particular ways. The silencing of other ways of knowing and interpreting *'āina* were intrinsic in the promotion of industry. This paper discusses a "wind discourse" with *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao* to interject indigenous readings of space and place in Hawai'i. A reorientation to native recollections of 'āina breaks contemporary social constructs and encourages the resurgence of other ways of knowing self and environment. Herein a Hawaiian wellbeing and identity is strengthened and allowed to flourish.

'Ukiu is the name of the chilly north wind that
blows through Makawao on the island of Maui.[1]

IF YOU KNEW the name of the *makani* (wind) that blew through a particular area, you were never lost, both geographically and perhaps epistemologically as well.[2] In the 1700s, a Hawaiian wellbeing was directed in large part by knowing one's *wahi* (place) as regulated by both geographical features and genealogy. In this epistemology, physical features informed one's universe. This intimate relationship between self and place was altered and eventually rewritten dramatically during the Territorial era in Hawai'i. In the early 1900s in Hawai'i, a Territorial national citizenry and landscape was closely

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aligned with American perceptions of landscape and national terrain. And in this process, Hawaiian understandings of *'āina* continued to be buried under layers of Western empirical thought.[3]

This paper examines and intends to demonstrate how land policies, like conservation and tourism agendas that the Territorial Government (1900–1959) enacted, helped to rewrite and reorganize a Hawaiian Kingdom national citizenry and landscape. The methodology for this paper recounts space and place genealogy, examines the Territory of Hawai'i's conservation plans, and also juxtaposes these plans with a literature review of Hawaiian wind *mo'olelo* (narratives) from the 1700s. In these instances, it is interesting to note how perceptions toward land shape the being.[4] And, by resurrecting and remembering these other ways of being and these other relationships to 'āina, as exemplified through a makani discourse, we can close an epistemic gap and continue the resurrection of a Hawaiian wellbeing that supersedes contemporary social constructs. There are multiple ways to see space and therefore multiple ways to exist in place. This alone is radical in its implications.

Makani in Hawai'i in the 1700s played a vital role for informing *kanaka maoli* (literally full-blooded Hawaiian person) of space and place. To know the winds of a particular place was to know one's precise location, to understand the deities that existed therein, and to be sensitive to the differences in landscape and seascape in that space. In other words, to know the names and movements of the winds was to know where one was both geographically and epistemologically. Understanding the wind was one way of understanding the general social framework in Hawai'i. A particular wind discourse[5] as enunciated through the translations of the mo'olelo, *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao*, organized life and spoke of the close association with the natural environment for those with the *kuleana* (responsibility) to share the movements and nuances of makani (Nakuina 1992). In this sense, there were no separations between the physical environments and the ideological terrains. This made knowledge of the winds highly political as a form of social resistance later in the 20th century. As a political expression in the early 1900s and during the formation of the Territorial Government in Hawai'i, *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao* was edited and printed by Moses K. Nakuina so that Hawaiians could reorient themselves and "remember their true leaders, nation, and culture" (Nakuina 1992, vii).

Knowing the land through a kanaka maoli understanding of makani challenges contemporary constructs of space and encourages us to analyze the importance of placial understandings.[6] In the process of reorienting ourselves ideologically, a Hawaiian sense of place[7] and identity is strengthened when expanded to include the mo'olelo and cultural understanding of our *kupuna* (ancestors). And in these understandings, there is no separation

between nature and self as an integrated worldview is lived. In comparison, conservation and tourism agendas that progressed in Hawai'i in the late 1950s reinforced interpretations of *landscape* that were contrary to aboriginal[8] understandings. And in the process of renaming geography and privileging the institutions therein, kanaka maoli continued to be reinscribed according to these new spatial orders that reinforced a separation of people from place.

Conservation and tourism, which privilege consumer and capitalist interpretations of land, act and continue to position people and culture in particular ways that mostly separate people from place and encourage the consumption of both. By doing so, questions as to the changing social relations and the manner in which we as inhabitants are implicated in discursive practices and shifts in ideological terrains are raised. Also implicated in this discussion is the question of how 'āina is constructed and produced as land and landscape, and subsequently the manner in which *ka po'e kahiko* are naturalized and neutralized within the geopolitical juridical discourse of the state. In other words, how are we separated from the natural environment, both physically and ideologically, through contemporary spatial orders? And, how can something like *knowing the wind* close this gap by recovering a Hawaiian sense of place and wellbeing? This essay looks at these epistemic issues.

Spatial Understandings

Because there are various ways to conceptualize and ascribe meaning to the land, land becomes the physical space wherein multiple groups contest their particular epistemologies. The contested views of land are vast and varied. For this paper, I look at the differences between native and Western perceptions of land as enunciated by *landscape* and *wilderness* discourses. These Western methods of viewing 'āina support and facilitate both conservation and tourism agendas. Western thought would have us believe that there is only one way of seeing land, one route to the truth. Here, intrinsic in Western geography is the landscape genealogy that privileges sight over multisensory perception and separates out people and culture from nature.[9] "Landscape constitutes a discourse through which identifiable social groups historically have framed themselves and their relations with both the land and with other human groups, and this discourse is closely related epistemically and technically to ways of seeing" (Cosgrove 1998, xiv).

Spatial practices, like mapping and surveying, and the agents of modernity condensed land to the notion of *landscape*. Denis Cosgrove traces the genealogy of landscape to the social formation of land and labor in Renaissance

Italy. With the transformation of feudalism to capitalism in Italy, land transformed as the state and town transformed. Underlying this genealogy of landscape was one based on the politics of power and industry. And in doing so, "the separation of subject and object, insider and outsider, the personal and the social are already apparent at the birth of the landscape idea" (Cosgrove 1998, 26).

This landscape ideology stems from the European Enlightenment era and the Italian Renaissance of the 1400s that privileged *perspective* and *representation*. This is briefly explained as the privileging of sight and the recognition of a separation between the observer and the observed, with nature as the visual imagery *out there* and therefore distinct and separate from self. Paul Carter (1987), in *The Road to Botany Bay*, calls this aspect of seeing the *satellite eye*, that "looks down a telescope" to dissect the "real," which is similar to what Dennis Cosgrove (1998) refers to as modernity's "disembodied eye" with its subject centeredness.

In the process of seeing place as space, the positioning of sight over multisensory perception is privileged. Viewing as a biological priority further leads to the classifying and enframing of nature as privileged space in Western empirical thought. "Enframing is a method of dividing up and containing, as in the construction of barracks or the rebuilding of villages, which operates by conjuring up a neutral surface or volume called 'space'" (Mitchell 1988, 44). "Plans and dimensions introduce space as something apparently abstract and neutral, a series of inert frames or containers" (Mitchell 1988, 45).[10] With this understanding, space is "a priori" to place, it is preexisting and abstract, and can be ordered into being. Further, Western constructs of land are heavily coded in power dynamics and are reinforced by institutions that view and articulate land as a spatial entity. In comparison, a "placial" perspective of land recognizes place as a primary site that exists with and through the interactions of local communities and indigenous thought worlds.

As the landscape idea separates the viewer from the viewed and privileges spatial orders, the concept of *wilderness* again separates human habitation from the natural but through slightly different tropes. The wilderness notion comes from nineteenth-century English romantic traditions that viewed sublime nature as a source of aesthetic value. The vastness and grandeur of nature is appreciated for its aesthetic qualities alone and can only be recognized to exist through an assumed moral and cultural superiority by particular classes. Therefore, appreciation of such was not available to the simple laborer, and once again a separation from nature was emphasized. As shown in paintings during this era, laborers working on the landscape needed to be emptied, and then other bodies were reentered in specific ways, so that *wilderness* (and industry) could be appreciated.[11]

Geographer Bruce Braun relates that in general, nature is constructed as a "space of visibility" so that economic and political investments in nature may be constituted (1997). The space of visibility in conservation agendas is legitimized and institutionalized in a landscape discourse that empties people from space. Conservation lands rely on myths of the *landscape* and *wilderness*. Both myths position nature as independent and void of human contact. While in reality, conservation lands are "created out of lands with long histories of occupancy and use" (Neumann 1998, 2). However, ignoring occupancy is one necessary ingredient in the externalization of nature whereby nature is *seen* as something out there as opposed to that which is implicit in and with human contact. Herein, "dispossession did not hinge on ignoring Natives; it hinged on *how they were described and incorporated within orders of knowledge*" (Braun 2002, 61).

Further developments during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also created the distinctive discourse that is referred to as the "visual consumption" of nature (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, 113). In the various social interpretations of land, conservation agendas originated with notions of *nature* and *empty space*. These notions not only served as nation-building projects by emptying peopled places and reasserting new meanings to land and nature, but such agendas were also useful for the encouragement of the "visual consumption" of space. By doing so, these sites that sought to preserve instead became sites of consumption because of the various avenues of human interaction as people come to observe and interact with nature in preimagined ways. Nature then became "a place to which one goes—the site of 'resources', a stage for 'recreation', a source for 'spiritual renewal', and a scene for 'aesthetic reflection'" (Braun 2002, ix). These interactions with nature can only occur when indigenous readings of land are either silenced and/or contained.

Conservation and Tourism in Hawai'i: Land and Otherness

In Hawai'i conservation and tourism go hand in hand to epistemologically and physically remove us from the 'āina. Today Hawai'i has the eleventh largest state-owned forest and natural reserve area in the United States. Conservation here began in 1892, one year before the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, as a Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry was established. In 1903 a Division of Forestry was created primarily to set aside forestlands for the protection of streams, springs, and other water supply sources. "The first decade (1904–1913) saw the establishment of 37 forest reserves totaling nearly 800,000 acres of state and private land." And for the forests "a primary management goal was the exclusion of livestock from the

native forests. Along with the fencing and elimination of feral livestock came tree planting and fire control programs. Reforestation began before 1900 in the valleys behind Honolulu and reached a peak during 1934–41, when an average of nearly two million introduced trees were planted annually in the forest reserves."[12] The Territorial Government in the early 1900s borrowed the newly implemented conservation policy of the United States to further restructure use, function, and meaning to ʻāina.

Preservation and conservation is a creation of U.S. state-making policy that secured land and nature for a "national good." This occurred with the violent and aggressive removal of Indians from the land. With the establishment of Yellowstone and Yosemite in the late 1870s, a national good was reimagined in the physical terrain, while the desire for *open spaces* and *grand views* facilitated and enhanced the myth of the frontier. "In North America, the national parks were intended to, among other things, preserve the memory of an idealized pioneer history as an encounter with 'wilderness' that was conquered by enterprising Europeans" (Neumann 2002, 18). In this manner, the need for a national park went beyond the European appreciation of sublime nature and instead homogenized a national unity as it clarified national myths.

Likewise, the Territorial Government in Hawai'i foresaw a long history of conservation and preservation in 1903. It was a way to legitimize their presence through the landscape.[13] The conservation premise set the stage for the tourism industry, whereby wide-open spaces were needed to enhance the *tourist gaze*.[14] The backdrop for landscaping agendas in Hawai'i also consisted of imagining Hawaiians along similar lines of consumerism and capitalism.[15] The Territorial Government in Hawai'i relied upon myths of the *landscape* and myths of *wilderness* to enact their landscaping orders both on the land and the emerging U.S. citizen.[16] In this emerging geographic order, Hawaiians were represented and delegated to both anachronistic and feminized spaces.[17]

This process allowed the Territory and the State to speak for nature as the guardian, possessed to do so in the role of Enlightened man[18] and as a function of nation building.[19] In this era, a "policy for recreation" was formally created and fashioned after conservation efforts in the United States:

> In these words by the President the recreation needs which apply to the country as a whole and to Hawaii in particular are aptly expressed. The federal government recognizes its duty in this important field of public welfare by stressing recreational development through various federal agencies such as the National Park Service, the US Forest Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, etc.

> The furtherance of these ideals by states and local governments has brought about the recognition that each of these levels has a specific duty to perform according to its jurisdiction and responsibility. *In Hawaii, the latter defines its scope of recreation development as being directed towards local residents, while the responsibility of the territorial government in recreation should extend to all the people of the Islands, including our visitors from afar, and should also include the proper conservation and development of our manifold natural, scenic and historic resources in the interest of the public and the nation as a whole.* (Territorial Planning Office 1959, 42; italics mine)

Such agendas helped to solidify the implementation and coherence of a U.S. national consciousness with the use of land as the vehicle. That which would be preserved should be developed for and in the interest of *the public and the nation as a whole*. Which nation? Whose public? Silenced were Hawaiian Kingdom land-use practices and social dimensions of ʻāina, and in the process, a linear and homogenized U.S. narrative was validated. As practiced in Yosemite and Yellowstone, "with the aid of national parks, the history of the conquest of humans was transformed into the conquest of nature. Parks help to conceal the violence of conquest and in so doing not only deny the Other their history, but also create a new history in which the Other literally has no place" (Neumann 2002, 31). Herein, "the question is not whether we should or should not preserve the past, but what kind of past we have chosen to preserve" (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 99).

By the middle 1950s the need for *open spaces* as a backdrop for tourism was expressed both in legislation and in the public opinion of the relatively few with political and economic power in Hawaiʻi. The few in political power consisted primarily of the Big Five land holders and their influences with local government and land legislation.[20] The Democratic Party that came into power in the middle 1950s rallied for the importance of making fee simple land ownership available to the majority of the people. They promised another land division that would break up the Big Five land holdings.[21] Since this never transpired, the continued consolidation of Big Five interests and the manipulation of land laws for personal profit and financial gain were maintained at the cost of the continued dispossession of native Hawaiians. One clear example of such biased management was evident in the land tax laws and the designation of forestry (conservation) land.

The use of forestry land to hide large land holdings and keep land taxes either low or at zero is talked about at length in Cooper and Daws (1990), *Land and Power in Hawaiʻi*. Primarily, land taxes were kept low to favor

the landed minority, who also happened to be the same people serving in governance. "As long as Republicans in power kept real property tax rates low for the perpetual benefit of an already wealthy landed minority, Hawai'i would never have the public money to fund large-scale social programs for the benefit of the great un-landed, un-wealthy majority" (Cooper and Daws 1990, 37). Secondly, the landed removed any taxes on land as long as it was named a Forest Reserve. "[A big landowner] could put appropriate land into 'forest reserve', on which no property tax was at all was levied" (Cooper and Daws 1990, 36). This resulted in the continued land consolidation of the landed by 1956 where "65% of the 122,000 acres in forest reserve belonged to large private owners" (Cooper and Daws 1990, 36).

Despite the economic benefits, the official rhetoric from government was that conservation areas were needed for scenic opportunities as well as for the preservation of Hawai'i's natural environment. Open spaces were also needed to juxtapose the growing urbanization of a newly implemented tourism industry. Attention was brought to the fact that after much development to the landscapes in the early 1900s, a more centralized and better structured plan for preservation was needed in order to both preserve and conserve land and culture. The Planning Office of the Territory of Hawai'i wrote in 1959: "Over and above the need to develop a coordinated and comprehensive Territorial park system per se is the additional requirement that the Territory conserve and preserve valuable but rapidly disappearing historic sites, monuments, and scenic area throughout Hawai'i" (Territorial Planning Office 1959, 12).

The Hawaiian Trail and Mountain Club wrote in the late 1950s of the "GROWING NEED for POPULATION DISPERSAL AREAS where people can hike, camp, or just relax and escape from crowds, noise, smoke, and the rush of modern life" (1959, 1; capital letters as quoted directly from the text). In their short five-page report urging the Legislature to implement a parks system, the need for "open space" was stressed. Also emphasized was the need for categories in order to dictate management of lands to be divided based on historic, educational, and scientific usage. A few years later in 1959, the Territorial Planning Office set forth a plan of conservation in a report titled *A Territorial Parks System for Hawaii*. This plan continued the narrative that stressed the enormous need for "open spaces" and the complete necessity of allocating more conservation sites.

While conservation agendas are regarded as primarily a positive use of space for one epistemic order, the line that is often drawn in the case of conservation lands is usually between nature and culture as if the two are independent of one another. In this aspect, we are conditioned to see cultural features, or place, as separate from geographic features, or space. Indigenous connections to the land are therefore disqualified through the

landscape rhetoric, and these other ways of existing on the land may be criminalized if they fall outside of this mythical national good. In this scope, physical interactions with the landscape can be judged in a binary manner as either *good* or *bad* behavior.

In 2004, the Department of Land and Natural Resources hinted at good/bad behavior toward the land as follows:

> The native forest is of great cultural significance as the home of plants and animals important in Hawaiian culture and of folklore and traditions based on ancient relationships with the land. Hunting of feral pigs, deer, and goats is a popular sport and source of food for some of Hawaii's residents. While these animals represent a valuable resource to the hunting community, if left uncontrolled, can seriously damage the watershed. Hiking, mountain biking, fishing, photography, and nature study are [instead] popular recreation activities in many of Hawaii's watersheds. (Division of Forestry and Wildlife 2004, 3)

In this process binary categories of citizen are legitimized and native social relations to the land are either silenced or criminalized, such as evidenced with the categories of visitor/trespasser, tourist/squatter, and destroyer/lover of nature.[22]

Roderick Neumann (2002) makes the argument that landscape and wilderness ideas were important aspects of the national and imperial identity for Europeans when encountering the space of the *other*. Because of the otherness of new natures, like in Africa Oceania, landscaping agendas became dominant forces in the formation of national and imperial identities.[23] For Hawai'i and other Pacific Islands, the manner in which land in the Pacific was encountered was varied. James Michener, as a fiction writer yet an influential voice for describing the Pacific, wrote about an aspect of the encounter with *otherness* in his book *Hawaii:*

> These beautiful islands, waiting in the sun and storm, how much they seemed like beautiful women waiting for their men to come home at dusk, waiting with open arms and warm bodies and consolation. All that would be accomplished in these islands, as in these women, would be generated solely by the will and puissance of some man. I think the islands always knew this. (1982, 16)

Besides the obvious feminizing aspects of this perceived encounter, the space of islands and the *otherness* of nature can be that of "regular ontological shock. It is filled with competing indigenous meaning, a foreign semiotics

that does not accommodate class and gender distinctions in the same way, [and] which must consequently be rewritten" (W.J.T. Mitchell 2002, 129). This sexualized reading of *otherness* extends beyond the geography to the inhabitants as well. The Edenic myth of the noble savage, as natives in harmony with nature, or of the ignoble savage as those living in disharmony with nature becomes an important aspect to forming the national identity of the state as the container of both wilderness and native peoples. The control over these bodies and sites is an important aspect of the hypermasculine state apparatus (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999). For Haunani Kay Trask, the gendered and sexualized Hawai'i is the intrinsic avenue used to sell tourism in Hawai'i; "above all, Hawai'i is 'she', the Western image of the Native 'female' in her magical allure. And if luck prevails, some of 'her' will rub off on you, the visitor" (Trask 1993, 137). And, "tropical settings are often conflated with femininity and sexuality, the naturalism and eroticism of at least some of these islands are a cultural theme" (Lutz and Collins 1993: 152–153).[24]

The Territorial Government wrote in 1959: "Hawaii is fortunate in that it possesses not only many heiaus, historic monuments, and other cultural sites but *she* also possesses scenic areas which, in their natural unspoiled beauty, also represent a great potential economic resource as far as visitor satisfaction is concerned" (Territorial Planning Office 1959, 6; italics mine). In this report, Hawai'i is clearly *she* and her cultural sites are named and positioned as sites and economic sources precisely for *visitor satisfaction*.

As the availability of land and people in tourism is read through a feminizing lens meant for consumption, so too does conservation promote consumerism. Neumann says, "*a national park is the quintessential landscape of consumption for modern society*" (2002, 24; italics mine). Tourism in Hawai'i, as with other places that require and promote conservation, elicits consumption of such in the form of paying a fee "to get back to nature." This search for authenticity is modernity's very necessary other culture and is important but *only* insofar as particular bodies and their actions, and the historic sites as well, can be read and represented in precise and already prenegotiated ways. It is also the erasure of one type of human consumption, like those found in these peopled places, and the commencement with other means of consumption, like through tourism. Also implicit in the process is that culture *needs* to be read as hegemonic, mystical, and exotic for economic purposes.[25] People do not come to Hawai'i to gaze at one another alone, but to see that which is "Hawaiian." The irony of the 1959 Territorial report on Conservation is that out of this twenty-page report, only two sentences refer to conservation, and the rest of the report focuses on tourism and ponders what visual aspects the visitor will need for "visitor satisfaction" (Territorial Planning Office 1959, 6). (Although the benefits to residents of the lands are

also put in throughout the text in parentheses, much like with this sentence.)

Some other examples from this report of promoting conservation for its impact on tourism include

> At this point, it is only necessary to indicate that the responsibility for developing and maintaining a park program to supplement existing county and federal facilities, as well as to increase our tourist attractions, is inescapably a Territorial responsibility.
>
> Oahu, which is widely advertised as the mecca of Pacific tourism, has only two Territorial parks, representing a total of 17.2 acres, to "service" some 175,000 tourists!
>
> The lesson is clear: tourists and local residents will visit parks if they are of sufficient interest educationally, scenically, or historically, *and are properly developed*.
>
> Parks *do* compromise a significant tourist attraction if properly developed—clearly indicate the direction the Territory should follow if it desires to assist in maintaining the pace of tourism to Hawaii, and to help disperse such tourists (and local residents seeking new recreational experiences) to the Neighbor Islands.

And finally

> The advertising program of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, which emphasizes the Polynesian atmosphere and attributes of life in the islands, also contributes to the illusion of space and availability of recreational facilities; we have, in a sense, become victims of our own sales and promotion program.[26] (Territorial Planning Office 1959, 6; all italics, quotes, and parentheses are taken directly from the text.)

In general, tourism relies on exotic imagery as well as exits and entrances into extraordinary experiences. "Central to much tourism is some notion of departure. Escape to the 'extraordinary'" (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 124). According to John Urry (2002) in *The Tourist Gaze*, the tourist experience seeks an inversion from the everyday and instead imagines and wishes to experience the extraordinary. In the process, the sacralization of the site or object occurs for economic purposes alone. The site is only a site because it has been named, framed, and elevated from the everyday and enshrined as a sacred object and a social reproduction (Urry 2002: 10–11). In this rhetoric, culture and the people that inhabit that culture are read as cohesive and as part of a *community*. This construction of a core community or a core culture

is vital to conservation agendas because these are the bodies and sites that are to be gazed upon. And ironically in this process, this core community is more than likely separated both geographically and epistemologically from the environments they inhabit(ed).

Placial Understandings

All of these notions of conservation and tourism insist on insider/outsider encounters with nature, the natural, and with one another. But for native peoples, there may not be a way to epistemologically divorce oneself from the land. "One traveled through the landscape as an observer 'taking in' (consuming) the scenery, rather than traveled in the landscape. In contrast, for the insider, there is no firm distinction between herself or himself and the land, no way to simply step out of the picture or the landscape" (Neumann 2002, 20). "Placial" understandings, for indigenous peoples, are related to living and surviving within the environment. It is that "intimate experience" that Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) speaks about.[27] And in this experience, learning is dynamic and active. Manu Meyer (1998) sees the dynamics of interacting with place as active. In her works, she notes an interlapping continuum between people and place, and notes one's active relationship with place as shaping Hawaiian knowledge and experience.

Our history is rich with the stories of an alive and interactive universe. Examples of local knowledge or placial connections between people and space in Hawai'i can be found in many narratives. *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao* is a mo'olelo about relationships and social structure, as read through the story of the winds. *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao* is a translated text from the Hawaiian legend *Mo'olelo Hawai'i o Paka'a a me Kuapaka'a, na Kahu Iwikuamo'o o Keawenuiaumi, ke Ali'i o Hawai'i, a na mo'opuna hoi a La'amaomao*.[28] This legend speaks of the personal attendants to Keawenuiaumi, Chief of Hawai'i, and the descendants of *La'amaomao* (the Hawaiian wind goddess). The legend relates the close relationship between the *Ali'i Nui* and his attendants and the responsibilities of one for the other.

"The wind gourd referred to in the title of this legend was believed to contain all the winds of Hawai'i, which could be called forth by chanting their names. According to Handy and Handy (1972), the gourd is an embodiment of *Lono*, the Hawaiian god of agriculture and fertility. In the *Paka'a* legend, the gourd, along with the wind chants naming dozens of local winds, is passed down from La'amaomao, the Hawaiian wind goddess to her granddaughter La'amaomao; to her granddaughter's son Paka'a, to Paka'a's son, Kuapaka'a" (Nakuina 1992: viii–ix). In this mo'olelo, the winds are chanted first by primary *akua* (gods) and passed down through the *'aumakua* (family

gods) to the kupuna (grandparents) and then passed down to the Paka'a (son) and Kuapaka'a (grandson). The winds, upward of 100 and far too many to recount for this paper, are memorized generationally because of kuleana of the descendants to continue that memory.

These chants, which speak not only of the winds, but also of the ocean currents, land masses, animals such as birds, dreams, and other signs from the wahi, situated Hawaiians both geographically and ideologically. If it was your kuleana, you knew where you were based on the name of the wind, the type of the wind, and the particular relationship that that wind had with birds, swells, and other aspects in nature. It was not simply naming the spot, but knowing the spot, based on these other factors, that served as a general knowing of space and one's place within that space. And, in effect, it formed a *co-active* existence between self and one's relationship with nature. According to the legend of La'amaomao, access to the knowledge of the winds was granted by genealogy and carried down through family lines.[29] The wind chanter not only knew the names of winds and the directions they blew, but also had control over the winds and was able to use the winds to serve his *ali'i*. This wind discourse is exemplified in the story of the wind gourd.[30]

According to this mo'olelo, the island of O'ahu has over forty makani alone. Each wind is attached to a particular area and named for the different qualities of the wind itself and for the part of the island it passes through. In the legend, Kuapaka'a learned the winds from his father Paka'a, a descendant of La'amaomao the Hawaiian wind goddess. In one section of the mo'olelo, Kuapaka'a's genealogy was challenged by the attendants of Keawe. In response to this challenge for Kuapaka'a, he recited all of the names of the winds, for all of the islands in Hawai'i, in order to prove his heritage. In the mo'olelo he also taunts the attendants of Keawe:

> The small canoe will be swamped,
> Destroyed with the large canoe,
> The ali'i will die, the kahuna will die,
> The weak will die, the strong will die,
> The dark wisemen, the bright wisemen,
> They will search out, they will confer
> To locate the stars of the wave,
> O Hokule'a, O Hokulei,
> They will swim singly, they will swim by twos,
> Yesterday was a calm day,
> A crowd of fishermen was at sea,
> The paddling of the good canoes,

The strength of the hoewa'a,
The wisdom of the ho'okele,
Don't go far out to sea, ē dear ones,
Stop here over the sea surface,
You will be possessed on O'ahu,
There will be darkness only on calm O'ahu,
Yesterday was calm, today will be stormy;
Keawenuia'umi, come ashore, a storm is coming.

Kuapaka'a follows this taunting with a partial list of some of the winds of O'ahu:

From the sea, the storm comes sweeping toward shore,
The windward Kuilua wind churns up the sea,
While you're fishing and sailing,
The Ihiihilauakea wind blows,
It's the wind that blows inside Hanauma,
A wind from the mountains that darkens the sea,
It's the wind that tosses the kapa of Paukua,
Puuokona is of Kuli'ou'ou,
Maua is the wind of Niu,
Holouha is of Kekaha,
Maunuunu is of Wai'alao,
The wind of Le'ahi turns here and there,
'Olauniu is of Kahaloa,
Wai'oma'o is of Palolo,
Kuehulepo is of Kahua,
Kukalahale is of Honolulu,
'Ao'aoa is of Mamala,
'Olauniu is of Kapalama,
Haupe'pe'e is of Kalihi,
Komomona is of Kahauiki,
Ho'e'o is of Moanalua,
Moa'eku is of Ewaloa,
Kehau is of Waopua,
Waikoloa is of Lihu'e,
Kona is of Pu'uokapolei. . . . (Nakuina 1992: 43–44)

And on and on the makani are called, systematically going around the island of O'ahu in a clockwise direction and ending at Makapu'u on the eastern edge of O'ahu. In this legend, Kuapaka'a also has control over

the direction the winds blow. During this particular chant, he created a storm and was trying to trick the enemies of his father, Paka'a, in order that they would dock their canoes for the night. This mo'olelo is one of honor and revenge as Kuapaka'a finally destroys his father's enemies and their family lands are returned to them by the ali'i nui Keawenuiaumi. In this manner, responsibility and ancestry intercept dramatically with natural elements. This is an extremely colorful narrative with an entire array of cunning characters and extraordinary exploits and adventure between and on the Hawaiian Islands.

The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao is also a tale of female *mana* (power). In general, Hawaiian genealogy is one of female power. The *Kumulipo*, the Hawaiian Creation Chant, begins with the ancient Hawaiian world wherein *Po* (the unfathomable and mysterious female night) gives birth by herself, and without any male impregnating element, to a son and daughter, Kumulipo and Po'ele, who by their incestuous mating create the world (Beckwith 1951). The Hawaiian conception of the universe is recounted in a cosmogenic genealogy that spans sixteen *wa*, or time periods, eight in the night and eight in the day, wherein the 40,000 Akua, or gods, are born (Beckwith 1951). "By this cosmogonic genealogy, known as the Kumulipo, Po, the female night, is ancestor of all Akua; she is the source of life, of divinity, and of ancestral wisdom" (Beckwith 1951, 3). The female deity is the darkness that is the beginning of creation. *She* is the primary source of consciousness and reality. La'amaomao, as well, is noted to be the Hawaiian wind *goddess*, as opposed to readings of wind deities in other Polynesian locations as being male.[31] *Na mana wahine* (female power) sharply contrasts with contemporary prescribed Polynesian feminine space where *she* is *passive*.

As evidenced, makani is one element in distinguishing social status and structure. Besides this mo'olelo, makani is also mentioned in numerous *'olelo no'eau* (Hawaiian proverbs). The mentioning of makani ranges from descriptive elements that refer to land and sea mass, as well as to the more personal descriptions of emotions and human relations.

> 'Ano kaiko'o lalo o Kealahula, ua puhia ke 'ala ma Puahinahina.
> It is somewhat rough down at Kealahula, for the fragrance (of Seaweed) is being wafted hither from the direction of Puahinahina. There is a disturbance over there, and we are noticing signs of it here.
> The breeze carries the smell of seaweed when the water is rough. (Pukui 1983, 15)

> Ho'i ke ao o ke kuahiwi, ho'i ka makani ia Kumukahi.
> The cloud returns to the mountain, the wind returns to Kumukahi.

Said of a group of people dispersed, each going to his own abode. (Pukui 1983, 111)

Ke mokomoko la me ka makani.
He is boxing the wind.
Said of one who is being disagreeable. (Pukui 1983, 190)

Ke Hau o Ma'ihi.
The Hau (breeze) of Ma'ihi.
Refers to Ma'ihi, Kona, Hawai'i. Because the locality was named for Ma'ihialakapuolono, daughter of the Lonoaipu,
This wind was regarded as sacred and did not blow beyond Kainaliu and Keauhou. (Pukui 1983, 142)

These short examples of 'olelo no'eau regarding makani point to the different manners in which wind can be evoked and used to explain elements of Hawaiian thought. These are referred to as "placial" understandings of self and the environment because place intersects with human experience. This sense of cooperation with the environment is invoked in Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places*. "Relationships to place are lived most often in the company of other people—when places are sensed together and enacted—daily, monthly, seasonally, annually—places and their meanings are continually woven into the fabric of social life, anchoring it to features of the landscape and blanketing it with layers of significance that few can fail to appreciate" (Basso 1996, 57). In storied places, according to Basso and other indigenous thinkers, things happen. The stories that are told about the happenings in places are told in order that lessons might be learned. By recounting the stories, one is made wiser and that particular memory is reinforced and valued. In such cases, wisdom literally *sits* in places because the stories of the place contain the wisdom that is passed down through one's ancestors.

Another important aspect of indigenous thought is the active participation with the environment. A "participation mystic" speaks of the interaction with place as affecting identity. "Native languages are verb based, and the words that describe the world emerge directly from actively perceived experience. In a sense, language 'choreographs' and/or facilitates the continual orientation of Native thought and perception toward active participation, active imagination, and active engagement with all that makes up natural reality" (Cajete 2000, 27). The *coparticipation* with the natural world is simultaneously a type of "perceptual phenomenology"[32] and constitutes a sensory type of experience because of the close intimacy. This close intimacy consists of no space or no separation between a people and their place. This relationship fosters a cultural identity and wellbeing that flows with the natural elements and other relationships.

Conclusion

In Hawai'i, land has gone through massive epistemological transformations. These changes include the Hawaiian reading of land as 'āina, or literally that which feeds and sustains an intimate connection between people, their ali'i, and the cosmos, as one reading, to land as real estate, private property, and that which can be bought and sold without cultural/emotional attachments. Over time, 'āina has come to reflect the multiple discourses of power as a site of the "visual experience and social production" (Cosgrove 1998, 14) contingent in the act of Western landscaping, thereby fulfilling preconceived roles that conform to both the "tourist gaze" and "conservation agendas." In the process, native ways of *knowing* the land were in large part silenced and/or erased from contemporary state discourse, except as those spaces imagined to represent the authentic and anachronistic native and place.

In the middle 1950s in Hawai'i, the Territorial Government and those that had been in power for over 50 years began to reemphasize the need for an entity called "conservation land," or that which would "preserve" the "natural" Hawai'i. Subsequent laws were passed in order to solidify a land base that would set land aside for activities such as recreation, viewing the natural vista, and preserving Hawai'i's natural landscape and culture. An underlying motive for conservation by the Territorial Government was at least partially evoked by economic reasons. An already-booming tourism industry and an eye toward the future of this industry necessitated "conservation land" so that tourism could continue and more importantly, could continue to prosper as well.

"This new order revalued certain kinds of land. While it still needed to be 'empty', it was no longer measured by its productivity in metric tons or contiguous acres, but by its proximity to sandy beaches and clean bays" (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 40). No one wanted, or I suppose wants, to come to Hawai'i to see only hotels and other tourists. The myth of Hawai'i as a destination spot relies in large part on the continued existence of the natural beauty and access to that which is *natural* and *wild*. The social construction of these categories still continues to rely upon preconceived ideas of both, as well as the institutional power that informs and constructs these realities. In contrast, "landscape thinking" on indigenous communities has been one of displacement and erasure.[33] Landscape agendas are linked to nation creating endeavors wherein particular ideological constructs, such as the industrialized nation, are made to appear natural and all other relations made to appear unusual. In effect, aboriginal understandings of land and place were further silenced in the process.[34] These "epistemic erasures are not innocent; they justify political and territorial erasures" (Braun 2002, 8, quoting Gregory 2001).

The particular discourse positioned around wind, land, and ocean, like that recounted in *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao*, was interrupted periodically and eventually stifled in its original form by many events in Hawai'i's history. But, by reorienting ourselves to a Hawaiian epistemology through mo'olelo and 'olelo no'eau, cultural connections are revitalized and revalued for their wisdom. Such practices evoke the usage of a whole different set of understandings. Even knowing that a particular wind blows through a particular area invigorates Hawaiian knowledge and encourages these other ways of seeing and being in place.

And with these recognitions and further understandings of place in Hawaiian thought, we might continue to "remember (our) true leaders, nation, and culture" (Nakuina 1992, vii). The closing of the ideological gap through a shared memory of space strengthens a Hawaiian sense of place and self. As we continue the revitalization of these understandings through our actions and memories, the contemporary state structure that depends on separation is further challenged. And in this process, a Hawaiian well-being can only be enhanced by these active participations and shared understandings.

NOTES

1. 'Ukiu is just one of the many winds named in *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao*, the mo'olelo about the Wind Goddess La'amaomao and her descendents—resurrected and published by Moses Nakuina in the early 1900s. I chose the wind of Makawao to begin this paper since that is the area I am from.

2. Epistemology, according to Michel Foucault (1980, 1998), consists of the structures, institutions, and systems that inform individuals of the genealogy of knowledge. These are the knowledge bases that tell us what we know.

3. "Buried epistemologies" is a term used by geographer Bruce Braun to describe the power of the state apparatus to neutralize indigenous concepts regarding lands. Here "'land' was made to appear as 'nature': a space that held no signs of 'culture' and therefore could be appropriated into the administrative space of the 'nation'" (Braun 1997, 12). In this process, indigenous voices and relationships to the natural world were dislocated by administrative power.

4. Geoff Park in *Nga Uruora* recognizes the colonial relationship between land and nation building in New Zealand. The introduction of the book speaks to the European imagination of New Zealand as "a garden and pasture in which the best elements of British society might grow into an ideal nation" (Park 1995, 13). This was the manner in which New Zealand enters the European imagination. Further, the dairy industry in New Zealand reinforced other ways of relating and being in the landscape as "privatized, ordered into rectangles and given over to uniformity, the production of milk and the control of the wild water, this ground is saturated with conquest" (Park 1995, 22). Here, the nation was

built through dairy, and this industry shaped the economy and society as an "ordinary landscape" was created. This in turn silenced other ways of understanding the landscape. Park notes the manners in which the land "works on us" and poses the question of what happens with this interaction when the soils are lost to European settlers.

5. Discourse, according to Foucault, relies on power to disseminate knowledge because "it is through discourse (through knowledge) that we are created" (Michigan State University n.d.). Therefore, those in control of discourse also control every aspect of being. One needs to ask *whose* knowledge is being evoked at any particular time.

6. Space and place terminology, in cultural geography and political theory, acknowledges the differences of *space* as being the scientific, measured, nonemotional landscape, while *place* connotes the social relations and lived experiences that cannot be scientifically measured on the land but only reinforced through social relations.

7. *Sense of place* for Hawaiians, as referred to by George Kanahele (1986), encompasses a holistic and limitless worldview.

8. Aboriginal is a term used during the eighteenth and nineteenth century to describe Hawaiians of native blood. See Queen Lili'uokalani's Trust Deed when describing her beneficiaries as "the preference to be given to Hawaiian children of pure or part aboriginal blood" (Queen Lili'uokalani's Trust Deed 1911). Many other documents during the Hawaiian Kingdom era name Hawaiians as aboriginal, as opposed to the Hawaiian Kingdom Subjects, which could be citizens of any race. *Aboriginal* will be interchanged with *native* throughout this text. Note: indigenous is a term coined in the 1990s by the United Nations in describing "stateless" peoples. In comparison, *indigenous* appears in this text to designate native, aboriginal people as those being *of* a place, as opposed to the definition of statelessness.

9. See Denis Cosgrove (1998) for the genealogical breakdown of these primary geographical terms and ideas.

10. Mitchell (1998, 45), taken from Michel Foucault (1977).

11. Cosgrove discusses the concept of *perspective* that came about with landscape painting in Italy and refers to Leonardo da Vinci's idea that the artist has control over nature in landscape painting (Cosgrove 1998, 25). By maintaining creative control, "the idea of landscape itself offer(s) the *illusion* of an affinity with the insider's world, the world we do experience as a collective product of people subjectively engaged with their milieu" (Cosgrove 1998, 27). In other words, the landscape is a world separate yet in fusion with a world far removed from reality. Here the view could be manipulated to create a reality where workers were removed from the view. This was the preface for later concepts used by the English to distinguish *wilderness* and to empty peopled places as presented in paintings. The English put people back in the paintings later with drawings of the gentried class. "The English countryside became the 'other' to the urban areas, full of landscaped estates, capitalist agriculture, concentrated wealth and rural leisure pursuits" (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, 177).

12. Information from this paragraph comes from the web page of the Division of Forestry and Wildlife (2004, 2).

13. Understanding the insecure legal stance of the Territorial Government, i.e., no Treaty of Annexation in 1898 and only a Joint Resolution of Congress with the prior instance of the Illegal Overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani, a way to realign a national citizenry was through landscaping agendas that legitimized themselves with their own institutions. One rather glaring example is the renaming of the Crown Lands to Public Lands. This imagined entity now called Public Lands helped to reorganize land use and perception of these lands to some mythical entity called *Public*, while it simultaneously disposed Queen Lili'uokalani of revenue from the Crown Lands at the turn of the last century (see *Lili'uokalani v. United States of America* 1909).

14. *The Tourist Gaze* is the title of a book by John Urry (2002), as well as his primary premise in the book, being that in regard to tourism one needs to be trained and told where to gaze and how to gaze, and that this gaze has already been constructed by those in control of the discourse.

15. Photos during the early and middle 1900s show a gradual consumption of *nativeness* as evidenced in the evolution of hula in photography. An example is the Kodak's Free Hula Shows in 1941, where it was advertised

> Music, Dancing, Coconut Tree Climbing, Poi Making
> Every Thursday, Waikiki Natatorium 10 A.M.
> Especially arranged to permit picture takers to get truly
> Hawaiian movies and stills in a lovely island setting
> Under perfecto photographic conditions.
> EVERYBODY IS WELCOME
> KODAK, HAWAII, LIMITED (*Hawaiian Hula Kodak Show Advertising Card* 1941)

The *other* is brought into view so that the viewing subject can better see and understand self and *other*. Representation of the *other* is experienced in conjunction with the representation of land (*lovely island setting*), as well as displaced from that land, as nature is read to exist without culture and therefore not tied emotionally to the *other*. Photography is one medium where the rediscovery of the modern self is captured through print.

16. Later juridical tools—like the naming of native Hawaiians in 1921 with the Hawaiian Homelands Commission Act—further shaped citizens along U.S. Territorial claims as opposed to Hawaiian Kingdom subjecthood because of the racial element used by the U.S. to designate ethnicities. See Benedict Anderson's (1983) section on Census, Map, Museum for complete discussion of the racializing of populations by the State.

17. Anne McClintock describes the "anachronistic space" as a realm that remains anterior and, thus, has no place in the unfolding history of the modern nation (1995, 61).

18. "Enlightened man" is a term associated with the European Renaissance movement where, according to Cosgrove, "central to this progressive narrative of human achievement has been the figure of the individual European male, conceived as a universal subject, exercising rational self-consciousness within a largely disembodied mind, and endowed with a will to power: thus the sovereign subject of history" (1998, xvii).

19. *Nation building* refers to ideas put forth by Benedict Anderson (1983) in *Imagined Communities* whereby nations are consciously constructed for the primary purpose of control and the homogenization of its citizens.

20. Noel Kent (1983) documents widely the Big Five (Alexander and Baldwin, Hackfield and Co., C. Brewer and Co, Theo Davies and Co., and Castle and Cook) business interests and their monopolization of industry and land use in the 1950s to present.

21. Kent (1983, 125) referred to the "Second Mahele" that sought to break up the large landholdings in Hawai'i; however, this legislation never passed.

22. Binaries are instituted in classificatory systems to denote *good* vs. *bad* behavior of citizens in regard to land-use operations. In these contexts, anything outside of state sanctioned behavior (like engaging in cultural practices) may be read as a derelict usage of land. An example would be Mahealani Pai (Otaguro 1996), who defended his native rights at the Hawai'i Supreme Court against developers when he wanted to continue to harvest the ponds at Kohanaiki, Kona. His rights, protected by the Kuleana Act, held in the Supreme Court and upheld an earlier 1978 court ruling that protected native Hawaiian customary rights for traditional purposes.

23. Neumann (2002) discusses spaces of *otherness* throughout his analysis of nature preservation in Africa.

24. In *Reading* National Geographic, Lutz and Collins (1993) expose the fact that bare-breasted women are the most photographed body in the Pacific region and the most sexualized body in any region.

25. Culture and hegemony sharply contrasts accounts from Hawai'i's history, such as Samuel Kamakau's *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i* (1961), where warring chiefs between islands and *'ohana* are the norm.

26. Quotes from the report titled *A Territorial Parks System for Hawaii*, Territorial Planning Office (1959).

27. Yi-Fu Tuan in *Space and place: The perspective of experience*, relates how intimacy is linked to place. "Landscape is personal and tribal history made visible. The native's identity—his place in the total scheme of things—is not in doubt, because the myths that support it are as real as the rocks and waterholes he can see and touch" (Tuan 1977, 158).

28. This traditional legend was collected by various sources, edited and expanded by Moses Kuaea Nakuina, and published in 1902.

29. The legend speaks continually of kuleana and genealogy as an intertwined and unavoidable social construct.

30. Borrowing Foucault's notion of *discourse*, a wind discourse is read as the power that wind has in structuring social and political relations.

31. Female power and wind as noted in Nakuina (1992, ix).

32. Martin Heidegger's (2001) *Phenomenological interpretations of Aristotle: initiation into phenomenological research* addresses phenomenology and the idea that lived experience constitutes knowledge.

33. Michael J. Shapiro looks at the recoding of the landscape in the continental United States: "Euro American representational practices played a role in the historical displacement of the Native American from the continent's landscape" (2004, 182). And, "they participated in the expansionist process through which the West was settled, 'tamed', and effectively inscribed, as the state recorded the landscape, turning it into a white provenance and a resource that would aid in the process of industrialization" (Shapiro 2004, 182).

34. It is important to note that there has not been a complete silence of native thought in regard to 'aina, as evidenced by the many Hawaiians that continue to practice cultural activities in their daily lives and livelihoods. These instances connote what Foucault would name counterpower discursive practices because of the inability of the state to completely contain these endeavors—even with regulations pertaining to such.

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Eric Kline Silverman. *Masculinity, Motherhood, and Mockery: Psychoanalyzing Culture and the Iatmul Naven Rite in New Guinea.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001. Pp. 264. 2 drawings, 10 photographs, 1 map. ISBN 978-0-472-09757-9 (cloth), US$70.00; ISBN 978-0-472-06757-2 (paper), US$27.95.

Review: SHIRLEY LINDENBAUM
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THIS EXTRAORDINARY WORK REVISITS perhaps the most provocative ceremony in the history of anthropology—the Iatmul naven rite first described by Bateson in 1936. Some seven decades later our knowledge of the Sepik River region has been greatly enhanced, and different theoretical approaches can now be called upon to interpret aspects of the rite not revealed by Bateson's challenging analysis.

Masculinity, Motherhood, and Mockery offers an equally stimulating interpretation of naven and the symbolism of what Silverman calls "the great predicament of Eastern Iatmul masculinity" (11). His analysis of the equivocal relationship between men and the maternal body draws upon Bakhtin's notion of two countervailing images of the body, the moral and the grotesque. Iatmul men in the fishing and horticultural village of Tambunum hold a moral image of motherhood that is "nurturing, sheltering, cleansing, fertile and chaste," and at the same time an equally compelling grotesque image that is "defiling, dangerous, orifical, aggressive, and carnal" (2). Silverman's discussion extends the earlier adoption of Bakhtin (1984) by Lipset (1997) to unravel the intricacies of the "maternal schema" in another Sepik River culture in which men similarly hold a split image of the maternal body.

Psychoanalysis provides a second frame for Silverman's interpretation of the bodily semiotics of Tambunum masculinity and motherhood. Anthropology and psychoanalysis have long had an on-again, off-again embrace. Silverman argues forcefully here for its adoption, offering four propositions. First, that the preoedipal mother-child bond holds a central place in the cultural imagination of men and, to a lesser extent, women. The attainment of manhood thus requires traumatic repudiation of the pre-oedipal attachment through displays of hypermasculinity and male solidarity in the aggressive exclusion of women from the male cult. Second, that the central dramas of manhood define masculinity in the absence of women, but they also express a desire to return to the ideal nurturing mother. Third, that men define themselves through oedipal desires and anxieties expressed not in relation to a punitive father, but in the oedipal imbroglios around marriage and inheritance that involve motherhood. And finally, that men exhibit contorted expressions of male envy of female parturition and fertility. Women are barred from the male cult house, for example, but the building is itself a mother in whose belly men store ritual items stolen from ancestresses, to compensate, they say, for their inability to give birth. Men may mirror the female body, but they also scorn the female reproductive tract, displacing women's procreative potential with idioms of anal birth, as in the startling naven gesture in which the uncle slides his buttocks down a youth's leg, a parturient fiction that men fear women may recognize. During naven, women respond to men's posturings with drubbings, ribald jokes, and the hurling of defiling substances, lending the event its carnivalesque tenor.

Gender provides the third framework for interpreting men's cultural conversation with the maternal body. This dimension will be recognized by anthropologists familiar with recent discussions of the person in Melanesia in which gender is said to be dual, fluid, and transactional, rather than fixed, bounded, or inherent. Men and women transact substances, personified objects, and body parts normally coded as male and female. Iatmul gender is androgynous, although the male is more androgynous than the female. Men model their identity after motherhood, but women rarely aspire to be fathers. "Finding a genuine identity in this dialogue of contrary values and virtues is the great predicament of Eastern Iatmul masculinity" (11).

Silverman adapts Bakhtin's notion of culture for his own ends. Bakhtin understood culture to consist of contrary discourses, authoritative and dissonant, expressed in two antithetical forms. The "moral" body offers the official view of social order, and the "grotesque" (its carnivalesque counterpart) trespasses across boundaries of hierarchy, taste, and gender. Culture, saturated with multiple discourses, presents a contrapuntal unity. Using Bakhtin's idea of hidden dialogue, Silverman reveals two contending voices in expressions,

gestures, and in the polyphony of local thought and experience. The symbols of culture that Sepik men deploy in validating themselves are thus said to be found in the dialogical relationship between masculinity and motherhood, as well as in the cultural elaboration of motherhood as double-bodied, moral and grotesque, two images that remain unresolved and ambivalent.

The ethnography is divided into three segments. In part one we are introduced to the myth of an ancestress who transformed the foul sores on her aging body into the palm trees that, when mixed with coital fluids, resulted in edible sago, the essential staple prepared by women, a culinary idiom of nurturing motherhood. The myth of an ancestress who lived alone on the periphery of society, dangerous yet sustaining, represents one answer to the central predicament of masculinity, how to reproduce without directly acknowledging the role of women, heterosexuality, and female parturition.

The rest of the book elaborates this central theme of the moral and grotesque body, which occurs again and again in the analysis of cosmological, social, and ritual relationships. The idiom of motherhood that men grapple with is double-voiced, whether it be in the context of male initiation, in men's physiological conceptions of the human body, or in the forms of domestic architecture in which the house is explicitly envisioned as a nurturing, protective mother, yet the doorway symbolizing the mother's genitals is ornamented with crocodile teeth. As in a Beethoven sonata, Silverman's analysis of Iatmul cultural imaginings about the maternal body grows from a small kernel, the simplest and most condensed thought, announced early and with variations, repeated over and over again. The power derived from repetition underlies the effectiveness of the analysis, which in fact stems from men's unrelenting ideological and behavioral restatement of their predicament.

The analysis reaches a crescendo in part three, which focuses on the rituals of masculinity and provides new ethnographic material about the naven rite and a convincing interpretation of the enigmatic gesture in which the maternal uncle slides his buttocks down the youth's leg. The rite celebrates first-time achievements such as spearing fish, wearing spirit masks, and, formerly, bloodshed. Today the ceremony also honors such feats of modernity as airplane travel and the purchase of an outboard motor for a dugout canoe. At the end of the rite the nephew presents gifts to his matrikin and to other ritual participants for the feelings of shame they have experienced. During the ceremony, for example, the mother's brothers wear filthy skirts, carry women's mosquito fans, and parody birth and the protocols of motherhood. Female kin adorn themselves with male finery. Mother figures pelt women and especially men with mud, lewdly protruding their buttocks, and taunting men with erotic quips. Real mothers throw themselves to the ground so their children can walk over them. This "celebratory degradation"

is said to honor and defile masculinity with its contrary images of motherhood.

Bateson had described the naven gesture as a "sexual salute" and argued that the ceremony allowed men and women to transgress emotional norms, thereby achieving a degree of psychological integration. Mockery and transgression were seen to contribute in a functional manner to maintain normative behavior and to provide sociological integration for a potentially fractured community. Silverman views naven instead as a complex dramatization of parental androgyny and but one example of men's contorted procreative assertions. The ritual pantomime between uncle and nephew combines images of excrement and birth, tabooed eroticism, male shame, the laughter of women, and the tears of men, exposing "the earnestness, folly and pathos of Eastern Iatmul manhood" (12).

Toward the end of the book Silverman suggests that his account of the cultural construction of manhood in the middle Sepik River region tells us about masculinity in general. Embedded in specific historical and cultural practices, the psychodynamic images of the Iatmul ceremonies, he suggests, can be found in localized masculinities elsewhere. Whether others will agree with this broad statement will depend on anthropologists coming to terms with the psychodynamic perspective used here persuasively, with verve and eloquence.

The study leads us to ponder a more modest notion posed by Mead in 1978 and taken up by several participants at the Sepik Heritage conference held in Basel in 1984 (see Lutkehaus 1990), that is, the degree to which Sepik River cultures can be considered in some way a culturally distinct area. Certainly the evidence suggests local communities connected through trade and warfare, many of them sharing key themes in myths, ceremonies, ideologies, and aesthetic representation. Conference participants came to the conclusion that in contrast to the wealth-based New Guinea Highlands societies, power in Sepik communities was invested more in esoteric knowledge. The fragility of such an edifice was illustrated recently in the account of Tuzin (1997) of the turmoil that resulted when one Sunday, during a church service, several men in Ilahita, a village in the East Sepik Province, confessed that the secret male cult had been based on a great deception. With its roots in fear and hostility, the cult had been created by initiated men, they said, with the help of imaginative tricks and clever devices such as flutes, trumpets, whistles, gongs, and bullroarers. Women's reaction was perhaps what men feared the most—that women now found men ridiculous. The cult's gender-inflected ideology and procreative imagery, which had bolstered a fragile sense of masculine self-esteem, had now eroded. Worse, with no deceptions and secrets to hide, wives no longer bent to their

husband's will, and women now began to experience high levels of domestic brutality. The loss of the cult had removed an institutional channel for sublimating aggressive impulses. "Ritual menace and rhetorical violence have gone, replaced with the real thing . . . the unsublimated savagery of men" (Tuzin 1997, 177).

In the New Guinea Highlands another revealing case shows gender politics taking a different turn (Sexton 1986). During the 1970s, women in the Daulo region formed a network of autonomous women's groups to save and invest money. Groups organized as "mothers" and "daughters," the mothers teaching neophytes the ideology, rituals, and financial practices of the institution. The encouragement and instruction of daughter groups were couched in metaphors of childbearing, gardening, and income-generating work, underlining women's reproductive and nurturing roles. Instructional meetings took the form of a symbolic marriage. The mothers/bride-givers presented a "girl," often in the form of a doll enclosed in a mesh bag filled with coins. In time as the daughter groups saved and invested their funds, they could "give birth" to new daughter groups. This salutary example of women "taking back" motherhood reminds us that the right to control the story of reproduction remains an ideological battle we can all recognize.

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Review: STEPHEN LEAVITT
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In *Masculinity, Motherhood, and Mockery*, Eric Kline Silverman presents a nuanced and breathtakingly comprehensive symbolic study of the famous naven ritual of the middle Sepik region in Papua New Guinea. His study is based on ethnographic field research in 1988–1990 in Tambunum village. In the tradition of the very best symbolic studies—a certain cockfight comes to mind—Silverman manages to use a single ritual event to provide a penetrating look at an entire way of life. At issue is the famously multifaceted expression of gender in societies that carefully cultivate masculine warriors while at the same time allowing for derision from women and imitation of women. The naven ceremony epitomizes that complicated pattern: older women—or men dressed up as older women—celebrate young men's achievements by casting insults and innuendos upon them.

Silverman's analysis breaks sharply from most others on the topic. Instead of seeing a carefully framed symbolism aimed at reinforcing gender dichotomies or local structural patterns, he argues that the ritual provides a "reprimand of culture herself" (136), offering "an endless conversation between antithetical visions of social order, self, and desire" (2). He advocates a study of symbolic forms that insists on their ultimately dialogical character as a *commentary* on life where "the colloquy of culture engenders profound emotional ambivalence" (2). Ritual is not about coherence, resolution, and closure; instead, it allows for the expression of conflicting and ultimately deeply psychological impulses. His study makes a compelling case for the postmodern critique of all functional analyses of ritual that seek to provide closure and resolve contradiction.

Naven is a ceremony that celebrates accomplishments of young men through ritual acts initiated by strategic relatives. It can be performed informally by senior women from a youth's father's mother's clan. They "thrash, spit on, and degrade the honorees" (140) as a kind of backhanded celebration. Silverman himself was subjected to such treatment twice, once upon spearing his first fish and again when learning to paddle a canoe while standing. Alternatively, maternal uncles may initiate a naven when young men undergo certain cult activities for the first time. A more formal occasion occurs when mother's brothers and women from the father's mother's clan together initiate a large-scale celebration to commemorate significant accomplishments. Historically, the paradigmatic achievement was the first taking of the head of an enemy. The ceremonies typically concluded with the famous *nggariik* gesture, a humiliating pantomime by a mother's brother who, dressed as a woman, rubbed his buttocks up and down the leg of

the celebrant, utterly shaming him. Such large-scale ceremonies required compensation through the exchange of valuables.

Echoing Gregory Bateson's famous threefold interpretation of naven, Silverman states at the outset that his study employs three analytical frameworks—the dialogical, the psychoanalytic, and the gendered—to shed light on naven's remaining puzzles. He had no plans to study naven when he entered the field, but once there he could not ignore features of the ritual that seemed to contravene Bateson's functionalist interpretations. The tone and drama of naven events did not appear to offer any "psychological, emotional, or sociological closure—just the opposite" (4). The so-called celebration seemed mortifying to participants, provoking tears of shame rather than pride or joy. And all of this initiated by mother figures, directed at men. He states that a full understanding of naven would require "a framework that would interpret the bodily semiotics of masculinity and motherhood" (5).

Silverman's dialogical analysis derives from Mikhail Bakhtin's view of culture as consisting of "contrary discourses," a moral body of coherence and authority juxtaposed with the "grotesque" carnivalesque body "dominated by an insatiable, devouring and egesting, carnal maw" (6). The key is that these two valences do not involve negations or reversals of a dominant cultural theme; rather, there is a continuing dialog of themes that together capture the "contradictory, double-faced fullness of life" (6). Such an approach seems well-suited to the intricate and contradictory themes of Melanesian ritual culture, especially on the topic of gender, and Silverman's painstaking exploration of all the dimensions of gender symbolism leads to a sense that finally one can begin to understand what middle Sepik gender is all about.

The source of such a sense of insight comes, ultimately, from Silverman's psychoanalytic focus on the cultural significance of motherhood. It is here that we see the most compelling justification for reassessing the meaning of naven. With the singular insight that masculinity, in all its bravado, remains tied to the powerful safety and potential oedipal sexual allure of motherhood, Silverman offers a wholly new take on the apparently self-justifying, compensatory, womb-envying character of Melanesian masculinity. The naven ritual, he argues, gives explicit recognition to the ultimate inadequacy of manhood; it casts "masculinity as a failed figuration of motherhood," where men "camouflage yet express" a desire for fertility. Even the masculine boasts invoke "a tragedy of manhood" (37). Researchers in Melanesia have documented over and over the way men appropriate feminine fertility imagery to assert their superiority as males, and some have argued that such acts imply a deep psychological sense of inferiority in relation to women. While Silverman supports such interpretations, he argues that something else is going on here—the cultural forms promote *explicitly* the contradictions of masculinity. They reveal an ultimately dialogical character to culture, and men's womb-envy

takes on a whole new feel. Rather than being a byproduct of masculine bravado, it now becomes an essential part of what masculinity is: "masculinity is defined as much in terms of motherhood as it is defined in opposition to her" (57). Hence the ultimate tragedy of manhood.

Silverman's thesis allows him to explain the symbolism of a wide array of cultural forms, from men's fears of feminine essences to their construction of maternal homes with jagged teeth surrounding their entrances. Men seek masculine autonomy but recognize that social life requires reciprocity and dependence. They pursue "maximal male personhood" while at the same time they "retain a lifelong wish to return to maternal safety" (69). The preferred marriage system is thought of explicitly as a way for a man to "get his mother back" by having his son take a wife from the same clan his own mother came from (107). In all of this the allures of maternal care, maternal sexuality, and maternal fertility work to help define masculinity. Masculinity, then, is neither a denial of maternal femininity nor a compensatory reaction against it; instead, it defines itself ultimately in maternal terms.

The naven ceremony, Silverman argues, is a celebration of that contradictory quality of masculinity. He states that the "the rite is a reprimand of culture herself," if by culture one means the unambiguous "ideals of masculinity and motherhood" (136). To explain the symbolism of the ceremony he draws on a psychoanalytic analysis of naven by Bernard Juillerat, who argued that naven "dramatizes the indissolvable bond between mother and son" (137), with all of its alluring and terrifying dimensions. There is a recognizable theme of regression to mother just at the moment of a young man's masculine achievement. Silverman argues that the implications for definitions of gender are unmistakable: (1) gender in ritual is ultimately mixed, (2) gender is partible, and (3) masculinity is defined on a maternal, uterine schema (139).

He points out that Bateson's and subsequent interpretations of naven as working to resolve contradictions or temper schismogenesis fail ultimately to capture "the experiential dimensions" (140) of naven. Here he refers primarily to the fact that the participants, at the final climactic gesture of the ceremony when a maternal relative, dressed as a woman, taunts the young celebrant by rubbing his buttocks up and down his leg, both react with profound shame and tears. There is "an emotional slide from sheer elation to ineffable despair" (161). The audience, meanwhile, feels "an acute sense of pity (*miwi*) for the mother's brother and the sister's son" (160). Silverman argues that underlying these emotional reactions is a situation where men feel "deeply ashamed of their masculinity" (161).

Silverman's claim to have explained the experiential dimension to naven is, for me, one of the more intriguing dimensions to his analysis. Men's explicit recognition of the tragic dimensions of masculinity in their personal

experience is extraordinary, so much so in fact that I would have liked to see some better documentation of the experience of naven from those who actually participated. Silverman says that the men feel ashamed of their masculinity, but he offers no corroboration from informants for those feelings. Once one moves from the topic of cultural symbolism to the topic of personal experience, the actual accounts of informants become essential, and Silverman's book includes no accounts from Eastern Iatmul individuals about what it is actually like to perform naven. My suspicion is that an accurate account of the experiential dimension of naven would have to foreground a distinction between public drama and personal emotional expression. Naven as a public drama entails a cathartic reaction, and the intensity of the emotions expressed imply that the symbolic forms have a deep psychic resonance. But tears, even tears of shame, can be provoked in public drama without implying any deep personal significance. The tears may express an appreciation for the sheer beauty and poignancy of the dramatic performance without implying that one is actually ashamed of one's own masculinity. The proof would come from actual accounts by individuals.

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Naven—The Opera

Just like all tribes, anthropologists seem to find some stories good to think with. The *naven* rite of the Iatmul people of the Sepik River, Niugini, is one such yummy morsel, probably because, as your Aunt Fanny says, it is very, very naughty—full of transvestites, and lewd and lascivious behavior by the most unlikely of people, all right out in the open. In short it lets us all have a jolly good time while we're working.

The origin story of the first anthropological account of naven is itself quite naughty, and operatic, too. Once upon a time three anthropologists came together on the Sepik River, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and Reo Fortune. Out of this fortuitous meeting, fortunes were won and lost. One man was cuckolded, right in front of his eyes, apparently. Bateson gained a wife, as well as a book. The lady in question left one man for another—the stuff of Hollywood was here: sex, swamps, and crocodiles. Anthropological fortunes were made and lost too. Fortune had written *Sorcerers of Dobu* (1963) before this meeting but was seldom heard from writing about New Guinea again. And no wonder, one thinks, after that sad tale. The other two, of course, went on to illustrious careers. Bateson's study of naven could claim to be the pièce de résistance of that meeting of minds in the hys/tropics

of anthropology. Of the three characters involved in this ménage, Bateson was the most singular and distinctive thinker, and in *Naven* one sees that mind at work. To follow in his footsteps is, to the mind of this reviewer, an unenviable task, for his was such a brilliantly iconoclastic voice. Even a reviewer, like this one, intent on getting to her main task, a review of the book in question, keeps tripping on this history and this origin, and one cannot avoid paying attention to Bateson's story first.

It is necessary to give a brief description of the naven rite to understand something of its anthropological charisma. What caused all this fuss? There are many variations to naven (these variations have formed rich fodder for analyses that have succeeded Bateson's), but the core of the rite, as described by Bateson, is a transvestite reversal of gender roles, one in which male and female matrilineal kin of a young man dress in exaggerated and grotesque clothing of the opposite sex and behave in most unseemly ways toward that young man. This behavior occurs during precisely those ceremonies that are held to celebrate the man's masculine achievements. Bateson particularly emphasized the way in which the *wau*, the man acting in the role of a classificatory mother's brother, rubs the cleft of his buttocks down the length of his *laua*'s (sister's son), leg, an act which Silverman calls *nggariik*. Of course, the wau does this only if he can find his laua since, surprise, surprise, the young men run away and hide in an attempt to avoid the shame of this disgusting naughtiness being enacted on their bodies.

This is obviously, as it is doubtless intended to be, eye-catching behavior, and since Bateson (1958) first described naven it has certainly caught many an eye. Charles Ludlam, eat your heart out. So democratic are these grotesqueries that nobody is excluded—old women and men mix with the youthful, everyone in their right place, of course. Besides being eye-catching, this behavior has become a set piece of anthropological explanation. In a classic anthropological move, rather than emphasizing how weird this behavior was, Bateson came up with the in/famous term, schismogenesis, to suggest that the naven rite, was, both psychologically and sociologically, integrative of Iatmul society. Thus, in Bateson's explanation, all this apparent reversal of norms, where dignified dowagers strut in a mockery of masculine vanity and arrogance, authoritative men parody a widow's abjection, and both commit unspeakable acts, in fact, is a kind of social hygiene that prevents, at a number of levels, the disintegration of Iatmul society. Needless to say, all of this is much more complex than a short review synopsis allows.

Eric Silverman's 2001 version of this Ludlamesque extravaganza, *Masculinity, Motherhood, and Mockery: Psychoanalyzing Culture and the Iatmul Naven Rite in New Guinea*, based on Silverman's own field research, is the latest in a history of analyses since Bateson's first powerful one appeared in 1936. Since then most of these tend to compete with, as well as honor, his

explanation of naven. Bateson himself pointed out aspects of the naven behavior that did not conform to his account. He also simplified the components of the ceremony he chose to emphasize, and, in particular, he ignored the role of women in the rite. Silverman's material, as well as that of other analyses, picks up on these lacunae, particularly on the role of women. The achievements of young women are also, it turns out, celebrated in naven. What is it about the naven ceremony that continues to obsess anthropologists? Reviewing the course of this history demonstrates as much about anthropology, its fads and fashions, strengths and weaknesses, as it does about the rite itself. Naven has been a prism through which to view the way in which theories and methodologies have refracted on anthropological materials, and the study of the analyses of naven is as intriguing as the rite is eye-catching, a history of anthropology and a culture area in a microcosm. Reviewing this literature, the varying explanations put forward for the transvestite ritual tend to bifurcate around an ancient anthropological split, that between what might be called the sociological aspects of naven, which emphasize its relational structures, versus those that focus on psychological and symbolic facets. Silverman's book, based on psychoanalytic first principles, falls on the side of the psychological. This, of course, like everything one can say about naven, tends to oversimplify all these complex studies but is a helpful rubric to keep in mind when surveying a large amount of material. Each analysis, in its own way, also attempts to put this particular rift, between the social and psychological, individual and society, back together again.

Silverman's take on naven is both a critique of Bateson, although a gentle and courteous one, and a plea for a psychoanalytic analysis of the rite, contrary to Bateson's rejection of such explanations. In that sense Silverman ties himself to Bateson from the very beginning of his own analysis. He suggests that he did not set out to analyze naven but, after witnessing the ritual, felt that, in his words, the rites

> exhibited a different tone and drama than those reported by Bateson. These ceremonies did not appear to effect any psychological, emotional or sociological closure—just the opposite. The ritual seemed to intensify the paradoxes and conflicts of the culture. It especially confounded the standards of masculinity and motherhood. (4)

Each analysis of naven looks at it with a somewhat different lens. Silverman sets himself the task of explaining naven as an expressive part of the complex relationship between the masculinity of Iatmul men and, surprise, surprise, their mothers, or, to be more precise, the imaginary mother. To do this Silverman uses a fusion of the Bakhtin (1993) carnivalesque and general psychoanalytic principles, applied to his own field material. Within the

parameters that Silverman sets for himself, his analysis is complex and often moving, and his fieldwork forms a rich ethnographic basis for this narrative. In his introduction Silverman lays out the guidelines for his analysis, the most interesting of which, for this reviewer, was his adoption of the notion of dialogics:

> My goal is to analyze the relationship between masculinity and motherhood by focusing on two countervailing images of the body that the great literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin dubbed the "moral" and the "grotesque". Eastern Iatmul men idealize an image of motherhood that is nurturing, sheltering, cleansing, fertile and chaste, in a word, moral. But men also fear an equally compelling image of motherhood that is defiling, dangerous, orificial, aggressive and carnal, hence, grotesque ... masculinity in Tambunum is a rejoinder to these contrary images of motherhood. (2)

Silverman's analysis of masculinity also uses four psychodynamic processes as first principles with which to explain naven. First, in Tambunum, as elsewhere, there is an abundant amount of evidence that men have ambivalent desires to at once reject and, at the same time, to return to Mother, or, to be precise, to the imaginary mother. Silverman suggests, inter alia, that analyses of New Guinea masculinity have overemphasized the desire for separation and ignored its corollary, the desire to return. The other three processes invoked by Silverman are the centrality of the preoedipal mother/child bond in the cultural imagination of men and, to a lesser extent, women; the fact that men in Tambunum define themselves through oedipal desires and anxieties, but with an emphasis on the mother rather than the punitive father; and, finally, the male envy of female parturition and fertility. In essence Silverman considers naven to be a central expressive event that intertwines the dynamics of these four processes (10). The dialogics of these processes can also be seen in kinship structures, cosmology, architectural symbolism, and bodily metaphors. These topics form the content of his chapters, along with one that focuses on naven itself.

For this reviewer the most interesting aspect of Silverman's analysis is its emphasis on the fact that naven does not in any way represent closure, balance or an integration of social forces, but is rather a carnivalesque expression of ambivalent dynamics of psychosexual forces. Contrary to Bateson's contention, it does not therefore work to integrate society. The rite not only expresses ambivalence but is also part of its construction. Silverman bases much of his rejection of Bateson's thesis on nggariik behavior that is the climax of the rite: the act in which a senior man or woman rubs the cleft of their buttocks down the leg of the person for whom the rite takes place. As Silverman states:

> The sudden appearance of nggariik in a ritual that seemingly celebrates the mastery of manhood and the moral renewal of society seems truly misplaced. Coming at the climax of naven, nggariik should enable the mother's brother to honor his sister's son: but it fails. Both uncles and nephew are shamed. (172)

Silverman's most interesting observations about naven and masculinity are summed up in the following extension of these observations:

> Nggariik is a misplaced gesture only when viewed through functionalist, teleological and structuralist frameworks. We cannot understand nggariik if we assume that the primary task of ritual is to construct society and personhood and to solve the riddle of culture. Rather, from a dialogical and psychoanalytic perspective, naven is revealed for what it really is: a ritual that plays on desire and teases taboo in order to effect emotional and semiotic ambivalence rather than social and moral rejuvenation. (172)

To this reviewer by far the most interesting aspect of Silverman's analysis stems from this observation, which frames naven as an expressive dialogic form. On the other hand the author's reliance on a set of worn-out psychoanalytic principles of masculine psychosexual development is not so much wrong as banal and ho-hum. How many times do we need to have it repeated that men love and hate their mothers and, by extension, all women? Or that women, in public and private, denigrate men, especially those they have cared for as children? How many times do we have to hear that men envy female fertility? It is not so much that these are wrong, as that, especially by now, they are banal observations, even if the behavior one is analyzing does involve exciting, disgusting, transvestite behavior and is a bit scintillating. Frankly, not even transvestites could make these observations interesting. Using such principles is a bit like using a meat cleaver to cut a diamond. Such tenets simply do not explain the particular exaggerated, grotesque, theatrical form that naven takes but are, rather, just-so stories.

Once one adopts these psychoanalytic first principles, one leaves oneself open to an old, but still relevant, question: Why, if such principles are so universal, do they take this particular form in this society and not others? This, an old problem, still has to be addressed, particularly in any analysis that uses such worn-out tenets about the human condition. This is especially true here since the author himself makes a point of critiquing the teleological aspects of functional and sociological arguments, particularly those of Bateson. Any argument that resorts to psychodynamic first principles such as these has its own teleological problems to worry about. Silverman could

have argued more effectively for the continued relevance of this argument from psychodynamic first principles; however, in order to do this he would need to position his own choice of this particular approach within a complex history of psychoanalysis and anthropology, which he does not do. Although Lacan, and Kristeva, for example, are mentioned in passing, their own departures from Freud are not broached. Silverman's is a kind of generic Freud, and the old sad, tragic man, at that.

Masculinity, Motherhood, and Mockery is a psychosexual myth narrative, a seamless story, often eloquently written, but this reviewer still prefers the first story better, not simply because Bateson rejected psychoanalysis, but rather because his own approach to the ritual was, as Houseman and Severi (1998, 9) point out, sensitive to the nature of the complex relationship between observation and interpretation. I still read *Naven* with interest today because in it Bateson lets the reader see the way in which his own mind operated on the puzzle of naven. His approach openly presented the gaps and seams in his own analysis. One catches a glimpse of Bateson catching a glimpse of something interesting, puzzling, grotesque, and hilarious, and one watches him as he tries to tame the beast. No one has done it better because Bateson seemed to have respect for the minotaur—he knew he never could completely tame the beast. Silverman's book is of a different kind. It is excellently detailed, knows its literature and field material very well, and is eloquently written. It provides much greater ethnographic depth than did Bateson's account, but this achievement is flawed by its failure to interrogate and deepen the central psychodynamic processes on which it relies for its explanation.

A final point regarding all the analyses of naven to date; the reader will have undoubtedly noted my occasionally tacky and jesting remarks about this rite. These were not intended in any way to denigrate the practice but to draw attention to aspects of the rite that tend to get lost in the momentous seriousness of most analyses—the exaggerated, hilarious, ribald, and entertaining form that this rite takes. This reviewer would like to see an account of naven that not only explained the rite but that also embodied and evoked its particular nature. Could we have a naven opera, or a naven burlesque? In these the audience would ponder the eternal mysteries, not of the male psyche, but of hysterical laughter.

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Masculine Dilemmas

Silverman offers this synthesis of psychoanalytic theory and cultural dialogics, applied to a Sepik River society, as a conceptual and ethnographic tool to advance our understanding of the meanings and misfortunes of masculinity and, more profoundly, of what—if anything—masculinity is (2, 177). Certainly, this erudite and fluid work, which parallels Lipset's (1997) approach to masculinity among the Murik, near the Sepik mouth, provides a coherent and innovative angle from which to view Sepik River social and ritual life. It makes a lot of sense, for example, out of the ubiquitous appropriation by lowland New Guinea male cults of female—especially, maternal—procreative qualities and powers. And Silverman's analysis of naven is especially valuable, since it shows a Bakhtinian interpretative framework to be *at least* as successful in understanding this refractory rite as the several earlier analyses that have been attempted since Bateson's initial attack on the problem.

To be sure, Silverman's general analytical framework provokes perennial questions of validation that face all psychodynamic analyses: Why should we prefer this particular analysis to others? Like any binomial framework, a Bakhtinian analysis seems especially absorbent of any and all ethnographic detail. If humans entertain two images of the body, the moral and the grotesque, if Iatmul male culture is dialectically generated by idealized images of motherhood as nurturing, sheltering, cleansing, fertile, and chaste and as defiling, dangerous, orificial, aggressive, and carnal, then virtually any statement or behavior can be analytically parsed as reflecting one aspect or the other of the resultant emotional ambivalence, existential contradiction, or normative behaviors that bespeak chaotic primary processes. Of course,

human responses indeed may be constructed precisely from such dilemmas. Moreover, such phenomena are far more complex and subtle in their workings than can readily be probed and confirmed with currently available data. Given that, Silverman's concern to substantiate his analysis ethnographically and in detail is to be applauded, and it is especially successful in its close attention to affectivity. The description of the emotional climax to the *nggariik* rite, for instance, in which a classificatory mother's brother slides his anal cleft down the leg of the rite's subject, is acutely drawn, capturing a remarkable affective dissonance, and Silverman's analysis of the act's complexities is thought provoking and persuasive.

Since I do not pretend to a shred of expertise in psychodynamic analysis and I can claim only modest command of the burgeoning literature on cultural dialogics, it would be fatuous if, beyond these introductory comments, I were to attempt a critique of what Silverman offers. Rather, I should prefer to pose a couple of queries concerning historical contingency and cultural permutation that, I hope, will provide him an opportunity to expand on the strengths and limitations of the framework he educes.

Silverman refers to the "upheavals of the past century" that the Eastern Iatmul have experienced, but this is perhaps an understatement of the effects of their colonial engagement. Tambunum probably had its initial contact with the western world well over a century ago, when four German scientists steamed through Iatmul territory in 1886 en route to a four month stay in the upstream villages of Chenapian and Malu (Schrader, quoted in Anon. 1887; Anon. 1888). Over the next 30 years, at least 20 more European expeditions traveled up the lower or middle reaches of the Sepik River (Claas n.d.). Since surviving records are generally sparse, it is easy to underestimate the scale of this traffic, but Claas (n.d.) estimates the number of foreign visitors to the Sepik River during this period to be well over a thousand, implying an extensive encounter rate between visitors and villagers. Following World War I, the scale of contact accelerated: Iatmul "pacification" was sufficiently advanced by the mid-1920s for the Australian administration to begin tax and census patrols. By the 1930s, when Bateson began his Iatmul work, labor recruiters and oil prospectors were everywhere, sometimes detonating dynamite sticks to impress the locals into submission and abducting their young men when this failed (e.g., Beazley n.d.). The 1940s, as Silverman notes (24), saw Japanese occupation, forced labor, Allied bombings and strafings, and the predatory activities of local men who had been appointed auxiliaries in the Japanese Army. The post-War years then saw yet further expansion of foreign presences with the advent of "thoroughly modern modernity."

This early history of the Sepik is rather poorly known, and its effects on local people even more so. The evidence strongly indicates, though, that they were both dramatic and traumatic. One hesitates to use the term "Holocaust,"

since the outcome was the result more of indifference than design, but middle Sepik peoples lost a substantial proportion of their population to this early Western contact. The eastern half of the Iatmul language group suffered so greatly from introduced diseases, declining birth rates, and killings in the Second World War that its population was no higher in the early 1950s than it had been in 1930. Without these losses, available census data indicate, the population would have grown by 30–40 percent over those twenty years (Woodman 1928, census register; cf. ANGCR [Angoram Census Registers] 1946–1961, census registers). Tambunum and its adjoining settlement of Wombun may not have fared quite as badly as their neighbors: from a censused population of 794 in 1928 (probably nearer 850 in actuality), they numbered 1,001 in 1954. But Timbunke, the next village upriver, went from a censused population of 516 in 1928 to about 409 in 1954, partly as a result of the infamous Timbunke massacre, in which the Japanese executed 96 villagers for suspected collaboration with the Allies (McCarthy 1963: 216–17). Almost certainly, the region had suffered similar demographic losses in prior decades: earlier estimates routinely put Tambunum (including, presumably, Wombun) at 1,000–1,200 residents (e.g., Christian 1974, 527; Townsend 1968, 142)—but for lack of adequate census data these effects are difficult to gauge with any precision.

As middle Sepik populations were hit by the plagues of modernity, their settlements also underwent significant distortions in gender balance as young men left on indentured labor contracts—some returning after three to six years, others, as Silverman notes, never returning. As early as 1928, almost a third of adult males in the Eastern half of Iatmul territory were absent as indentured laborers; the figure for Tambunum was about 36 percent (Woodman 1928, census register). The result was a substantial gender imbalance in local settlements. Among the Eastern Iatmul in general, there was 1.13 females to every male—1.31 adult females to every adult male; in Tambunum and Wombun, though, populations were more skewed, with 1.3 females to every male and 1.36 women to every man.

It need hardly be emphasized that historical data—especially census data for early years—must be viewed with some caution. But clearly the engagement with colonialism had considerable consequences for the Eastern Iatmul, raising questions about the relationship between historical change and Iatmul male psychodynamics. Following a lead from Mead, who spent some time in Tambunum, Silverman hints (23–24) that Iatmul society was sufficiently elastic to assimilate these upheavals. And perhaps—the situation is unclear to me—this is his warrant for using data collected throughout Iatmul history to buttress his arguments: Bateson's field notes and publications from the early 1930s, Mead's published comments from her later research with

Bateson, the work of the Basel expedition in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and Silverman's own fieldwork over the last fifteen years or so.

I should like to query, though, whether it is realistic to suppose that the phenomena Silverman probes would have been essentially unaffected by contact with the colonial and postcolonial worlds. I do not wish to suggest that Iatmul society was somehow in stasis or equilibrium prior to contact or that the Iatmul simply reacted to the changes Europeans instituted. But we might imagine that Iatmul masculinity and the semiotic dialogs its dilemmas provoke were at the very least affected and quite plausibly transformed by their engagement with these events. "Pacification," for example, surely had especially poignant repercussions for images of masculinity? Iatmul men have an unusually limited role in subsistence. Prior to contact, women and their fishing activities provided the protein mainstay of the diet; every few days, they exchanged a portion of this catch for sago at traditional inland markets; and to the extent villages procured their own sago, women undertook the major labor demands in processing it. Men's subsistence tasks were limited to felling sago palms, sailing them to the village, and pounding the pith; to some comparatively limited hunting; to some spear fishing; and to gardening. They were also responsible for canoe making and, of particular importance in times of heightened hostility, they provided vital defensive functions for women at their fishing grounds, in the barter markets, and in the sago swamps when it proved impossible to float logs back to the village (e.g., Bateson 1958: 142–44, 147; Hauser-Schäublin 1977: 21–25, 39–47, 67–68, 71–72; Silverman, passim).

To an unusual degree, though, Iatmul women fed their menfolk, so to speak, and perhaps this casts some light on the latter's marked preoccupation with the maternal figure and with distinguishing themselves from it. But pacification would have heightened this dilemma markedly. With their protective role gone, stripped away in the space of a very few years, men suddenly depended on women for food in a way they never had before. Prior to contact, moreover, it was Iatmul men's conceit that village prosperity depended on their headhunting activities. Successful head hunts meant plenty of children, good health, and a productive environment (104). With pacification, though, an important element of masculine identity and justification vanished. No wonder perhaps, as Silverman notes, women nowadays laugh at men's ritual pretensions (167–68)?

Then there are the white males who set these events in train—the empowered newcomers who, according to the phrasing of men in several parts of the Sepik, "made women of us." G. W. L. Townsend, who was primarily responsible for the pacification of the middle Sepik, had a particular effect on the region's males in the way, on several occasions, he presided over public

hangings of men convicted of headhunting. As Harrison (1993) has detailed for the neighboring Manambu, local belief held that men were incapable of killing unless they had been prepared by rituals designed to heat the body, block the ears, and so induce a temporary inhumanity, so to speak. In Townsend, however, Sepik men confronted a horrifying being, one capable of killing in cold blood, as it were: little wonder that they stopped their headhunting almost overnight (Bragge 2002, pers. comm.). The point for our purposes is that Iatmul men surely could hardly have avoided redefining their traditional images of masculinity in the terrible mirror Townsend unknowingly furnished.

In sum, how justified in a psychodynamic and dialogical accounting is it to set history aside, as Silverman implicitly does in drawing together data from many points along its trajectory? At least to me, it seems probable that the dialogics of masculinity responded in significant ways to such events, and I am interested in learning how they might be encompassed within Silverman's account. Guidance on this issue could simultaneously resolve what, in some ways, might be considered its spatial transformation. This related issue is urged upon us by Silverman's use of ethnographic data from other Iatmul villages. As he notes, there are many differences between Eastern Iatmul culture and that of villages and dialects farther upstream—sufficient, indeed, to justify him in distinguishing Tambunum and Wombun as a cultural entity in their own right. But this strategy raises questions concerning social-cultural processes and boundaries. At many points, Silverman extends or buttresses his analysis of Tambunum culture with data from ethnographic work conducted in a string of Nyaura- and Palimbei-Iatmul villages up and down the river: Malingai, Mindimbit, Kandingei, Kanganaman, Kararau, Palimbei, and Yentchan. At the same time, though, often in footnotes, he remarks on but does not account for cultural differences between Tambunum and these other villages. Where, then—or what—are the contours, so to speak, that define the limits of the processes evident in Tambunum? Silverman's synthesis of Bakhtin and psychoanalytic theory has very considerable promise, and he is to be congratulated on forging this new framework, but if we are to use it for understanding ethnographic instances and trajectories, how might we better locate it in the specifics of ethnographic space and historical time?

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Manhood as Merely Lived With

Eastern Iatmul men, as I recounted in the book, tell a forlorn myth. Long ago, a solitary culture hero named Migaimeli was lonely. Basically, he was bored, depressed, alone. So he concocted the idea of carving a wooden spouse. He cut himself a hunk of wood, grabbed his adze, and set about creating a companion. But to no avail. He did manage to hew a female figure. But "she" offered no more companionship than the animals to Adam in Genesis 2. Migaimeli remained single and sad. He was no culture hero: he was a culture loser.

So what happened? Well, one day a man from another village happens upon Migaimeli's statue. How humiliating! In one version of the tale, the man actually saw Migaimeli copulating with the mannequin. The stranger was appalled! Disgusted! Horrified! But he was also distraught by Migaimeli's pathetic plight. And Migaimeli was deeply ashamed about his endeavors, of course, but also at an utter loss about how to help himself. So the stranger gave him a woman in marriage.

We don't hear much more about Migaimeli in Iatmul myth. He reminds me of Isaac in the Hebrew Bible (Genesis 22). Recall that God orders Abraham to slaughter his son, Isaac—the son Abraham "loves." (To add to the pathos of the tale, this is the first appearance of the word "love" in the Hebrew Bible.) Abraham eagerly obeys—so eager, in fact, that he arises for his terrible task "early in the morning." Not long before these terrible events, Abraham brazenly pleaded with God again and again to spare the innocent of Sodom from divine destruction. But now, when told to murder his own son, Abraham offers no word of disbelief. He registers no qualms. At any rate, as we all know, the deity intervened at the last minute, and stayed the patriarch's hand. And what happened to Isaac? He remained, for the rest of his life, a ruined man. Like Migaimeli, Isaac's soul was destroyed.

In my book, I interpreted the myth of Migaimeli as yet another example of the futility of the masculine yearning to reproduce in the absence of women. Migaimeli's sculpture, I said, materialized the parthenogenic desire that is so crucial to male identity in the middle Sepik—and, I would argue, elsewhere. And I stick with that interpretation. But I now want to highlight another facet of the myth.

Migaimeli's life forms a foundational tale for a particular clan in the village. Migaimeli is one of their eponymous ancestors. He is central to the group's totemic vitality. But Migaimeli is no hero. No aspect of his tale lacks

pity, anguish, and sadness. His tale is one of sorrow—a sorrow no Eastern Iatmul man would wish on himself. It is that quality of Migaimeli's life—the ineffable tone of tragedy, rendered through symbolism, emotion, and experience—that I tried to capture in *Masculinity, Motherhood, and Mockery*. I exposed, or so I hoped, the doomed failures of Iatmul masculinity—but failures, we might say, that have profound, everyday consequences for the lives of men, women, and children.

From one angle, we all know that culture does, after a fashion, *work* (at least for most of us). But far more interesting, and central to my project, is to explore how culture does *not* work. For, from another angle, culture offers little in the way of fulfillment and psychic closure, only lasting ambivalence, disquiet, and unease. Just ask Migaimeli. Or Isaac. Sometimes culture stinks.

Prologue: Part I

Clifford and Hildred Geertz, in what is perhaps the silver medal winner for Best Literary Entrée to a Field Site, arrived in a Balinese village "malarial and diffident."[1] My experience was more prosaic: I was simply nervous.

Upon arriving in Wewak in 1988, the capital town of the East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea, I eagerly, if skittishly, made contact with folks from Tambunum village, my intended destination, a sizable community of about 1,000 Iatmul speakers along the banks of the middle Sepik River. Like many ethnographers en route to "the field" somewhere in the Sepik, I spent a few weeks in town acclimating myself to the new social landscape, shopping for various supplies, and beginning the anthropological process of "deep hanging out."[2] That is to say, I spent a few weeks in town roaming, chatting, and, as my son might say, chillin' with some Tambunums. I more or less became integrated into a particular family. Everybody seemed more or less clear on my role as the student-anthropologist. I felt welcomed, safe, and ready to begin the deepness of ethnographic "hanging out."

On an appointed day, two dozen or so Tambunums[3] and I prepared to depart town for the village. Our plan was to leave in the afternoon, once we received word on a much-anticipated legal decision that was forthcoming from the magistrate presiding over the Wewak district courthouse. This ruling, as I learned, promised to resolve in some manner a long-standing feud between Tambunum and a rival non-Iatmul community, Masandanai, over the ownership of a small Sepik tributary. The two villages had scuffled over this waterway for decades. Even Margaret Mead weighed in on the issue, writing a letter on behalf of the Tambunums based on her recollections from the 1930s. As far as the Tambunums were concerned, the waterway was theirs—created by their mythic-historic ancestors—and had always been so.

It was less a matter of material resources, although the waterway was lush and teeming with fish, than a matter of totemic pride. The Masandanai were pitiful, lower Sepik squatters who, despite residing there for decades, should swiftly pack and leave. I'm sure Masandanai saw things differently. But how, I never knew.

At any rate, men from both villages gathered in town to await the magistrate's ruling. Truthfully, however, I no longer recall exactly what that decision was—and, indeed, any formal effort at resolution swiftly faded into rage, fear, frustration, and death.

I anticipated that the magistrate would issue his opinion, that the decision would go in the Tambunums' favor (or not), and that we would then pile into a large truck and drive to the river. There, we would cross the Sepik in dugout canoes and I would finally, fully, and formally enter the field. What more to it could there be?

On the morning of our intended departure, a large crowd of Tambunum men loitered near the courthouse. Nearby the Masandanai congregated. The courthouse sat midway up a steep hill in the broiling Wewak sun, beneath a small grove of trees. To pass the time, I shopped for some last-minute supplies with my elderly adoptive father, Yambuken. We had just walked out of a trade store—I, schlepping a large kerosene stove; he, shuffling behind me chewing betel nut—when a group of men brandishing machetes, kitchen knives, lumber, iron bars, and whatnot, scurried past us in the direction of the courthouse. I had no idea what was happening. But my father did. He quickly steered me to the post office, and we sat on the curb as unobtrusively as possible. The two villages, Tambunum and Masandanai, were brawling just up the hill. Armed men were running everywhere; we could hear the shouts and sounds of violence. It was terrifying. My father draped a towel over his head to escape notice. He feared for his life.

Eventually, as the skirmish subsided, the police arrived and encouraged calm. The two sides went their separate ways—all but one man, that is, a man from Masandanai village. He lay dead—eviscerated, I was told—on the pavement.

The Tambunums and I trod up the hill, and we spent the rest of day huddled in my room at the New Wewak Hotel, chatting about the fight and the seemingly never-ending feud. The Tambunums accepted no responsibility. The deceased man, they said, succumbed to his own kin. He was a quarrelsome fellow, and died as a result of internecine sorcery and treachery rather than a Tambunum blade. In the late afternoon, the police arrived at the hotel and hauled my companions away. It was all so straightforward, even, at that moment, unemotional. Nothing out of the ordinary. As if this happened all the time. I was ordered to avoid the Tambunums altogether and forget about travelling to the village, lest I inadvertently find myself in the

midst of a payback vendetta. I thought I was prepared for fieldwork. Maybe in fact I was. But not for this.

Prologue: Part II

In the end, of course, I did make it to the village after a few more weeks in town, hanging out with Tambunums (despite the advice from the police). If I recall correctly, I left with the final group of villagers fleeing town and the threat of a compensatory homicide. Although Tambunum is a far more populous village than Masandanai, there was clearly no need to tempt fate. Thankfully, the long trip to the river was uneventful, save for a few anxious, if not panicked, moments at our departure when the driver of the truck foolishly drove to the wrong market in Wewak, the one next to the Masandanai camp, to purchase—what else?—betel nut. We turned around in a hurry, and quickly headed for the Sepik highway. When we finally arrived, so much had happened that my first few steps in the village seemed more like a welcome return than a grand entrance.

I arrived in the evening, after sunset. It was dark. My possessions and I were unceremoniously taken into Yambuken's massive domicile. I climbed up the house ladder and was plunked down in a space near the side wall. There I sat, surrounding by my things, scrutinized by various folks coming and going, especially kids, entirely unclear as to what, exactly, I was supposed to do.

The next morning, I was approached by a middle-aged man named Dmoiawan. As it turned out, my immediate ethnographic predecessor, Rhoda Metraux, had already mentioned Dmoiawan. He was one of her many assistants in the 1960s—a cookboy, if I recall correctly. His father was a local official called a luluai in the 1930s, when Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson studied in the village. With all due respect to my own teachers,[4] Dmoiawan had an impressive pedigree! Who was I, a nervous neophyte, not to listen? "You are young," he said correctly. "You just arrived. You clearly don't know what you are doing. I have experience with anthropologists. You should listen to me. I know what you should do." Indeed, he did. I was counseled to conduct a census and to elicit genealogies. I obeyed.

Culture as Failure

Reading the reviews by Roscoe, Losche, Leavitt, and Lindenbaum recalled for me the two fieldwork incidents I just described. The events in town, outside the courthouse, remind us that social life is often tragic, deeply emotional, bereft of any satisfying script, explanation, or conclusion. A man was killed. But his death offered no finality, except his own. I do not know

what happened among the Masandanai. I assume they grieved with much the same emotional anguish as would have the Tambunums if they suffered the loss. I do know that, even fifteen years later, the matter of the death, and the land dispute, is far from resolved. The tragedy in 1988 led to no resolution, no triumphs, no celebrations. There were no heroes.

To be sure, there are many ways we could seek to explain the murder. We could attempt to pin the events on the aftermath of colonialism, the upheavals of modernity, the shock of social change, competition for scarce resources, the persistence of long-standing rivalries, the stubbornness of tradition, the limitations of the Melanesian state, and so forth. And, in each case, we would be correct. But none of these analytically robust concepts seems fully capable of encompassing or portraying the sheer experiential dimensions of what transpired that afternoon in Wewak. For that, we need a theory attuned to the nuances of why social life often fails despite our best efforts, and why we get up again and go forward. We need a theory attuned to the ambivalences of social life, to the quest for meaning, to our (here I'm speaking about cultural beings, not anthropological ones) inability to resolve the very puzzles that compel us to build and rebuild culture. From a particular anthropological perspective, the events outside the courthouse in Wewak were terrific grist for the analytic mill. A real-life murder mystery! But from the local perspective, on both sides of the killing, the situation in Wewak had reached a crescendo of emotional anguish and terror. After all, somebody was killed. The brute facticity of a disembodied corpse is tough to ignore, either for the Masandanai, who now felt compelled to enact their own retributive murder, or for the Tambunums, who now fearfully anticipated a death of their own.

In the commonality of the American vernacular, we might say that the situation in Wewak was "f—— up." I have every confidence that my Iatmul friends would agree with both the sentiment and the phrasing of this most indecorous of idioms. And I, frankly, find it difficult to offer an alternative, theoretically robust, erudite term that quite so succinctly and forcefully evokes the tenor of the situation in 1988. Out of control? Contingent events that subverted, from the local perspective, any possible agency that could result in any satisfactory resolution? Collective angst? Existential distress? Let me settle on two possible ways of capturing the moment.

On the one hand, all participants in the affair were following culturally appropriate, long-standing scripts for manhood. The entire affair, however tragic and awful, unfolded appropriately and matter-of-factly. The terror emerged from within the cultures themselves, not without. On the other hand, these scripts failed to guide participants to any sense of closure, either sociological or psychological. The terror, although prosaic, was nonetheless terrifying. A man, to repeat, was killed. There was, then, a definite unease

with the terms of one's culture but the absence of any forum in which fully to voice or even to recognize this disquietude. There was, in other words, an inability to resolve the contrary ideals on which to model the cultural self. It was *this* aspect of cultural experience, rendered not in murder but in displays of manhood during the famous *naven* rite, that I tried to illuminate in *Masculinity, Motherhood, and Mockery*—a ritualization of those dimensions of culture better left unstated but nonetheless requiring some sort of expression, dimensions that often seem as comic (but not, admittedly, in Wewak) as they do tragic. And for assistance in this effort, I looked to Freud and Bakhtin for inspiration and assistance.

The second part of my prologue wonderfully shows that, even for the local folks we study, everybody has their angle on what we should do in the field, and how we should do it. We all have our own theoretical orientations, our own commitments, our own sense of what ideas are au courant or passé, splendid or spurious, insightful or obfuscating. My sense is that many of us adhere to particular paradigms because they resonate with our own life experiences or, at the very least, our own moral outlook on what is important, or awful, or vexing about social life.[5] I long ago abandoned the belief that we choose our conceptual frameworks rationally, by carefully evaluating the pros and cons, as if we were scanning the latest automobile ratings from *Consumer Reports*.

I am here reminded of Levi-Strauss. The subject of the human sciences, he wrote in the Author's Preface to Volume 2 of *Structural Anthropology* (1983, ix), is humanity. Consequently, we have a vested interest in how we portray the human experience. We anthropologists inevitably, or perhaps fortuitously, allow our "preferences and prejudices to interfere" in how we define ourselves to ourselves. What we find interesting to study "is not subject to scientific decisions but . . . . will result from a choice which is ultimately of a philosophical order."[6]

Even though I often embrace structuralism in general as a strategy for unpacking embedded meanings—what might be called "structuralism lite"—I disagree with Levi-Strauss's (1973, 58) famous dismissal of the phenomenological dimensions of social life as simply epiphenomenal. Nonetheless, Levi-Strauss (1976, 170) correctly sees myth—and, I would often add, ritual—as an admission of failure we (cultural beings, not anthropological ones) all know at some level but cannot bring ourselves to admit: the inability of social life to resolve the paradoxes of human existence.[7] Personally, I have no way empirically to validate this orientation or commitment. It is, at best, a philosophical outlook on how, and why, ritual articulates, or disarticulates, otherwise conventional webs of semiotic meaning.

How can we answer Roscoe's "perennial questions of validation that face all psychodynamic analyses" (this issue, 87)? The short answer is this: By not

asking the question at all. I say this not to evade the issue, but to suggest that verification is simply the incorrect mode of analytic evaluation in this case. After all, I offered, in a sense, a *counter*argument that highlighted not what naven did, but what it did *not* do. And what naven did *not* do, as Leavitt and Lindenbaum recognize, was offer men closure or resolution. The symbolic forms of Eastern Iatmul naven and manhood, as Leavitt so nicely states it, fail to offer men an opportunity to redress contradictions. Rather, they explicitly promote contradictions as the very stuff of manhood.

Dialogicality, or open-endedness, is a tough paradigm to verify. So is psychoethnography, as Obeyesekere (1990, 272) discusses. These are not verifiable approaches to culture. They are certainly falsifiable, as Obeyesekere continues, but only through the detailed presentation of counterevidence.

Why should we favor or, at the very least, entertain seriously this framework? Because, I maintain, it illuminates aspects of social life that other paradigms push to the background—particularly symbolic expressions of contrary cultural values, the irresolution of which makes much of social life meaningful. I am not denying the forces of demography, colonial guns, tins of fish, labor recruiters, cassette tapes, and cash cropping—what Roscoe calls the "plagues of modernity" (this issue, 89). Indeed, I am now exploring these very issues in my current research on modernity, the family, and Iatmul fatherhood—partly, I admit, on account of my muting somewhat these issues in the book under consideration. But, of course, my focus in the book was on something else: localized, not global, tragedies made manifest in the symbolic realm of meaning. In my account of Iatmul masculinity, I focused loosely on the work of culture, to borrow from Obeyesekere (1990), rather than, as Marxians or materialists might prefer, the work of man.

As I now see it, the point of my book was to spend some analytic time at the frontier identified by Levi-Strauss—the boundary between social order and failure (or between the "moral" and the "grotesque") where, for fleeting moments, Iatmul men teeter on the edge of the cultural abyss. They come back, to be sure. (Most of us do.) But as I pointed out, Iatmul men from Tambunum often come back, at least after naven, while weeping. Whatever it is Iatmul men see over there in that quintessentially naughty anthropological moment, to capture the tone of Losche's review, when an uncle slides his arse down his nephew's leg, whatever they feel compelled to enact, they do not very much like. They certainly don't speak about it—no matter how prompted. My task, you might say, was to tease out the meanings of this silence—the inability to speak about a ritual event that is central to the meaning of a localized manhood yet lies beyond verbal articulation precisely because the ritual does not work, that is, fails to convince participants fully to accept the very messages the ritual supposedly dramatizes or resolves.

To Leavitt's criticism that I did not allow Iatmul men sufficient time on the analytic couch, I can only agree. The book does require, in hindsight, more case studies after the model of Obeyesekere (1990) or more "person-centered" narratives championed so well by Hollan and Wellenkamp (e.g., 1994) for Toraja. But to my credit, I remain confident that, to the extent that I *did* at times talk about my interpretations to some Iatmul men, especially upon my brief return in 1994, I more or less received agreement.

Earlier, I spoke about Levi-Strauss's comment that anthropology rests on a philosophical, not a scientific or empirical, outlook on human experience. I now want to emend Levi-Strauss's formulation by suggesting that this outlook is as much aesthetic as philosophical. And, indeed, the exegetical problem posed by the naven rite resembles the perennial enigma of Sepik aesthetics: how to make sense of something that seems to be vital to local masculinities yet about which men say very little. Losche (e.g., 1995) and Roscoe (1995) themselves have addressed, quite usefully, the meanings of Sepik art. But for my purposes here, I want to look to another analysis of Sepik aesthetics, that of the late Donald Tuzin.

As we all know, the main plot of many male cults in Melanesia is the banishment of the feminine from the modes of ritual and cultural production, or reproduction, to which men anchor their manhood. But, as Tuzin points out, the absence of women presupposes the very thing that the male cult, by exiling women, wishes to deny: the everyday uniting of male and female. It is only because Sepik men and women *do* have sex together—and wish to do so, I might add (or most of them)—that coitus can serve as the very model whereby men define themselves *as* men in the absence of women. Without women, men lack a key script of manhood; with women, the script unravels. It is a no-win situation, both for men (existentially) and for women (who may suffer rather more brutally). This paradox, Tuzin continues, explains why Sepik men so often lack a cultural repertoire of vocabulary and concepts that would allow them to articulate the meanings of art. The aesthetic expressions of the male cult obfuscate and reveal; tell the truth and mask the truth; lie and admit to lying. Moreover, Sepik men are simply unable to access words and phrases that would allow them to convey to women the seriousness of what they are doing without women simply laughing or, worse, not caring, thereby casting manhood (but not necessarily men) aside as largely irrelevant. And what would men confront if they articulated the cult to themselves? That Sepik manhood is an unworkable fiction, perhaps one they themselves don't believe in. I will return to this point momentarily. Here, I want only to stress that the aesthetics, style, and substance of Sepik manhood arise from, and heighten, an essential irreducibility. For if these disharmonic fictions of gender and culture were, in fact, locally reducible,

they would no longer convey significant meaning or force. They certainly would not have endured through the upheavals of modernity.

Yamada (1977) wonderfully presents us with a different but no less consequential paradox among the Waxei, another East Sepik society. Waxei delight in sound and song. Why do Waxei sing? To experience joy. One might also offer the same answer to the question, Why naven? But Waxei songs also evoke, in complex ways, the dreadful, terrible power of the ultimate spirits responsible for the cosmos. Song, then, makes Waxei "aware that there is next to no difference between feeling in awe of spirits and happiness, both of which sway unstably and easily change into each other" (Yamada 1977, 253). Song makes this irreducible, contrary reality apparent.

Waxei, like all other riverine folks in this area of Melanesia, are fisherfolk. They fish. They also harvest sago, hunt, chop wood, carve canoes, build houses, in a phrase, *do* the stuff of everyday social life. The work of daily living requires Waxei to act on the world, and these everyday actions presumably require Waxei to seek, create, and envision an orderly, regular, predictable world—a world of relative stability that makes sense through the experiences of everyday reality. But the songs that are so dear to Waxei communicate something quite different: the "cognition of reality that there is nothing certain in this world" (Yamada 1977, 253). As I see it, Waxei build up their world while acknowledging through an aesthetic form that their labors, while fruitful on a daily basis, are in an ultimate sense doomed to failure. They still get up in the morning. But in song, the Waxei ponder the Big Questions of Who They Are and How They Fit into the Cosmic Scheme of Things. And when they do so, they see the cosmos, like the river, in far less stable terms than the toils of daily life might otherwise seem to require or suggest. And while Waxei have experienced, like Eastern Iatmul, a tumultuous history over the past century, it would seem semantically impoverished, both for them and for our own discipline, to tie this sense of cosmic uncertainty singularly, or even mainly, to these historical changes.

Roscoe, as I mentioned earlier, rightly scolded my analysis for a certain ahistoricity. Roscoe further suggests that the failures of manhood I saw in naven might actually comment not on Iatmul per se but, instead, on the postcolonial plight of Iatmul masculinity. The sometimes brutal pacification of indigenous warfare and headhunting in the early decades of the twentieth century denied Sepik men a long-standing arena in which to promote themselves and their role in cosmic reproduction. They lacked, in other words, a stage on which to dramatize the role and relevance of manhood. The existence of masculinity was seriously called into question. Consequently, the relationship between masculinity and motherhood dramatically shifted. No longer did manhood sustain mothering. But men continued to eat, literally and metaphorically, what women prepared. In short, male dependence on

women magnified. Indeed, implies Roscoe, masculinity became defined almost exclusively in terms of that dependence. Not surprisingly, the threat of women's laughter posed an even greater sense of shame to the expressive dimensions of masculinity, effectively saying, "Is this the best you can do?"

Roscoe is right. But I would reverse his argument, and declare that naven encompasses history. The rite is not, on this point, encompassed *by* history. To the extent that naven persists today as a commentary on the relationship between modernity and the devaluation or illegitimacy of traditional manhood, it does so solely because the rite always commented on the failures of masculinity.

Everything we know about Melanesia, never mind the middle Sepik, suggests that modernity heightened, but did not cause, the semiotic dependence of men on women that is so evident in local configurations of masculinity, myth, and ritual. If we have learned anything in these globally troubled times, it is that culture is mightily, often dangerously, tenacious. I would never deny the brute facticity, to use this phrase again, of globalization—of the inexorable allure of commodities, the malaise of underdevelopment, the exploitation of wage labor, the loss of local autonomy. But I prefer, in the case of naven at least, to focus less on the objective reality of history and more on the "structure of the conjuncture" (Sahlins 1985). Modernity may eventually eclipse the naven rite. The ceremony may become, like the Passover seder to many Jews, a time to affirm a symbolic commitment to a tradition that, conceptualized *as* tradition, lacks a seamless connection to everyday beliefs and practices. But for now, naven remains meaningful as a doubled rejoinder by men to mothering because modernity has enhanced the paradoxes, dilemmas, and uncertainties of manhood.

Thus phrased, I see my contribution to understanding naven not simply as a discourse on Eastern Iatmul men, or even a famous ritual. It is another voice in a wider conversation within Melanesian anthropology that tries to probe the contrary dimensions of local life that make these lifeworlds compelling to us, and to local folks, through their joys and frustrations, tragedies and triumphs. This voice aims to expose, and even to celebrate, but not to reduce, the semiotic complexity of culture and, in a wider sense, human creativity.

Freudian Failures?

For most of my reviewers, the Freudian tones of the book take front seat in the critical canoe to other theoretical moves and ethnographic contributions. Indeed, I was surprised, if not somewhat distressed, that several reviewers failed even to mention some of the more innovative or at least new ethnographic material in the book—the "data." Unmentioned, except really by

Lindenbaum (thank you), were my discussions about architectural symbolism, the semiotics of kinship and marriage (which anthropologists have debated since the early 1970s), the ritualized phrasing and redressing of shame, the many myths, and so forth. Only Lindenbaum, moreover, noted that I offered, at the end, a cross-cultural proposal—a testable one, I might add!—for rethinking what Gilmore (1990) called Ubiquitous Man (thank you, again). And I surely articulated a clear dialogical or Bakhtinian theory of ritual symbolism and meaning that, like my emendation of Ubiquitous Man, could fruitfully be applied, I believe, to other cultural settings.

Masculinity, Mockery, and Motherhood is not, to state the obvious, the first book to call attention to the relationship between masculinity and uterine fertility in the Sepik or Melanesia. But I did highlight this connection in two hopefully novel ways. First, I drew on Bakhtin's theory of cultural dialogics to show that the double-faced relationship between manhood and mothering is not resolved through cultural symbolism but, in fact, heightened through the very symbolism others take to be mainly expressive or successfully therapeutic. To the extent that I did construe the cultural symbolism as therapeutic, I also argued that this therapy fails. But in that failure, to repeat, I attributed much of the meaning of manhood—and culture more generally.

Second, I tried to add a humanistic or expressive dimension to my Freudian analysis. I tried, in other words, to identify something of the passion and pathos of the local experience of masculinity, ritual, and culture. And I did so, moreover, by focusing on what Obeyesekere (1990) calls the "dark side of life." Typically, Melanesian anthropologists attribute this "dark side" to the travails of modernity. But I contend that the darkness of culture is as much premodern as it is modern.

Losche dismisses the Freudian components of the book as "banal and ho-hum" (this issue, 85). I'm not sure Eastern Iatmul would see it that way. After all, men in Tambunum both do and do not envy female fertility. In other words, they have an ambivalent commitment to the principles of their manhood. I tried to represent this relationship not as a simple-minded *fact* of culture but, rather, as a *tragedy* of culture. Say what you want about the "primal crime" as a fact of evolution and history. But as a philosophical outlook on the morality of culture that upends any bourgeois naiveté that our basic values can serve as a "shining city upon a hill," I think Freud had his finger on a crucial dilemma of social life. Tragedy of this nature is rarely ho-hum.

What is ho-hum, however, is Losche's contention that my Freud is an "old sad, tragic man" (this issue, 86). Never mind that we may all someday, if we are lucky, grow old. But let me concede the point. Yes, Freud was, from an

angle, sad and tragic. But from another angle, the sad tragedy of Freud's life and perhaps his oeuvre befit the Eastern Iatmul setting, at least as I sketched it in the book. I now see Freud, a Jew living in fin de siècle Europe, as a colonial subject (see Boyarin 1997). Bakhtin, too, a privileged son marginalized in Stalinist Russia, also occupied a liminal space. That Freud was sad and tragic made his work all the more suitable for teasing out the meanings of the naven rite. It, too, was sad and tragic. That was my point.

In my defense, too, I believe I did more than merely mention Lacan in passing.[8] In fact, I drew on Trawick (1990) to offer a Lacanian explanation of Iatmul marriage that I thought was perhaps one of the most interesting arguments in my book (see also Silverman 2005). Through a particular form of marriage, Iatmul men pursue a cultural goal—to wed a woman your father calls "mother"—that, at the symbolic level, can never really succeed: the yearning to return to the preoedipal mother. The specific ethnographic contours of this argument are not relevant here. But my wider point is that this marriage form rests upon a longing that cannot be fulfilled lest society crumble. In this sense, the institution of marriage, like the naven rite, succeeds only through failure—by creating longings, writes Trawick (1990, 152) "that can *never* be fulfilled."

The existential or experiential tragedy I aimed to uncover in the cultural construction of Eastern Iatmul manhood finds a powerful analogue in Gil Herdt's famous account of ritualized homosexuality among the Sambia (1981, Ch. 8). Sambia men, after marriage and fatherhood—after, in other words, "full manhood won"—tell themselves a secret myth. This myth, Herdt feels confident, unlike other aspects of male initiation, was entirely unknown by women traditionally. Women did likely have some inkling about men's homosexual encounters. But about this myth, they were "completely ignorant." And what did the myth detail? Male parthenogenesis. As Herdt summarizes, "the purpose of this pat story is single-minded and bluntly insistent. It leaves no room for fallible doubts about the 'true' origins of mankind, maleness, or femaleness: men created all." But why the secrecy? Why hide the myth from women as well as from men themselves until after they have attained full masculine personhood? What, we might ask, was the big deal? The ritual secrecy does not, Herdt argues correctly in my view, simply sustain collective male privilege over women, or simply foster male solidarity. Rather, "this story, and its particular form of secrecy, actually disguise men's deep doubts about their maleness"—doubts so profound and consequential that the parthenogenic fantasy can only be disclosed to older men, lest younger males feel simply overwhelmed, and presumably reject Sambia manhood altogether.[9] The essence of Sambia maleness, if I read Herdt correctly, is that manhood verges on collapse—either driving men away, or crushing them psychically.

The tenor of what I was trying to capture is powerfully portrayed in Joel Robbins's (2004, especially Ch. 5) striking account of moral torment among the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea. Robbins offers his book as a conceptual and ethnographic critique of the reigning theories of social change. But I read *Becoming Sinners* as a moving account of an anguished people who traditionally and today just can't win. Urapmin constantly fall short of their own self-selected moral virtues. Social life, as Urapmin and many other Melanesians see it, requires each person to reach out to others. But every one of these morally appropriate, "lawful" acts that turns the Urapmin self *to* someone, also appears "willful," that is, immorally selfish, by turning the self *away* from someone else. Marx was wrong: Urapmin evidenced a profound sense of precapitalist alienation. Every human relationship for the Urapmin is thus, at one level, doomed to eventual failure. Urapmin have no choice, given the terms of their culture, but to view themselves as irrevocably bad. Theirs is a world of loss, where the creation of social life and everyday tasks is charged with feelings of abandonment and betrayal. Although Urapmin have a "healthy sense of social possibility," they also possess "a mournful awareness of the inevitability of moral failure." Ultimately, all persons are "morally culpable" since, ultimately, we all die. The very motivation to create culture and social life, then, inevitably results in disappointment, anguish, and death. I have the sense from reading Robbins that much of the meaning of life for Urapmin arises from the pursuit of some sort of resolution of this paradox. But no possible resolution could ever be forthcoming. As Robbins writes, the contradiction between lawfulness and willfulness "is never fully resolved; at best it is merely lived with" (2004, 209).

When Urapmin eagerly sought out Christianity in the 1960s and 1970s, they further condemned themselves to existential torment by viewing human "will"—the very pulse of social life in their traditional worldview—as categorically sinful. So wicked is the "will," so distraught are Christian Urapmin at the thought of inadvertently sinning through even the most trivial and fleeting gesture, that Urapmin seem barely capable of acting in, or on, the world. Some make lists of their daily sins. Others lie awake at night praying for exculpation. But their sins, really, are nothing other than the basic tasks of daily social life. I can think of no other book in the entire corpus of Melanesian anthropology that quite so powerfully captures the tragic dimensions of culture as Robbins's *Becoming Sinners*. Eastern Iatmul men are not, thankfully, as tormented by the terms of their cultural ideas and ideals as Urapmin (I intend no offense to either Urapmin or Robbins). But to view naven solely as a celebration that integrates society, or solely as a rite that "works" to Iatmul moral, psychic, and aesthetic satisfaction, would be as intellectually impoverished as reading Robbins's *Becoming Sinners* and thinking, "How

sweet that Urapmin are so concerned with acting nicely to others." To use Robbins's wonderful phrase, the Eastern Iatmul naven rite dramatizes dilemmas of manhood that are in the end "only lived with" (2004, 209).

I was delighted and privileged that Lindenbaum saw fit to situate my book in a wider Melanesian and global "gender politics." I aimed to illuminate a small bend in the Sepik River, albeit with a theoretical gaze far beyond the region itself. I celebrate the cultural creativity of Eastern Iatmul. I do not necessarily endorse the terms of that creativity. Surely this needs no stating. But Lindenbaum powerfully reminds us that the symbolism of motherhood often entails real power and real battles. For whenever men define themselves by symbolically and ritually seizing tropes of motherhood, women are perhaps denied a certain validation of their own.[10] She is right. And this recognition, I admit, on a level other than the symbolic, is missing from the book.

Lindenbaum writes that the symbolic and economic struggles between men and women in Melanesia over "the right to control the story of reproduction remains an ideological battle we can all recognize" (this issue, 77). I agree. But since I write these words with less than two weeks until the next Presidential election in the United States, I might add that we should do more than merely recognize these struggles.

Losche pleads for a comedic opera about naven, one that embodies its ribald hilarity. I hope not. Such a skit would fail miserably to capture the essence of naven. The rite is not about laughter. It is about laughter *and* shame, joy *and* pain, anguish *and* celebration. It is, to repeat Bakhtin, about the "double-faced fullness of life"—a fullness, we can only hope with Lindenbaum, that is equally enjoyed by women as it is by men.

NOTES

1. Surely Malinowski receives the gold medal for penning in 1922 the opening words of *Argonauts of the Western Pacific:* "Imagine yourself suddenly set down surrounded by all your gear, alone on a tropical beach close to a native village, while the launch or dinghy which has brought you sails away out of sight." The "malarial and diffident" expression, of course, opens Clifford Geertz's (1973) famous essay on the Balinese Cockfight.

2. The genealogy of this phrase is unclear. Clifford Geertz, in *The New York Review of Books* for October 1998, takes it from James Clifford's 1997 book, *Routes*. But Clifford attributes the phrase to a comment by Renato Rosaldo in 1994.

3. I've never been quite clear on the best term for the folks who help us in the field. An impromptu internet request on asao-net (see www.asao.org) recently elicited a wide range of possibilities, including hosts, informants, local folks, assistants, respondents, experts, residents, collaborators, research colleagues, local coworkers, friends, acquaintances, teachers, mentors, research participants, research subjects, ethnographic consultants, and fieldwork interlocutors.

4. David Lipset and Gene Ogan at the University of Minnesota.

5. And I should also add the obvious: we also stake theoretical claims on the basis of what will most likely get our work noticed, and ourselves hired.

6. Levi-Strauss neglected to add the role of countertransference. In this regard, I should cite Mimica's (2003) extensive and rather scathing 40-page critique of my book, in which the "scripting [of Eastern Iatmul and naven] is largely driven by his own [mine] narcissistic, negative-idealising countertransference." I might add, too, that Mimica (1999) is equally critical of Lipset (1997), who also draws on Bakhtin (see also Lipset and Silverman 2005; and Lipset 2000). For two more recent psychoanalytic takes on naven, see Moore (2007) and Weiss and Stanek (2006).

7. I elaborated on this issue when reviewing Weiner's *The Lost Drum* for the Book Forum (Silverman 2001).

8. To be honest, much of the old tiredness ascribed to Freud is often addressed specifically to his androcentrism. As it should be. But why is Lacan so infrequently subject to the same gendered scrutiny? To my credit, I specifically cited in the book several gendered critiques of Lacan.

9. In a later work, Herdt (2003) argued that ritual secrecy created loyalty and trust among individual warriors who might otherwise pursue their own social and political interests. But the secrecy also defended men against self-doubt since, at one level, they did not fully subscribe to the collective reality the cult required.

10. On this point, let me add one final comment on the biblical tale in Genesis, mentioned earlier, that is often taken as the foundational moment of monotheism. When God asked Abraham to slaughter Isaac, and the patriarch enthusiastically agreed, whose voice is missing? That of the boy's mother, Sarah, who dies shortly thereafter.

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REVIEW

Ron Crocombe. *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific IPS Publications, 2007. Pp. 644. ISBN 9789820203884. US$49.00 paper, B/W illustrations.

Reviewed by Evan Lampe, Endicott College

"East Asia's economic miracle" ushered in an economic and political transformation in the Pacific Islands. For much of the twentieth century, Euro-American influence and imperialism in the Pacific remained unchecked. This changed in the last decades of the twentieth century with the flood of people, goods, money, and political influence from Asian nations. World historians have been careful to contextualize the rise of East Asia in the global economy within a larger narrative of Asian influence in the world. Andre Gunder Frank's *ReOrient* and Kenneth Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence* both show that European global hegemony was recent and likely ephemeral because it was contingent on specific historical and ecological factors. Ron Crocombe's ambitious book describes the recent transfer of influence from Euro-Americans to Asians in the Pacific Islands. Although what emerges from the book is a picture of the Pacific Islands as largely at the mercy of global transfer of power, Crocombe desires Pacific Islanders to be better prepared to face, and perhaps profit from, this challenge.

Crocombe describes four major ways that this transfer of influence has been manifest: human migration, commercial infrastructure, political influence, and culture. All of these vectors had long histories but have been particularly acute in recent decades. The migration of workers, tourists, and business people from Asia is familiar to the Pacific Islanders. Not only were the islands initially settled by people from Asia, but Euro-American and

Japanese imperial systems—and imperial economies—brought in thousands of Asian workers. The recent "third wave" has been unique in bringing in more skilled workers and professionals. The success of these immigrants poses a challenge to Pacific Islanders, who risk becoming economically marginalized. Along with people have come institutions of economic exchange such as Asian-run banks and insurance companies.

The arrival of Asian elite professionals accompanied by the infrastructure of commercial exchange resulted in a turn toward the "North," the nations of East Asia. The colonial relationships familiar to Pacific Islanders through their status in the Euro-American empires have not fundamentally changed. The islands still provide raw materials, vacation destinations, financial havens, and dumpsites for much larger economies. The unequal economic relationship with Asia and the migration of thousands of Asians to the islands, along with the lack of formal structures of imperial police power, have led to a proliferation of corrupt businesses, drug smuggling, human trafficking, labor exploitation, prostitution, and fraud schemes. Indeed, one of the most striking elements of the contemporary Pacific Islands is the separation of commerce from imperial control, reflected in the rise of criminal activity.

In part because of economic interest, in part because of strategic concerns, and in large part because of the vacuum left by the declining interest of the West in the Pacific Islands, Asian nations have invested significant diplomatic resources in the region, creating a true "Asia-Pacific" political system. Pacific Islanders also have turned toward Asia in response to the sins of the colonial era (e.g., nuclear testing). In addition to direct aid in the form of grants, usually offered in exchange for international political support or markets for goods, Asians offered support for the 1.6 million ethnic Asians living in the Pacific Islands. Many Asian nations also have ideological, strategic, or outright colonial ambitions in the Pacific Islands. This is seen most clearly in the case of the China-Taiwan dispute and Indonesian imperialism. Crocombe takes a careful look at both of these examples. With political resources and military and economic power, China is capable of punishing island nations that deal directly with Taiwan. Nevertheless, Taiwan has been effective in gaining political influence, even recognition, in the Pacific Islands. Maintaining this support proved difficult because of Chinese pressure. Crocombe is right to compare the zero-sum to the competition of nineteenth-century colonial powers. More ominous is Indonesia's imperial ambitions toward East Timor and West Papua.

Intellectual traditions, education systems, and mental outlook have remained more Euro-American despite the larger geopolitical and economic changes taking place in the Pacific Islands. Even in this "software" Asia is

more significant than ever before. Newspapers now commonly report stories about Asia. Chinese newspapers are growing in circulation as Western newspapers falter. Schools have taken steps to teach Asian languages and Islanders take advantage of scholarships allowing them to study in Asia. Immigrants from Asia have brought their religions, most significantly Islam and Buddhism, which promise to challenge the dominance of Christianity in the Islands.

Asia in the Pacific Islands is rich in details and almost encyclopedic in coverage. Crocombe takes pains to include information on all significant Asian nations and all Pacific Island nations in the text or in the in-depth appendices, which provide references on hundreds of noncommercial organizations active in the Pacific Islands and details on the official diplomatic representation by country. Thanks to these appendices, a rich bibliography, and the broad coverage in the text, researchers will find this book a useful reference guide on many subjects relating to the economic and political situation in the Pacific Islands. Students of globalization will also benefit from this book because it contextualizes a common subject (the rise of Asian economies) in a fresh way.

However, a broad coverage like this is likely to have its own downside. Readers may be commonly disappointed by many sections that lack depth of analysis. For example, a section on Islander women's migration to Asia as spouses is enticing and by itself introduces many fascinating questions about the nature of migration in the Asia-Pacific region but is treated little more than an afterthought of four sentences. Sections lacking depth or analysis will nevertheless challenge researchers to action.

Crocombe's interest is in the future. He hopes to awaken Islanders to the challenge, threat, and opportunity of shifting regional influence. Therefore, he is not particularly interested in either presenting the long history of Asian involvement in the region or in Euro-American colonialism. I am skeptical of the bold claim that Asia is "replacing the West" in the islands because the political, economic, and cultural tools Asia is using in the Pacific Islands are products of what Arif Dirlik calls "global modernity." When the global ruling class is transnational, is the distinction between Euro-American masters and Asian masters merely academic? This analytical quibble aside, the book remains required reading for anyone interested in the contemporary Pacific, globalization, and Asian economics.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 2008–JUNE 2008

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen, University of California San Diego, Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library, Center for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's Center for the Pacific Development Training. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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