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PACIFIC STUDIES

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INHIBITIONS AND COMPENSATIONS: A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF NEGATIVE SANCTIONS IN THREE PACIFIC CULTURES

Jeannette Marie Mageo
University of California, San Diego

Oedipus is named after his injured feet because he represents that part of ourselves lamed by the social sanctions. The fact that sanctions used to control children have consequences for character is well documented in psychological studies (see, for example, Aronson [1972] 1984:216). Ethnographers, however, have difficulty documenting how cultures contribute to these consequences (see Devos and Hippler 1969; Inkeles and Levinson 1969; Shweder 1979).

This study offers a solution to the problems that arise in the cross-cultural study of socialization by focusing upon certain relations between cultural ideology, language, and social institutions. My thesis is that when a given sanction is highlighted in the cultural ideology of childrearing, one will find: terms for inhibition that derive directly from the sanction, institutions in childhood that compensate for this inhibition, institutions surrounding mating that reverse this inhibition, and a social conception of adulthood that mediates between the inhibition and the compensatory reversals that one finds in childhood and adolescence. This is not to say that these relations allow us to predict personality or behavior, but they may provide a basis for describing the patterning and dynamics of a cultural psychology.

The sanctions considered here are teasing, scaring, and punishment. Sigmund Freud tells us that in early life the child internalizes an anticipation of unpleasant consequences in response to a set of culturally disapproved actions ([1961] 1962: 71-72). The result is an inhibiting emo-

tion called guilt. Anthropologists have questioned the pervasiveness of guilt, suggesting that different inhibiting emotions pertain depending on the culture at issue (White and Kirkpatrick 1985). The following pages argue that teasing, scaring, and punishment each produce a different inhibition in the child.

Teasing checks an unwanted behavior by making the child feel foolish about it. When the child is made to feel embarrassed, it wants to hide, specifically to hide the exposed portion of the self that is the source of embarrassment. Thus teasing instills shame.

Scaring threatens the child with imagined harm, often carried out by a third party, for example, a boogieman. This harm is presented to the child as a danger against which authority figures, and their rules, will guard the child. Frequent scaring makes the child timid. By strengthening the child's desire to be protected from the fantasized threat, scaring also provokes dependency.

Punishment involves actual pain, either physical or psychological, inflicted by an authority figure. The practice is aimed at making the child submissive. As a result the child becomes passive and allows itself to be directed and controlled by others. In all three cases the child's initial reaction is often rage, but the rage eventually gives way to the desired outcome.

The presence of an inhibition, and the self-restriction it entails, generates a counterdrive directed towards overcoming that inhibition. With shame there is a concomitant desire to show off. Scaring increases fears, but it also stimulates the child's desires to be a hero and to stand up to imagined dangers. Where one finds children's stories full of ghosts and monsters, one also finds heroes who combat them. If scaring encourages a counterphobic attitude, it also increases independence, which becomes a badge of mastery in an unwieldy and terrifying universe. Punishment may make the child passive before the dictates of others, but the child also harbors suppressed desires to be in control. Being so often "one down" creates a desire to be "one up."

Inhibition implies the internalization of a norm, in light of which the child becomes self-censoring. In what follows I intend to show that cultures provide endeavors for children that help to compensate for instilled inhibitions by giving circumscribed expression to the counterreactions listed above. In adolescence inhibiting feelings are surmounted by assuming a counterattitude, which henceforth comes to mark the personality and which permeates courting rituals. Those who were inhibited by shyness become exhibitionistic. The timid behave boldly. The submissive are marked with unwonted assertiveness.[1]

However, while apparently reversing the inhibitions of childhood, the customs that characterize adolescent behavior contain the seeds of a higher integration. From a Freudian viewpoint the adult ego mediates between id and superego. I submit that adult character mediates between the typical inhibition and the compensations evident in the society at issue. Thus, if a culture relies predominantly on one sanction in childrearing, it thereby ensures the prominence of a set of contrapuntal themes in adult character.

The cultures in which sanctions and compensations will be examined are Bali, Tahiti, and Samoa, each of which features one of the aforementioned sanctions. In Bali teasing is the sanction of choice. As a result children soon come to hide their emotions. Preadolescents learn to dramatize these emotions in trance-dances. Adults become mannered in their relations with others and have a special penchant for the performing arts. In Tahiti children are actively frightened by elders. They become cautious and anxious to maintain their elders' goodwill. Tahitians, however, also foster independence in growing children. By adolescence social actors live a free life of adventure. Nonetheless, Tahitian adults freely choose to devote their lives to succoring their children. In Samoa the accentuated sanction is punishment. Children learn to show respect by submission. Youngsters and adolescents express their resulting need for dominance by taking administrative authority over others and by competing for dominance with their peers from other extended families and villages. Adults politick, which entails a show of respect, for the purpose of attaining status and authority.[2]

In all of these cultures more than one sanction is present; in two, all are present. As Tahiti and Samoa are both Polynesian, they share many practices. Yet in each of these societies one sanction is emphasized beyond the others. Furthermore, the three contrapuntal themes outlined above are fundamental elements of human action and appear in all the cultures considered. However, in each society two of the themes, while present, appear as ancillary to the primary theme that is linked to the predominant sanction.

Admittedly, a full study of socialization in any one of these societies would entail an investigation of each sanction employed, with its particular character and relative import. However, the socialization strategies described here are set in bold relief by a comparative method; therefore, for the purposes of presenting this theory succinctly, I regard only the most emphatic sanction and its consequences for character and confine myself to accounting for the presence of the ancillary themes in the notes.

Why one socializing practice more uniformly shapes personality when multiple available practices coexist is a problem that shall be broached but not answered by the present study. That question goes beyond the scope of socialization, It is really an inquiry into why certain kinds of social action and social relationships are privileged above others and must be left to those who study social history and prehistory.

Although I have spent time in all three of these cultures, Samoa is the only one where I have engaged in serious enthnographic study. Therefore, the Samoan section will be somewhat larger and more detailed than its counterparts. In the Balinese section I make use of the copious and psychologically oriented ethnographic literature. For the Tahitian data I draw primarily on Robert Levy's fine psychological ethnography Tahitians and on his other publications on Tahitian personality. Even in Samoa my own work will be supplemented by the research of other students of the culture. If the article draws upon the work of others to document the theory forwarded here, it will, hopefully, shed new light upon their data. Nonetheless, it is also true that the relationships I delineate between childhood sanctions and adult motifs are sometimes anticipated in these ethnographies as well.

Bali and Teasing

The Balinese believe that punishment harms the child's soul and, therefore, avoid it. Scaring is a technique more commonly employed. The child's mother may shout *'Aroh!"* followed by random statements like "Witch!" "Fire!" "White men!" "Scorpion!" "Tiger!" and so forth (Mead 1942:31).[3] Mead, however, describes the Balinese mother/child relationship as characterized primarily by teasing, which she sees as the pivot of Balinese child development.

Teasing and Stage Fright

Mead says that in Bali the baby is "something to play with, to toy with, to titillate and tease" (ibid.:24) and condenses several typical scenes.

> When the baby fails to nurse, the mother tickles his lips with her nipple, only to look away uninterested, no slightest nerve attending, as soon as the baby's lips close firmly and it begins to suck. She sets her baby in his bath . . . and teasingly thrusts her fingers between his lips, only to look away, disassociated, as the baby bites delightedly at her hand. She hands her baby to another woman, and then threatens to leave him. "I'm off

> home! You I will leave," but when the baby bursts into tears, her attention has already wandered and she takes him without looking at him, as she comments to her sister on the price of beans in the nearest market. (Ibid.:32)

When the child responds emotionally the mother interrupts the interaction. In this manner she communicates that her original gestures were not really meant but were only a tease.

Mead believes that severe inner conflicts arise within the child because of the mother's early teasing, which are externalized through theater in the *Tjalon Arang.* This play involves a battle between a benign dragon (the Barong) and a wicked witch (the Raganda). Traditionally, when the dragon begins to lose the battle, the older boys and men in the audience become entranced, draw their swords, and rush to attack the Raganda. Upon touching her they turn their krises against themselves, but due to the magical protection of the Barong, their skin is impervious to the blade. After a few minutes' effort they fall unharmed to the ground in a faint (ibid.:34-39; Covarrubias [1937] 1972: 326-334).

In Mead's view the Raganda is a symbol for the mother-as-frustrator and the men's attack on the witch functions as permission to display those angry emotions that result from early maternal teasing (1942:34-39). In this sense the *Tjalon Arang* parallels and reverses the Oedipus scenario. Here mother, rather than father, is the threatening figure who provokes the child's initial aggression. Rather than fearing castration by the father, the child comes to fear the mother's mocking laughter. Derision functions as an unpleasant, perhaps even castrating (at least in the sense of impotence-inducing), consequence of losing one's emotional balance in social interaction (Mageo 1979: 122-130). Mead suggests that sexual as well as personal inhibition results from the mother's disconcerting behavior (1942: 37).

Presumably the boy also feels desire for his mother, making her a highly ambivalent figure. In Freudian psychology, objects such as the kris are phallic symbols. Seen in this light the boy's gesture in the play is a metaphor for attempted but unsuccessful rape-the act that combines desire and aggression. For Freud the internalization of the superego is essentially a turning of that aggression the boy originally felt towards the father back upon the self ([1961] 1962). The witch play represents the turning of the aggression the child felt towards the mother back upon the self. Furthermore, the Balinese superego threatens mockery rather than punishment.[4]

Evidence that, as a result of childhood teasing, the Balinese feel as if

they are performers before a derisive audience can be found in the Balinese language. Geertz says that *lek,* "stage fright," rather than guilt, characterizes the Balinese experience of inhibition.[5] He describes the experience as

> a diffuse, usually mild, though in certain situations virtually paralyzing, nervousness before the prospect (and the fact) of social interaction, a chronic, mostly low-grade worry that one will not be able to bring it off with the required finesse.
>
> Whatever its deeper causes, stage fright consists in a fear that, for want of skill or self-control, or perhaps by mere accident, an aesthetic illusion will not be maintained, that the actor will show through his part and the part thus dissolve into the actor. Aesthetic distance collapses, the audience (and the actor) loses sight of Hamlet and gains it, uncomfortably for all concerned, of bumbling John Smith painfully miscast as the Prince of Denmark. In Bali, the case is the same, if the drama more humble. . . . (Geertz 1973:402)

Wikan tells us that the Balinese regard those who do not play the socially prescribed part with fear and suspicion (1987:347-348), just as we might regard the sociopath who lacked an inclination to guilt.

Compensations: Trance

According to Mead the child learns to compensate for shyness by being "away." The emotional side of the self-afraid of being played for the fool-goes into hiding. Once the child has learned to be "away," it becomes thick-skinned about the mother's teasing, just as the entranced dancer's skin in the *Tjalon Arang* becomes magically resistant to the blade. Mead describes the pattern:

> For the first two to three years of their lives children respond to these stimuli, although perhaps the increasing strength of the stimulus may be taken as a measure of the increasing resistance which they are developing. The mother, and in line with the mother, the aunt, the sister, and the child nurse tease and tantalize, while the child responds with mounting emotion which is invariably undercut before the climax. Later, the child begins to withdraw. This withdrawal may coincide with weaning, it may precede it, or it may follow it. . . . The withdrawal, how-

> ever, which marks the end of early childhood for a Balinese, and which comes anywhere between the ages of three and six, is a withdrawal of all responsiveness. The mother borrows the neighbor's baby, but her child looks on unmoved. He skirts any group in which he thinks there will be someone to reach out a hand towards him. And once established his unresponsiveness will last through life. Most children reach this state by the time they are three or four, vacillating at times, falling into deep sulks or violent tempers, only to resume again their newly acquired imperviousness. (1942: 33)

Trance is an amplified form of that dissociation Mead believes so prominent in Balinese child development. Therefore, the lore and custom that surround the institution of trance-dancing can clarify the place of this dissociation in Balinese enculturation (see Belo 1960).

One of the more important traditional trance-dances, the *Sanghyang Dedari,* is a ritual in which preadolescent girls purportedly become possessed by heavenly nymphs (the Sanghyang) who use the girls as a conduit to visit the people. Performed during the last months of the rainy season, the rite acts as a physic for those evils witches bring in train. The end of the rainy season is said to be "a propitious time for *leyaks* [witches] to prey upon human beings" (Covarrubias [1937] 1972:335).[6] The Sanghyang may even chase *leyak* from one temple to another, followed by a singing retinue of villagers (ibid.:338). If, as Mead believes, witches represents those ills endemic to Balinese character, they would present a particular danger in the last phase of the unpleasant weather. Then people are prone to lassitude, illness, and depression and, therefore, have less resistance to their own complexes. Balinese custom suggests that the *Sanghyang Dedari* is the antidote.

During this dance those emotions that are a focus of teasing in normal life are catered to and indulged. If the little dancer dislikes the music the orchestra plays for her, she will stamp her feet and demand another air. No one laughs, rather the *gamelan* politely changes its tune (Mead 1942:17, 29-30). Thus the *Sanghyang Dedari,* like the *Tjalon Arang,* encourages children to use dissociation as a means whereby otherwise censored emotions can be canalized into theatrical performance.[7]

Mediation: Aesthetic Distance

The heavenly nymphs presage the mediation between *lek* on the one hand and dissociation on the other, evident in adult Balinese social life.

By virtue of *lek* immediate reactions are suppressed and the child tends to become dissociated. This dissociation is a juvenile form of distancing that, in the end, makes a higher form of "acting" possible. Covarrubias tells us that the little girls who are possessed have received no dancing instruction, yet "once in a trance they are able to dance in any style, all of which would require ordinary dancers months and years of training to learn" ([1937] 1972:335-336). Thus for the Balinese, dissociation is a stage in the achievement of aesthetic distance, and it is this capacity the Sanghyang nymphs personify. In childhood such distance can be reached only through that radical form of dissociation called trance. In adolescence and adulthood one finds evidence of this distance in social institutions that do not demand any radically altered state of consciousness.

In Adolescence. In Bali childhood inhibition is overcome by adolescent performances. Wikan describes the gender roles that are assumed in adolescence as if they were scripted characters, especially that of the young woman who is supposed to be gay and sparkling. As in the lyric "There's no people like show people" she must "smile when she is low," personal tragedies notwithstanding (Wikan 1987:346-348, particularly 349-353).

Courtship Balinese style is a carefully staged performance.

> In Bali . . . the average boy in love with a girl makes his marriage arrangements directly with her, and outside of his father, perhaps and a few friends from whom he needs help, he keeps his intentions secret until the day, previously agreed upon between the boy and girl, when he will steal her. . . . The girl arranges for her clothes to be taken secretly to their future hide-out, and on the appointed day she is captured somewhere on the road, in the fields, or in the river by the kidnapping party, lead by her suitor. She is expected to kick and bite her abductors in sham self-defense, and although there may be witnesses, no one would dream of interfering, unless they are relatives of the girl in which case they are supposed to put up a great fight. In Den Pasar it is stylish to rush the girl away by hired motor-car. (Covarrubias [1937]1972: 146)

Like the *Tjalon Arang,* this drama is a symbolic rape. It is, of course, not rape. Acting, like the teasing that fostered it, is "as-if" behavior. In

this manner adolescents demonstrate their mastery of the theatrical mode. The boy consummates love as a gentle parody of that act of aggression that was attempted in the witch play, but this time his "sword" does not fail.[8]

In Adulthood. Adult life is conceived of in Bali as a performance. The rear of the modern stage and the front of the traditional household compound are precisely the same. There is a gate with a wall behind it, blocking one's view of the interior. Behind this wall are areas that are decidedly backstage. Within the perimeters of the household compound, life is private- hidden.

> No one enters lightly the house of another; only beggars whose low estate may be that of the houseowner in another incarnation, peddlers, relatives, and those who have some special errand, enter another's house in the course of everyday affairs. . . . the houseyard is closed and for the individual member who wishes to exchange light stylized puns, or easy caricature, or merely stand and chew betel with others-the street lures him out. (Mead 1942:2; see also Geertz and Geertz 1975:46)

However, the social life that "lures" one out in Bali is a performance in which the interior of the self, like the interior of the house, is deftly hidden behind a theatrical facade. Mead tells us that, during her first months in Bali,

> before I had learned to understand the Balinese preference for theatrical emotions, I was at a loss to explain why my rapport developed so slowly with the people of Bajoeng Gede. Mothers whose babies I had medicated, although they returned for more medicine, remained so unwon that the babies screamed in terror in their arms whenever the mothers saw me. . . . Then I had the opportunity to study the behavior of other Europeans who had come to Bali as they might go to the theater, and saw how much more easily the Balinese responded to their exaggerated interest than they did to my affection for individual babies. Readjusting my cues, I gave up depending upon the communication of real emotion . . . and learned to exaggerate and caricature my friendly attitudes until the Balinese could safely accept them as theatrical rather than real. Mothers who

> had not loosened one tense muscle when I expressed my real feelings for their babies, relaxed with relief. . . . their babies stopped screaming, the dogs barked less. (1942:31-32)

Geertz portrays adult life in Bali as one grand performance, evincing values intrinsic to the stage.

> Calculated politesse, outward form pure and simple, has there a normative value that we, who regard it as pretentious or comic when we don't regard it as hypocritical, can scarcely, now that Jane Austen is about as far from us as Bali, any longer appreciate.
>
> Such an appreciation is rendered even more difficult by the presence within this industrious polishing of the surfaces of social life of a peculiar note, a stylistic nuance, we would not, I think, expect to be there. . . . "Playful theatricality" perhaps hits near it, if it is understood that the playfulness is not light-hearted but almost grave and the theatricality not spontaneous but almost forced. (Geertz 1973:399-400)

Performing in Balinese adulthood is a medium for expressing otherwise inhibited emotions and, like the face of the traditional dwelling, is a screen that permits the inner self to retain its distance. This distance, however, has become something more than that which the child sought in skirting groups of derisive adults. It is now the distance of the actor or artisan who regards a craft.[9]

Thus, at the traditional puppet show *(wayang kulit),* much of the audience sits in the area that, technically speaking, is backstage. Balinese have the attitude of professionals, interested in performance techniques, rather than spectators (Mead 1942:27-28). It hardly need be added that the Balinese, nonpareil in all the arts, have a proliferation of performance genres including myriad styles of music, drama, dance, and puppetry, not to mention rituals and festivals that are also treated as performing arts.[10]

* * * * *

In summary, the emotionalism of the Balinese child is curtailed by teasing, which produces stage fright. Stage fright is compensated for by dissociation, either through behavior in which the actor is "away" or through trance. Adolescents overcome stage fright through social per-

formances. The adult personality mediates stage fright and dissociation through the achievement of aesthetic distance.

Tahiti and Scaring

In Tahiti children are punished, teased, and scared. Although parents employ punishment, we will soon see that they have reservations about it. Teasing is an inextricable ingredient in the development of the child's character. Nonetheless, it takes second place to various forms of intimidation.

Scaring in Tahitian Childhood

Tahitians teach their children to stay out of trouble by cultivating in them "a general disposition to be fearful." Levy describes a typical fear-inducing routine as follows:

> One evening in Teri'i Tui's house, one of the children, Tara, discovered that a newly adopted baby at the house, a boy twenty-six months old, was afraid of a small doll. For thirty minutes the whole family-Teri'i Tui, Mari, and the older children-joined in with intense interest, laughing heartily, as one or another frightened the child with the doll. They kept bringing the doll near him, rubbing him with it, suddenly bringing it into his view. At first he would point to it, or turn away, or cry out. But after fifteen or twenty minutes he began to get more and more fretful, and began a continued sobbing. They kept up for another ten minutes before they stopped. At other times the older children would try and frighten the baby by calling his attention to lizards. (1973:448-449)[11]

Scaring techniques are more diffuse, both in intention and effect, than other sanctions. Although scaring is sometimes affiliated with specific behaviors, it is also done randomly. The point is to make the world seem dangerous. This increases the child's feeling of dependency upon others and undermines its autonomy. Children who are fearful desire to maintain their elders' goodwill. They become cooperative, even if they have a choice in the matter.

Levy tells us that with slightly older children fear is induced by capitalizing on accidents. "Sometimes a young child will act aggressively and nothing will be said about it. But if he happens to fall down a while

later, his parents and older siblings may yell at him, 'Stop crying, it serves you right.' There are several ways of saying 'it serves you right,' and one hears it frequently" (ibid.). Once children are old enough to respond to coercion, Levy says they are beleaguered with verbal threats. "Children are constantly told they will be beaten in one way or another if they continue to act badly. Sometimes a child is threatened that a foreigner will take him away or that a ghost will get him on the village path in the evening. I heard occasional examples of other kinds of threats, such as 'be careful or I won't feed you anymore' or threats to chase a child out of the house" (ibid.).

Threats of beatings are not intended to be a real preface to punishment. If fear-induction in early life has been successful, the threat alone is sufficient for producing obedience. Thus, although Tahitians hit their children, Levy's informants say that frequent hitting actually undermines the fear upon which Tahitian socialization relies. "Hitting *[ta'iri]* is not good. The [proper] hitting is with the mouth. That business, hitting with a stick, [they] don't listen/obey *[fa'aro'o].* . . . It is hit, and it isn't afraid *[mata'u]* anymore. But if your mouth speaks, if you show your irritation . . . then it listens/obeys" (ibid.:449).[12]

The inhibition that results from childhood timidity is called ***ha'amā*** (ibid.:328). This word is glossed as "shame/embarrassment." Nonetheless, even in adults ***ha'amā*** seems the ubiquitous "diffuse fearfulness" that Levy says is the conscious goal of childhood socialization (ibid.: 335). Indeed, Levy says that the emotion stressed in descriptions of ***ha'amā*** is fear (1974:289). One of his informants describes the feeling: "you decide to go and seduce some woman. You think about going, but there grows in you the idea, 'Don't, it is a fearful action. . . . If you are seen, her *tane* would come and beat you up, or if not, he would beat up the woman and kill her. . . . There are . . . some bad thoughts that one thinks about doing but [one says to oneself], 'Don't, it involves fear. . . . It is a matter of *ha'ama* if one is seen' " (Levy 1973:328-329; Levy 1974:289, brackets in the original). Levy tells us that Tahitians, therefore, become cautious and gentle, and come to experience social regulations as protection against a diffuse and ill-defined danger (1974:241, 299,303).

Compensation: Self-Sufficiency

Initial dependence is indulged in Tahiti, as the child is allowed to nurse as long as it likes (Levy 1973:442-444). After weaning, however, youngsters begin a "quest for self-sufficiency" (Levy 1973:461). Levy at-

tributes this quest to a maternal distancing that occurs between two and three years of age (ibid.:454-455).[13] Two Tahitian folk doctrines about the self also encourage the child to be independent:

1. Tahitians believe that all persons, including children, have an inviolable will of their own and ultimately make their own decisions, independently of others. Levy recounts tales of children who are not taken to the hospital when sick merely because they personally decided they would not go (ibid.:453). Thus, the belief that the child's will is inviolate leads to an attitude of deference likely to persuade the child that it cannot in fact be coerced.

2. Tahitians believe that the child learns spontaneously and independently of other's efforts at instruction. Because of this ideology about learning the child's need to overcome the fears that have been instilled by scaring is channeled into a pride in doing things by oneself. Levy quotes a boy called Manu. "I can make and cook in an earth oven because I saw my 'grandfather' make them every day. I would sit next to him, and I understood how to do it. Sometimes in the large house of my 'grandfather,' in those times, he [the 'grandfather'] would see that there was a fire in the cookhouse. . . . He would come and look, and the earth oven was ready" (Levy 1973:451; brackets in the original).

It was ready, of course, because Manu had prepared it. Similarly, this boy said of plantation work, "I just looked at the way things are done, and when I got to be thirteen years old, I understood how to do the work." He says of his father, "He taught me a little bit, but most of the time, it was by my own eyes that I would see how to do the work" (ibid.).

In Adolescence. Once the developing Tahitian reaches adolescence, the disposition towards fear must be overcome so individuals, now presumably socialized, will not be obstructed by early inhibitions. Levy says youths, having learned "to have the proper amount of timidity . . . have to learn some daring" (ibid.:469).

> Boys separate from the household and first sit and listen to the older boys' songs and tales of derring-do. They become supercised, with its messages of freeing the bound penis, of overcoming dangers. . . . One may now be sexually aggressive with girls, have adventures, steal for thrills, boast, travel to other villages. . . . Parents will indulge *taure'are'a* boys' behavior, older men will exaggerate their exploits in fantasy, and fathers will be secretly proud of their violation of proprieties. (Ibid.)

Youthful groups of same-sex companions are called *taure'are'a.* Levy dubs the phase in a young person's life marked by an association with a *taure'are'a* group as "the *taure'are'a* period." During this period youths will voice their independence from parents. In the words of one of Levy's informants, "they [parents] can't keep ordering you about. If they order you around you say 'Go fetch it yourself.' " Rather than having one's life run by the orders of elders, "It is you alone" (ibid.:468). Boys often, and sometimes young women, will move away from their nuclear families, even away from their home island. They seek some type of temporary and often shifting employment. The idea is to live a life that, both emotionally and sexually, is free from deep attachments and the responsibilities such attachments entail.

The *taure'are'a* period begins with supercising the penis, a still-practiced initiation rite in Tahiti. During supercision boys will attempt to "stir up fear" in one another, making it a ritual overcoming of fear. "Now one of the three went to be cut and he began to cry out. . . . He began to due in order to stir up fear, to stir up fear in the two who were left. He was only fooling, it was playful carrying on. Ah, *"Aue, aue,"* it was playful behavior. Those two, they became afraid" (ibid.:368).

After supercision the Tahitian boy begins having heterosexual experiences, about which he will boast to his *taure'are'a* group as if they were daring accomplishments. In fact lovemaking often begins with a practice that does make it seem a venturesome endeavor. The practice is known as *motoro,* which literally means "sleep crawling." "The young boy, after summoning up his courage . . . waits until everybody is asleep in the household of a girl who attracts him. He will then sneak through an unlocked window or door and, trying not to wake anyone, go to the girl's sleeping area and lie down beside her. Most often they talk in whispers for a short time and the boy leaves, relieved to have escaped unscathed" (ibid. : 123). The boy's friends do their best to insure that *motoro* is hazardous and frightening, so that sex too begins as a ritual mastering of timidity. Should they find out that he is planning such an escapade, they may go and throw rocks on the roof of the house where it is to take place. This wakens the parents who chase the boy and are angry at the girl (ibid.:72).[14]

The Samoan cousin of the word *motoro* is *moetotolo.* Like the Tahitian word, it literally means "sleep crawling." *Moetotolo* can be an excuse for a tryst, much as Levy portrays *motoro* in Tahiti. However, should the parents awaken, the Samoan girl will pretend that the boy is attempting rape to protect her reputation (Mead [1928] 1961:94; Schoeffel 1979: 189-190; O'Meara 1990:105). Furthermore, in Samoan

the word *moetotolo* glosses as "rape," unlike its Tahitian counterpart. While in the instances described above *moetotolo* is pseudorape, "sleep crawling" Samoan-style is often rape in earnest (see Freeman 1983: 244-248).

In Tahiti the word for rape is *haru,* which is considered "shocking and a bad thing" (Levy 1973:124). Yet, Tahitian lore poses *haru* as a kind of uncivilized analogue for *motoro.* Levy's villagers suppose *haru* "to be the common method of initiating intercourse among . . . young people," albeit only "in previous days" and "in such barbaric distant islands as the Tuamotus" (ibid.). Notably, Mead describes *moetotolo* as a covert approach to and possible seduction of a girl who is not one's lover, and thus a method of initiating intercourse, if an irregular one ([1928]1961:93-95). Freeman says that *moetotolo* is an irregular way to procure a wife and is, in this sense, a method for initiating intercourse (1983:245-246).

Inasmuch as Tahitians believe that *motoro* serves the same function as rape serves for "barbaric" societies, their own past society included, *motoro* also becomes a species of mock-rape. In this respect *motoro* is similar to the Balinese courtship ritual described by Covarrubias. Both are highly refined caricatures of kidnaping and rape. In Bali the point of "bride theft" is the social vignette, executed with the requisite style; in Tahiti the point of *motoro* is to impress one's friends with one's bravery.

Some suggestion is in order as to why lovemaking begins as mock-rape in Bali and Tahiti. Anna Freud (1937) suggests that the Oedipus crisis resurfaces in adolescence and that overcoming this crisis is the avenue towards normal adult sexuality. If this is the case, one might expect aggression against a male figure in adolescence rather than mock aggression against a female figure. In Balinese and Tahitian adolescence, however, there appears to be a transfer of affect from a male figure to a female figure. Perhaps this is due to the role of the women as the major practitioners of social sanctions in both cultures. Levy describes the Tahitian father as distant and uninvolved and points out that women administer early socialization (1973:464).

Mediation: Choosing to Succor

Tahitian childrearing stimulates strong feelings of dependency upon others. Dependency is compensated for by the belief that one is intrinsically independent, for example, that one learns by oneself. This inner schism, between the need to cling and a belief in one's own autonomy, is

bridged in Tahiti by making a long and elaborate drama out of choosing to succor.

Levy suggests an antipathy between *taure'are'a* groups and stable relationships. After all, within these groups sex appears as a venturesome game rather than as a bond between two people. When young people begin to become attached to their sexual partners they move away from their *taure'are'a* companions. This distancing is at first quite tentative. Young Tahitians will live with a mate and then abandon the relationship, often on the pretext of the partner's flirtations with someone else.

Neither pregnancy nor progeny necessarily obviates this tentativeness, as the first few babies a couple has are often given to relatives. Thus, by virtue of the institution of adoption, keeping or acquiring a child is a matter of personal choice (ibid.:473-485).[15] In the village Levy studied, Piri, close to 20 percent of the children were living in households other than that of their biological parents, although a smaller percentage were actually adopted. In 1960 Paul Kay estimated that 25 percent of the children in Roto, a community on the island of Tahiti, were adopted (1963).

As in many societies, entrance into adulthood in Tahiti is marked by marriage. Tahitian couples indicate that they will marry through a decision to begin keeping their children. Thus, the resolve to forgo the more obvious privileges of independence is a commitment to succor. In Tahiti adulthood is synonymous with choosing to care for one's progeny.[16]

Adult life in Tahiti is balanced between an insistence upon the actor's right to self-determination and the necessity to devote oneself to nurturing one's youngsters. The elected village chief *(tavana)* is not one to lord it over others but confines himself to helping fellow villagers "find their own way" (Levy 1973:205). Rather than giving orders his role is to sum up group consensus.

Tahitian moral life also provides ample scope for self-determination. Persons retain the right to act independently, without fearing the onus of public disapproval. Levy says of the village chief where he stayed on Huahine: "By missionary standards he had faults. He had been a relatively heavy drinker throughout his years as *muto'i* [village policeman] and in his first years as *tavana.* He had once deserted his wife, some years after their marriage, and gone off briefly to Tahiti with the wife of another man in the village. For Piri such human failings better fitted him for his role as *tavana.* He was not too 'high,' too 'swollen' " (ibid.: 46-47). As free as this life seems, adult Tahitians experience themselves

as inescapably ensnared in a web of dependent others. "Your thoughts turn to youth. You have longing thoughts. But you are adult, and work and feed your flock of children. You cannot go and have a life of enjoyment. Your *vahine* [women] would die of hunger. You work. A new group of *taure'are'a* has come along. You see their fun and remember, 'I was like that in my youth.' But there is nothing you can do about it. You have become an adult. . . . It is a life of fatigue" (ibid. : 197).

* * * * *

Tahitians believe that the child is innately independent. Through scaring they modify this intractability with timidity and a resulting desire to placate elders through cooperation. The dependent child, however, is taught that it can and must fend for itself in the task of growing up. The adolescent comes to experiment with relationships and to regard all affective bonds-even that between parent and child-as a personal choice rather than as a given. Independence and dependence are mediated when the adult mates, through the decision to succor children.

Samoa and Punishment

Samoans tease, scare, and punish their children. Children may be called insulting or obscene names by grandparents or peers.[17] They may be ridiculed for some personal deformity or shortcoming, or for their family's failings. For example, when my Samoan husband was growing up his uncle initiated a campaign for local political office a few weeks before the day of the election. The uncle's slogan was "Never Too Late!" but he lost the election. All my husband's school chums called him "Too Late" for weeks.

Children are told tales of spirits who will make them ill or carry them off should they misbehave in restricted places or tell lies.'* When a toddler strays from prescribed bounds within a house, the adult may shout *"Oti mai nei"* (Death comes now) (Sutter 1980:31). This expression may also be employed when children are hit. Scaring techniques are used to make the child attentive. When my youngest sister-in-law (Cecilia) was little and did not attend to my mother-in-law's (Tina) orders, Tina would say, "We are going to the *palagi* [Caucasian] doctor." Cecilia was afraid of the doctor and this remark got her to listen. However, if teasing and scaring have a place in Samoan childrearing, punishment is primary.

Punishment in Samoan Childhood

Samoan society is hierarchically structured. The family is an age-grade hierarchy and is the training ground for respect *(fa'aaloalo). Fa'aaloalo* is that behavior one accords to those above oneself in the hierarchy (Gerber 1975:42-47).[19] Good Samoan children demonstrate respect by being *fa'alogo. Fa'alogo* literally means "to listen," but it specifically connotes listening to the dictates of elders and, in response, rendering them humble service. But the child's own will is apt to inspire impudence.[20] The impudent child is called tautalaitiiti, "to talk above one's age."[21]

The remedy to these misplaced aspirations is to induce the child to assume its proper place through chastisement. If an order is not promptly obeyed, it is followed by a threat (Ochs 1988:151-153).[22] If the threat is not attended to, the child is liable to be struck. If the child demonstrates submission by sitting stock-still with legs crossed and head bowed, suppressing emotions, the blow is likely to be modulated. However, if the child cries the beating is liable to continue until the child demonstrates submission gesturally by sitting cross-legged with head bowed in silence (see Freeman 1983:206).[23] Gerber traces the transition of this set of gestures from a calculated response to an automatic reaction (1975:58). After a few years of frequent beatings this automatic reaction to parental disapproval becomes an inhibition.

The Samoan words for feelings of inhibition are *matamuli* and *mā. Matamuli* literally means "eyes behind' and is glossed as shyness. *Mā* glosses as embarrassment. However, more revealing than their English translations are the postures that accompany *ma* and *matamuli:* the head is bowed and eyes cast down. Children who are either *matamuli* or *ma* are passive, apt to be silent and to resolutely conceal their personal thoughts and feelings. Thus, the result of Samoan punishment is an inhibiting feeling that encourages children to assume both the physical and the psychological elements of that submissive bearing earlier exacted by force.

Compensation: Expressing Dominance

Samoan young people must learn to practice submission. They are also provided with contexts in which they may exact submission from others. Furthermore, there are many competitive situations in which they are encouraged to win a dominant position as representatives of their group.

Exacting Submission. Any older relative is by rights the child's superior. Once the child has younger siblings it is, therefore, qualified to instruct them as to their proper place within the group through physical chastisement. Mead describes older siblings' admonitions to those younger as perpetual and says that "no mother will ever exert herself to discipline a younger child if an older one can be made responsible" ([1928] 1961:23, 24). Gerber tells us that younger children should obey the older without question, serving him or her as they do any other elder (197536). Schoeffel says that "the prerogative of exercising most forms of coercion belongs to all members of the household who are senior to the child" (1979: 125). Freeman documents cases in which the child is forced to submit to an adult by punishment and responds by immediately beating a younger relative (1983:208-209). Growing children soon duplicate the pattern of hierarchical relations vis-à-vis someone smaller than themselves and become conspirators in the system.

Administrative dominance within the household is a prerogative normally exercised by the girl because she is kept at home, while the boy is allowed to roam about the village. Mead, for example, calls adolescence the best time in the girl's life: Not only does she escape the responsibilities of adulthood, but she also has as many under her to boss around as she has over her giving orders ([1928] 1961; see also Gerber 1975:65). In traditional Samoan culture the adolescent girl could pass most tasks down to younger siblings (Schoeffel l979: 138-139, 143).

Young men exercise similar privileges in the *'aumaga,* an organization of the village's untitled young men (Mead [1930] 1969:92; Holmes 1974: 32-33).[24] Traditionally the chiefly members of the *fono* (village council) represented the legislative branch of government, while the members of the *'aumaga* were their "executors and wardens" (Mead [1930] 1969: 17). The adolescent boy, like the girl within the family, would beat those who violated regulations. In ancient times anyone who intruded upon the village during a district meeting was attacked by the *'aumaga* with clubs and spears, and possibly slain (Stair 1897:90). Today members of the *'aumaga* still function as a village police force. The members not infrequently threaten, and occasionally attack, persons who walk or run or otherwise disturb the quiet and the stillness of the village during the Sā, a period of evening prayers.[25]

Competition. Competitions between *'aiga* (extended families) and *nu'u* (villages) also allow children and young people to offset the silence and deference enjoined in relations to superiors. Formally speaking *'aiga* and ***nu'u*** are supposed to show respect for one another. Samoan

village politics in fact consist of a struggle for dominance between *'aiga.* Traditionally villages also struggled with one another within districts for political dominance (Kraemer [1902] 1978; Davidson 1967; Gilson 1970; Henry 1980). In this quest for political supremacy, each member of the *'āiga* acts as a representative of the family vis-à-vis other *'aiga* and each member of the *nu'u* is a representative of the village vis-à-vis other villages. For the sake of social stability adults cloak this competition in respectful rhetoric. However, it is straightforward among youngsters within the village and between adolescents and young adults of different villages.

By the age of five children of different *'aiga* tease one another *(ula)* or engage in ridicule *(faipona).* One child might call the other "Vae Popo'u" (Legs with Sores) or "Gutu Felea" (Thick Lips). The most common practice is to call out the name of the other child's parents. The taunter means to take the parents' name in vain, and, in a larger sense, the family name (Mageo 1988:54-56).[26]

By adolescence open contention between *'aiga* within the village begins to be muted. Competition is transferred to the village level and takes on a more formal and institutionalized aspect. War games between *'aumaga* of different villages was sport in old Samoa (Stair 1897:236-238; Moyle 1971:587-619), but today are replaced by cricket and longboat *(fautasi)* racing. A village will often sponsor a male cricket team, a female cricket team, and a male *fautasi* crew.[27]

Shore portrays Samoan peer relations as inherently unstable (1982: 198-201). Normally, antagonistic tendencies are expressed in jest, not violence. Cricket matches, particularly female ones, are punctuated with gestural jokes. When a team strikes out, the leader will often dance about in some absurd or possibly sexual idiom, which will be imitated by other team members. Nonetheless, both teasing among youngsters and contests between adolescents occasionally end with an attempt by the loser to reassert dominance by physically beating the other party (see Mageo 1988:55-56; O'Meara 1990: 120-121).

Sexuality and Competition. In old Samoa marrying was often framed as competition for dominance between *'aiga* and *nu'u,* which was sometimes jocular and sometimes not. The *'aumaga* might kidnap the *taupou* of another village and marry her to one of their high-born young men. The *taupou* was a virginal young woman who represented the pinnacle of feminine grace and loveliness (Keesing 1937). For the young men of one village to take the principal girl of another was to score in the competition between villages (see Mead [1930] 1969:227; Schoeffel 1979: 188; Freeman 1983:244-245).

A Samoan high chief, who is also a close personal friend, tells of a *poula* (night dance) of the type that existed when he was a boy. His *'aumāga* would visit the *aualuma* (young women's organization) of another village and a dance would be held. The evening would begin with the women on one side of the room and the men on the other, each side offering a performance that had to be equaled by the other. As the night proceeded the presentations became bawdy and were responded to with increasingly uninhibited songs and dances. At some point in this rising crescendo a male would shout, rush over, and pick up one of the women, carrying her out into the night. If the couple came back inside after a brief period, the dance was not interrupted and nothing was said. But if the couple did not return the male group shouted "One wife for our side!"

Here again one finds a species of mock-rape (as in Tahiti), which as it happens is also mock-bride theft (as in Bali). However, in Samoa one also finds actual rape and bride theft. According to Freeman, the point of *moetotolo* is to digitally deflower the girl, thereby humiliating her. She will then consent to elope with the boy to escape degradation (Freeman 1983:246; see also Schoeffel l979: 184; O'Meara 1990:107).

From a Samoan standpoint, though, rape is not a crime against the girl so much as it is an illicit method of scoring against her family.[28] Schoeffel says, "For a male to have illicit sexual relations with a girl is for him to conquer her and, by extension, the descent group whose esteem she represents" (1979:185). Thus the boy's *'aiga* makes restitution to that of the girl. Should the victimized family catch the young man in the act he is badly beaten, even if the girl desires to marry him; family honor, rather than personal feelings, is at issue. Unlike "sleep crawling" in Tahiti, *moetotolo* is not a typical method of initiating intercourse, but Freeman documents that it is a common crime (1983).[29]

Mediations: Representation as Respect

Samoan childrearing practices teach the child to curtail verbal assertiveness before its elders and betters, yet also instills the habit of humorous jockeying among peers in which the social actor serves as a representative of his or her family or village. Situations arise, both in adolescence and adulthood, where it becomes necessary to assert oneself in contexts that also demand a show of respect. In Samoan terms this presents a contradiction. The contradiction is remedied by a new form of representation, in which-rather than openly competing with another-one goes on a mission of respect.

In Adolescence. In Samoa, groups treat other groups of same-age persons as peers. Samoan peers are expected to jest with one another, as in the *põula* described above. Among individuals, however, only same-sex persons of a similar status are considered peers. Opposite-sex persons are of a different status in the sense that, when behaving politely, one treats them either as relatives or as someone else's spouse. For example, older women are uniformly addressed as *tina* (mother). When relating to girls as particular persons, boys are supposed to treat them as "sisters," which means respectfully (Shore 1982:229).

Traditionally this categorization posed problems for wooing. How could a boy charm a sweetheart without speaking person-to-person? Yet the only model he had for such speech was the often bawdy and mildly taunting interchanges characteristic of Samoan peers. Should a boy approach a girl in this manner, his gesture would be read as disrespectful. The girl would, therefore, consider him *tautalaitiiti* and spurn his advances.

The solution to this dilemma is an intimate kind of oratory called *fa'asoa.* When a boy admires a girl, he finds a friend to approach the girl and speak on his behalf. The friend is called a *soa* and what the *soa* does is to *fa'asoa,* literally "to make soa."[30] Mead says that in the 1920s all love affairs and marriages were arranged in this manner.

> They say: "If you wish to know who is really the lover, look then not at the boy who sits by her side, looks boldly into her eyes and twists the flowers in her necklace around his fingers or steals the hibiscus flower from her hair that he may wear it behind his ear. Do not think it is he who whispers softly in her ear, or says to her, 'Sweetheart, wait for me to-night. After the moon has set, I will come to you,' or who teases her by saying she has many lovers. Look instead at the boy who sits far off, who sits with bent head and takes no part in the joking. And you will see that his eyes are always turned softly on the girl. Always he watches her and never does he miss a movement of her lips. Perhaps she will wink at him, perhaps she will raise her eyebrows, perhaps she will make a sign with her hand. He must always be wakeful and watching or he will miss it." The *soa* meanwhile pays the girl elaborate and ostentatious court and in undertones pleads the cause of his friend. (Mead [1928] 1961:96-97)

The *soa* gently rails against the girl while the real lover sits silent and passive. Because the *soa* does not act as a "boy," but as an ambassador,

he eludes the social requirement of silent deference and may aggressively forward his friend's suit. He may flirt with the girl because he is only joking. That is to say, he is joking about his own intentions. However, he is not joking about those of his friend. The *soa* not only speaks in a permissible manner of sentiments that would otherwise be considered cheeky, he also gives respect in the sense that he serves his friend and sings his praises (ibid.:91; Stuebel 1976: 126-130).

Soa may be in competition with those they appear to represent. When speaking of the *soa* in my college classes, the older ladies always giggle and say "Yes, but he often ends up with the girl!" Mead tells us,

> The choice of a *soa* presents many difficulties. If the lover chooses a steady, reliable boy, some slightly younger relative devoted to his interests, a boy unambitious in affairs of the heart, very likely the ambassador will bungle the whole affair through inexperience and lack of tact. But if he chooses a handsome and expert wooer who knows just how "to speak softly and walk gently," then as likely as not the girl will prefer the second to the principal. This difficulty is occasionally anticipated by employing two or three *soas* and setting them to spy on each other. But such a lack of trust is likely to inspire a similar attitude in the agents, and as one overcautious and disappointed lover told me ruefully, "I had five *soas,* one was true and four were false." ([1928] 1961:90)

Today the formal relationship of the *soa* has fallen into disuse, but Samoan adolescents still ask one another to approach a member of the opposite sex because *"E lava au upu"* (You have enough words). This phrase reflects the tongue-tied silence characteristic of the Samoan adolescent would-be wooer. Employing a go-between is not confined to males. Before my Samoan husband and I were married, girls would approach him and tell him that their sister would like to be taken out on a date.

In Adulthood. Adult social life in Samoa requires that one show submission through quiescent, obedient service. One is also expected to assertively forward the interests of one's own *'aiga* and nu'u. As in wooing, the means whereby Samoans mediate these contrary demands is through a kind of discourse that is simultaneously representative and respectful. In order to understand the nature of this discourse, it is necessary to investigate the Samoan archetype of the representative orator, the *tulafale.*

Traditionally *tulafale* were *soa* for high chiefs *(ali'i).* Their sons served as *soa* to the sons of *ali'i* (ibid.). So enthusiastic were *tulafale* in their role as marriage brokers that many historical intrigues are attributed to orators' attempts to arrange serial marriages for their *ali'i,* with increasingly more powerful and well-born wives. A chief who adamantly refused his orators in the matter of marriage might well be assassinated (Kraemer [1923] 1949; "Institutions and Customs of the Samoans" [1944] 1954; Henry 1980). Should a chief fail to give his daughter up to such a marriage his orators might "release him of his parental rights and give away the girl" (Kraemer [1902] 1978:36). In this manner *tulafale* increased their own wealth, for they were paid handsomely in fine mats for their deft manipulations before, and for their speeches during, the marriage ceremony.

In Samoa passivity and solemn silence are the quintessence of respectful behavior, characterizing not only the properly subdued youngster, but also the dignified *ali'i.*[31] Hence, *tulafale* spoke for their *ali'i* in many circumstances besides marriage, such as in village affairs and in negotiations between districts. In any formal ceremony, being represented by a *tulāfale* was and is the prerequisite of dignity ("Institutions and Customs of Samoa" [1944] 1954: 13; Gilson 1970:24, 56). If, however, the services the *tulafale* rendered to the *ali'i* were broad-ranging, the term *fa'asoa* (being primary to the role of the *tulafale)* was used to encompass them. Thus it is said " *'Ua galue fa'asoa le tulafale mo lona ali'i"* (The orator works on behalf of his chief) (Milner [1966] 1979:212).

Tulafale, like *soa,* might legitimately say things that would be considered dominance-seeking for their principal to say. For example, in speeches *tulafale* praise their *ali'i* to the skies, reconstructing genealogies and lore for the chief's benefit.[32] And, just as the *soa* often turned out to be in competition with the lover whom he served, so the *tulāfale* often sequestered the *ali'i's* power.

Through the *tulafale's* "humble" service it came to be that "Every activity in the village and country is regulated by the orators and must be carried out according to their instructions" ("Institutions and Customs of Samoa" [1944] 1954: 14). Speaking of Western Samoa, Meleisea tells us that, while *ali'i* were accorded greater honors, the *tulāfale* "exercised greater authority" (198713: 19). "For the Samoans, paramount chiefs were like flags representing the dignity of the extended families of Samoa. The carrying out of government was the work of the orator groups who represented the villages and districts" (Meleisea 1987a:77). These statements may exaggerate the case, but they also indicate the general shift in the balance of power that was effected by *tulafale. Tula-*

fale, as a class, have gone from being the servants of the *ali'i* to rivaling and in some cases surpassing them in power (Williamson [1924] 1967: 100-101; Davidson 1967: 176; Gilson 1970:56).[33]

The Modality of the Tulafale *and Adult Character.* The manipulative and persuasive use of words is deeply associated with the offices of the *tulafale* (Keesing and Keesing [1956] 1973:41, 102; Holmes 1974:27), but not confined to these offices. Perhaps due to the efficacy of this form of elocution in Samoan history, it became the norm at formal meetings *(fono).*

> "No one," says a part-Samoan, "is to express his opinion freely at the meetings." A chief states: "It is the Samoan custom to go around, not to come straight forward and say what you think." To "go around about in speaking" is denoted by the word taani'o; to "proceed with caution," by *paopaomuli,* i.e., "the end of the canoe." *Malele* means "to say something in a public speech in order to satisfy the public or fellow members of a *fono* without having any intention of carrying it out." "To ponder," *fuafua,* has the significant parallel meaning "to take aim with a spear," but the "spear" may be deliberately aimed so as not to hit the target directly. *Faafisi,* "to entangle" as by a vine, also implies to manipulate a person's words so as to "wrest a meaning" from them for one's own purposes. . . . Maintaining room to maneuver . . . makes the whole interaction process a cautious and devious exercise. . . . Truth and fact may be somewhat tentative concepts. . . . (Keesing and Keesing [1956] 1973: 144)

Duranti tells us that "given the emphasis on the political over other realms or modes of interactions in Samoan communities, the *fono* is emblematic of much of Samoan adult life" (1984:3). Indeed, this kind of speechcraft exceeds the bounds of traditional convocations. It is the primary mode of Samoan politics; politicking is the national pastime par excellence.

The point of adult life in Samoa is to acquire a title. Mead tells us that "Samoans find rank a never-failing source of interest" ([1928] 1961:50). She sees the boy's life as directed towards attaining a title and says, "Only the lazy, the shiftless, the ambitionless fail to respond to this competition" (Mead [1928] 1961: 190-191). Holmes says, "Rank and prestige constitute the focal point of Samoan culture, to which all other

aspects of life are secondary in importance" (1987:122). Samoans greatly value the honor attached to a title, but the position itself is political in nature. The titled persons hold discretionary powers over their *'aiga* and a seat on the village council, insuring them a substantial role in governance.

Tulafale have much to do with the manipulation of titles (see Meleisea 1987b:12). For example, Kraemer tells us that it is the *tulafale*

> who bestow titles, and this prerogative belongs always to such high orators in administrative places in which the titled chiefs are wont to reside. To cite a well known example: Nine orator families, faleiva, "house of nine," have for ages past resided in the principal community of the district of Aana. They have the right to confer the title Tuiaana. . . . The same is true for the district of Atua, . . . in the principal community Lufilufi, six orator families live, called the faleono, "house of six," who have the right to confer the title Tuiatua. ([1902] 1978: 18)

While the highest titles are often conferred by *tulafale,* lesser titles are conferred by the *'aiga* in which the title rests. Although Samoans have a claim to titles in all four *'aiga* of their grandparents, they have more right to titles through paternal lineages and males have a weightier claim than females. While keeping these considerations in mind, each *'āiga* enjoys a considerable latitude in the selection among claimants. Samoans say that the path to power is through service, " *'O le ala i le pule 'O le tautua,"* meaning that, hypothetically, candidates are assessed based on the adult version of childhood subservience. In fact, if not in proverb, titles and other positions of power are more likely to be secured by politic rhetoric associated historically with the figure of the *tulafale.*[34]

This bias is evident in the criteria upon which the High Court of American Samoa selects among rival claimants for disputed titles. The court bases its judgments on four criteria established by the local Samoan-controlled legislature.[35] Firstly, the claimants must show that they are blood members of the *'aiga.* Secondly, claimants must have significant family support. Many *'aiga* have several branches, so different claimants may be supported by rival factions. Frequently these first and second criteria are inconsequential, because there are several people with sufficiently strong blood ties and because, if any one claimant has a clear majority of the family on his or her side, the matter would not usually be brought to court.

"Forcefulness, character, personality and knowledge of Samoan customs" is the third criterion, and the fourth is the likelihood that the individual will render future service to the *'aiga,* to the *nu'u,* and to the country. All claimants argue a record of family service and so the court may need to look elsewhere to gauge the candidates' potential for service. But cases cited in the American Samoa Report (1978: 1064) inform us that the criterion of future service to the family, to the village, and to the state "depends on forcefulness, character, personality and knowledge of Samoan custom" (American Samoa Report 1978: 116). In short, in many instances all four criteria can be reduced to the third criterion.

In court "forcefulness, character, personality and knowledge of Samoan customs" is typically demonstrated by giving testimony. This testimony, like traditional oratory, is the vehicle used to display one's knowledge of the history and the genealogy of the *'aiga,* and sometimes of the *fa'alupega* of those villages associated with the title.[36] *Fa'alupega* are village-specific titles linked to events in village history, which Meleisea says represent a kind of village charter (1987b:10).

Forceful speechifying about history and its relevance to titles is the traditional province of the ***tulāfale*** as official orator. All Samoan speeches begin with reference to *fa'alupega.* The most definitive part of the ***tulāfale***'s role is to know the *fa'alupega:* firstly of all local chiefs and secondly of the chiefs in those villages visited by the chiefly parties to which the ***tulāfale*** is attached. This is the reason the Keesings refer to the *tulafale* as the "custodians of history" ([1956] 1973:40).

However, Shore tells us that "orators are generally held to be not simply the repositories of genealogical and historical knowledge, but par excellence the professional manipulators of tradition with an eye to local or self interest" (1977:437). Like a good lawyer the *tulafale* is wont to use precedent for his own purposes, and it is through his offices as an advocate that he serves the family. Skill in lawyerlike speechifying establishes "personality and knowledge of Samoan custom" in court (see, for example, American Samoa Report 1978:659-698). Thus, yesterday and today, it is the modality associated with the *tulafale* that brings success in the Samoan social world. As one *tulafale* put it, in Samoa "All things are possible for those whose words are powerful" (O'Meara 1990: 154).

* * * * *

The Samoan developmental scenario begins with willfulness, which is symbolized by talking above one's proper age *(tautalaitiiti)* and is

silenced through punishment. Willfulness is replaced by passivity; impudent speech, by "listening" *(fa'alogo)* to the dictates of one's elders. Submissiveness, however, is soon compensated for by dominating one's inferiors. The girl enjoys opportunities for dominance through her position in the family; the boy, through his position in the village *'aumaga.* Submissiveness is further offset by assertiveness and raillery among peers. Competitiveness and the ideal of willing service are ultimately mediated through a kind of service that is not silent but oratorical. Speaking for another becomes in turn a metaphor for politicking, which is the means whereby one can garner positions of dominance. Lowell Holmes conducted personality tests that showed Samoans have strong tendencies towards abasement, towards doing what is expected, and towards accepting the leadership of others (1987: 133). It is also true, however, that Samoans seek those positions of leadership in which others will abase themselves and do what they, as overlords, expect.

Summary

There are undoubtedly many yet-unexplored avenues of socialization, initiated by sanctions other than those considered here. I would suggest, however, that the following relations hold in all cases. Cultural ideology about childrearing prescribes the use of certain sanctions and discourages others. Enculturation, as a psychological process, begins when the child comes to expect the prescribed sanctions as a consequence of certain targeted actions. Because of this expectation, the emotional state that formerly resulted from those ill consequences arises. This state deters action. The set of inhibitions inspired by sanctions can be found in the local language of inhibition.

When the presence of inhibition in the child indicates that social controls have been internalized, social institutions provide the means whereby the youngster can begin to compensate for debilitating effects. These institutions consist of activities of which the child is believed to be inherently capable and is supported for doing. The activities provide satisfaction by allowing the child to express a compensatory reaction to internalized inhibitions.

By adolescence the actor appears to be in full reaction against the specific inhibition internalized in childhood. Social institutions having to do with sexuality involve an explicit and ritualized overcoming of childhood inhibitions and give expression to the opposite side of the motif at issue. However, this reaction is channeled into a behavioral rhetoric that is socially acceptable. Conventional understandings of adulthood

represent a mediation between the contradictions implied by the two sides of the motif.

NOTES

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1. Similarly, Freud asserts that, at the Oedipus crisis, the child is temporarily defeated by inhibition and enters a latency phase ([1962] 1972). Bettelheim shows that Cinderella's life in the ashes, as well as her step-sisters' favored position in the family, are symptoms of feelings of inferiority, inspired by guilt (1977:236-277). Erikson's work indicates that the child compensates for these feelings of inadequacy through some form of culturally approved endeavor, that is, through industry ([1950] 1963). At puberty, Anna Freud tells us that the Oedipus complex resurfaces (1937). It brings in train not only the misdirected desires of the Oedipal phase, but also those inhibiting feelings through which these desires were formerly repressed. Adult sexuality can only begin when these feelings are, at least in some measure, overcome.

2. I do not mean to suggest that these cultural patterns are unchanging but am merely outlining certain dynamic relationships within cultures. Should any element of the pattern be subject to historical variation, presumably a readjustment of the entire pattern could be expected.

3. Wikan says that in northern Bali fear of black magic is a compelling force in adult Balinese life (1987), a penchant I link to early scaring practices.

4. This is not to say that elements of an Oedipus complex, as it is understood by Freudians, are not present in Bali (see Spiro 1982), merely that these elements are not emphasized in the traditional culture.

5. Wikan believes that fear of black magic is at least as strong an inhibitor in adult life as *lek,* although she also stresses "fear of ridicule" as a major concern (1987:353). According to Wikan, the Balinese defend themselves from these "private fears" with "public grace," that is, through particularly graceful performances of their public role. In this sense the theme of timidity/bravery is subsumed in that of shyness/exhibitionism.

6. The Raganda is a specific *leyak.* Unlike Covarrubias I do not pluralize the word *leyak* with an "s." Instead, I will indicate the plural form by deleting the articles "the" or "a." The same will apply below to my use of Samoan words.

7. Although the Balinese abstain from punishment, they disparage willfulness through the practice of molding gestures and behavior from early life (see Mead 1942: 13-17). Willfulness becomes an emphatic issue if the child is continually forced to submit to the will of another by punishment. It is minimized when, as in Bali, one tries to avoid even telling the

child what to do. Instead, the Balinese undermine the child's will by making it the object of jest and by actively training them in passivity.

Balinese children, in whom trance behavior is fostered, are taught to make themselves as empty of individual will as a "puppet" (Mead 1942:15, 17; Belo 1960:11-13). They learn to go "waxy limp" (Mead 1942:17), becoming mediums for aesthetic expression. Suppressed willfulness surfaces in the petulant behavior of the little *Sanghyang Dedari* dancers, but is used to enhance the child's performance abilities. In Bali, as elsewhere in the Pacific, relative physical elevation is a metaphor for social elevation. And so the mother may hold a young child over the head of an older child (who is by rights the superior) to tease it. The Sanghyang girls stand on the shoulders of men, above all present. Thus the child is taught to funnel its will to dominate into aesthetically pleasing performances.

The dominance/submission theme is also expressed in Balinese co&fighting. But even here the issue of competition is subsumed under that of image, for cockfighting is a "narcissistic" preoccupation par excellence (see Mead 1942:24-25; Geertz 1973:419). Not only do the Balinese men treat their cocks as extensions of themselves, but cockfights establish public image. Geertz tells us that cockfights adjudicate status, yet he admits that no man's status is in fact changed by the game (1973:424, 433). In Bali status is fixed by caste and family name (ibid.:380-384). What is affected by the fight is something much more ephemeral, rooted in the ongoing dramatics of social interaction, namely image.

8. Mead sees Balinese men as highly ambivalent towards women (1942:37). She recounts a series of Balinese rituals and theatricals in which a beautiful woman turns out to be ugly or terrible. Likewise, Wikan says that women are to avoid being *nyebeng,* which translates as "having a stern appearance" or as "hideous, horrible" and "hair-raising" (1987: 347) and which sounds very much like the countenance of the *leyak.* I would suggest that what one sees here is an exacerbated version of Melanie Klein's Terrible Mother/Good Mother motif (1984). The developmental sequence Klein associates with the mother is particularly strong in Bali because of early maternal teasing. Klein portrays the mother as the original frustrator. In Bali this role is magnified.

Mead believes male sexuality in Bali to be permanently damaged by early teasing (1942: 37). "Courtship, either for marriage or for a love affair, is a matter of glances and a few stolen words, the romantic excitement steadily dies down after the first encounter. Once married, a Balinese husband finds that the girl he has married does indeed act like his mother-for she knows no other pattern of personal relationship-his brief, unreal ardor cools and he counts himself lucky if he begets children" (ibid.:36). I believe that Mead fails to appreciate Balinese methods of overcoming the problems they set for themselves in the process of personality development.

9. In the National Geographic Special "Bali: Masterpiece of the Gods" one of the Balinese informants says, "Without the arts people would not be normal." This is because the orientation of the artist is intrinsic to conventional understandings of adulthood in Bali.

10. For a catalog of the Balinese performing arts see Covarrubias [1937] 1972:160-388. While the Balinese panoply of the arts features the performing arts, it is not confined to them. The suppression and rechanneling of the emotions, delineated by Mead, makes artists out of the Balinese. Early teasing ensures that emotions cannot be directly expressed. In art, as in trance, the normal conscious personality becomes a medium for the emotional self. The artist in Western culture often compares the creative state to one of dissociation

or possession in which the music in a composition, or the characters in a piece of literature, seem to behave independently of the artist.

11. In this story scaring and teasing are combined, as the child is the brunt of a joke. Later the article will consider the inhibiting feeling *ha'ama,* which reflects the disposition to be fearful combined with anxiety about being seen. Thus, the issue of concealment/display augments an internalized timidity.

12. I believe that these reservations stem from the tendency of punishment to strengthen the dominance/submission motif, which is contrary to the egalitarian ethic of Tahitian society. Nonetheless, Levy categorizes four kinds of hitting in Tahiti, three of which are used to punish children (1973:449). Furthermore, the dominance/submission theme is a background feature in Tahitian feelings about independence. The Tahitian adolescent tends to define independence as, "Nobody can tell me what to do" (ibid.:468), that is, "No one can force me to do anything against my will."

13. Bowlby also tells us that insecure attachment in early life can lead to "a vehement assertion of self-sufficiency" (1980:217).

14. Data on Tahitian drinking suggests that timidity is a focal inhibiting factor in Tahitian sexual behavior (Lemert 1964; Levy 1966).

15. Levy believes that the intrinsic independence of this stance on childrearing implies a certain tentativeness in the relationship that undermines trust (1969, 1967:15, 1973:481-485). Undermining trust, like scaring, promotes a disposition toward fear and thus dependency. Studies of attachment support this view (Ainsworth 1973). Key inhibiting emotions may be encouraged by several practices. In Freudian terminology, they are overdetermined.

Adoption is a trans-Polynesian custom (see Howard and Kirkpatrick 1989), though its import changes in different cultures. For example, Mead says that in Samoa easy adoption functioned as a control on domineering parents. The child could escape from oppression by simply moving to the household of another relative (Mead [1928] 1961:42-43).

I believe that the message given by the fact of frequent adoption in Samoa is not that parents and significant others choose to bond with the child (as in Tahiti). Rather, adoption functions to confirm the folk doctrine that the child belongs to the *'aiga* (extended family group) rather than to the individual. Levy says that, in Tahiti, the young couple may give away the first child or two because they are not yet sure they want to stay together. Traditionally, in Samoa, the father's family simply took the first child, especially if it was a son. The mother's family had rights to the second child. In principle at least, the matter was not at the discretion of the couple, nor a symptom of their commitment to one another. For example, one of my married students has parents living on another island in the Samoa group. For several years her parents kept all her children there, although both she and her husband very much wanted to have the children with them.

In his review of this article Shore (identified and quoted here by permission) suggests that autonomy drives in Tahitian adults may be linked to the "peasantization" of modern Tahiti and the loss of traditional hierarchical and authoritarian political structure. I agree; however, I would suggest that the reproduction of elements in adult character congruent with sociopolitical conditions is assisted through childrearing practices that may be quite unconsciously adapted to this purpose.

16. Succoring is also a definitive marker of adulthood in Bali. Geertz, in his study of Balinese naming, tells us that children are referred to by birth-order names (1973:370). After individuals have produced offspring, however, they are named as the ancestor of their youngest descendant. For an adult to be referred to by a birth-order name, rather than by a teknonym, is embarrassing, as it implies the person is a dependent minor rather than a full-fledged citizen of the community (ibid.:377).

Yet the point of assuming one's role as an ancestor is not succoring itself. Only young adults are linked by name to their personal progeny. One may have but a small role in succoring one's youngest descendant. The system aims at the maintenance of Balinese social structure as an atemporal form that consists of a preestablished number of generation slots through which one moves as one becomes increasingly more ancestral relative to one's descendants. This cultivation of form for its own sake Geertz links to "an overall cultural fascination with the . . . semblance of things" (ibid.:400). The issue here, as in the "mannered caste of Balinese relations," is the sustaining of an ideal image.

17. For example, I knew a girl whose grandmother would always call her Pipi. *Pipi,* literally "the lips of a small clam," is a diminutive word for the female genitals. (See also Gerber 1975:60; Schoeffel 1979:104-105.) My husband's grandmother provides a second example. One of my husband's brothers (Fa'avae) was climbing on a coconut tree when he was six. Their grandmother was mad at him because he was too young to climb a tall tree. She made up the following rhyme, which she shouted at him while he climbed.

A'e, a'e pa'u	Climb, climb
Ifo, ti'o tae,	Fall down shitting shit,
Oso ile malae	Jump on the *malae*
Pi Fa'avae.	Piss Fa'avae.

Not only grandmothers but old Samoan women in general make a habit of teasing children. In the seventies, in Pago Pago, there was an old lady who owned a candy store. She would typically tell the children who came to buy M & Ms, " *'Avutu sau momo." 'Avatu sau* means "come to get"; *momo* is the word for a small piece of excrement.

18. For a case in point see chapter 2 of A. Wendt's *Pouliuli* (1977). In his review of this article Shore offers examples of adult consequences of these fear-inducing techniques in Samoa: "men who get drunk before engaging in dangerous sexual exploits, stealing food or chickens, tatooing." While I agree, it should be added that these exploits involve fear because of the real physical pain involved if one is caught. In the first two instances the boy is likely to be beaten by the victimized family. In the case of tatooing the pain is legend. Rather than a diffuse fear, one finds a specific fear that concerns pain that is realistically anticipated.

19. One treats others with *fa'aaloalo* as well, but to do so implies placing them above oneself, if only for the sake of politeness.

20. There is an intermediate possibility between willing subservience and impudence, *musu.* Literally *musu* means "to refuse" and can refer to any refusal; it also refers to a specific passive/aggressive stance in which the actor voices no objections to an order but remains totally passive so that commands are not in fact carried out. In some measure the *musu* attitude is tolerated, as it conforms to the body language associated with submissive behavior, even if it violates the spirit of willing service. For further information on *musu* see Mead [1928] 1961:122-124 and Gerber 1975:230-232.

21. The word *tautalaitiiti,* while denoting a lack of proper deference, connotes exhibitionism (see Mageo 1989b). Thus, in Samoa, the theme of hiding/showing is allied to that of dominance/submission. We will soon see that the properly subdued youngster hides the personal side of the self.

22. Ochs points out that in Samoa (as in Tahiti) threats are more common than blows (1988). It is true that Samoan parents generally threaten children before they resort to physical punishment. But Samoa and Tahiti differ both in ideology and in the frequency with which punishment is actually administered. We have already seen that the social ideology of childrearing in Tahiti discourages punishment. During my first few years in Samoa, social workers from the United States working at LBJ Hospital had introduced the idea that parents should not hit their children. There was a great deal of resentful discussion of this notion among my older college students, who saw it as a Western intrusion that threatened to undermine *Fu'aSamoa,* "the Samoan way of life."

Shore, in his review of this article, suggested that threats are more common then beatings in Samoa. However, what Shore believes makes Samoa distinctive "is the frequency with which threats are matched by physical abuse." Threats are effective, not because of diffuse feelings of fear stimulated early in life (as in Tahiti), but because of a realistic anticipation of pain. My Samoan students report both being hit frequently and frequently striking their juniors. In personal conversation Levy has told me that children were very seldom hit in Piri village.

23. When the child cries in response to a beating it may be called *fiafa'ali'i. Fia* means "to want to be"; today *fa'ali'i* simply means to throw a tantrum (Milner [1966] 1979:46). Pratt, however, spells the term *fa'aali'i* and translates it as "to be provoking" (and this is precisely how parents respond to the child's tears) and "to act like a high chief' ([1862] 1911] 1977:78). It thus appears that originally the word implied the child's tantrum was in violation of its proper status.

24. The Samoan "1" is cognate with the Tahitian "r." In Samoa the untitled man is a *taule'ale'a, taulele'a* being the plural form. Compare with *taure'are'a,* the Tahitian adolescent. In the Samoan *'aumagu, taulele'a* serve the chief, rather than being free from responsibility like their libertine Tahitian counterparts. However, there are ritualized exceptions to the responsible character of *taulele'a,* the most prominent of which occurs in dance, where *taulele'a* will *'aiuli,* shout and move about in a wild, uncontrolled manner (see Shore 1982:259-260).

25. Since these beatings are now illegal in American Samoa, examples of them can be found in the criminal records of the High Court of American Samoa. For instance see District Court criminal case, *American Samoa Government versus Moananu Va,* number 55-89, filed 5 April 1989. In this case the charge was filed against a chief who had beaten (with the assistance of the *'aumaga)* a Caucasian runner jogging along the main road through a village during the Sā. He was chased and caught by the 'aumaga, referred to in the complaint as "other unidentified persons" and as "other men" in the amended complaint. The runner was forced to sit at the feet of the chief, just as the child is forced to sit at the feet of its parents in demonstrating submission to their authority.

26. Here again the motif of shame/exhibitionism, and the correlated issue of "face," come to intensify the dominance/submission theme. Shaming another is a way to assert the dominance of one *'aiga* over another, as is conspicuous giving. This occurs not only in traditional ceremonial contexts but in more modern rituals as well, such as Sunday services. In

many Samoan churches the contributions of *'aiga* that make up the congregation are read aloud from the pulpit, each *'aiga* attempting to outdo the others in generosity to the pastor (see O'Meara 1990:48).

In Samoa showing off can and does directly affect status because, while it is in theory fixed by tradition, in practice it is often ambiguous. See Mageo 1991 and American Samoa Land and Titles case 25-85, *Seva'aetasi versus Fanene,* filed 13 December 1988. In this case the parties present competing claims to land on the basis of varying beliefs about the origin and descent of certain titles. See also *Willis, Asuega and Sa'aga versus Galea'i, Fai'ivae, Tuitele, Anetere'a, Le'oso and Le'oso,* Land and Titles case 45-81, filed 3 December 1989; or *Sialega versus Taito,* Land and Titles case 18-85, filed July 1986 and October 1986, published in the American Samoa Report 1987:40-44, 78-80.

27. Adolescent women, in their beauty and chastity, represent their *'aiga.* Parents brag about their daughters and frequent beauty contests are attended by the girls' many relatives.

28. Psychologically the competition involved in *moetotolo* may be more personal. Schoeffel suggests that the first motive for *moetotolo* "is the drive to compete with other males, the brothers of the girl in whose chastity their honour and public esteem is invested and with the men who might seek to marry the girl eventually. By being the first to have a girl, or by claiming to other males that they have been the first, they achieve both victories" (1979:178). Schoeffel also suggests that the young man feels himself to be disadvantaged vis-à-vis his female peers and desires to right the balance: Samoan sisters have a status above their male peers, Samoan wives have a status below them (Schoeffel 1975, 1978, 1979; Shore 1977, 1981, 1982). The virgin tends to be thought of as someone's sister while the girl who is not a virgin is, in a sense, already someone's wife. Schoeffel tells of young men who have come to weddings to insist that the girls getting married were their "wives" because they had formerly had sexual contact (1979: 185-186). Thus, through *moetotolo,* young men undermine "that very attribute, chastity and virginity, which underlies the superior status of their female peers" and transform "sisters" into "wives" (ibid. : 178).

29. Up till very recently young Samoan men might be given instructions on *moetotolo.* For example, one elderly informant told me that he was instructed to hit the girl in the solar plexus to render her unconscious for the purpose of rape. When my husband was growing up, boys were told to hit the girl in the thigh, temporarily paralyzing the leg, and to put a hand over her mouth. Reviewing this article one reviewer questioned whether *"moetotolo* should be considered a crime," asserting instead that it is "an unpopular form of sexual activity" (see also Holmes 1957:50; Mead [1928] 1961).

30. *Soa* means duplicate, as in reference to a pair of socks. In Tahiti the related word *hoa* is the term for "friend." Rather than viewing *hoa* as aides to sexual relationships, youth seriously interested in amour avoid making "friends" because a *hoa* is looked upon in Tahiti as a classificatory brother (Levy 1973:200-201). By implication, it would be incestuous to show sexual interest in a *hoa's* sister.

31. Ochs correlates passivity and status in the family (1982:81). In his review of this article, Shore notes that "just as sacred power [in the figure of the *ali'i*] comes close to expressing the same sort of control that marks subordination [in the properly subdued youngster], alternative expressions of subordination come close to mimicking the sort of assertiveness that they would deny" (brackets added). As examples Shore gives the wild gestures of the 'aiuli (clowning dancer), as well as the patterned aggressiveness of orators. He further

remarks that Samoans make an art of "aggressive politeness" and "sullen respectfulness." Thus, as I suggest adult personality represents a synthesis of the contrapuntal themes that mark development, Shore points out that role behaviors too show elements of this integration.

32. For an example of a *tulafale* speech about a chief see Shore 1982:13. One of my informants (John Kneubuhl) points out that the traditional function of both the *soa* and the *tulafale* was also to protect the image of those they represented. When personal negotiations looked bad for a boy, or political negotiation for a chief, he was not there to suffer humiliation.

33. In the village Shore studied, Sala'ilua, the two highest titles in the village are orator's titles. For a second example see O'Meara 1990:33.

34. Aptitude in politics is less relevant in the attainment of titles in Western Samoa today. This is because one must have a title to vote. As a result titles are split and created frequently and 75 percent of males over the age of twenty-one hold them (O'Meara 1990: 151). This condition on voting does not hold in American Samoa. Therefore, in regards to the awarding of titles, American Samoa is closer to the traditional situation. In American Samoa titles are neither split nor created for expediency's sake and as a result there is still significant competition for titles.

35. See Section 6.0107 of the American Samoa Code, summarized and explained in the American Samoa Digest 1982:91-124.

36. For example, in one dispute about the high *ali'i* title of Mauga in Pago Pago the winning claimant was preferred by the court, at least in part, because of his superior knowledge of the village *fa'alupega* (American Samoa Report 1978:650).

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TO BEAT OR NOT TO BEAT, THAT IS THE QUESTION: A STUDY ON ACCULTURATION AND CHANGE IN AN ART-MAKING PROCESS AND ITS RELATION TO GENDER STRUCTURES

Jehanne H. Teilhet-Fisk
University of California, San Diego

Prologue

In the summer of 1985 I was sitting in a small, barnlike structure with a group of Tongan women who were making a large piece of tapa cloth. I often sat with this group of women, and as I had just returned to Nuku'alofa it was a nice way to say hello and let them know I was back for a while. It was a pleasant day, the women chatted and laughed, and in the background I could hear the distant, melodious sound of a woman beating tapa and another responding in a sort of counter-rhythm. I turned to Louisa and commented on the pleasing sound. Her reply stunned me. She told me that one of my countrymen had invented a tapa-beating machine. I was appalled by my immediate negative response to such a device. This sparked my interest in surveying the general reactions of women (and some men) in Nuku'alofa, the capital of Tonga, and led to this study on acculturation and change in an art-making process and its relation to gender structures.

The making of art objects, as a process, is a fascinating vehicle for exploring certain veiled aspects of acculturation and how it can affect symbolic meanings, gender structures, and production decisions as well as economic, social, and cultural factors.

Had I not been in Tonga, I might have viewed the introduction of a tapa machine as a modern "evolutionary" transition and dismissed it

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from my thoughts. After all, the machine streamlines production, in this case without significantly changing the actual medium or altering the final art object's contextual uses. In this reading the art form fits into Graburn's heuristic classification of "functional traditional": It is a modern day continuation of a traditional art form that has been modified by the presence of new tools and technology and adapted to the cultural needs of that generation (1984:396-397).

In pursuing the implications of this invention, I have come to realize that most publications on the acculturated arts of small-scale societies tend to be object oriented, centering on changes in form, style, aesthetics, and use. Contextualized sociocultural information detailing concomitant alterations in the artistic process is lacking (Graburn 1984). This article will examine the different social and symbolic actions connected with the tapa-beating process, tutu, to bring into focus the manifold issues that arise with the adoption of a machine that replaces a traditional process.

As interesting and complex is the tacit division of the artistic process by gender and rank. Acculturation is not passive, nor should it be viewed as a detrimental form of assimilation. The participants, here artists, have an active choice whether to accept or reject an alien technology, medium, or style. However, few studies on acculturation fully address the changes that may occur when the introduced technique or medium is gender (or class) specific. Furthermore, this study will illustrate how alien tools or technology are more disposed to acculturation if they follow the indigenous culture's gender-specific divisions of labor. For instance, in Tonga as well as in most Pacific societies, when alien metal tools were introduced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they fell in alignment with indigenous art-making ideologies and were adopted exclusively for use by men.[1] The introduction of quilting by missionary wives fell in alignment with tapa making in Hawai'i, the Cook Islands, and the Society Islands and was primarily adopted for use by women. Tongan women, as will be discussed, basically rejected quilting; it did not become a popular acculturative art form as in the other island cultures.

Focusing our attention on the artistic process and medium can further provide new data for gender-specific studies (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Ortner 1981; James 1983; Schneider and Weiner 1986; Gailey 1987a, 1987b). In a materialist view, a deviation from the gender-specific art process or medium should reflect a change in gender structure that correlates with social reforms in a man's or woman's basic nature, status, and achievement. This in turn is linked to further ideo-

logical changes taking place in the culture. If, for example, Tongan women began carving tapa mallets, this could indicate that the culture was undergoing some dramatic social changes in gender ideology.

By placing a primary emphasis on the object's formal and aesthetic sources and its intended market, as Graburn proposes (1984:397), it is easy to lose sight of the subtle complexities and cultural dynamics manifested in the art-making process. My intent is not to criticize the studies on acculturated art forms; however, these seminal works do not in general completely address unseen sociocultural meanings embedded in the art process that technical changes can alter or eliminate (Graburn 1976, 1984; Jules-Rosette 1984; Kirch 1984). Furthermore, it is important to realize that any form of change is germane-be it in style, form, aesthetics, or medium-and has a kinetic relation to the artistic process.

Studies on acculturation and change in the contemporary arts of small-scale societies are often linked with the rise of tourism as a source of national income (Graburn 1976; Jules-Rosette 1984). Tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in Tonga. In 1958, "1,715 individuals arrived on three cruise ships, with an additional 64 passengers arriving by air" (Kirch 1984:71). In 1969, the first hotel was built and tourism emerged as a potential source of income. The selling or trading of indigenously made "functional traditional arts" to European travelers had its beginning some two hundred years ago, "but its acceptance as a legitimate income generating strategy has been slow to materialize" (Kirch 1984: 109). Within the contemporary context of "functional traditional" tourist art, we will explore the marketing potential of tapa products and analyze how the machine was perceived as one way of helping achieve tapa's income potential.

The more I became involved in the issue, to beat or not to beat, the more I found that my questions and interest involved me directly, and though I tried to remain impartial and hide my initial reaction, in time I felt like a chameleon changing colors, clearly seeing and agreeing with the different positions people took in this situation. Therefore I have tried to write my analysis in a reflexive style, combining personal narrative with descriptive ethnographic accounts, recognizing that I bring to it my background as an art historian (see Clifford 1986, 1988:215-251).

The Making of Tapa Cloth

Decorated tapa cloth *(ngatu)* and its process of manufacture still belong under the exclusive hegemony of Tongan women. Tapa cloth has lost its utilitarian and religious functions, being surplanted by Western goods

and Christianity, but it is produced for ceremonial use and as acculturated art for tourist consumption (see Tamahori 1963; Kooijman 1972, 1973:97-112, 1988; Teilhet 1974; Kaeppler 1978a: 174-193).

Tapa cloth is made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree *(hiapo, Broussonetia papyrifera).* Currently, the process has three essential stages. Tutu is considered the most physically arduous. In this stage the previously soaked inner bark, which is about two inches wide by several feet in length, is placed on a wooden anvil *(tutua)* and beaten with a heavy, four-sided mallet *(ike)* to produce small felted pieces. These pieces retain their length but now average eighteen to twenty inches in width and are called *feta'aki.*[2] Tutu can be done by one or more people. A strong beater might felt together twenty-five to thirty yards of *feta'aki* in a full eight-hour day. The sheets of *feta'aki* are sun dried and then stored.

Koka'anga is the process of piecing together the *feta'aki* to form a long sheet, which is then placed over a low, half-cylinder-shaped table (papa *koka'anga)* on which are fastened pattern boards *(kupesi).* The underlying designs are rubbed visible with a dye from the *koka* tree *(Bischofia javanica).* The entire process requires a communal effort of ten to sixteen women who belong to a women's cooperative *(kautaha).* They will spend the entire day making one or two *ngatu* (patterned tapa cloths), each averaging between thirty-five to fifty feet in length.

The final stage, *tohi ngatu,* the outlining of the *kupesi* pattern, is the responsibility of the maker-owner of the piece and usually executed by a few women friends at a later time (Tamahori 1963:37-41, 90-95, lll-114; Teilhet 1974; Kaeppler 1978a:264-265).

This paper is only concerned with the first stage, the tutu process, which had remained virtually unchanged from at least the time of contact until Geoffery Houghland, a former Peace Corps volunteer who served in Tonga, returned in the early 1980s with a prototype for a tapa-beating machine (Martin 1981:365). He felt that "the beating of tapa was no longer a traditional act" and that the "noisy process was the most time consuming and physically demanding aspect of manufacturing tapa cloth" (Houghland, pers. com., July 1985).

Houghland invented a simple, quiet machine that works like a wringer or toothed mangle. After soaking, the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree is first run through the teeth of a roller on the diagonal, breaking down the fibers. Thereafter the bark cloth is run straight through several times and, as the cloth widens, it is continuously folded for strength. When the desired width is reached, the *feta'aki* is hung up to dry. The machine takes less than five minutes to produce a *feta'aki,* a

savings of twenty to thirty-five minutes (Houghland, pers. com., July 1985; personal observations of the machine and women at work, July 1985, April 1987, June 1988). Subsequent machines were reduced in scale to make them more portable. The size and shape of the roller's teeth were refined to prevent them from tearing the cloth.

Houghland rightfully boasted that the finished product was indistinguishable from hand-beaten *feta'aki* once it had been ironed or beaten for a few minutes with the smooth side of a mallet. It seems that his decision to make a tapa machine was predicated on the fact that he had the technical solution to a tiresome artistic process that seemingly had no cultural relevance or symbolic meaning. The machines sold for approximately US$400. Expense, though an issue, is not the sole reason few machines were sold and are operating.[3]

The Issue: To Beat or Not to Beat

The question is, to beat or not to beat? This issue concerns alternative perspectives on how the *tutu* process is perceived by different social worlds and how they try to resolve the anomaly (see Becker 1974, 1976 for his use of social worlds). Houghland represents the etic view of the outsider: His is the social world of the egalitarian entrepreneur who comes from America and operates on the assumption that Tongan women who make tapa have acquiesced to a changing Pacific and that the production of their artistic heritage, tapa, is open to acculturation and modernization. Visiting tourists and commercial dealers who buy the finished tapa product as authentic "handmade" souvenirs complete this etic view.

The chiefly ranks and the commoners represent the manifold emic views. Tapa plays an integral part in the matrix of their society. Tonga is a constitutional monarchy that still maintains principles of social status and societal rank based on primogeniture, genealogy, purity of descent line, and complex exchange structures. Commoners *(tu'a),* though emancipated from forced labor in 1862, are still differentiated within society from the chiefly ranks *('eiki),* as are all societal rankings and groupings differentiated from each other by systems of exchange and dichotomous hierarchies (see Kaeppler 1971; Rogers 1977; Biersack 1982). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that all societal ranks participate in a form of status rivalry: "persons compete assertively to dominate or elevate themselves above each other (with public approval or acquiescence) and at the same time are privately wary of attracting attention or of becoming overly involved in any situation or rela-

tionship, preferring instead spectator or humble positions" (Marcus 1978a:242).

Tapa's Cultural Relevance, Especially for Women

Though Houghland represents the etic view, he is cognizant that the finished tapa has maintained a relevance to the culture, especially for women. It is a necessary valuable *(koloa)* that must be presented at all life-crisis occasions and status-raising or status-affirming ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, births, and graduations and as presents to "chiefly" dancers. In a curious way, tapa and fine mats are of greater national importance today than, perhaps, in ancient times. They are, in a ceremonial context (along with formal kava bowls), the last vestiges of a plastic heritage that publicly reinforce and legitimize the dominant principles of societal rank and social status.

Furthermore, I would hypothesize that tapa is used in many public ceremonies to reinforce the superiority of the female status, particularly in the role of sister. In the Tongan descent system, sisters outrank brothers whereas the father's side outranks the mother's, giving the father's eldest sister *(mehekitanga)* and her children the highest rank (see Goldman 1970; Rogers 1977; Marcus 1978a, 1978b; Bott 1981; Biersack 1982; James 1983, 1988). This notion of women's abstract honors and sacred superiority is reflected in their obligatory displays, recycling, and ownership of *ngatu* and may be an important factor in understanding why quilting was not adopted as a likely surrogate for tapa cloth as it was on other Polynesian islands.

Tapa is always given by women who, in some sense, bask in reflected honor by sharing center stage with those women (and men) being singled out as the higher-status recipients of that occasion. In this view the continued sociocultural importance of *ngatu* rests more on the sustained importance of the woman's social status as sister, hence giver or receiver, than on the importance of marking societal rank. The importance of tapa argues in favor of James's statement "that sisters' roles in Tonga have by no means been eroded although they may face new constraints, and that, in some institutional sectors at least, women's status may have improved" (1983:235). In addition, the highly charged, often theatrical, presentation of tapa is an interesting form of female status rivalry that Marcus seems to overlook (1978a). And even to this day, one certain way of measuring a woman's individual wealth and status mobility is by the amount of *ngatu* she stockpiles.

Artistic Divisions of Labor by Gender, Rank, and Status

Tonga still maintains a strict gender division of artistic labor. Women are usually associated with goods made from soft materials that center on the home. Many of these soft materials are considered *koloa,* valuables of ceremonial significance (pers. com. with Tupou Posesi Fanua, June 1983, and Futa Helu, June 1985; James 1988:33-34; Cowling n. d.). Tools, technology, and more physically demanding labors (called *ngaue)* are mainly associated with works outside the house produced by men from hard and soft materials that center on the plantation (Teilhet 1978; Gailey 1987b:97-101). "In Tonga there is still the notion that everything outside the house belongs to the male province. Everything inside the house, mats and tapa, is the women's province" (Okusitino Mahina, pers. com., July 1988). However, it is not unusual for men's works, such as an old kava bowl, to be considered *koloa.*[4]

The recent reevaluation of soft materials, cloth in particular, and their relationship with women has shown that these objects, though reflective of "the home," are sometimes used in a sacred, religiopolitical context (Kaeppler 1978a; Gailey 1980, 1987a, 1987b; Hammond 1986; Weiner 1987; James 1988; Weiner and Schneider 1989; Berlo n.d.). However, in their zeal to reexamine and correct the litany, these studies tend to overlook the role of the berdache or effeminate male as well as the collaborative and perhaps controlling role that men play as providers of women's tools, technology, and, in some cases, media.

Men grow the *hiapo* used to make tapa but would never make tapa. Sometimes "the boys might help beat the tapa because they are strong, but they are ashamed to do that. They are called sissies, *fakaleiti"* (like a lady) (Toupou Tonga, pers. com., July 1988; on *fakaleiti* see Cowling 1986; James 1983:240-241). Social sex roles and gender identity are highly correlated. If women worked with hard material (which by implication requires more physically powerful labor), this would be a role reversal and could be considered as a sign of masculinity or a form of transvestism, rather than an indication of modernity or women's liberation (Teilhet-Fisk 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987) .[5]

Men make the mallets and anvils, thereby controlling the tools, technology, and (functional) process of beating tapa. Whether intentional or not, this safeguards the hard materials for their own use (see Teilhet 1978; Teilhet-Fisk 1983). It seems likely that Tongan society constructed, before Western contact, art-making ideologies that were aligned with their gender-based divisions of labor. These ideologies

were a paradigm of an ideal social construction where gender (and class) lines were rarely crossed, a fabrication that remains artistically intact today. For example, some men carve tourist objects and women can help, but only by sanding the finished product, as carving is a hard medium that utilizes tools (pers. com. with male carvers Mone Vai, November 1983; Timote Tukutukunga, July 1985; Fatua Vakamilalo, April 1987; and with the wife of a carver, Sesalina Mau, April 1987). At this time it is still difficult for cultures like Tonga to assimilate gender-specific art technologies and media that do not conform to their pre-Christian art-making ideologies.

The tapa-beating machine is an example of this conflict. It is a male technology, introduced by an outsider for use in a female process. The art process and medium act as a kind of external control that defines the limits of proper gender behavioral roles. James suggests that in former times manhood in Tonga was associated with warfare, voyaging, gardening, and, I will add, artistry (1983:241). Even though these notions have dramatically changed through Western contact and Christianity, James fails to indicate that contemporary tools and technology (once linked with weapons) are still correlated with manhood and fall accordingly into the males' perception of their behavioral role (1983:240-241).

Pursuing this gender-based approach I questioned why the men, who are interested in and metaphorically associated with tools and technology, had not built a tapa-beating machine for the women.[6] I discovered that "Tongan men don't think about women's things" (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., July 1985). One Tongan man reiterated what other men had indirectly expressed by saying that he didn't care about the tapa-beating machine, in fact he didn't care about tapa! "My wife cares about tapa. It is she that has to worry about the tapa because it is not going to shame me if we don't have any tapa on that particular occasion" (Drew Havea, pers. com., April 1987). A woman with a university degree responded, "Men wouldn't think of beating tapa as drudgery. In fact, a lot of our more modern men would be pleased if women used the machine because that would mean women would have more time for doing something else. You would be amazed at how many women get out of doing other things by saying that they have to beat tapa or work on the *koka'anga"* (Lata Soakai, pers. com., July 1988). These unexpected responses suggest that women, rather than crossing the gender division of labor and proper social behavior, initiate the request or barter for male tools that become feminized through association with women.

The sexual division of labor is so deeply ensconced within the social

order that no one questions it (Leibowitz 1986:43-75). Therefore it seems that a tapa-beating machine could only have been introduced by an outsider who was unaware that such a simple invention could open the proverbial Pandora's box.

Acculturation and Change: The Need for Civil Approval

It is important to realize that the effectiveness of Houghland's labor-saving device was demonstrated in a sociocultural "safe" zone, an area set aside for foreign industries. Houghland established his business, Polynesian Prints, in 1983 at the small-industries center in Ma'ofanga. Here he taught Tongan women how to machine-make *feta'aki* for his notepaper industry.

The machine needed official sanctioning by civil authorities, and to a lesser extent by Christian community groups, before it could be considered for assimilation by the populace. Graburn has suggested that these traditional arts ephemeral to a society are more receptive to acculturation and less likely to need cultural approval (1969). Tapa, however, is not an ephemeral art. To promote the machine's acceptance Houghland found an ally in Tupou Tonga.

One evening, so I was told, at a meeting held in the Catholic basilica, an older woman sat in and listened to the discussion on whether to accept the machine. After all was said and done she exclaimed, "Why not use the tapa machine?" Thereafter this woman, Topou Tonga, was credited as being the first Tongan to fully appreciate the machine's potential. She became Houghland's major champion for its adoption to replace the tutu process. Tonga's support was not surprising when you realize that she had always been an advocate for bettering women's conditions. A woman of some means and social mobility, she had married a magistrate, served as a Girl Guide commissioner, and started a family planning clinic.

Tonga told me how difficult it was to get the initial civic approval for the machine. "I went to the minister of commerce, who told me to see the secretary. The secretary told me to write the minister a letter." Armed with a petition signed by fifty women Tonga was finally allowed to demonstrate the machine. "We made some *feta'aki.* The minister said, Is that all? I said yes. You bring in all sorts of machines for digging, for everything, but there is no help for us women. No machines for us. He said well, I don't know, but the other men said we will lose our customs. Once we have tapa-beating machines the girls won't know the old way. They will rely on the machines. Anyway I thought that was that

and didn't take any notice. Later the minister called me up and said, 'Mrs. Tonga, I will approve your petition' " (pers. com., July 1985, May 1987, July 1988) .[7] Having gained civil (and church) approval to use the machine, Houghland and Tonga set out to convince the populace of its merits.

Divided Opinions from the People of Nuku'alofa

I asked Tevita 'Alamoti Taumoepeau, an authority on traditional Tongan customs, his opinion on the tapa-beating machine. He had been living in Hawai'i and was stunned to hear about the invention. "Although change is inevitable, I am concerned that following generations might not know that tapa was beaten. I am for the preservation of the original, the traditional" (pers. com., with translation assistance from Mele Taumoepeau and 'Afuha'amango Taumoepeau, July 1988). 'Alamoti Taumoepeau's concern is justified: Western Polynesia is the only place where tapa is made and presently Fiji and Western Samoa rely on Tonga for the large pieces of ceremonial tapa. In the rest of Polynesia the making of tapa cloth was replaced by quilting-a gender-specific female product that came to embody many of the cultural values and symbolic meanings inherent in tapa (see Hammond 1986 for an overview). The only beating that is now heard in Hawai'i, the Society Islands, or the Cook Islands comes from "living" museum programs that reconstruct traditional art forms.

Papiloa Foliaki, a person of economic means, social status, and accomplishments, was the only woman elected to Parliament from 1978 to 1981. She supports women's rights like Tonga, but opposes the tapa-beating machine because she "believes that the traditional system requires carefully planned and gradually implemented modifications" pers. com., July 1985; reaffirmed July 1988). She considers herself a "traditionalist" even though she is a very successful wage-earning business woman (Foliaki, pers. com., July 1988).

Drew Havea, who was educated in an American university, cautioned me on my use of this term. "It is difficult to label Tongans as traditionalist or progressive. This is a recent thing. We talk about dividing ourselves into traditionalists and progressivists, but it is not within our custom. We have a particular place in society and we know what we are supposed to say and when to say it; even if we think no we are supposed to say yes" (pers. com., July 1988). To suggest that Foliaki is a traditionalist and Tonga a progressivist is misleading, but on the issue of whether to beat or not to beat they stand divided and have a kind of sta-

tus rivalry regarding the relative value of such a machine. Nevertheless, Tonga has a more progressive socioeconomic attitude towards the machine. "Women don't have the leisure time to beat tapa anymore and it is too difficult for older women like me.[8] Beating causes arthritis. Besides, no one can tell if the *ngatu* was beaten by hand or wrung by the machine" (Tonga, pers. com., May 1987).

Tongans were able to resist "involvement in wage labor throughout most of the past 150 years" (Gailey 1987b:234). But currently Nuku'a-lofa suffers from overpopulation, inadequate employment, and a lack of available land for cultivation (Kirch 1984:65-69; Gailey 1987b:237-241). Women are now having to labor for wages to help pay a higher cost of living. Women who are too old, without job skills, or unable to find employment have the idle time or "leisure" to labor traditionally and make tapa. With the expansion of the tourist market both locally and abroad, tapa is becoming an acculturated business that could support wage labor. But the process is physically demanding regardless of one's age, so again we ask why these women continue to beat, especially since the tutu process is slow and the quality is not superior to that produced by the machine.

Foliaki contends that women continue to beat because "the process has therapeutic values. Beating is one of the main ways Tongan women have to get rid of their anger and frustrations" (pers. com., July 1988). This psychological interpretation may have some truth. However, Tonga counters by saying, "Papiloa doesn't have to beat tapa because she is wealthy. She doesn't realize how heavy the mallet is. It cripples the hand, causes bad backs, and the noise can cause deafness. I only beat the tapa from eight until noon, otherwise I will get sick the next day. I have to lie down after twelve to get my strength again" (pers. com., July 1985).

Foliaki acknowledges that people of wealth, status, or rank do not have to beat tapa (pers. com., July 1985). Before emancipation all decorated *ngatu* was owned and its production controlled by the chiefly wives.[9] After emancipation commoners were allowed to make and regulate tapa for their own use, but their affiliate women's cooperatives must still supply the chiefly classes when asked (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., July 1985).[10]

It is evident from the comments elicited from Foliaki and Tonga that the issue of beating or not beating also impinges on the different positions women hold in Tongan social strata. An artistic division of labor distinguishes the chiefly classes from the commoners. Women of noble or chiefly status would beat only to gain knowledge of the process.

Commoner women with "chiefly" powers such as the *mehekitanga* (father's sister) would relegate this work to female relatives who are under obligation to them (see Rogers 1977 and Biersack 1982 for an overview). Commoner women with economic wealth would buy *feta'aki* in the market. These differentiations in the status of women can also be affected by their husbands position, their position as "daughters" of their father's sister, or their education and employment opportunities.

Kaeppler demonstrates how the three essential stages of making tapa have underlying structures that correspond to social organization. In her seminal analysis, the beating process is linked to the commoners' social domain (Kaeppler 1978a:267). Therefore, it would be appropriate to further suggest that performing the tutu process publicly validates, for all to hear, a woman's common status. Today, it especially announces the fact that these women are usually poor and lacking social status (as based on a survey of twelve women who were beating tapa in 1988). They are not ashamed *(mā)* to be beating, for it is considered a proper activity befitting their present social position. At the same time it is not an activity that will increase their social mobility." But for "Limulaki" and "Maria," who lack any social status per se, beating tapa provides a new means of generating a small income. Their *feta'aki* is sold in the market by a vendor. They agree "it's hard work" (pers. com., July 1985). When the right arm tires they beat with the left. [12]

In addition to interviewing Tongans from different social groups, I randomly questioned twelve women from various districts of Nuku-'alofa about the process while they were beating tapa (June and July, 1988). It appears that these women continue to beat for the following reasons: Two did not have access to a machine in their district, two could not afford the nominal usage charge, three had never heard about the machine, and the remaining five said they prefer beating.

Building on the works of Levy (1973:326-356), Marcus (1978a), and James (1983), I suggest that the art process and medium can also act as an external control that helps define the acceptable (steady-state) cultural limitations of a gender's social behavior. For example, implicit in some of the responses solicited from the tapa-beating women was their feeling that it might be socially inappropriate for them to use a tapa-beating machine. The employment of such a machine could be viewed by other Tongans as exceeding the behavioral norm of their social status and gender. The fear of being publicly ridiculed or embarrassed for working with an alien technology or unwarrantedly elevating themselves seemed to curtail their interest. Older women of high social

standing, like Tupou Tonga, would not be ridiculed. On the contrary, ownership and usage of the machine could add to Tonga's relative social standing, if and when the machine was fully accepted.

In analyzing the responses from both genders, it is evident that women continue to beat for reasons that vary according to the subject's gender, age, rank, and social status. Overall, most Tongans interviewed are reluctant to give up the tutu process because of its personal association with their past. Tutu is a symbolic referent to the way their grandmothers, mothers, or "aunties" made tapa. In this context, the process is thought of in terms of its historical depth and connected with aesthetic socialization and tradition for tradition's sake. Tutu produces an affective response that is associated with femaleness and female artistic heritage, making it less open to acculturation or radical change, especially when the alien technology tries to prematurely cross the gender line.

The introduction of a machine into an exclusively female field, however, also opens the door to gender equality in labor issues. "After all," Tonga exclaimed, "men have access to all types of machines to help them with their work' (pers. com., July 1985, 1987). Those women who advocate use of the machine greet it as a device liberating them from hours of labor. Other women are critical of the tutu process because they feel that it publicly reinforces their commoner status. Nowadays, within the social matrix of a commoner, "beating is often a sign of being under obligation, poor, or lacking job skills. If you have money you will pay someone to beat tapa" (Limu Havea, pers. com., May 1987). But whether one beats or not, most women are predisposed to maintaining the ceremonial tradition of tapa as it visually substantiates their preeminent position as women, particularly as sisters.

The Machine's Impact on Ethnovalues and Symbolic Scale

I asked if the machine would change their standards of ethnovalue and lessen the tapa cloth's contextual use and symbolism within the culture. A similar analogy can be drawn between hand-sewn and machine-made quilts. According to Hammond, in contemporary Polynesia hand-made quilts have greater ethnovalue and symbolic meaning because of the care, time, and individual quilting skill expended by the maker (1986:4, 15, 21-22). And, I would suggest that the hand-sewing process, like beating, is associated with an acceptable gender division of labor, aesthetic socialization, and nostalgia for the past. Sewing machines, however, are finally becoming more acceptable and gaining in popularity, a reflection of a changing (more practical) era where

decreased work time accommodates a cash economy and foreign market (Hammond 1986:4,22).

Most Tongans interviewed agreed that beaten tapa has more symbolic value. But many, such as Lata Soakai, do not believe that the machine will affect tapa's overall ethnovalue. The tapa machine has no effect on the quality of the medium or its artistic principles (whereas the sewing machine does affect quilt quality because artistic principles and aesthetic merit are conjoined with the process and maker). Furthermore, in contemporary Tonga tapa's value is based on the age of a product, its contextualization, and the prestigious rank or status of its owner or past owners-not on the individual makers (Gailey 1987b:112-118; James 1988:34-35; pers. com., with the Honorable Ve'ehala, July 1985; Helu, November 1983, July 1985; 'Alamoti, 'Afuha'amango, and Mele Taumoepeau, July 1988). Size, artistic embellishments, and skill determine its aesthetic worth (pers. com. with Helu, November 1983; 'Alamoti, 'Afuha'amango, and Mele Taumoepeau, July 1988).

However, the machine could impact aesthetic appreciation for tapa's scale. A tapa's immense size is noted with a kind of reverence and spoken of metaphorically as having chiefly status; it is *'eiki.* In former times the longer the tapa, the more powerful the chiefly wife because length symbolized hours of woman-power subjugated to make such a tapa. The continuous, repetitive patterns are meant to be viewed from a distance and to heighten the appearance of length as a thirty-five- to seventy-foot tapa oscillates and trembles in the hands of the women presenting it in a ceremonial context. Tapa's two-dimensional medium is transposed into a floating three-dimensional sculpture, a kind of performance piece that is meant to be experienced in its entirety. Now, the emotional response *(mafana)* Tongans experience in the performative mode from such an immense piece of tapa could change dramatically if it was machine made.

Houghland has defended his machine by saying that if nothing else, it would easily accommodate the tourist market that places a different emphasis on tapa's value and meaning (pers. com., July 1985). To begin with, tourists do not want large pieces of tapa, for they are too difficult to transport and display. Tourists prefer small pieces to use as place mats, wall hangings, purses, or notepaper.[13] Here, new aesthetic principles take precedence over size and the machine obliges the market. Or does it? Houghland printed on the back of his note cards: "The front of this card is genuine Tapa cloth." The description goes on to explain the cultural importance of tapa cloth and the "traditional" beating process of manufacture, blatantly implying that his cards are traditionally

beaten by a "mallet until the strips are paper thin. . . . Polynesian Prints is proud to offer you these attractive genuine hand-made Tapa cloth cards." It is an interesting contradiction of terms-Houghland sold machine-beaten tapa that purported to be handmade.

The *Tutu* and *Tutua:* Symbolic Meanings and Tonal Qualities

Finally, there is yet another view that argues against using a tapa-beating machine. This view emphasizes the nonprocedural, nonfunctional aspect of the process, typified by cultural and symbolic meanings apparent in producing the tonal sounds that are an inseparable part of the tutu process but have a role beyond the mere making of *feta'aki.* Indicative of this role is the fact that the only stage of making tapa that can be done year-round with or without the help of other women is the tutu process. The medium is easily stored and the process is not affected by weather.

Tutu is the heartbeat of Tonga. It stops only when a person in the village has died (pers. com. with Posesi Fanua, June 1985; Foliaki, July 1988). The silence announces death and with it the period of mourning, which can last from three days to three months depending upon the deceased's rank. The silence sets the ritual stage by framing the action and focusing one's attention on death and obligations to the deceased and especially to the deceased's kin. "Frequent deaths within the same area or same noble family sometimes cause hardships to the non-ranking members of that social group and the villages concerned, in that their *ngatu* stores become depleted" (Tamahori 1963: 127).

Tutu is the only Tongan art process that must stop when death occurs in a village. My research shows that all other crafts may continue, even construction work, so this is not just a ban against loud noise per se, but the particular symbolic noise of the tutu. This conceptual differentiation of noise points to the symbolic significance of the tutu. Furthermore, the interruption of this process by death can cause a major depletion in tapa stores, creating an additional hardship on women and their (status rivalrous) participation in the complex gift-exchanges. Tonga told me that she had not made any tapa since her husband died. "It's been over a year. But," she smiled, "I could make tapa with the machine because it doesn't make any noise" (pers. com., July 1988).

To announce the lifting of a tabu imposed on the village by the death of a chief or noble, the *tutua* is beaten with a mallet by a ceremonially high-ranking female *(fahu),* who may be accompanied by two other women (Rogers 1977: 167; Kaeppler 1978b: 193; Biersack 1982: 188).

This ritual, called *tukipotu,* has an underlying sacred aspect marked by the fact that the process is conceptually different-it is not purposeful to making *feta'aki* - and it must be performed by the *fahu* (see Kaeppler 1978b:193; Teilhet 1990:224 on the significance of *tukipotu).* The sanctity of the act is underscored by the *fahu's* sacredness. Her participation takes it out of the secular realm of ordinary women and common labor, for under normal circumstances a *fahu* would never beat the *tutua;* it would be beneath her sacred status.

Older people do not always like the sound of the tutu. "That sound worries you when you hear it and when you're sick you can't go to sleep with that sound. It seems that you get more sick by hearing that beating from next door. When we have a funeral you are not allowed to beat the *tutua"* (Tonga, in discussion with some older women in her *kautaha,* July 1985). The beating of the *tutua* seems to remind the sick and the elderly of their vulnerability. The only complaints that I heard were generated in this context. Most Tongans of both genders like hearing the *tutu.*

Beating a Rhythm: Playing the Tutua

The late Ve'ehala and the founder and headmaster of 'Atenisi school, Futa Helu, both eminent authorities on Tongan culture, agreed that women "play" the anvil. Women often sit two or three to a *tutua* and consciously set up counterrhythms to pass the time more pleasantly (pers. com. with the Honorable Ve'ehala, June 1985; Helu, June 1985). Helu expressed concern that the beating machine would take the melody away. Mariner writes about the beating having "a very pleasing effect; some sounds being near at hand, and others almost lost by distance; some a little more acute, others more grave, and all with remarkable regularity, produce a musical variety that is very agreeable, and not a little heightened by the singing of the birds, and the cheerful influence of the scene" (Martin 1981, 2:365).

While working on issues concerning gender division of labor, I asked if women ever played the Tongan drums called *nafa* or *lali,* knowing full well that women rarely play percussion instruments in most traditional societies.[14] (In 1988, I did see a woman play the *nafa* at the dances performed in honor of the king's seventieth birthday and noted it as a mark of changes to come.) Soakai replied that "the drum is an instrument of authority that men beat to mark the tempo, not only in dance but in life as well." Tongan women, she continued, "realize that they are usually excluded from beating drums in a ritual sense, but we

control the rhythm by beating tapa. Beating a rhythm while we make *feta'aki* is one way we display our control" (Soakai, pers. com., July 1985).

Though Kooijman's study cautions against comparing the functions and techniques of tapa production in western Polynesia with those of Hawai'i and Tahiti (1973: 107), it seems obvious that these cultures shared a common interest in the tonal qualities of the beating process. The anvil used by Hawaiian women *(kua)* had a hollow longitudinal groove, was raised to get a better tone, and "for the women each *kua* had its own sound" (Kooijman 1972:105). The favorite woods were *kawa'u, na'u,* and *hualewa:* "The *kawa'u* gave forth a pleasant sound when beaten and . . . the *na'u* and *hualewa* gave out a sharp sound like the voice of the *lele* bird" (Kamakau, quoted in Buck 1964: 180). Hawaiian literature abounds with stories about women who knew the sound of the each other's anvil (see Fornander 1918-1919:494; Brigham 1911: 78; Pukui and Curtis 1951:162-167; Buck 1964: 180; Kooijman 1972: 105). Hawaiian women also used a well-understood code to signal or convey messages over a great distance (Brigham 1911:78; Buck 1964: 180). Samoans also amused themselves at work by beating out various rhythms and had signals by which they could warn one another of approaching strangers and conduct a limited conversation (Kooijman 1972:214).

Mariner reports that the Tongan anvil was raised from the ground to provide some spring from the blows of the mallet and make a more powerful and melodious sound (Mariner 1981, 2:365). Tongan women also chose certain woods for their tonal qualities (for example, *toi, Alphitonia xixyhoides; mohokoi, Canaga odorata;* or *ahi, Santalum)* and protect their anvils from the elements to prevent cracking and loss of tone (Tamahori 1963:34). 'Alamoti Taumoepeau said that "certain *tutua* were more valuable because of the tone, they even had a special name, *tutua loa.* My mother had one. She used it for beating tapa and also for lifting the funeral *tapu.* The sounds from the *tutua* were never discordant, even if four or five women were beating at the same time. The sound of the *tutua* was to create joy. The *tukipotu* was special, it sounded more like the *nafa.* The lifting of the *tapu* must be joyous" (pers. com., July 1988).

Ike

The tools of tutu-the mallet and anvil-were and still are categorized under gender divisions of labor, being made exclusively by men or

schoolboys. Men can make, introduce, and maintain tools and technology that are metaphorically associated with maleness in order to expedite or facilitate the female art process. Whereas men maintain control and management of these tools, women seem to have some decision in the wood used. It is an interesting example of collaboration carried over from former times when the chiefly classes controlled the production of *ngatu* and implies some form of reciprocal exchange, mallets (i.e., the right to command goods, secular power) perhaps for tapa (i.e., goods of secular and social or even sacred value).

Mallets are devoid of any ornamentation. The preferred wood comes from the *toa* (ironwood tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia)* (Tamahori 1963: 35). This hard wood was reserved for weapons in ancient times and the tree has always been considered sacred, though the mallet is presently considered to be a secular object.

"Nowadays, most mallets are made by schoolboys from cheap, green wood that splits and softens, making the grooves less effective" ('Alamoti Taumopeau, pers. com., July 1988). Though a link is difficult to prove, the prevalence of cheap, poorly constructed mallets made by young boys correlates with James's theory that the notion of Tongan manhood has "undergone a radical change through such processes as the cessation of warfare and a Western cultural devaluation of traditional fighting prowess, the lessened need for skills associated with long ocean voyages by canoe and the devaluation of gardening skills" (1983: 241). The abandonment of these male skills along with the decline of the professional male artisan class correlates with Tongan men's lack of interest in, but not lack of maintenance or control over, the male tools used by female artisans.

The Tongan *ike* shares a similiar shape with the *i'e kuku* from ancient Hawai'i. The Hawaiian beater, however, is distinguished by the extraordinary number and variety of grooved patterns chiseled in the mallets. There, too, the making of beaters followed gender constructions and they were made by men. However, in Hawai'i the makers were called "expert" craftsmen and the women had to "buy their beater from the experts" (Buck 1964:171). The distinction adhering to the makers is clearly evident in the extent of artistry expended on the "highly creative designs" carved into the mallets, designs mistakenly attributed to the artistry of the women who used the beaters (Cox with Davenport 1974:4-5).

Those Tongan women who spend many hours of their life beating tapa seem to develop a rapport with their tools. The anvil has a special tone or voice, but what about the mallet? 'Alamoti Taumoepeau replied

that "the mallet was almost priceless in traditional times because they were so hard to make. Normally the mallet would have been given to a young woman by her mother or auntie and may even have come from several generations before. Therefore most women would be reluctant to give up their *ike.* A woman's love, *'ofa,* for her *ike* is similiar to a man's love for his name" (pers. com., July 1988).

While researching grave art, I learned that women who died while giving birth to a healthy baby or while still nursing a child were buried with their favorite mallet. The mallet is believed to fool the spirit of the mother and keep her from coming back for the baby. "The love from the graveyard is poisonous" (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., December 1983).

Epilogue

In the summer of 1988, I returned to Tonga to interview Houghland and check the final version of this article. I could not find him and was told by a number of people that he had given up his Polynesian Prints business and after working in computers eventually returned to the States. [15]

Tapa cloth and its process of manufacture-whether by hand or machine-still belong under the hegemony of Tongan women. However, if the acculturation of this process is to work, then the responsibility has to be determined for maintaining and repairing this new cross-gender (male-oriented) technology introduced by an outsider.

The machines that I inspected in 1988 were rusting. Where are they going to get new parts and who has the initiative and money to make more machines now that Houghland has left? (Sewing machines, though more complex, have a built-in Euro-American support system, being maintained by specific machine shops or male relatives who are mechanics.) This is not women's work nor do these concerns appear to be under the direction of the *kautaha's* leaders (Tonga, pers. com., July 1988). Whether the women continue to beat or not may reside in their withdrawing from or working out a solution to these basic issues of acculturation. The gender division of labor found in the production of tapa is presently being enforced by women who really do not want any form of male intrusion in the manufacture of tapa cloth. Many of the men interviewed claim that they do not care about tapa as a cultural form, but they do see its new potential for generating a cash income.[16] But these issues are ultimately linked to a deeper set of concerns marking the culture's general attitude towards all forms of acculturation and the nature of its impact on gender structures, status, and rank.

At issue are social perspectives on what is purposeful, secular, symbolic, and culturally relevant and the attempt to reconcile these discordant views in accordance with one's gender, rank, societal status, and attitudes towards acculturation and forms of modernization.

Essential to any analysis of acculturation and change are the nonprocedural (nonfunctional) aspects of the process in question, here typified by the cultural and symbolic meanings in producing tonal sounds. These sounds have been interpreted as noise, signals, rhythmic music, joyous melodies, and the heartbeat of Tonga. Such interpretations play a key part in marking context. For example, the tutu process and its resultant sound factor has underlying ritual aspects interpreted as sacred in association with its funerary role. This role, with all its symbolic associations, becomes most evident when the tutu process is threatened by a machine that produces almost no noise at all. But, unlike its ritual role, tutu's noisy, repetitive act is purposeful in the manufacture of tapa. And it is this purposefulness divorced from its rhythmic sound that led Houghland to assume that the beating process "was a lot of loud noise that kept women from socializing" and was therefore open to acculturation without loss of contextualization (pers. com., July 1985).

Conclusion

In conclusion, studies on acculturation, change, and tourist arts tend to overlook the social and symbolic actions embodied in the art-making process. The introduction of a tapa-beating machine allowed me to analyze in a single framework the various sociocultural actions that would be lost or radically changed if the tutu process became acculturated. Placing an emphasis on the process and medium over the object's formal qualities contributes further to studies on gender concepts by yielding some novel insights into the role art plays in reinforcing or sustaining a culture's ideology on gender structure.

To think of the tutu process as being ripe for change because the mallets are poorly made or the tiresome process seems to fulfill the singular purpose of serving the end product has proven false. The controversy engendered by the machine makes clear that the arts (as exemplified by the *feta'aki,* which is at this stage a purely secular object) can still have cultural, symbolic, and even (sacred) ritualized elements embedded in the process of manufacture.

It is evident, at least from an etic approach, why outsiders, uninformed tourists, and some commoners of low social standing view the

tutu process as a mundane, secular activity. It is equally clear that it took someone who was not a cultural relativist to introduce a tapa-beating machine, which in turn gave some of the populace reason to vent already secularized attitudes.

From the position of the noble classes and the affluent, socially mobile middle and lower classes, the machine could be viewed as an instrument of acculturation that eliminates one way of marking a person's higher societal standing: Beating is a technique that lacks prestige and social status, and the process has not deviated from Mariner's description of 1806-1810 (Martin 1981, 2:365). Moreover, the process is still tied to gender conventions and subject to social control. From a structuralist interpretation, beating (as distinct from making the *kupesi* pattern board) not only marks commoners as being very ordinary; it also, to some extent, promulgates the inequality of the commoner in a monarchical state.

The tutu process is one example of how art-making ideologies align with gender, societal, and rank-based divisions of labor to form a paradigm of an ideal social construction. In cultures such as Tonga, acculturation and change in the arts-and this includes the arts made for tourist consumption-are allowed if sociocultural art-making ideologies are not disrupted. However, the tensions between these ideologies lie at the heart of Tonga's social system and are exemplified in the question that is yet to be fully resolved: to beat or not to beat.

NOTES

I want to thank Tupou Tonga, Papiloa Foliaki, Lata Soakai, and Limu Havea for their insights and friendship, without which this article would not exist. I am indebted to Geoffery Houghland for generating this study by inventing a tapa-beating machine and I thank him for answering my questions. I regret that he was not in Tonga when I returned and was therefore unavailable to add his remarks to this final draft. To the many Tongans who have helped answer my questions, I can only express my deepest gratitude for their generosity in allowing me to publish their knowledge. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of my young daughter, Samantha, who helped interview while learning to make tapa. Aletta Biersack, Susan Smith, and Zachary Fisk contributed useful suggestions. These acknowledgements do not in any way bind the persons mentioned to my interpretation, for it is only just that-an interpretation.

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ifornia Colloquium on the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Native Americans, California State University, Fullerton, April 1988; and the other to the Pacific Arts Association Symposium, Honolulu, August 1989.

1. Most scholars recognize that the introduction of iron tools such as axes, chisels, saws, and nails to Tonga led to an increase in local artistry in the nineteenth century, especially evident in the "neatness" and intricacy of the bas-relief and the more pronounced use of "decorative" imagery found on clubs and flywhisk handles (Martin 1981, 2:359). Replacing sharks teeth and stone with metal obviously expedites the carving process and allows the artisan to make even larger outrigger canoes or more clubs.

However, a detailed analysis is lacking of the actual changes that occurred in the traditional artistic process and whether the act of adopting Western tools concomitantly changed the role of the artist by reducing or enhancing his ability for achieving social status. As metal tools became more accessible, did they allow a greater pool of men to compete for that specialized role of artist? Were these acculturated tools responsible for perhaps secularizing a more ritualized process? And if more clubs were carved, do we attribute this to the introduction of labor-saving tools, more artists, a concomitant response to changing sociocultural conditions, or a combination of all these factors? Which has more importance and to whom, the process or the object? Many of these same questions can be asked of other small-scale societies; presumably we will never know the answers because the documentation of the process does not exist in enough detail.

2. The initial beating breaks and softens the fibers with the side of the mallet that has the deepest groves; this is called *fakapa.* In the process of *'opo'opo* the woman continues to fold and beat the cloth with the less grooved sides until she thinks it has reached its maximum width and thinness. She then *talatala* (unfolds) each layer and gently taps it with the flat face of the mallet until the whole piece is laid out. A second strip can be beaten, merging the fiber with the first if the orginal piece is too thin. The resultant *feta'aki* requires, depending upon the age and strength of the woman, between twenty and forty minutes to beat (Tamahori 1963; Kooijman 1972, 1988; Teilhet 1974; Tupou Posesi Fanua, pers. com., 1985; Finau Moala and the "Mofuike" *kautaha* of Kolomotua, pers. com., June 1985.)

3. Houghland was a benevolent entrepreneur who wished to share his invention, even though he put a relatively high price on the machines (approximately US$400 translated into 350 pa'anga in 1985 and 500 pa'anga in 1987). This he defended by saying that the machine would pay for itself in no time at all (pers. com. with Houghland, July 1985; Tupou Tonga, April 1987). He felt that the women's cooperatives, formed to make tapa cloth for social and ceremonial obligations, could raise enough money to buy his machine and thereby increase their production and expand into the tourist business for a cash profit. I was told that eight women's cooperatives raised enough money to buy machines (Tonga, pers. com., May 1987). To help defray the cost, women from other districts of Nuku'alofa were charged a minor fee to use these machines. Tonga said, "I have a machine at my home. People come here and pay me something to use it. I charge them from two to five pa'anga for the day, or whatever they can pay. I don't care how much they pay me actually, I just care that they come" (pers. com., July 1988).

4. It is debatable whether *koloa* and *ngaue* are in fact gender-specific terms (see James 1988:33-36). Though the term *koloa* is still associated with valuables that are made by women and given in a ceremonial context, "a kava bowl carved by a man can also be

called *koloa* when it is very old. Initially the bowl would be *ngaue* but after it has been in the family for a period of time it acquires a certain transactional (rather than purely utilitarian) value. *Ngaue* can refer to men's work, but it is becoming a common term for any kind of work. Women often refer to making tapa as *ngaue"* ('Alamoti, Mele, and 'Afuha'amango Taumoepeau, pers. com., July 1988).

5. Even Mariner quoted Tongan men as saying "it is not gnale fáfine (consistent with the feminine character) to let them do hard work; women ought only to do what is feminine. Who loves a masculine woman? besides, men are stronger, and therefore, it is but proper that they should do the hard labour" (Martin 1981,2:370-371).

6. Tupou Tonga said that she had heard from someone that "a missionary had made a tapa-beating machine from bicycle parts with attached hammers for King George Tupou II in the early 1900s" (pers. com., April 1987). This may be true or may be generated out of deference and respect for the royal family by linking the king's name with a new invention. I am amazed that Houghland did not solicit the patronage of the queen, for that would have been the proper action to take.

7. When I returned to Tonga in July 1988, I read Tupou Tonga a draft of this article and she gave me a slightly different account of what had happened. In 1985 she had told me the minister gave her two years to try the machines, after which the department would make a formal decision. As the machines are still in use, I quote her present account.

8. Boas wrote "that the first condition for the development of artistic handicraft is leisure" (1955:300). But this Western notion implies that leisure is the handmaiden of artistic production and unwittingly demeans art to a form of play, obviating its cultural importance. Tonga's sentiments are grounded in this ideology-tapa, which was traditionally made by women for trade or barter, is seemingly being relegated to a peripheral role because women have no leisure. But, who said tapa making was ever an idle activity? It would be more appropriate to suggest that tapa is no longer an effective means of commodity exchange in a time-oriented world.

9. "In the precontact period, when the rule by chiefs was still in full force, the manpower was centered around the chief and the womanpower around the chiefs wife, who could dispose of the women as a labor force. When many *ngatu* were required, for instance because of important ceremonies connected with the marriage or death of people of rank, she called together a group of women who manufactured the colored sheets. The product bore her personal stamp to a high degree, because she made and kept possession of the required *kupesi"* (Kooijman 1972:319; see also James 1988:33-36).

10. After emancipation the Tongan government formed strict regulations, particularly in regards to the beating process. "It shall be lawful to beat tapa from sunrise till sunset excepting during the time of mourning for a chief and it will be with Government to determine the duration thereof' *(Tongan Government Gazette* 2, no. 86 [March 1888]: sect. 7).

11. Given this background, it is no wonder that the tapa-beating women I interviewed did a double take when they saw who was depicted beating tapa on the new brochure for the Tongan Cultural Center that officially opened in July 1988. The photograph is of Foliaki, who also found it ironic. Evidently the photograph was taken while she was demonstrating the process to tourists in her own cultural center behind her motel (Foliaki, pers. com., July 1988).

12. Such ambidexterity in the plastic arts is interesting; it strengthens the notion that the beating process is associated with labor, craft, and routine rather than skill, creativity, or sacredness. A process that emphasizes the use of one hand over two is usually less constrained in its technique and more open to innovation. For example, in small-scale societies painting or the act of using paints ranks above the act of sculpting or weaving for many reasons (Forge 1970:279-280). One reason Forge does not suggest is the relationship that the action has with single-handedness. Most art processes in small-scale societies reflect fundamental cultural values: Two-handedness is expressive of the solidarity and tension of working as a group or the giving out of generosity or obligation (Thompson 1974:54, 82, 112). The notion of using two hands simultaneously stresses the idea that the social group works as a community, whereas the emphasis on one hand-single-handed-is reserved for leadership or "singular" acts requiring "special" skill, knowledge, and powers of execution. One-handedness over the other is also evident in the making of the esteemed *kupesi* pattern boards that were once made and owned only by chiefly women (Martin 1981, 2:366). Even today, common women who make *kupesi* earn respect and gain social prestige, whereas any woman can beat. However, when the *tutu* process is analyzed for its nonprocedural aspects, typified by tonal sounds, we have a different situation. In this context, ambidexterity could well be interpreted as a sign of skill in executing rhythm patterns.

13. Tongan women recognize these preferences of foreign consumers and are now making small tapa paintings. They beat small sections of *feta'aki* about eight by twelve inches, piecing them with flour paste, and backing the resulting tapa on woven mats. The product is then painted by either gender with a store-bought brush. Women usually paint tapa designs and men may paint representational imagery, such as scenic views.

14. Tonga has two types of drums. The *nafa,* used in performances of song and dance, was originally a rolled mat, giving it a unique muffled sound. The *lali* is used like a village bell to call people to meetings or prayer (Helu, pers. com., December 1983).

15. "The women complained about him making so much money from the tapa cloth cards. It was Geoffs own idea, but the women didn't like it" (Tonga, pers. com., July 1988). I do not know Houghland's interpretation. Were the women resentful because he was making more money on his machine than they were realizing in their endeavors? Or did the women get annoyed because he was an outsider, and a male to boot, who had entered their arena of work and managed to successfully capitalize, at least for awhile, on its economic potential in a foreign market?

16. The present enforcement by women of the gender division of labor in the arts is a sort of reverse backlash. Husbands rarely share in the say of tapa-produced income as it belongs to the wife and is often spent on her family (Limu Havea, pers. com., July 1988). Most women interviewed wanted to keep it that way.

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"STORI BILONG WANPELA MAN NEM BILONG EM TOBOALILU," THE DEATH OF GODEFFROY'S KLEINSCHMIDT, AND THE PERCEPTION OF HISTORY

Heinz Schütte
Paris, France

Introduction

This article is a footnote to a question of prime theoretical interest, namely the process of transition from one societal form to another. It poses another question that is, however, of central importance in that context: How is history made and how is it retained in the memory of those who come after? This question cannot be answered hastily, and the present essay is to be regarded only as an illustration of a very particular case in New Guinea.

Two levels of "history" are presented that in reality represent one event; that is, one aspect of European expansion overseas in the course of which the people whom that expansion came to dominate were deprived of their own history.' What will be related here, then, are two versions of the same event, viewed through two mutually exclusive sets of interests that shaped their respective perspectives: that of the Europeans, their Pacific helpers and their allies, and that of the Utuan and Mioko peoples native to the area. Yet even within these two groups there emerge significant differences of perception and interpretation that-albeit at times overlapping-are contingent on the actors' relative position in the drama that is acted out. The one version would maintain that it is "history," objectively reporting what happened, the other that it is a "story" or "tradition," known by individuals or small groups and only to be expressed orally. Both views, however, claim validity for the

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psychological and ideological structure of the society that produced them. Indeed, both give credence to the very fabric of their respective groups; they justify and confirm them. The one version, in principle, is widely propagated, disseminated in print, and confirmed by authorities from Hamburg to Sydney, whereas the other has, so far, never left the secluded world of the islands of Utuan and Mioko. The one justifies colonial oppression and the arrival of the world market, the other dreams of emancipation from oppression.

These two interpretations present visions that are by no means limited to the past: The reality of oppression and exploitation in whose interest, directly or indirectly, the elements of the documented version were composed persists today. Yet the other version is retained as well, and more than one hundred years of concerted effort have not been able to stifle it. The reason is that-in the face of colonialism and its aftermath, which relegated the islands to marginality-the story contains the *Gegenwelt,* a utopia that represents the dream of justice and dignity, of self-determination for those who have been defeated. While accepting this defeat in the face of a superior power would be sacrifice, such stories keep the moment of defeat alive. The event at the heart of the story thus survives and to this day circumscribes the islands' reality; the moments of loss and horror live on. The story, then, becomes the linchpin of a moment that has been uninterrupted ever since 1881; the people concerned carry the past into the future in the shape of dreams that are embalmed in the story.

The images of their forebears' and their martyrs' struggles are encapsulated in the consciousness of those relegated to the periphery, and from these images they derive the courage for survival and for cultural reproduction and, consequently, for the construction of their future.

This article is presented in the form of a collage that permits not only the unfolding of the various events and levels of the drama but also reflects the process of the ethnohistorian's assembling and uncovering of its multifarious aspects from the present via the past back into the present.

From the Ethnohistorian's Notebook

From Rabaul to Mioko

June 1987. On board the violently rolling copra cutter *Marlow* from Rabaul to Ulu in the southwest of the Duke of York Islands, accompanied by the amiable and wise Reverend Eliuda Laen (born 1925) to

whom Bishop Saimon Gaius from the United Church has entrusted me for a couple of days. Eliuda comes from Nambaul in the east of the Duke of Yorks, and with his help I plan-unversed in local languages and for the first time visiting the group of islands between New Britain's Gazelle Peninsula and the south of New Ireland in St. George's Channel, Papua New Guinea-to collect stories about the history of colonization of the Bismarck Archipelago: searching for traces. Hence our first destination is Ulu, the plantation island owned by the United Church on which is also the church's George Brown College.

In the late nineteenth century the uninhabited Ulu, measuring six hundred hectares, had been bought by the German collector Kleinschmidt from the inhabitants of the neighboring island of Utuan. "He had . . . paid one chief a certain amount of trade for it. As a matter of course, the island did not belong to the chief, but to a tribe, and the tribe did not consider that they had sold it."[2] Shortly afterwards, Kleinschmidt had been killed by these people in the course of a feud he had provoked. In 1898, the mission of the time bought Ulu from the deceased's estate for £200.[3] The name of Theodor Kleinschmidt is thus known to me from the literature on the early European period in the archipelago.

The next morning a speedboat takes us from Ulu past Rakanda, then down to Utuan and Mioko: flower basket-like rock formations in opalescent waters, white beaches on tiny coral islands, coconut and coffee plantations of the United Church and the Catholic mission-Rakanda on the south of Duke of York Island, originally acquired from the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln (DHPG). Around the turn of the century, the paradisical life of the few hundred inhabitants of Mioko was praised in these terms:

> With rather little labor, the extremely fertile soil produces a rich harvest of yams, taro, and other field fruit, coconuts and bananas are plentifully available, the sea supplies fish, the virgin forest on the neighboring islands wild pigs. Apart from eating and sleeping, they have no other needs. The only work that the men-tall vigorous figures with superb limbs-are at times prepared to do, is the carving of canoes.[4]

On the small island of Mioko, some of the drama of early colonial contact had taken place. In 1878, together with Thomas Farrell, "Queen" Emma arrived as Emma Forsayth in the "magnificent harbour of Meoko," one "of the most beautiful and secure ones of the South

FIGURE 1. Map of the Duke of York Islands, drawn by missionary Benjamin Danks. (Source: Danks to Rev. J. Watsford, 28 August 1880, in Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Copies of Letters Written from New Britain in 1880/81," Methodist Church Papers, 617, Mitchell Library, Sydney; used by permission of the Uniting Church in Australia)

Seas," to engage in trade and to recruit laborers for the German plantations in Samoa. Her brother-in-law, the ethnologist and planter Richard Parkinson, followed her in 1882.[5] Emma obtained immense landed property from the big-men in the archipelago, whom she frequently paid "with her body."[6] Parkinson established the first plantations. Ever since 1875, the DHPG-successor to the Hamburg trading house of Johann Cesar Godeffroy and Sohn in business on Samoa since 1857-had maintained a station with two or three whites on Mioko;[7] their main task was to recruit laborers for the DHPG plantations on Samoa. The Museum Godeffroy would also dispatch collectors to Mioko -first Franz Hübner who reached the island early in 1877 from Tonga and who soon died of fever,[8] and then, in March 1879, Theodor Kleinschmidt who had previously spent several years in the same function on Fiji.[9] On 4 November 1884, the German flag was hoisted on Mioko. In good colonial fashion, the voyager Wilfred Powell commented in 1878-1879, "The natives are friendly and thoroughly accustomed to white men." Of the inhabitants of Utuan, though, he thought less. "The natives of this island are troublesome and dangerous."[10]

On Mioko: Edward Tolituru's Story of Toboalilu

On Mioko, we meet Edward Tolituru, a man of about forty, whom we query about Kleinschmidt. Yes, "Kaleinsmis" is known; he was killed together with two other men. But Tolituru says the story is rather of Toboalilu, who had come across to Mioko from Utuan to meet his *dukduk* companions," with whom he was staying in the *taraiu,* the ceremonial site of the men. The Kleinschmidt people, meanwhile, together with a Methodist catechist, set fire to the *diwara* (shell money) house[12] on Toboalilu's *taraiu* at Kabaririma on Utuan. Toboalilu saw the smoke rise, raced to the extreme (western) point of Mioko, there threw himself into the water, and swam across to Utuan. He ran to his house and grabbed his club, with which he killed the three. They were not eaten, but buried on Mioko.

When the war began, one could find Toboalilu neither on Mioko nor on Utuan, yet a man called Gilimana from Mioko had seen him in a tree on the island of Karawara. This Gilimana took his gun and shot Toboalilu down. Gilimana and his people had traded with Kleinschmidt.

The Utuan people were terrified; they left their island and settled on Mioko and Karawara; only very much later did they return to their homes. The plantation on Mioko once belonged to Queen Emma; today

it is the property of the community school and of the inhabitants of Mioko.

So goes Edward Tolituru's story.

In the Cemetery: The Wicked Captain Levison

We decide to visit Kleinschmidt's tomb.[13] In the north of Mioko, a young boy takes us along the beach to a gravestone hidden in the bush. We uncover it, and with much difficulty the following epigraph is revealed:

Hier ruht in Gott
Schiffscapitain
Georg Christoph Levison
geboren in Eutin
gestorben am 6ten August 1879
in [Hunabai Eu] Mecklenburg
35 Jahre alt

Here lies in God
Ship's Captain
Georg Christoph Levison
born in Eutin
died 6th August 1879
in [Hunabai Eu] Mecklenburg
35 years of age

This is all we are able to discover in the brief available time in the churchyard of Mioko. Kleinschmidt's grave we are unable to find. The infamous Captain Levison, who worked for Godeffroy's and, according to missionary Benjamin Danks, was "a very bad man," was killed in a brawl under the influence of plenty of drink by the faster aiming John Knoles, alias Johni Meoko.[14] In a letter to the Museum Godeffroy, Kleinschmidt said about him, "He drank & had the idea of himself as a pasha with despotic power."[15]

In those days, only the Methodist-Wesleyan mission was in the archipelago; since 1875, it had stationed Tongan, Samoan and Fijian teachers under the Reverend George Brown on the islands. Missionary Benjamin Danks had arrived at the end of 1878. When Kleinschmidt died, Brown had just left the area, and Danks commuted between Port Hunter (Duke of York Island) and Kabakada (north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula). The first Catholic missionary was the Abbé René-Marie

Lanuzel who reached Likiliki Bay (Metlik) in southern New Ireland in 1880 with the fraudulent Marquis de Rays expedition (whose first endeavor at a settlement had foundered at Port Praslin). Their aim was the foundation of *Nouvelle France, Colonie libre de Port Breton* (New France, Free Colony of Port Breton).[16] Lanuzel moved to Nodup on the Gazelle Peninsula in February 1881.[17]

Leo Koi's and Enua Alipet's Versions

The Reverend Eliuda Laen is a well-known man in the Duke of York Islands; we are told the Toboalilu story in two more short versions on Mioko.

Leo Koi relates that during the visit to Mioko, Toboalilu saw the smoke rise from the *diwara* house on his *taraiu.* Instantly he plunged into the sea and only resurfaced on the other side, on Utuan. With a large stone he broke Kleinschmidt's boat, which he restrained with an axe, and then he beheaded his three captives. A Fijian had helped to set fire to the *taraiu.*

Police from Rabaul came to the whites' aid,[18] and many people from Utuan were killed. Toboalilu fled to Karawara, hiding in an *airima* tree. There he was shot dead. A number of Mioko people fought with the whites against the Utuan residents.

Enua Alipet[19] mentions that every night Kleinschmidt would hear the *kundu* (hand drums) from Toboalilu's *taraiu* and thus could not get to sleep in his house on Mioko. So he resolved to have the house on the *taraiu* destroyed by his workers. The police from Mioko (among them Tekumaino, Maliwai, and Kalule) fought together with the German police against Utuan.[20]

Enua Alipet's house is next to the site of Emma Forsayth's first house here on Mioko. The five or six wide cement steps are still there, as are the cement pillars, on some of which now rests a small house made from local materials. From this protected spot one has an unrestricted view of the empty harbor bay. South Sea images.

We leave Mioko in a tiny outrigger carved from a tree trunk, paddling across the crystal clear water to Utuan.

Kleinschmidt in the Bismarck Archipelago

From the Letters of Theodor Kleinschmidt

Kleinschmidt, who, as the South Sea trader Eduard Hernsheim wrote in his biographical sketch, "was supposed to be working for the Museum

Godeffroy in Mioko [had], just as Farrell, made considerable land acquisitions in the Duke of York group and on New Britain."[21] Following are some excerpts from Kleinschmidt's letters to the custodian of the Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg.

Meoko, March 27, 1880
Museum Godeffroy 2 1/2 hrs. in the morning

Dear Herr Custos,

In great haste only a few lines, . . . Had much illness . . . ; Mr. Danks & wife were ill & at Brown's the 2nd child died within 5 months. Blohm, helmsman Ned, Mrs. Lund (trader's wife), 2 of my men & I were ill, & one of my men died; one man still ill & as Mioko men, of whom chief Marrowit died, want to work only very little or not at all, am very, very *crippled regarding boats' crew* whenever want to go somewhere,-which will remain so until have a chance to get Salomon men.[22]

* * * * *

Museum Godeffroy, Meoko, May 29, 1880
Hamburg.

. . . Being on one's own here is a bad thing, i.e., if one person is to do & keep everything in order. --Finaki[23] has run away & now works on the station of Mr. Farrell, which suits him better since I couldn't approve of his slovenliness & deceit. -Blohm & his "fellows," who spoilt Finaki & who thought they'd have him for their (his) station, are finally fooled because-all of a sudden he had signed on with Farrell and-I'm having the last laugh!

But so as to show you how a man here can innocently get into trouble and can even get himself and others killed, [I] must relate to you what recently happened to me.

When I was about to go to New Britain & unable to get people for the boat on Meoko, I went to Karawar to get them. Only after burning down the best house on the island, 4 men went, later still another one. . . .

Alas, alas, the entire Samoa company trader-bunch [Godeffroy Co.] in this place & whatever, besides Blohm, is still left of

it, was the meanest of all the mean gangs here, with only one or two exceptions. Murder & killings, thieving & swindling, lying & vile talk was more or less characteristic to all of them, to tell the truth. . . . And among them a man with better intentions has to live-he is & will remain a thorn in the flesh to such a mob! . . .

I beg you, do send per return mail, in your own interest and most urgently, authority to buy a suitable vessel of about 20 or 25 tons at least in Sydney & you shall never regret it. Without a vessel I'm a lame duck, as everyone without exception admits. Just look, for example, at Brown. With the steam launch he & his man Kaplen, an excellent hunter, can go . . . now to far-off parts of New Britain, then again . . . to far-off parts of New Ireland. . . . Meanwhile I hobble about with my boat, exposed to all weathers, in the closest surroundings of 25-40 miles. . . . Thus I should at least have a vessel with which can be on the move for weeks and months. And for boating trips of 75 & 100 miles distance . . . you won't get people.

* * * * *

Rakabai, July 15, 1880
(Blanche Bay, New Britain)

Museum Godeffroy,
Hamburg.

Dear Herr Schmeltz,

Enclosed some notes for Herr Dr. Hartlaub concerning some birds, please send them to him by earliest mail.-While Brown who has plenty of people, teachers & black boys, has the opportunity to have the area thoroughly searched (which no white man is able to do like blacks), I now don't have any more foreign laborers but I have to leave one of my white men on Meoko to guard the site (house &c &c), the 2nd accompanies the boat, which frequently has to be underway, & only one young fellow is with me & this one is too lazy to pull his own weight.-In two months' time, however, when their contract time has expired, they are likely to leave because in making copra they can earn much more money & more easily at that since the Levison days of deceiving the traders, of brawling & murder & so forth are gone, this is what Blohm thinks as well.

From the Diary of Missionary Benjamin Danks

January 3rd, 1880

I have just returned from Meoko and Karawara. . . . Our special object in going was to see Mr Klinesmith who has just returned from Hongkong. . . . We went on from Mr K's to Soseteni & from there passed on to Setereki's place situated on the Island of Outuan. Here I heard of some misconduct of our teacher Aperoso who is stationed on Karawara. . . . The charge against Aperoso was-burning native houses. . . .

Guided by Setereki I . . . counted no less than five blackened sites where once native houses had stood but had been burnt down by A. & his wife. . . . Another house at Kapakon was also reported to have been burnt down by A. and yet another in another part of Karawara making in all seven houses burnt to the ground. . . . This gave me much pain of mind. I was indeed thankful that he had not been killed and eaten by the people. . . . The following is A's account of the whole offence.

1. One morning my wife was out attending to the fishing net when a native woman saw her and without any provocation used bad language to her. A. and his wife went to the village to get Diwara from the woman but found she had run away. Karolaini [Aperoso's wife] then set fire to two houses, A. standing by & not attempting to stop. The chief was very angry and went to see A. High words followed & A. at once started off & burnt down some more houses. These houses were all situated on Karawara.

2. A man from Kapakon had said to Aperoso. Why do you plant on this ground? It is not yours. You are stealing from us. A. was angry with the man & siezed *[sic]* a stick & beat him over the back & then burnt his house. This house was situated on the Island of Kapakon. . . .

I consulted with Aminio, Setereki & Sositeni . . . , they all gave it as their decided opinion that A. ought to be removed from the Island & deposed from office for a time. . . . The natives looked upon him as their enemy & not their friend & all declared that he was no Missionary. . . . I also left him enough barter to pay the Natives for the injury done to their property

insisting upon their being paid for their houses had been burnt down most wantonly. [24]

Under the date of 6 January 1880, Danks copied a letter he had received from Kleinschmidt.

My dear Mr. Danks,

Teacher Abroso of Karawara comes to me this morning and begs me to write to you and state in case of a boat being sent for him (to remove him and his family to Port Hunter) he will not go, but will stay in his place at Karawara. . . .

Allow me now, dear sir, to say a few words to you on this and other matters.

Mission affairs are not at all my business except when they begin to touch me, & further, being a sincere friend of the Fijian people in general and of Abroso here particularly I beg to state to you that my observations, made so far, lead me to believe, that the Samoans are on all occasions considered much more than the Fijians by this Mission. . . .

The natives of Karawara came on their own free will and accord to my place to sell to me the Island of Kambe Kounae (Kapakon). Coming one evening from board the Brig "Adolph" [Captain Levison] I found them sitting round the fence-gate waiting for me. There were perhaps some 25 or 30 people. Abroso had come over to act as interpreter only. . . . He knows therefore the Island is and was then sold to me and paid for fairly and even more than fairly.

It matters not whether the natives consider or wanted to say now that I only bought the ground and not also the bush, forest &c &c on it.. . . Who would buy an Island without the right to fauna & flora on it? What good would the ground be unless one can realise that which it produces? Did Hernsheim, Blohm, Levison & Farrell pay twice for land they bought? What a pity and nonsense if the Mission allows the Natives to impose upon the White man thus? . . . The Mission, come here to teach the natives a good many affairs in life, as they appear proper and more decent to the white man, should certainly also make the natives understand the nonsense of the notion & tell them, that land bought and sold according to rules all over the world else-

where, means the ground & trees, fruit &c on the land, . . . At the time of purchase there were no people living on Kambe Kambae-Kapakon-and no house on the Island. I had an only house built on it. Natives have since the sale no right to build houses or huts on it, even if, I will for instance say, only the ground was mine, neither have they a right to steal day for day all and everything that suits their fancy or purposes from the Island. I have requested Abroso to see, once in a while, to the Island. He was perfectly right to tell the natives to leave off building huts on the Island after selling it to me; & he was further perfectly right to burn these houses down as they had no right what so ever to the Ground. Why dont the Mission allow the Natives to build houses at random on Mission Ground? The houses on my ground no matter who built them without my permission were mine or became mine. No native has any right to payment for their being burnt, & *I hope you will not do me the injury to pay for these houses, for an injury, to me, such payment would be in many respects*!! I know the natives know they were wrong in building there, they feel sorry since my return. After being absent for more than 5 months, they did not expect me to return. But have come to me now and acknowledged twice before witnesses that all is mine. . . . So I sincerely hope you will not pay for those houses, as my houses were burnt only. . . .

When the natives would not listen to Abroso, and notwithstanding his good advice, went on the way they did, it was necessary to prove to them that they were wrong and so he went and burnt the houses. . . . Had Abroso not burned those houses, the Karawara Natives might soon have built a whole village on the Island to establish a new right to it!! . . . What wrong is there in burning houses on ground they have sold and for which they receive the full value asked & even more? . . .

Since coming here I have been told affairs, but will not talk about them.

Now, Mr. Danks, I have spoken openly & freely, as I felt over this Abroso & other matters, since I found out the real trouble after I had the pleasure of your company the other night. . . .

With best respects
Your true friend
T. Klinesmith[25]

On 12 February 1880, Danks turned twenty-seven.

Kleinschmidt's Death

Dunks on the Murder of Kleinschmidt, Becker, and Schultz

Kleinschmidt and his two helpers, the Swiss Becker and the Alsatian Schultz,[26] were killed on 12 April 1881 on the island of Utuan. Missionary Danks wrote an account of the circumstances to the secretary of his mission in Sydney.

Port Hunter, April 16th, 1881

Rev. and Dear Sir,

This evening brings to a close a week of horror, to which, unfortunately, we are very often introduced now-a-days. Three men of our colour have been murdered, and the lives of more threatened, and that, too, in a place where the whites have always deemed themselves safe, viz., Mioko Harbour. . . . One only I knew, and great will be the excitement in more places than one when it is known that Mr. T. Klinesmith, naturalist, is no more. . . . He leaves a wife, but no children. . . .

The story reached me about dinner time last Monday. . . . On Good Friday morning, at four o'clock, we cleared Port Hunter, and got into Mioko passage, soon after sunrise. Here we found Mr. Klinesmith's boat stranded on some boulders. It had drifted away from the scene of the murder, and found a resting place here. We went to it. All the stern of the boat was burnt; she was hacked about very much, as though she, too, had done them (the natives) some wrong. Planks were smashed and she was pierced in several places. . . .

The scene of the murder is the other side of the harbour from Mr. Klinesmith's house-yet within sight-on an island named Outuan. This island was bought some time ago by Mr. K. and it is said that the natives then promised him that they would go in his boat whenever he desired them. He wished them to go on Sunday last to a place called Birara but they would not and it is said that they were very impudent. Mr. K. became angry and went to Outuan accompanied by the two Frenchmen. Mrs. Klinesmith did not seem to know exactly what followed upon their landing except that some native houses were burnt and all the whites killed. Mr. K. was the only one shot, the ball entering the abdomen passed right through the body. All the bodies

> were mutilated most fearfully. All the bodies were recovered by our teachers and taken back to Mioko where they were buried. [27]

In a second, unofficial letter of the same day, marked "Private," Danks gave his superior an account of what had happened.

> Port Hunter, April 16th, 1881
>
> Private
> Rev. and dear Sir,
>
> Out of respect for Mrs. Klinesmith whose deep sorrow I have so recently witnessed, I could not relate to you, in a letter you may wish to publish, the whole of the circumstances connected with the death of Mr Klinesmith and his associates. I have simply told you Mrs K.s story which is but partial and in some particulars very vague. The following is the story as related by the teachers of Mioko. Some Outuan men were in Mioko on Sunday last and Mr. K. wished them to go with him to Birara N. B. One man (native) said to them don't go you will be away [over two mon]ths. There upon they one and all refused to go. Mr. K. . . . became angry & fired some s[hots] at [one] man two of which entered the shoulder. This angered them all and they went away. Mr. K. said you go first I follow, they answered, very good you follow. He & his two men went in his boat to Outuan and meeting no one fired five native houses. Not satisfied with that he must be so foolish as to go to the place where the people were sitting together and talk to them. Again he got angry &-I am not quite clear here but I think I am right in saying-some more small shot was fired by someone of the party but no one struck. The natives then rushed them; they made for the boat and while in the act of pushing off they were killed.
>
> If Mr. K. bought the land he has no claim on the bodies and the time of the people. But he seemed to think he had and looked upon them as his servants. This of course they resented. This is not the first time he has burned the people's houses for refusing to do what he wished them to do. From his own lips I heard that he forced these people into the boat to go a long journey by the same kind of bounce. I do not wish to appear

> against Mr K's doings if I can help it for he and I were not friends previous to his death . . . but if it is necessary in the interests of these people for me to speak out I must do so for no doubt by his violence Mr K. provoked the people to the deed for which they may be made to suffer.[28]

Two months later in a further letter, Danks specified that Klein-Schmidt, "failing to prevail upon them to go, . . . burnt down two houses, one of them being a *'tabu'* house, also broke three canoes. Immediately after this he was killed with his two companions."[29]

The Version of Count Joachim Pfeil

A few years later, Count Pfeil-then an employee of the Deutsch Neu Guinea Kompagnie and later to become a well-known figure in German colonial politics-noted down, briefly and to the point, the following version of the events.

> Again the kanakas showed their brutal feature, imagining that the killing of some individuals would bring about the withdrawal of the others. An entirely innocent German naturalist named Kleinschmidt who travelled the then accessible areas, was the victim. Without any provocation whatever on his part towards the kanakas, he was in 1881 slain on the small island of Utuan in the Lauenburg group. This time the settlers got together without the Mission, most vigorously punishing the inhabitants of Utuan who put up a fierce resistance.[30]

The Mioko Massacre

Conspiracy against the Whites?

As the Hernsheim trader, Schulle, sailed along the Utuan coast towards Mioko to attend the burial of Kleinschmidt and his companions, his boat was shot at. Nobody was hurt. A few days after this incident, Utuan men robbed a Godeffroy boat of weapons and ammunition. The "Mioko natives . . . scarcely moved from their houses without being fully armed with spear, tomahawk, sling and as many as had muskets, carried them also."[31] Revolt, insubordination, and aggression were thick in the air.

On 12 April Danks was warned by the mission teacher Aminio Bale and soon afterwards by the big-man Waruwarum-highly influential ally and business partner of missionaries and traders on Duke of York[32] -that Mioko men intended to kill Blohm, the Godeffroy trader,[33] and plunder his station. Torumu and Bulila from Utuan informed Blohm about the murderous and thievish designs of certain groups from Mioko, Utuan, and Karawara. In the course of the subsequent investigation, the Mioko big-man Liblil (Liblib)[34] was variously cited as leader of the revolt; one of the witnesses, a certain Camda, mentioned "Tabualilu an Hutuan Chief ."[35] According to the testimony of the mission teacher Sitione, the "Meoko people were jealous of the benefit the Pal Pal people received ."[36] Trader Thomas Farrell was informed in Nodup on the Gazelle Peninsula by Alit-"a native who speaks good English" and who worked on one of his and Emma's ships-that the Utuan men meant "to kill my people & myself so that they should get my property, and goods in the store, that they had now plenty of firearms."[37] The whites, including the missionary, were convinced through sundry rumors that a general rebellion against them was being plotted and that the conspirators only awaited the departure of the trade cutters currently lying in Mioko's harbor before attacking. Trader Blohm stated the following in evidence: "The Hutuan natives were distributing 'Kewarra' native money, to take the stations & they were to get their share of the goods."[38] Through the distribution of shell money to potential allies, the latter were bound into military mutuality.

Farrell quickly came to an understanding with the traders around him, and in Nodup he engaged "about fifty natives of that place to assist him in defending his station"[39] under the big-man Tolituru from Nodup.[40] Back on Mioko, they were joined by the crews of the schooners *Sea Rip* and *Niufu* and the cutter *Loelia.* On Danks's inquiry, the mission teacher Soseteni from Mioko confirmed the conspiracy: "They think the whites weak and they themselves strong enough to take all he [Farrell] possesses from him hence their desire to kill and plunder him." Danks concluded, "they had no other motive . . . than that of plunder to urge them to the bloody atrocity which they contemplated."[41] For Farrell and Danks, a military alliance consisting of a number of groups of the Duke of York Islands against the European traders clearly appeared to be in the making. Hernsheim on Matupit in Blanche Bay, however, "had good reason to assume that we were perfectly safe and that we had to fear less from the savages than from filibustering whites in this land without government and 1aws."[42]

The Campaign of the Whites

Towards four o'clock in the morning of 13 May, a Friday, the traders' unit invested the island of Utuan with seven "boats," including the *Génil.* The unit had been reinforced by the brutal captain of the *Génil,* Rabardy, from the ill-fated Marquis de Rays expedition, "whose ship was equipped for war and counted thirty crew members,"[43] as well as by Tolituru's warriors-supplied with guns by Rabardy[44]-and by contingents of "friendly natives" from the southern Duke of Yorks. The enemy, however, had already withdrawn to neighboring Ulu during the night. The investigation conducted by Deputy Commissioner Romilly in the second half of May stated that the aim of the campaign was "to try and arrest the ringleaders whom it appears were also the murderers of Kleinschmidt."[45] On several occasions, messages were transmitted to the conspirators requesting them to hand over the murderers of Kleinschmidt and his two assistants and by this act terminate the hostilities. These attempts were to no avail.

An attempt to land on Ulu was repulsed by heavy gunfire.[46] The expedition unit finally succeeded in landing in a different spot, searched the bush for the enemy, and ventured an attack that had virtually no impact because the enemy would cunningly retreat instead of facing their pursuers head-on.[47]

On the following day, Saturday, the campaign against Ulu was resumed in three groups; Farrell's contingent took four prisoners and killed three opponents. Two big-men, Lulei (Tulei) and Tuke,[48] "and all his people and most of his women and children" surrendered and were interned on Farrell's Mioko station.[49] The unit under the captain of the cutter *Loelia* "came upon the natives camp who immediately opened fire when the natives again decamped leaving one dead the one who shot Mr. Kleinschmidt ."[50]

Sunday, 15 May, was a rest day for the white warriors. Not so for Tolituru and his men: They took thirteen prisoners who, for the time being, were detained on the Sea Rip. When the operation against Ulu was resumed on Monday, it became apparent that the enemy had withdrawn to Karawara. There victory over the insubordinate locals was soon won; with the energetic support of Karawara residents, the ringleaders were discovered and captured. A "participant in the campaign," quoted by Richard Parkinson, declared that the ringleaders had "been found on Karravarra . . . hiding in the tops of trees thickly covered with foliage which they had climbed as their last refuge. Three of them

-the main instigators of the conspiracy and participants in the assassination of Kleinschmidt and his company-were shot dead, the other nine apprehended."[51] Another statement during the investigation insisted that "Taluturo [had] agreed to fight on our side on condition that the prisoners should be given up to him. All the prisoners numbering over fifteen were given up to Taletua & his people."[52] Trader Blohm, cross-examined by the commissioner, testified: "The Natives seldom make [sic] prisoners in fight[,] if they do it is to eat them."[53]

The repeatedly quoted investigation-inasmuch as the relevant material has been made available to me-mentions Rabardy and his Génil only as transporting the Nodup allies. According to the doctor of Likiliki Bay, Baudouin, who, however, only arrived in the archipelago in February 1882, Rabardy's contribution was as follows:

> Apart from his sailors, he armed the forty kanakas of his ally King Talitoro with guns, placed them on the broadside of the "Génil" and cast anchor across the passage which cuts off the island [of Utuan], where the insurgents of the big neighboring island were assembled; then he ordered Farrell's flotilla to move along the coast on the Meoko side and to lay down fire on the enemy villages. What he had foreseen did not fail to come true.
>
> The insurgents, terrified by the fusillade and the fires, fled to the opposite shore to board their canoes and cross over to the neighboring island. Warriors, women, and children threw themselves in a great hurry into their little boats; and as soon as they had reached the middle of the channel, the "Génil" directed a terrible fire on the unfortunate flotilla. Instantaneously, the waters were covered with debris, corpses, and the injured.
>
> Ever since, Rabardy pretended to have killed only fifty; but Talitoro, who did not have the same reasons to alter the figures, opened his ten fingers at least a dozen times when asked the number of the dead of the Meoko massacre.[54]

On Utuan: Pastor Marget's Story

Let us return to the scene of action, to my notebook, and to my sojourn in the Bismarck Archipelago in 1987. Pastor Marget is a friend of the Reverend Eliuda Laen; his father was Alapi, a preacher, who belonged to Toboalilu's *vunatarai* (clan). Over rice and tinned sardines-we have

arrived unannounced-he recounts the Toboalilu story, which he later transmits to me through Eliuda in writing (in Pidgin) .[55]

Stori Bilong Wanpela Man Nem Bilong em Toboalilu
The Story of a Man Called Toboalilu

I, Pastor Marget, will relate the story.

Toboalilu lived already before the Lotu [Christianity] era; the Lotu only arrived in 1875. When the Lotu arrived he was there. In 1876 the house *lotu* [the church] in Molot was built.

Toboalilu was a big man, he was seven feet, and he came from Utuan, a United Church village. He owned the *dukduk* whose house was on the beach of Kabaririma, and the name of the *dukduk* was Ia Tuparava. He was rich in *diwarra* and a great warrior. I think it was the year 1900 when Toboalilu killed two white men and a white women, three people in all, all of them Germans.

One day Toboalilu went to an island called Virian [the eastern part of Mioko]. Kalatimet [Kleinschmidt] and the other German and the white woman took a small boat and paddled to Utuan. With their boat they went right to the shore, and there they saw the house with Toboalilu's *dukduk* and all the *dukduk's* shell money in it, and the three of them set fire to the house and it was ablaze.

From Virian, Toboalilu saw the smoke rise; he immediately knew that the fire came from his house on the *taraiu.* Fuming with rage, he ran across to Palpal at Mioko cape. He swam through the salt water across to Utuan. As fast as he could, he ran to his house. There he saw Kalatimet and his companions watching the fire. When they saw Toboalilu arrive - *bigpela, bigpela* man-, they pushed their boat into the water and quickly jumped into it, to return to Mioko. Toboalilu, however, took an enormous stone into his right hand, three feet by three feet, and in his left he held his tomahawk. He raced towards the boat, struck the tomahawk onto the bow of the boat, and with all his force pulled it back although the three passengers tried with all their might to paddle away. Then he hurled the stone with his right hand into the boat, dashing it to pieces. The three whites were floating in the water, and one of those present killed them.[56]

Certain people sent a report on what had happened to the

government at Kokopo. The government summoned the police and sent them to Utuan where they set about to kill everybody.[57]

Toboalilu meanwhile had fled to the island of Karawara. He was perched high upon a big *divai* tree, which they call *airima.* His friends finally found him there and they said to him: "Many have already been killed by the Mioko people and by the police, and among the dead are several of your relatives. Come down, too many have already died." He climbed down because otherwise those terrible policemen would undoubtedly have killed all the men, women, and children of Utuan. With his companions he returned to Utuan to the very point opposite Mioko. They came to the *lotu* site, which they call Naun, close to the big *divai* tree "Kalapulin," where the policemen shot at him with their muskets. Yet he did not die. The cartridges from the guns bounced off his skin as if they were water because he was protected by a powerful Iniet magic. So then the government police threatened to shoot dead all the inhabitants of Utuan. His friends talked to him about what had happened, and they implored him : "We feel sorry for our people; the men, women, and children of Utuan must pity you. If you are not prepared to die, they will slaughter all of us." They calmed him down so that the magic went away; he stood still, surrendered to the police, the bullets penetrated his body, and he died. His relatives left his body to decay, since he was a big-man.

Later on, the Kokopo government sent a man-of-war with policemen to kill the Utuan people. A German named Mister Crump, the number one man from Ulu, saw the warship arrive; he took a small boat and quickly rowed to the ship to stop the fight.[58] Then it returned to Kokopo and no more Utuan people were killed. *Inap nau* (Enough now; it was enough).

We thank God, who showed compassion for the people of Utuan so that the government did not kill all of them.

I, Pastor Marget,
from Utuan Village United Church,
Duke of York Community Government

After telling us the story of Toboalilu, the *"longpela, longpela* man and very strong," Pastor Marget accompanies us right through the compact, extended village. (In the time of Toboalilu, there were hardly any nuclear villages but rather scattered hamlets, farmsteads, each sur-

rounded by a close fence.) Then we walk through plantations and the bush, back to the sea opposite Ulu. Our dinghy is waiting for us.

The Perception of History

What has been narrated here is not a mirror image of so-called historical reality but rather an element in the process of handling a painful event. The loss of land was a terrible humiliation, a material defeat followed by a struggle involving much loss of life and, ultimately, a sacrifice. It has to do with the failed attempt to throw off encumbrances. This story from the history of the Duke of York Islands thus has an emancipatory intent; a story from the past has its object in the present. "One keeps the memory not due to nostalgia but due to one's determination to maintain one's rights intact, thus one's future."[59] The fact of the matter is acknowledged, yet the way in which it is remembered and narrated is steeped in the sadness of loss and with the hope to recover what has been lost. Here is melancholy of the active kind, which hopes and strives;[60] and in this melancholy, narrator and listener meet. Hand in hand with this goes the knowledge of the not-yet-attained that appears only in dreams. While awake, what has been dreamed can be expressed in narration so as to gain clarity about the dream and at the same time to share it with others. We have before us the story of a defeat, recounted in the style of someone who knows he is in the right. In Pastor Marget's version, Toboalilu sacrifices himself, subdued and faced with the superior strength of the opponent, so as to terminate the killing, and thus through his death delivers his people. Such an act-thoroughly biblical-demands the acceptance of his moral superiority.

The various versions of the story indicate the interests and social context of each of those concerned. Versions from Mioko mirror the cooperation of the Palpal-Miokese with Kleinschmidt and the traders; these alliances find confirmation in Pastor Marget's narration. His own account is the one of the immediately concerned; orally transmitted traditions are always of locally very limited validity.

Distinctly different positions of interest are also expressed in the attitudes and declarations of the Europeans. Missionary Danks does not see things the way the traders do, and the trader Farrell from Mioko judges the probability of a revolt differently from his colleague Hernsheim from Matupit. In spite of all differences regarding their respective judgments of the situation, however, traders and missionaries are of one mind on the necessity to punish the perpetrators in order to intimidate others who may oppose the advance of progress. To them, the matter

appears as a "normal" occurrence in their troubled yet unavoidable exchanges with the unreasonably impudent natives, inevitable in the interest of the civilizing process and the success of the world market, of the natural superiority of the white man: the white man's burden. "I think the lesson will act as a warning to other parts of the group which have shown an almost alarming restlessness during the past few months and white life and property will be more respected," writes missionary Danks.[61]

Pastor Marget's representation combines the factual-loss of land-with the grief over it and the hope for deliverance from the yoke, bridging past, present, and future. This is done in a style that alienates the listener from what has been taken for granted, catapulting him to a level of comprehension where he suddenly grasps the absurdity of colonial reality-this is what happened to me. Pastor Marget's interpretation of events is, consequently, a form of active resistance against colonial expectations. Here the work of mourning and of mastering the past is being performed; this task needs to come to grips with the presumed reality of the present and its future transformation. Relating a story means piecing together fragments of and pointing to cracks in a damaged past in order to comprehend the present and to shape the future; it is work for change. "Re-membering the past brings with it the naming of the present. Re-membering the past is also a way of transcending the present. Becoming conscious of what was, means to sense a potential, or to articulate a desire for what could be," writes Klaus Neumann in his at once timely and pioneering doctoral dissertation.[62] A story from the past is a parable of the present with a view to shaping the not-yet.

This kind of narration reconstructs the past over and over again in the face of individual forgetfulness and homogenized history-book knowledge. The latter's validity is limited to the past-deposited as something gone forever-through the writing of scientifically controlled history that is meant to eliminate, from the losers' heads, the knowledge of collective struggles against the rulers, presenting us with the officially integrative and ossified version of state, commercial, and church interests. Interrogating, scrutinizing, and admonishing, Pastor Marget's kind of narration confronts the present and reveals itself to be a continuous rescue operation. He himself did not live through the events contained in his story. Beyond generations and in active recollection, he puts the structure of the past together with the help of the building stones of stories. There is no repression and, ultimately, forgetting. Rather, by accepting and getting through a catastrophic experience, remembering

and relating and thus learning from it, the past joins with elements of the possible, with the hidden interests of the present, engaging in experiments to construct a future. One has an inkling of how both the present and the future should not be. "Through secondary experiences with the unfamiliar, through alienations, history can help to generate an awareness of the possible, in the light of which given reality comes under pressure for legitimation and loses its pretended self-evidence."[63] The past, taken to pieces and remembered in the present, becomes raw material for the future. Narration is social action; history is critique.

What kind of past are we dealing with in this case? The story retold here reflects the arrival of the world market in a kin-based society, the invasion of capitalist social relations-and consequently of extraneously controlled forces-into the processes of economic and societal reproduction. What is at issue is a contest between two sets of societal patterns. Kleinschmidt's dispute with the Melanesians about the consequences of his land acquisitions (about ownership of rather than use rights to land and what is on that land-trees, fruit, houses, the people) dramatically illustrates the conflict between capitalist and kin-based relations.[64] Kleinschmidt is here representative of Europe, and in spite of his rude procedure, which was not accepted by all, he conducted the struggle for the acceptance of new forms equally for traders and for missionaries. It must not be forgotten that the latter conducted this battle also, albeit with different means. For Kleinschmidt, the islands he "bought" were commodities on the market, and a commodity, naturally, is unencumbered by sentiment and personal relations that may have existed between the land and the people who owned it. "The commodity assumes an autonomy apart from human social activities, and in transcending that activity the relations between commodities subjugate persons, who become dominated by a world of things-things that they themselves created."[65] In the tribal mode of production, clan and land are indissolubly coupled with each other. Men control their land, their labor, their time, and thus their subsistence, and labor cannot be forced. Under the dictate of colonialism, the evolution towards the systemic opposite commences; control of economy and society are being wrenched from men and they are forced to perform dependent labor to survive. We, posthumous contemporaries of this evolution, do not any longer have the choice.

Here an attempt has been made to describe the circumstances of the times (which are not the way one would like them to be)-faced with arrogance, cynicism, and rationality-through stories and traditions about the losers. In such stories, the catastrophic past flashes as shield

and protector against loss and oppression. The past, in this sense, is a continuum of constructions composed of injuries through which concrete events are reflected upon from a present-day perspective. As a consequence, interests come in and even align the delineation of the past. One may well say that this is a question of ideology, ideology as an irrevocable necessity of cultural survival and, therefore, of human creation. Yet this is a form of idea-constructions that does not mystically embellish given situations but rather allows us to comprehend them through sudden recognitions in their very reality. They are the fruit of a rebellious discourse with what occurred; they imply hope. Change is not so easily attained; however, the narrator and the writing historian meet in this melancholic and sometimes angry enterprise.[66] Walter Benjamin notes, "Flaubert's 'few people will ever divine how much one had to be sad in order to undertake the resuscitation of Carthage' renders the connection of study and melancolia transparent ."[67]

Pastor Marget's version-just as the oral tradition about ToRigaragunan, the Tolai hero[68]-may well be a phantasy as far as "hard facts" are concerned, yet it is a phantasy of self-assertion in the face of colonialism, denying colonialism's superior power. "A mythic vision of the past lives on to contest the present, denying the latter's assertions of normality and claims to perpetuity."[69] This is why stories are preconditions for the possible; they always are constructions and quest. They are the connecting link in the triple step of past, present, and future. They are concerned with possible realities, which in this way, contrastingly, they help to create. History is the most human(e) thing.

NOTES

An earlier and shorter version of this article was presented in German at the Internationales Kolonialgeschichtliches Symposium '89 at Schwäbisch Gmünd, 18-21 June 1989. Translations from the German, Pidgin, and French by the author. Variant and inconsistent spellings, emphases, and idiosyncratic syntax reflect the original documents.

1. See Eric Wolf, Europe and the People without History (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1982).

2. Hugh H. Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland,* 1878-1891 (London, 1893), 160.

3. Neville Threlfall, *One Hundred Years in the Islands,* (Rabaul, 1975), 71; George C. Carter, *Misikaram,* Wesley Historical Society, Auckland (July 1975), 26.

4. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Samoa, Bismarckarchipel und Neuguinea* (Leipzig, 1902), 184.

5. Richard Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel* (Leipzig, 1887), 14-17.

6. Enua Alipet, interview with author on Mioko, 11 June 1987.

7. Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton, *The New Guinea Memoirs,* ed. Peter Biskup (Canberra, 1974), 21; see also Eduard Hernsheim, "Lebenserinnerungen," typescript, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, p. 51.

8. "I don't think much of the prattle that the natives of D. of York Island want to murder myself and the agent here," Hübner wrote on 4 March 1877 to Schmeltz. Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde (hereafter cited as HMV), A 98.

9. Kleinschmidt to Museum Godeffroy, 18 and 19 April 1879, HMV, A 98.

10. Wilfred Powell, Wanderings in a Wild Country (London, 1883), 51, 47. G. Schmiele, "Die Bewohner der Insel Mioko," *Deutsche Koloniabeitung* (1888), 131, estimated the inhabitants at about six to eight hundred.

11. On *dukduk* and *tubuan,* the outward manifestations of male secret societies controlled by big-men, see Heinz Schütte, "Topulu and His Brothers," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 88-89, nos. 1 & 2 (1989): 61-62.

12. On *diwar(r)a* or *ta(m)bu* (shell money), see ibid.

13. Von Hesse-Wartegg, Samoa, 182-183, mentions that he had seen Kleinschmidt's "grave . . . together with many others in the cemetery of Mioko idyllically situated by the seashore."

14. Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Daily Journal, 1878-82," written in New Britain, Methodist Church Papers, 616, Mitchell Library, Sydney (hereafter cited as ML 616), 13 and 21 August 1879.

15. Kleinschmidt, December 1879, HMV, A 98.

16. For a brief outline of the Port Breton venture, see the introduction by Peter Biskup in Mouton, New Guinea Memoirs.

17. Ibid., 51.

18. Actually, Rabaul-subsequently the German seat of government-did not yet exist at the time of the incident.

19. Son of Alipet Kabien, who had died shortly before my visit; see Frederick Karl Errington, *Karavar* (Ithaca and London, n.d.).

20. In 1881 there was no police force, let alone a German police.

21. Hernsheim, "Lebenserinnerungen," 95.

22. This and the following two letters are all quoted from HMV, A 98.

23. A Tongan, previously working for Hübner.

24. Danks, "Journal," ML 616.

25. Ibid.

26. Parkinson, *Bismarck-Archipel,* 19. Two survivors of the fraudulent Marquis de Rays settlement venture, Schulz and Tetzlaff, had gone to work for Kleinschmidt; a "Becker" is

equally listed in an index of names in George Brown, Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography (London, 1908), 358.

27. Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Letter Book 1881-1884," Methodist Church Papers, Overseas Mission, 41, Mitchell Library, Sydney (hereafter cited as ML 41).

28. Ibid. The letter is in a bad state and parts are hardly legible, even impossible to decipher.

29. Danks to Chapman, 15 June 1881, ML 41.

30. Joachim Graf Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee* (Braunschweig, 1899), 14.

31. Danks to Chapman, 15 June 1881, ML 41.

32. Schütte, "Topulu," 57.

33. Rev. Benjamin Danks, "Copies of Letters Written from New Britain in 1880/81," Danks to Blohm, 12 April 1881, Methodist Church Papers, 617, Mitchell Library, Sydney. Royal Navy Australian Section, Pacific Islands, 1879-1881, vol. 3, reel 14, FM 4/1556 and 1658, "Kleinschmidt Murder" (hereafter cited as RNAS 15 and 16), record no. 136, Evidence Benjamin Danks, RNAS 16; this material, made available to me in photocopied form by Klaus Neumann, is in parts hardly or not at all decipherable.

34. Not to be confused with Liblib from Waira, a friend and partner of mission and trade.

35. Evidence Camda, RNAS 16.

36. Evidence Sitione Okamviaon (?), RNAS 16. Pal Pal (and variants) is a district in the south of Mioko Island; Mioko in this quote refers to a district in the northwest of the island.

37. Statement Mr. Farrell, RNAS 16. Danks reports that the conspirators called upon the natives living in the vicinity of Farrell's residence "to join in the execution of the diabolical plan . . . but on hearing Mrs. Forsayth's name mentioned among the intended victims said, 'No. You wish to kill Emma . . . very well, but first you must kill us, she will be the last to die of all the people in Palpal.' Thus her constant kindness to the people brought its reward." Danks's informant concluded, " 'That and that alone saved the white people of Mioko from death the same day Mr Klinesmith was killed.' " Danks to Chapman, 16 June 1881, ML 41. It should be pointed out that it is quite unlikely that the Europeans were spared due to the "uniform kindness of both Mrs. Forsayth and Mr. Farrell," but rather because they had enterprising and actively interested business partners among the big-men.

38. Evidence John Blohm, RNAS 16.

39. Maturin to Wilson, 24 May 1881, RNAS 15.

40. "The name of the chief of Nodup is Torrortooroo, and a very fine man he is. At one time he was a bitter enemy to the white man; but being gifted with common sense above that of his countrymen, he found it was the best policy to be friendly with them, and if possible to help the whites in any quarrel with the natives of his districts or with other tribes.-Thus he has become a very powerful chief, and is a firm supporter of the white men." Powell, Wanderings, 40-41. Torrortooroo or, as in most documents, Tolituru, was

indeed a clever politician. He acted as interpreter for the Methodist missionary Brown (see Rev. G. Brown, "Letter Book," 13 October 1875, Methodist Church, Overseas Mission, A 1686-2, Mitchell Library, Sydney) who referred to him as one of "our chiefs" (Brown to Chapman, 26 June 1878, Methodist Church, Overseas Mission, 102, Mitchell Library, Sydney). And in the first Catholic register of baptisms of the New Britain Mission from 1881, there appears-under no. 17-a child to be baptized from Birryné (Beridni, Nodup) whose "kanaka name" is Eyty and who is baptized René Marie; his parents are "Tallytoro (Roi) et Yaka (Reine)." From the Archibishop's archives at Rabaul.

41. Danks to Watsford, 26 May 1881, ML 41.

42. Hernsheim, "Lebenserinnerungen," 95.

43. A. Baudouin, *L'Aventure de Port Breton et la Colonie Libre dite Nouvelle-France* (Paris, n.d. [1883]), 274; see also Mouton, Memoirs, introduction by Biskup. In addition, Otto Finsch, in a report from New Britain on the *Colonie libre* had already mentioned in February 1881 that the *"Génil* with his *mitrailleuses* and cannons and a crew of about 80 men . . . was to serve as man-of-war and as protection for the *Colonie."* Dr. 0. Finsch, "Aus dem Pacific," *Hamburger Nachrichten,* 30 June 1881.

44. Baudouin, *L'Aventure,* 275.

45. Maturin to Wilson, RNAS 15.

46. Heinz Schütte, *Koloniale Kontrolle und christliche Mission* (Wien, 1986), 96-105. John Wilson, physician on the whaler *Gipsy,* 1839-1843, met New Irelanders who not only spoke broken English but also owned muskets. A copy of his diary was made available to me for consultation by Honore Forster, Australian National University, Canberra.

47. Maturin to Wilson, RNAS 15; Statement Mr. Farrell, RNAS 16.

48. "Chief of Utuan," who had served Brown as interpreter. See Rev. George Brown, "Journal, 1876," entry under 18 January 1876, Methodist Church, Overseas Mission, A 1686-12, Mitchell Library, Sydney; and Brown, *Pioneer-Missionary,* 143, 147, 160, 291.

49. Evidence Mr. Farrell, RNAS 16.

50. Evidence Mr. Boor [Brom?] Frederick, master of the cutter *Loelia,* RNAS 16.

51. Parkinson, *Bismarck-Archipel,* 21.

52. RNAS 16; it is not clear whose evidence this is.

53. Ibid.

54. Baudouin, *L'Aventure,* 275.

55. The following is a freely translated adaptation of the two (oral and written) versions.

56. In his verbal account during my visit, Pastor Marget insisted that Kleinschmidt and his companions had swum back to Mioko after Toboalilu had smashed their boat.

57. In 1881 there was neither a government nor police.

58. Crump only arrived from New Zealand in 1894 (see Carter, *Misikaram,* 12); Danks mentions that he himself prevented a man-of-war from punitive action.

59. Jean Chesneaux, *Transpacifiques* (Paris, 1987), 166.

60. Julius Meier-Graefe, Vincent van Gogh (Frankfurt, 1959), 27; Michael T. Taussig, The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America (Chapel Hill, 1980), 123.

61. Danks to Watsford, 26 May 1881, ML 41.

62. Klaus Neumann, "Not the Way It Really Was: Constructing the Tolai Past" (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1988), 233.

63. Jürgen Kocka, "Wider die historische Erinnerung, die Geborgenheit vorspiegelt," *Frankfurter Rundschau,* no. 2 (4 January 1988): 10.

64. In a letter dated 27 July 1989, Professor Helmuth Stoecker has rightly pointed out to me that "it is not just a matter of 'the invasion of capitalist social relations' but-much more radically-the imposition of a colonially deformed capitalism which was distinctly different from the capitalism of the colonial metropoles (foreign domination as a result of military superiority, lack of rights of the oppressed etc.)." This is surely the form of capitalism that, in the world system of unequal development, parasitically installed itself on the Duke of Yorks.

65. Taussig, *Commodity Fetishism,* 28.

66. Neumann, "Not the Way," 39.

67. Walter Benjamin, *Das Passagen-Werk* (Frankfurt, 1982), 2:969 and 1:603. "The narrator derives what he relates either from his own or reported experience. And in the process of narration he makes it the experience of those who listen to his story." Walter Benjamin, "Der Erzähler," *Illuminationen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1961), 413.

68. Heinz Schütte, "The Six Day War of 1878 in the Bismarck Archipelago," *Journal of Pacific History* 24, no. 1 (1989): 41-42.

69. Taussig, *Commodity Fetishism,* 153.

REGIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN YAP STATE, FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

L. J. Gorenflo
L.E.A.R.N.
Port Townsend, Washington

Michael J. Levin
U.S. Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C.

Most island groups in Micronesia experienced major demographic changes throughout the past 450 years, usually as a consequence of interaction with other, more technologically advanced societies. The contemporary state of Yap provides a particularly extreme example of such changes-its population declining by as much as 90 percent to fewer than 5,000 persons by 1950, and then gradually rebounding to roughly 10,000 persons by 1987. The present study examines the regional demographic evolution of Yap State. Following a brief historical introduction, it summarizes data on population change, focusing in particular upon data from censuses conducted between 1920 and 1987. Then, through examining complementary information on fertility, mortality, and migration, the article explores possible causes of demographic evolution throughout the region. A spatial statistical analysis reveals how little regional organization has changed over the past seventy years, preserving a heterogeneous population distribution which will complicate attempts at regional integration.

Introduction

Of the many changes in traditional Micronesian cultures that resulted from interaction with more technologically advanced sociocultural systems, few have had the broad impacts of demographic change. Typi-

cally, population change in Micronesia encompassed two phases: an initial period of depopulation, usually due to diseases introduced by explorers, whalers, missionaries, and other early visitors from outside Micronesia; and subsequent population growth, most often the result of improved health care, and frequently leading to modern populations larger than any known in the past (see Taueber 1961; Gorenflo and Levin 1990, 1992). The impacts of such demographic changes often are wide-ranging, for social, political, economic, and other cultural developments frequently accompany dramatic shifts in population. But, though most of Micronesia experienced basic demographic changes of the type noted, the precise nature of these changes often varied. In the state of Yap population decline was more prolonged, and subsequent demographic recovery much slower, than elsewhere in Micronesia.[1]

The present study examines the demography of Yap State during the twentieth century. It begins with a compressed review of colonization efforts, emphasizing their effects on population levels and distributions. Demographic data then are examined in some detail, focusing in particular upon eleven censuses conducted between 1920 and 1987. Through analyzing data on fertility, mortality, and migration, the article attempts to explain the population changes documented. The application of spatial statistics explores formal aspects of demographic change in Yap State in regional terms-that is, changing population ***and*** its distribution throughout the islands, atolls, and municipalities that comprise Yap State. Finally, the study considers ecological, economic, and sociocultural repercussions of population change in an effort to characterize past and present regional challenges faced in this portion of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM).

Non-Micronesian Societies and Their Impacts on Demography in Yap State

Yap State lies between 6°41' and 10°05' north latitude, and 137°20' and 147°03' east longitude, in the western Caroline Islands (Bryan 1971). It comprises four closely grouped limestone high islands, along with nine coralline atolls and six islands (four of which usually are uninhabited) at varying distances from the high islands (Shinn 1984:325; Figure 1). The demography changed greatly over the past several hundred years, often as a result of contact with non-Micronesian cultures. Before examining demographic data from the state of Yap, we summarize briefly the history of this interaction and its effects on population.

Yap State was unknown to the West until Portuguese and Spanish

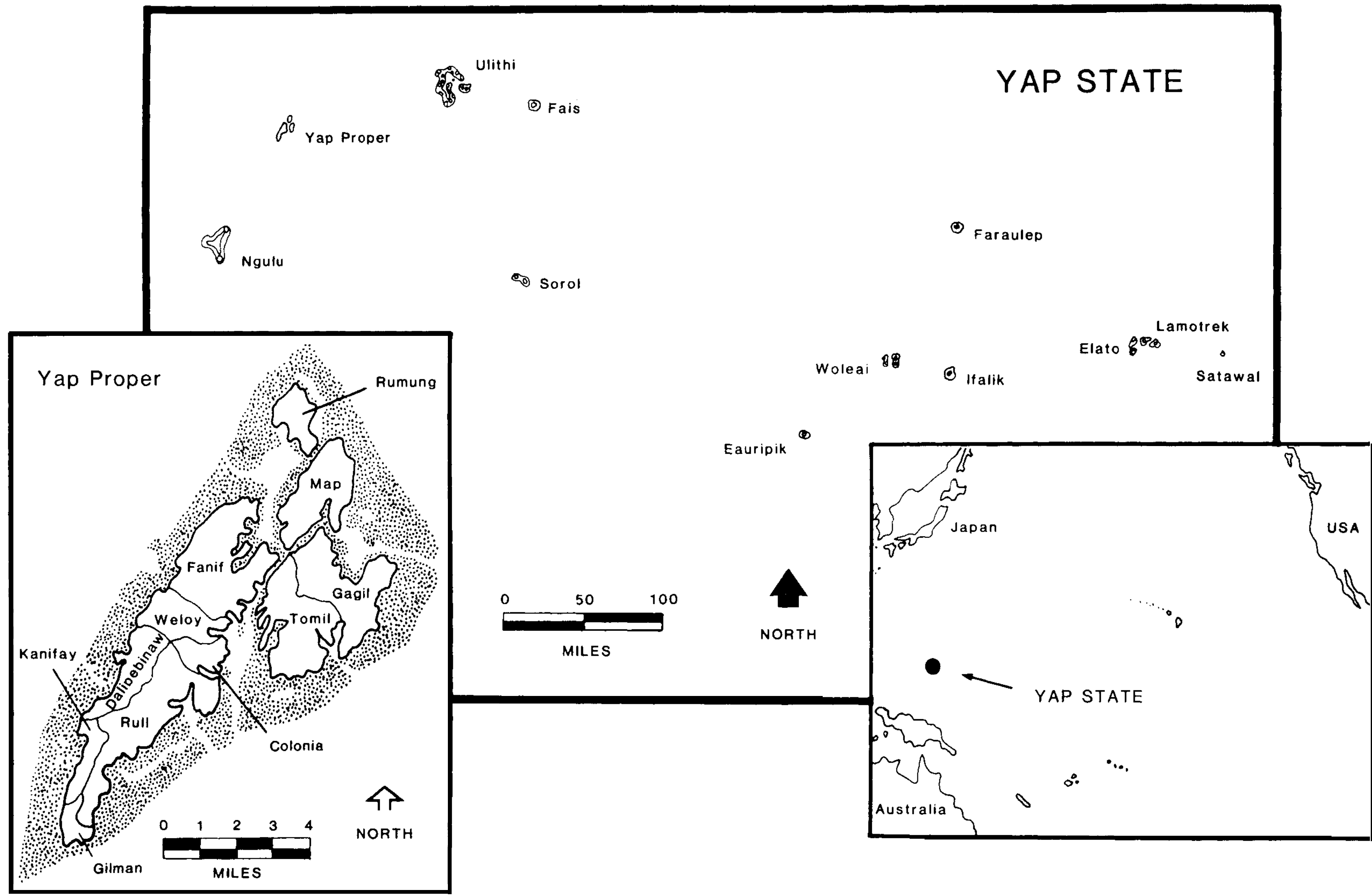


FIGURE 1. **Yap State.**

explorers sighted islands in the western Carolines during the 1520s (Müller 1917:l; Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:21; Lessa 1966:5; Hezel 1983: 14-19). Although Spain claimed Yap State as part of its growing global empire, few Westerners visited the region until the nineteenth century. Western interest in Yap State revived with visits by British ships to the area between 1786 and 1802, and grew with a resurgence of Spanish desires for further economic growth and with the general expansion of trading and whaling throughout Micronesia (Lingenfelter 1975:183; Hezel 1983:82-83). In 1827 a Russian expedition led by Frederic Lütke explored portions of the Caroline Islands east of Yap Proper (Lütke 1971). Interaction with Westerners following the Lütke expedition was intermittent; traders and whalers began frequent visits after 1840 in the eastern Carolines, although the western Carolines largely remained unknown to outsiders (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:23). A German trading company finally established a European presence on the High Islands in 1869 (see Shineberg 1971; Hezel 1983: 181-182, 264-265).

Unfortunately, demographic data for the long period of early contact between components of the present Yap State and Western nations are limited. Available evidence suggests that despite the sporadic, infrequent contact with outsiders major periods of depopulation were well underway in the nineteenth century. This was due largely to the introduction of influenza, tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease (see Labby 1976:2; Peattie 1988:86-87). Although details are unknown, by the latter half of the nineteenth century depopulation had nearly crippled traditional hereditary mechanisms guiding the transfer of ritual information and status (Müller 1917).

Yap State's commercial position in the Pacific grew during the 1870s and 1880s through the activity of German companies. By 1880 Yap Proper had become the commercial center for all the Caroline Islands, emerging as an important source of both copra and trepang (bêche-de-mer) (Hezel 1983:281). Germany officially challenged Spain's sovereignty in 1885, annexing the High Islands-an action overturned by Pope Leo XIII's arbitration shortly thereafter (Hezel 1983:308-312; Shinn 1984:326). Germany finally acquired Yap State when it purchased the Carolines and Northern Marianas from Spain in 1899 following the Spanish-American War. German efforts to develop the area economically focused primarily upon the production of and trade in copra, in the process introducing technological innovations such as new roads, a canal, and a cable station (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:25). Although the Germans administered the Yapese primarily

through native chiefs, acts such as the reorganization of administrative districts and the abolition of warfare greatly affected the sociopolitical dynamics of the society (Lingenfelter 1975: 183-184; Labby 1976:3-4). These cultural changes coincided with continued depopulation on Yap Proper, and probably to a lesser degree on several of the Outer Islands. Between 1899 and 1911, population on the High Islands decreased from approximately 7,800 to slightly less than 6,200 (Hunt et al. 1954:23).

Capitalizing upon Germany's involvement in World War I, in 1914 Japan occupied the Carolines militarily. Japan had begun commercial efforts in the area as early as 1890, and by 1912 had succeeded in establishing itself as a major trading power (Labby 1976:4). In 1920 the League of Nations awarded Japan a Class C Mandate over Yap State and other German islands in the Pacific north of the equator (Peattie 1988:56-59). As with Germany, Japan's presence had both commercial and political motives. However, Yap State's physical composition and location limited its immediate value to the Japanese. Although a naval contingent arrived in 1915, adding Yap Proper as the sixth Japanese Naval District in Micronesia, its military value was minimal (Peattie 1988:64, 231-232). Moreover, the predominantly hilly High Islands and small, generally infertile Outer Islands had restricted agricultural potential (Peattie 1988: 181-182; see also Clyde 1967:47-48).

Yap State quickly proved to be a source of frustration for the Japanese, in large part due to population dynamics. One concern was the frequent need to relocate people forcibly, usually from Yap Proper to the Outer Islands and other areas in Micronesia, in pursuit of military and commercial goals (Lingenfelter 1975: 186). But the main demographic problem faced by the Japanese was continued depopulation. The immediate reasons for this decline appeared to be a high death rate, linked to tuberculosis and infant diarrhea, and a low birth rate due to gonorrhea (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:32-38; Clyde 1967:151). In addition to carrying out economic, cultural, and social changes in establishing its authority and improving commerce in the area (see Shuster 1978), Japan introduced better health care and related training in 1915 to help stem depopulation. But these efforts were unsuccessful; by 1937 the population of the High Islands had declined to roughly 3,400 Pacific Islanders (Hunt et al. 1954:23).

U.S. military forces either captured or bypassed islands in Yap State late in World War II (Peattie 1988:297-307). Following the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the United States began to administer island groups throughout Micronesia. In 1947 the islands in Yap State became part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), a strategic area

established by the United Nations with the United States as "administering authority" (Shinn 1984:303-305). For the first decade of its administration, the United States generally tried to avoid involvement in Yapese affairs-restricting visits and trade from outside and enabling the Yapese to elect district leaders or "chiefs" (Lingenfelter 1975:188-189). After 1956 increased trade from outside Yap State, coupled with growing opportunities for wage labor, led to greater changes. Under successive administrations by the U.S. Navy (1945-1951) and the U.S. Department of the Interior (1951-1986) depopulation ceased followed by a gradual resurgence in population growth. In the 1970s total population finally reached the highest levels documented earlier this century.

On 10 May 1979, Yap and three other Caroline districts of the TTPI (Chuuk, Kosrae, and Pohnpei) approved a constitution and became the self-governing nation of the FSM. The U.S. Congress ratified a Compact of Free Association in 1986, establishing future relations between the FSM and the United States. Under the compact, the United States provides grant funds and program assistance for fifteen years, as the states of the FSM strive for economic and political development (Shinn 1984:308-311). During the first seven years of independence, population growth in Yap State occurred on an order previously undocumented, reaching an average annual rate of 3.3 percent.

Changing Demography in Yap State

The demography of Yap State is poorly documented before 1920, when the Japanese South Seas Bureau (Nan'yō-chō) conducted the first systematic census of the entire region. Population data are available from the late eighteenth century for certain portions of Yap Proper, initially collected by explorers and missionaries, and later by German administrators (see Müller 1917; Kramer 1937; Damm 1938). But demographic data preceding 1920 often represent estimates prepared at irregular dates, with no single set covering all islands in Yap State at one time (Table 1). This paucity of detailed evidence is particularly unfortunate in the present setting, for researchers generally believe that the early population was much greater even than that found currently-possibly between 25,000 and 50,000 on the High Islands during the late eighteenth century (Labby 1976:2; see also Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:32-33; Mahoney 1958; Hunter-Anderson 1983).

Various agencies and organizations conducted a total of eleven systematic censuses of Yap State during the twentieth century: four by the Japanese South Seas Bureau (1920, 1925, 1930, and 1935), two by the

Table 1. Early Population Estimates for Yap State

Area	1791	1797	1819	1828	1843	1844	1852	1862	1870	1873	1896	1899	1900	1903	1909
Yap Proper[a]											12,000	7,808		7,156	
Outer Islands”															
Eauripik	50			30		150							50	48	
Elato			1,200												
Faraulep				60										121	155
Ifalik		200		150			140							281	208
Lamotrek			2,000												
Ngulu					35				100						50
Satawal			900												190
Sorol								20					20	72	156
Ulithi										700				797	797
Woleai								600							700

Sources: Müller 1917; Kramer 1937; Damm 1938.

Notes: Most population figures and dates were recorded as approximations. Middle value was recorded for population figures listed as ranges. Empty cells signify unavailable data.

[a] Yap Proper was not broken into individual municipalities, and hence data are presented for the High Islands together.

[b] No population estimates were presented for Fais prior to the Nan'yō-chō censuses.

Office of the High Commissioner of the TTPI (1958 and 1973), one through a joint effort by the U.S. Peace Corps and the University of Hawaii School of Public Health (1967), two by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1970, 1980), one by the TTPI Office of Planning and Statistics (1977), and one by the Yap Office of Planning and Budget (1987). Table 2 presents the total population of Yap State recorded by these eleven censuses, supplemented with intercensal population estimates prepared by various offices of the U.S. government. These census data indicate two trends in the evolution of the total population of Yap State: a generally steady decline until 1958 (until 1952, if one considers the population estimates presented in Table 2), followed by generally sustained growth through 1987 (Figure 2).[2]

The regional distribution of population in Yap State suggests that individual islands experienced trends similar to those found in the entire region--that is to say, initial demographic decline followed by a resur-

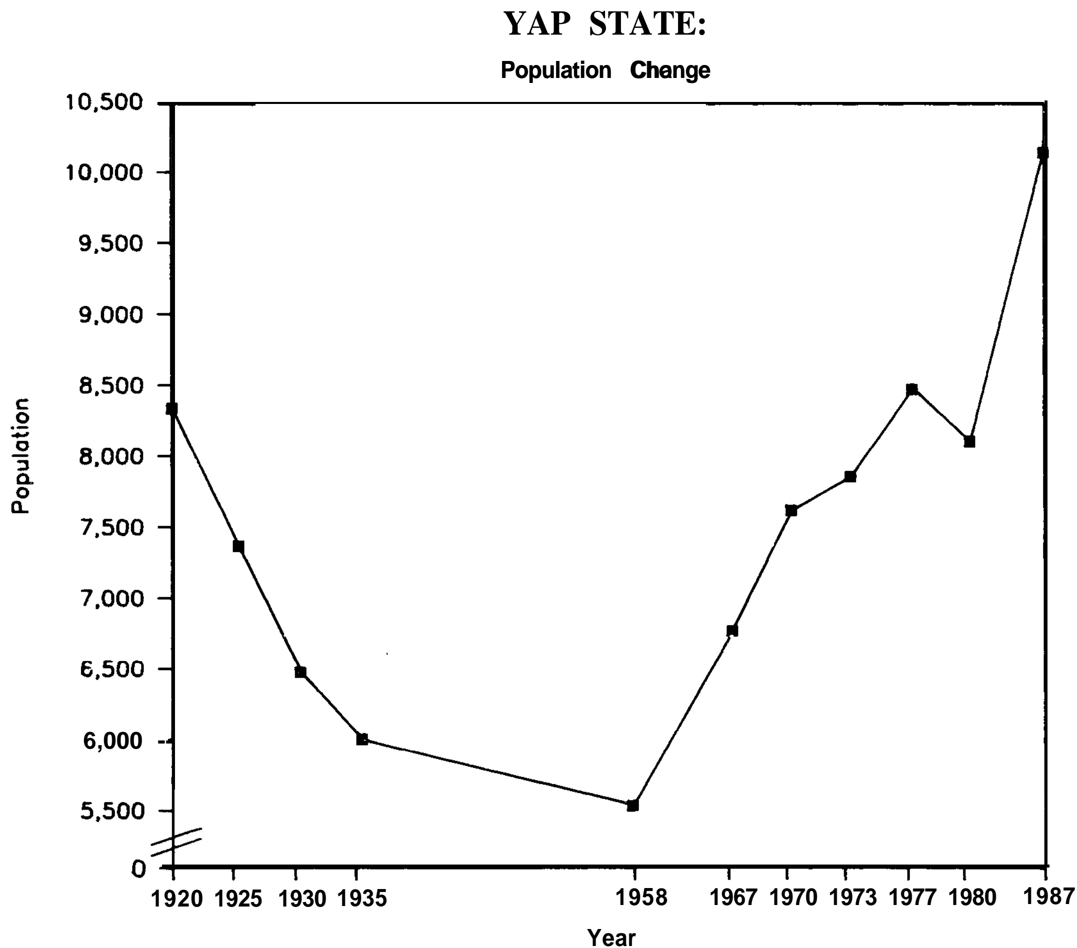


FIGURE 2. Change in the total population of Yap State over time.

Table 2. Population of Yap State by Year, Showing Population Change between Census Years: Select Years

Year	Population	Change from Previous Listed Census Yr.	Average Annual Change from Previous Listed Census Yr.	Source
1920	8,338	...	...	Nan'yō-chō 1937
1925	7,366	-972	-2.4%	Nan'yō-chō 1927
1930	6,486	-880	-2.5%	Nan'yō-chō 1931
1935	6,006	-480	-1.5%	Nan'yō-chō 1937
1949	5,284	...	...	U.S. Dept. of the Navy 1949
1950	4,717	...	...	U.S. Dept. of the Navy 1950
1951	4,884	...	...	U.S. Dept. of the Navy 1951
1952	4,866	...	...	U.S. Dept. of Interior 1952
1.954	5,071	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1955
1955	5,102	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1956
1956	5,251	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1957
1957	5,355	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1958
1958	5,540	-466	-0.4%	Office of the High Commissioner 1959
1959	5,622	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1960
1960	5,686	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1961
1961	5,797	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1962
1962	5,931	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1963
1963	6,021	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1964
1964	6,293	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1965
1965	6,438	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1966
1966	6,606	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1967
1967	6,761	1,221	2.2%	School of Public Health n.d.
1968	6,870	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1969
1969	7,017	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1970
1970	7,625	864	4.1%	U.S. Bureau of the Census 1972
1971	7,369	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1972
1972	7,536	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1973
1973	7,870	245	1.1%	Office of Census Coordinator 1975
1975	8,348	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1977
1977	8,480	610	1.9%	Office of Planning and Statistics 1982
1978	8,750	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1979
1979	9,020	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1980
1980	8,100	-380	-1.5%	U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983a
1984	10,595	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1985
1985	10,948	...	...	U.S. Dept. of State 1986
1987	10,139	2,039	3.3%	Yap Office of Planning and Budget 1988a

Notes: Census years in boldface. 1920-1935 data are for Pacific Islanders only. Intercensal estimates and 1977 census are de jure population; remaining census data are de facto. For all tables, "-" denotes zero or a percentage that rounds to less than 0.1; "NA" = not available; ". . ." = not applicable.

TABLE 3. Population by Area: Select Census Years

Area	1920[a]	1925	1930	1935	1958	1967	1973	1977	1980	1987
Yap State	8,338	7,366	6,486	6,006	5,540	6,761	7,870	8,480	8,100	10,139
Yap Proper	5,382	4,655	4,019	3,694	3,243	4,024	5,140	5,474	5,196	6,650
Dalipebinaw	309	280	229	200	202	153	169	212	211	262
Fanif	NA	433	376	386	356	394	367	376	392	460
Gagil	846	622	579	501	400	352	537	601	616	711
Gilman	307	257	223	186	143	175	217	233	228	180
Kanifay	333	290	239	213	181	202	235	239	225	276
Map	666	559	466	390	300	303	337	322	319	520
Rull[b]	883	749	660	603	524	941	1,463	1,696	1,436	1,852
Rumung	252	210	168	141	120	160	129	131	130	102
Tomil	724	653	523	472	503	544	666	643	713	843
Weloy[b]	1,062	602	556	602	514	800	1,020	1,021	926	1,444
Outer Islands	2,956	2,711	2,467	2,312	2,297	2,737	2,728	3,006	2,904	3,489
Eauripik	NA	102	113	105	141	146	127	116	121	99
Elato	250	92	72	72	40	48	32	54	51	70
Fais	1,014	472	367	310	234	213	212	195	207	253
Faraulep	141	157	145	141	118	149	122	147	132	182
Ifalik	NA	296	305	250	301	325	314	359	389	475
Lamotrek	93	204	164	176	172	243	233	204	242	278
Ngulu	71	79	64	58	45	18	8	16	21	26
Satawal	293	254	250	264	285	389	354	382	386	465
Sorol	NA	6	-	8	13	13	8	6	7	-
Ulithi	448	505	449	407	460	549	710	859	710	847
Woleai	646	544	538	521	488	644	608	668	638	794

Sources: Nan'yō-chō 1927, 1931, 1937; Office of the High Commissioner 1959; School of Public Health n.d.; Office of Census Coordinator 1975; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983a; Yap Office of Planning and Budget 1988a, 1988b.

Notes: Population data for 1920-1935 are for Pacific Islanders only. Remaining population data, except 1977 (de jure), represent de facto population. Because the 1970 census erred in assigning the population of Yap State to area of residence, the 1970 census data are not presented in this table.

[a] In 1920, population data for Fanif and Weloy were grouped together (listed above under the latter); similarly, data for Eauripik, Ifalik, and Sorol were grouped with Fais (and again listed above under the latter).

[b] The community of Colonia, presently the capital of Yap State, is part of Rull and Weloy municipalities. Colonia's population is recorded within these municipalities.

gence of growth beginning during the 1950s (Table 3). Despite the changes in total population, the regional distribution of population generally remained quite constant. However, as absolute numbers of people shifted so, too, did their densities (Table 4), presenting a wide array of challenges in terms of cultural ecology and sociocultural integration.

TABLE 4. Population Density by Area: Select Census Years (Persons per Square Mile)

Area	1920	1925	1930	1935	1958	1967	1973	1977	1980	1987
Yap State	171	151	133	123	113	138	161	174	166	208
Yap Proper	128	111	96	88	77	96	122	130	124	158
Dalipebinaw	144	130	107	93	94	71	79	99	98	122
Fanif	NA	66	57	59	54	60	56	57	59	70
Gagil	125	92	86	74	59	52	80	89	91	105
Gilman	159	133	115	96	74	90	112	120	118	93
Kanifay	318	277	228	203	173	193	224	228	215	263
Map	167	140	117	98	75	76	84	81	80	130
Rull	124	105	92	84	73	132	205	238	201	259
Rumung	157	130	104	88	75	99	80	81	81	63
Tomil	113	102	82	74	79	85	104	101	112	132
Weloy	NA	137	127	137	117	182	233	233	211	329
Outer Islands	430	394	359	336	334	398	397	437	422	507
Eauripik	NA	1,121	1,242	1,154	1,549	1,604	1,396	1,275	1,330	1,088
Elato	1,232	453	355	355	197	236	158	266	251	345
Fais	NA	436	339	286	216	197	196	180	191	234
Faraulep	865	963	890	865	724	914	748	902	810	1,117
Ifalik	NA	802	827	678	816	881	851	973	1,054	1,287
Lamotrek	245	538	433	464	454	641	615	538	639	734
Ngulu	430	479	388	352	273	109	48	97	127	158
Satawal	580	503	495	523	564	770	701	756	764	921
Sorol	NA	17	-	22	36	36	22	17	19	-
Ulithi	249	281	250	226	256	305	395	477	395	471
Woleai	367	309	306	296	277	366	346	380	363	451

We now briefly examine Yap State's changing regional demography in eight sections: one on the Japanese period, spanning the four censuses between 1920 and 1935 when the population declined slowly; and one section for each of the remaining seven censuses (1958, 1967, 1970, 1973, 1977, 1980, and 1987), when the population ceased to decline, and then began to increase once more. We confine our presentation to essential data, in particular drawing attention to possible causes of population change.

Regional Demography during the Japanese Period: 1920, 1925, 1930, and 1935

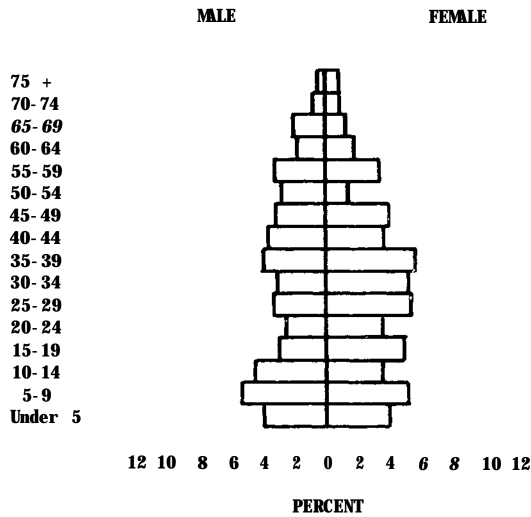
In 1920, the Japanese South Seas Bureau conducted the first detailed census of Yap State (the Yap District of the Mandated Territory; see

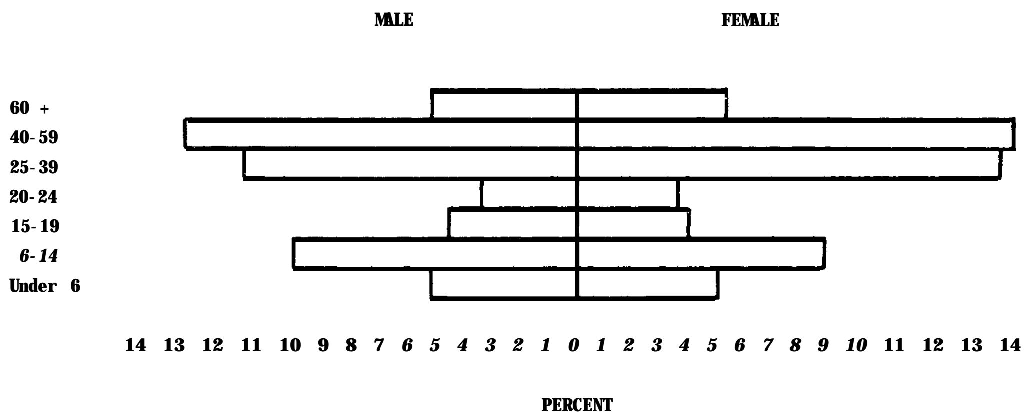
Nan'yō-chō 1937). The South Seas Bureau conducted similar censuses in 1925, 1930, and 1935, providing an extremely detailed data base for the period of Japanese administration. The demographic picture emerging from these data is one of steadily declining population, on both the High Islands and Outer Islands, with the average annual decrease in total population between censuses ranging from 1.5 to 2.5 percent (see Table 2). We discuss these censuses briefly below, focusing upon Pacific Islanders and for the most part excluding any examination of resident Japanese. [3]

Nearly 8,350 Pacific Islanders resided in Yap State in 1920 (Nan'yō-chō 1937; see Table 3). This number probably represents a decrease from earlier in the century, although the magnitude and rate of decrease are unknown. Total population was recorded for each municipality in Yap State, excluding Fanif (recorded with Weloy) and Eauripik, Ifalik, and Sorol atolls (all combined with Fais Island; see Table 3). In 1920 nearly twice as many persons resided on Yap Proper (64.5 percent of the total) as on the Outer Islands. The major populations on Yap Proper were in Gagil and Rull municipalities; the population of Weloy Municipality, important in later years, is uncertain because it was combined with Fanif. Woleai Atoll had the largest population of the Outer Island units recorded separately in 1920.

The population of Yap State declined by roughly 1,000 between 1920 and 1925 (see Table 3), an average of roughly 2.4 percent annually (Nan'yō-chō 1927). Yap Proper experienced the greatest decline; all municipalities had losses averaging in excess of 2.0 percent annually, with Gagil's annual losses reaching 6.0 percent. The loss of population on the Outer Islands was much less; cases of substantial loss (such as Elato Atoll) were compensated for by marked gains in other places (such as Lamotrek Atoll), suggesting a role for interisland migration during this five-year period (or, possibly, visitors from Elato to Lamotrek at census time). In terms of relative proportions of total Yap State population, with the exception of Elato and Lamotrek atolls the distribution remained about the same in 1925 as in 1920. Figure 3 presents data on the age-sex structure of Yap State, available for the first time in 1925. Note the high male ratio in the youngest age group, a trend seen throughout the twentieth century (particularly in births on the High Islands; see Hunt 1965; Hunt et al. 1965).

The population of Yap State decreased at an annual average of 2.5 percent between 1925 and 1930, a decline of nearly 900 individuals (see Table 3; Nan'yō-chō 1931). Once again, most of the decrease occurred on Yap Proper, where all municipalities had some reduction. Depopulation





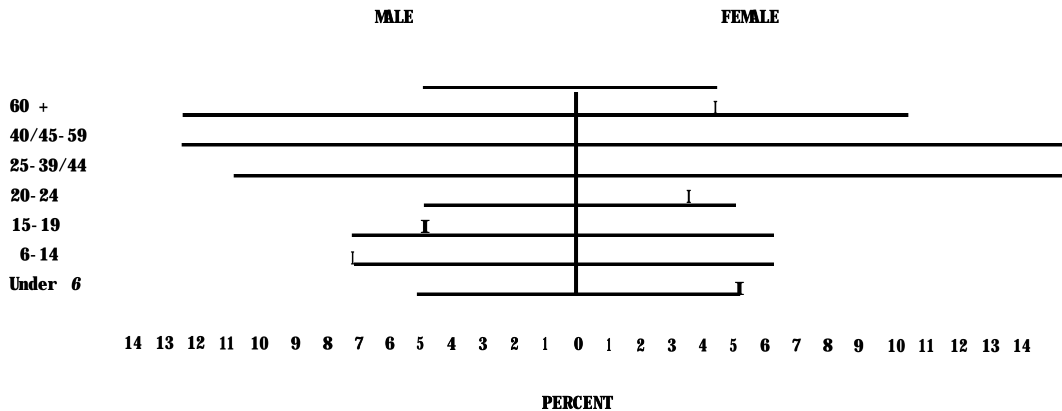


FIGURE 3. **Population pyramids (Pacific Islanders only): 1925, 1930, 1935.**

on the Outer Islands was less severe but nevertheless substantial; all but two municipalities experienced decreases. Although the proportion of total population residing on Yap Proper decreased for the second time (to 61.9 percent), in general the regional distribution remained constant. The age-sex structure for Yap State was similar in 1930 to that documented in 1925 (Figure 3). In addition to data on age and sex at the regional level, such data also are available for residents of individual municipalities in 1930 (Table 5). The evidence presented indicates general variability in the age-sex composition of municipalities. Note in particular Weloy Municipality and the large proportion of individuals aged less than 24 years compared to the rest of the population. This probably is

TABLE 5. **Pacific Islander Population by Age and Area: 1930**

Area	Total Persons	Age Group (Percentage)			
		<15	15-24	25-59	60+
Yap State	6,486	26.1	13.7	50.4	9.8
Yap Proper	4,019	26.9	14.2	50.1	8.8
Dalipebinaw	229	24.9	14.4	50.7	10.0
Fanif	376	31.1	10.1	54.3	4.5
Gagil	579	23.3	18.7	48.9	9.2
Gilman	223	23.8	13.0	57.0	6.3
Kanifay	239	25.1	12.6	51.9	10.5
Map	466	21.9	10.5	54.1	13.5
Rull	660	24.2	13.2	53.8	8.8
Rumung	168	22.6	17.3	51.8	8.3
Tomil	523	25.6	13.0	52.4	9.0
Weloy	556	40.5	18.0	34.5	7.0
Outer Islands[a]	2,467	24.8	12.8	50.9	11.5
Eauripik	113	37.2	15.0	44.2	3.5
Elato	72	16.7	9.7	58.3	15.3
Fais	367	13.9	14.2	48.8	23.2
Faraulep	145	33.1	12.4	49.7	4.8
Ifalik	305	22.3	13.1	51.8	12.8
Lamotrek	164	27.4	17.7	51.2	3.7
Ngulu	64	26.6	15.6	50.0	7.8
Satawal	250	43.6	11.6	36.4	8.4
Ulithi	449	18.3	9.4	57.0	15.4
Woleai	538	25.8	13.2	54.1	6.9

Source: Nan'yo-cho 1931.

Note: In this and following tables, percentages may not sum precisely to 100.0% due to rounding. Other reasons for not summing to 100.0% are noted for each case.

[a] Sorol Atoll unpopulated in 1930.

due to the presence of a community of Chamorros from the Northern Marianas in Weloy from 1911 to the mid-1940s (Yanaihara 1967:41), a community with much higher fertility at that time than the Yapese.

Although vital statistics and migration data for Yap State during the Japanese period are limited, some information on fertility, mortality, and migration is available. Between 1925 and 1929 the crude birth rate for Yap State was 14.4 (Yanaihara 1967:46).[4] This is low fertility for Micronesia, substantially less than the 24.4 recorded for the remainder of the western Carolines (Palau) during the same period and less than one-third that recorded for Japanese living in Yap State between 1925 and 1929 (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:36). Crude death rate, on the other hand, averaged 44.1 for the period 1925-1929 (Yanaihara 1967:46). This figure is more than twice that recorded for Palau and nearly eight times that recorded for Japanese residents over the same six years. Data on mobility indicate that in 1930 the vast majority in Yap State lived in the municipality where they were registered; most of the remainder also were born in Yap State (Table 6). The only major exception to this trend was Weloy Municipality, where a substantial portion of the resident population (mostly the Chamorros noted above) in 1930 was registered outside Yap State.

The population in Yap State continued to decline between 1930 and 1935 (see Table 3), the loss of nearly 500 persons representing an average annual decrease of 1.5 percent (Nan'yō-chō 1937). As during the previous two five-year intervals, Yap Proper experienced the greatest absolute and relative losses in population, with decreases in all but two places. Depopulation on the Outer Islands was less severe, four actually gaining residents during these five years. The relative proportion of total Yap State population residing in various municipalities remained roughly the same as in 1930. Weloy, one of the two High Island areas that grew between 1930 and 1935, registered the greatest relative change. Slight changes in the age-sex structure of population occurred in Yap State during this period (Figure 3), notably the relative increase in individuals aged 15-24 at the expense of other age groups. Data on the age composition of individual municipalities indicate that these changes generally occurred both on Yap Proper and the Outer Islands (Table 7).

Yap State's crude birth rate decreased from the 1925-1929 average of 14.4 to 12.0 in 1935 (Yanaihara 1967:46). Once again, this value compares poorly with fertility measures for other populations in the area, being about one-half the Palauan crude birth rate and about one-third the crude birth rate for Japanese residing in Yap State. The crude death rate for the district decreased to 28.0 in 1935 (Yanaihara 1967:46).

TABLE 6. **Pacific Islander Population by Area, According to Place of Registration: 1930**

Area	Total Persons	Percentage			
		Same Locality	Same District[a]	Outside District[a]	Other Location[b]
Yap State	6,486	83.9	13.1	0.8	2.3
Yap Proper	4,019	79.4	16.6	0.3	3.6
Dalipebinaw	229	77.3	22.7	-	
Fanif	376	90.7	9.0	0.3	-
Gagil	579	72.7	26.9		0.3
Gilman	223	80.7	19.3	-	-
Kanifay	239	89.1	10.0		0.8
Map	466	88.8	10.3	-	0.9
Rull	660	85.8	10.5	0.3	3.5
Rumung	168	87.5	12.5	-	-
Tomil	523	91.2	8.8	-	-
Weloy	556	46.2	31.3	2.0	20.5
Outer Islands[c]	2,467	91.0	7.5	1.4	–
Eauripik	113	85.0	15.0	-	
Elato	72	97.2	2.8		–
Fais	367	95.9	4.1		–
Faraulep	145	89.0	11.0	-	
Ifalik	305	96.7	3.0	0.3	–
Lamotrek	164	91.5	7.9	0.6	–
Ngulu	64	82.8	17.2		–
Satawal	250	98.0	1.6	0.4	
Ulithi	449	89.3	10.7		-
Woleai	538	84.6	9.3	5.9	0.2

Source: Nan'yo-cho 1931.

[a] Refers to major island districts within the Mandated Territory (e.g., Yap State).

[b] Refers to locations outside the Mandated Territory.

[c] Sorol Atoll unpopulated in 1930.

Despite this drop, mortality still was roughly twice that in Palau, although only slightly greater than the mortality of resident Japanese (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:36).

Regional Demography in 1958

In 1958, the Office of the TTPI High Commissioner conducted the first systematic census of Yap State since the end of Japanese administration (Office of the High Commissioner 1959). Resulting data indicate that

TABLE 7. **Pacific Islander Population by Age and Area: 1935**

Area	Total Persons	Age Group (Percentage)			
		<15	15-24	25-59	60+
Yap State	6,006	24.1	16.9	49.8	9.3
Yap Proper	3,694	25.7	16.7	49.3	8.3
Dalipebinaw	200	27.5	13.5	53.0	6.6
Fanif	386	28.5	17.4	49.5	4.7
Gagil	501	23.0	16.2	51.7	9.2
Gilman	186	21.5	15.6	53.8	9.1
Kanifay	213	20.7	19.2	47.9	12.2
Map	390	23.1	13.1	52.3	11.5
Rull	603	24.5	14.8	51.6	9.1
Rumung	141	23.4	12.8	55.3	8.5
Tomil	472	24.6	17.4	50.2	7.8
Weloy	602	32.9	22.1	38.9	6.1
Outer Islands	2,312	21.5	17.1	50.5	10.9
Eauripik	105	30.5	20.0	45.7	3.8
Elato	72	11.1	19.4	56.9	12.5
Fais	310	10.0	16.8	52.3	21.0
Faraulep	141	25.5	16.3	54.6	3.5
Ifalik	250	22.4	13.6	51.2	12.8
Lamotrek	176	22.7	21.0	54.5	1.7
Ngulu	58	20.7	19.0	51.7	8.6
Satawal	264	35.2	21.2	39.8	3.8
Sorol	8	25.0	12.5	62.5	-
Ulithi	407	16.7	12.3	53.8	17.2
Woleai	521	22.8	18.6	49.1	9.4

Source: Nan'yo-cho 1937.

the population continued to decrease during the first thirteen years of U.S. administration (see Table 3), although demographic estimates suggest that this decline ended by the early 1950s (see Table 2). The 1958 census recorded 466 fewer persons living in Yap State than in 1935, an average annual decrease of 0.4 percent. As before, the greatest decrease occurred on Yap Proper, which for the first time recorded less than 60 percent of the total population. All but two of the municipalities on Yap Proper, and all but five of the Outer Islands, lost population between 1935 and 1958. Shifts in the relative proportions of individuals residing in various municipalities were minimal during this twenty-three-year period. Similarly, the overall age-sex composition in 1958 indicates only relatively minor changes from that recorded in 1935 (Figure 4). Data on the age composition of individual municipalities, and sufficiently reliable vital statistics, are unavailable for 1958.

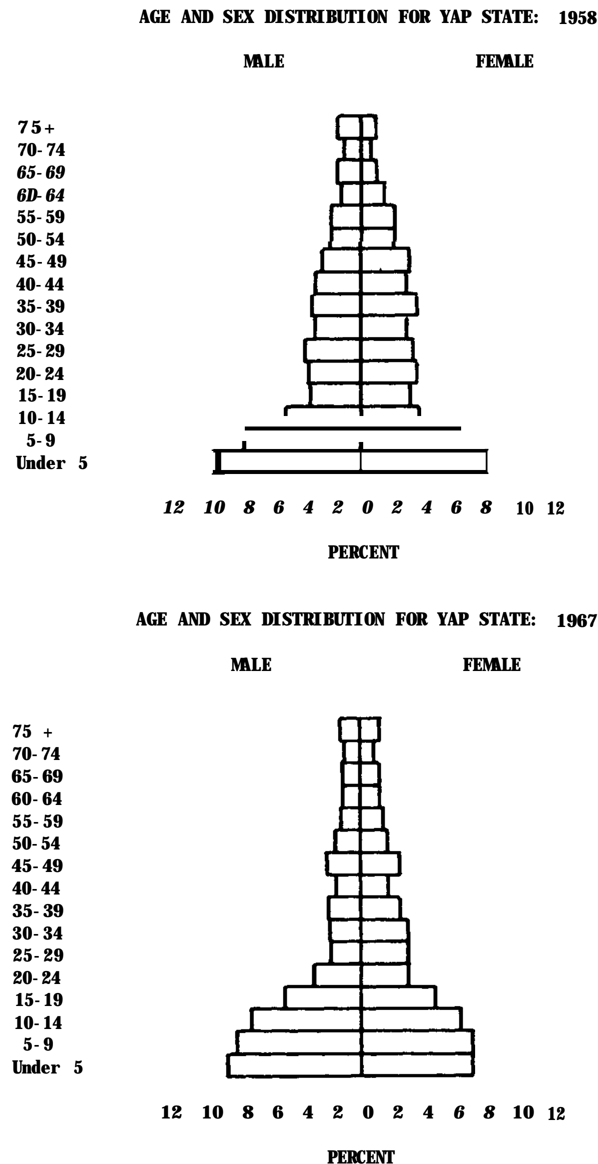


FIGURE 4. **Population pyramids: 1958, 1967.**

Regional Demography in 1967

The 1967 census indicates that population grew by more than 1,200 over the decade following the 1958 census, an average annual growth rate of 2.2 percent (School of Public Health n.d.). This marks the first population increase between censuses in forty-seven years (see Table 3). Population grew more rapidly on Yap Proper (to 59.5 percent of the total) than on the Outer Islands. Two High Island municipalities lost population, but increases in other municipalities on Yap Proper more

than compensated-notably Rull and Weloy, where population grew at average annual rates of 6.7 and 5.0 percent, respectively. Two Outer Islands lost population, once again compensated for by growth on the remaining Outer Islands. Shifts in the distribution of Yap State population reflect the population changes just discussed, with Rull and Weloy municipalities together containing 25.7 percent of the total.

The relative number of young persons, notably those aged O-14 and 15-24, increased substantially between 1958 and 1967 (Figure 4). These increases were not uniform, however, as the age composition of individual municipalities suggests substantial variability between places (Table

TABLE 8. Population by Age and Area: 1967

Area	Total Persons	Age Group (Percentage)[a]			
		<15	15-24	25-59	60+
Yap State	6,761	42.5	14.7	30.7	9.5
Yap Proper	4,024	43.5	13.7	30.3	9.3
Dalipebinaw	153	44.4	9.8	32.7	13.1
Fanif	394	47.2	14.2	29.9	6.9
Gagil	352	48.6	10.5	28.4	11.6
Gilman	175	41.7	10.3	36.0	8.6
Kanifay	202	41.6	12.4	28.7	14.4
Map	303	43.9	15.8	30.7	8.9
Rull	941	43.4	14.0	29.6	7.9
Rumung	160	45.6	8.1	32.5	12.5
Tomil	544	43.2	14.9	29.6	10.8
Weloy	800	40.0	15.6	30.8	8.0
Outer Islands	2,737	40.9	16.2	31.2	9.8
Eauripik	146	42.5	21.9	29.5	6.2
Elato	48	35.4	14.6	35.4	12.5
Fais	213	29.1	13.6	32.4	24.4
Faraulep	149	37.6	26.8	30.2	5.4
Ifalik	325	43.7	18.5	28.3	9.5
Lamotrek	243	47.7	11.1	35.4	4.5
Ngulu	18	27.8	11.1	50.0	5.6
Satawal	389	46.5	14.7	28.3	4.1
Sorol	13	7.7	-	53.8	38.5
Ulithi	549	37.7	14.8	29.0	16.0
Woleai	644	42.1	16.8	33.9	6.4

Source: School of Public Health n . d .

[a] Percentages may not sum to precisely 100.0%) due to exclusion of 34 individuals whose ages were "not specified' or who were "foreign born" (whose ages similarly were not specified) .

8). In general terms, relatively more individuals aged less than 15 years lived on Yap Proper, and relatively more aged 15-24 lived on the Outer Islands. For Rull and Weloy, the two municipalities that experienced the greatest population growth between 1958 and 1967, young (less than 10 years old) and early middle-aged (25-39 years) persons were particularly well represented.

Vital statistics for Yap State in 1967 indicate a substantial increase in natality since 1935 (Table 9). This dramatic jump in fertility helps to account for the demographic growth during the decade preceding 1967. Natality by municipality also is available for 1967 (Table 10). Values vary, often greatly, between places, particularly where populations are small. In 1967 excessive fertility did not characterize Rull and Weloy municipalities, suggesting other causes of demographic growth in these two areas. Data on mortality in 1967 are available by five-year age group for Yap State (Table 11). Overall mortality, in terms of crude death rate, was slightly more than one-third of that recorded in 1935, with infant mortality in particular quite low (Table 12).

Regional Demography in 1970

In 1970 the U.S. Bureau of the Census conducted a census of each district in the TTPI (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1972). Unfortunately, geographic designations for Yap State were incorrect. Thus, although the total for the district may be accurate, data disaggregated to individual

TABLE g. Measures of Fertility for Yap State: Select Years

Year	Total Persons	Total Births	Crude Birth Rate	General Fertility Rate	Total Fertility Rate
1967[a]	6,761	232	34.3	181.3	6.3
1970	7,625	251	32.9	159.9	5.6
1973	7,870	265	33.7	161.0	5.6
1980[a]	8,100	290	35.8	163.6	4.9
1987	10,139	226	22.3	99.6	NA[b]

Sources: School of Public Health n.d.; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1972, 1983a; U.S. Dept. of State 1981, 1982; Yap Office of Planning and Budget 1988b.

[a] Measures presented for 1967 and 1980 differ from those in Table 10 due to conflicting data. The data here are reported births in all of Yap State for each year, and thus should be comparable across years. These data are not available for each municipality, forcing us to employ different sources for Table 10.

[b] Insufficient data available to calculate total fertility rate for 1987.

TABLE 10. **Fertility Measures by Area: 1967 and 1980**

Area	1967 Total Persons	1967 Total Births[a]	1967 Crude Birth Rate	1967 General Fertility Rate	1967 Total Fertility Rate	1980 Total Persons	1980 Total Births	1980 Crude Birth Rate	1980 General Fertility Rate	1980 Total Fertility Rate
Yap State	6,761	208	30.8	140.6	5,019	8,100	239	29.5	134.6	4,560
Yap Proper	4,024	128	31.8	157.0	5,529	5,196	147	28.3	136.5	4,564
Dalipebinaw	153	1	6.5	38.5	2,500	211	12	56.9	250.0	7,423
Fanif	394	10	25.4	138.9	6,095	392	10	25.5	117.6	3,455
Gagil	352	10	28.4	137.9	5,750	616	8	13.0	64.0	1,848
Gilman	175	4	22.9	133.3	5,333	228	8	35.1	186.0	7,197
Kanifay	202	6	29.7	166.7	5,722	225	3	13.3	75.0	2,677
Map	303	14	46.2	196.4	8,862	319	10	31.3	156.3	5,097
Rull	941	28	29.8	142.9	4,641	1,436	37	25.8	123.7	4,160
Rumung	160	5	31.3	200.0	10,167	130	3	23.1	130.4	6,339
Tomil	544	18	33.1	183.7	6,932	713	30	42.1	215.8	7,283
Weloy	800	32	40.0	174.2	5,827	926	26	28.1	123.2	4,478
Outer Islands	2,737	80	29.2	118.3	4,317	2,904	92	31.7	131.6	4,553
Eauripik	146	7	47.9	62.5	1,458	121	1	8.3	27.8	625
Elato	48	-	-	-	-	51	1	19.6	71.4	625
Fais	213	6	28.2	69.8	3,333	207	10	48.3	232.6	8,909
Faraulep	149	3	20.1	68.2	2,548	132	12	90.9	333.3	9,929
Ifalik	325	9	27.7	140.6	4,881	389	2	5.1	19.8	526
Lamotrek	243	10	41.2	183.7	6,542	242	3	12.4	49.2	1,165
Ngulu	18	-	-	-	-	21	1	47.6	200.0	2,500
Satawal	389	9	23.1	121.2	3,491	386	19	49.2	228.9	7,827
Sorol	13	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
Ulithi	549	16	29.1	142.9	5,339	710	24	33.8	161.1	5,770
Woleai	644	20	31.1	123.1	4,139	638	19	29.8	111.1	3,459

Sources: School of Public Health n.d.; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983b.

Note: Total births include infants born to mothers aged < 15, > 49, and of unknown age (used for crude fertility rate, but not general or total fertility rates).

[a] 1967 natality based on infants 1 year old and less, and thus excludes those who died during the first year of life.

TABLE 11. **Deaths in Yap State, Percentages by Age Group: 1967, 1970, 1973, 198O**

Age Group	1967	1970	1973	1980
	Number			
Total Persons	6,761	7,625	7,870	8,100
	Percentage			
All Ages	100.0[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0
< 1	5.8	15.8	11.6	15.9
1-4	2.9	3.9	5.8	10.1
5-9	-	2.6	-	-
10-14	1.4	-		-
15-19	1.4	-	1.2	2.9
20-24		2.6	-	2.9
25-29	-	1.3	3.5	-
30-34	-	-	2.3	-
35-39	7.2	3.9	3.5	1.4
40-44	2.9	-	1.2	1.4
45-49	-	1.3	4.7	8.7
50-54	5.8	3.9	5.8	4.3
55-59	8.7	-	7.0	8.7
60-64	10.1	14.5	5.8	4.3
65-69	7.2	13.2	11.6	11.6
70-74	13.0	5.3	14.0	10.1
75+	30.4	31.6	22.1	17.4

Sources: 1967 calculations based upon data on deaths between 10 April 1966 and 26 March 1967, as presented in School of Public Health n.d. (which differ slightly from the data presented in U.S. Dept. of State 1981); 1970 and 1973 calculations based upon data on deaths for each calendar year in U.S. Dept. of State 1981; 1980 calculations based upon data on deaths in calendar year in U.S. Dept. of State 1982.

[a] Percentages for 1967 do not sum to precisely 100.0 due to two individuals whose age at death was "not specified."

municipalities are not. Over the preceding three years the population of Yap State grew by more than 850 persons, an average annual rate of 4.1 percent (see Table 2 above). Age and sex data for the region indicate minimal changes from 1967, except for a slight increase in the proportion of males (Figure 5).

Vital statistics for Yap State reveal a decrease in fertility between 1967 and 1970 (see Table 9). But mortality also decreased slightly. This shifting balance between births and deaths is a possible explanation for some of the population growth experienced between 1967 and 1970.

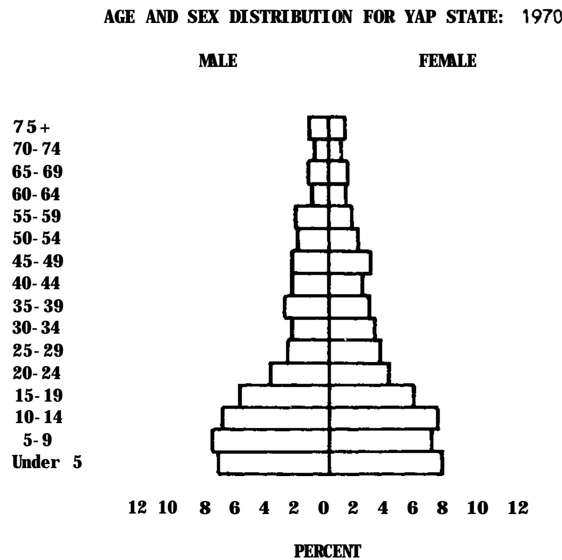
TABLE 12. **Age-Specific Death Rates in Yap State: 1967, 1970, 1973, 198O**

Age Group	1967	1970	1973	1980
Total	10.21	9.97	10.93	8.52
< l	18.87	45.28	37.17	43.14
l-4	2.50	3.54	5.35	7.03
5-9	-	1.88	-	-
10-14	1.15	-	-	-
15-19	1.65	-	1.17	2.60
20-24	-	3.71	-	2.72
25-29		2.65	6.82	-
30-34	-	-	5.70	-
35-39	14.49	7.77	7.89	3.04
40-44	8.06	-	2.79	3.25
45-49		2.81	13.75	19.29
50-54	15.50	10.17	15.43	13.95
55-59	30.77	-	24.19	24.19
60-64	43.48	67.48	24.88	13.64
65-69	30.67	54.35	71.94	52.63
70-74	68.70	38.10	96.77	75.27
75+	111.11	150.94	117.28	61.22

Sources: See Table 11.

Regional Demography in 1973

The 1973 Trust Territory census indicated that population growth in Yap State continued, at an average annual rate of slightly more than 1.0 percent since 1970 (see Table 3; Office of Census Coordinator 1975). Moreover, the proportion of total population living in Yap Proper increased markedly, with 65.3 percent of the total residing on the High Islands. Population grew in all but two municipalities in Yap Proper over the six years preceding 1973, with the greatest relative and absolute increases in Rull, Gagil, and Weloy. The Outer Islands in total experienced a slight decline; all but one municipality lost population between 1967 and 1973. These demographic changes corresponded to shifts in regional distribution. In addition to Yap Proper, containing nearly two-thirds of the total population, Rull and Weloy municipalities together accounted for nearly one-third of the total. Relative decreases in population occurred throughout the Outer Islands. The exception is Ulithi Atoll, which for the first time on record contained the largest number of persons outside Yap Proper-possibly due to the opening of a high school there in the early 1970s.



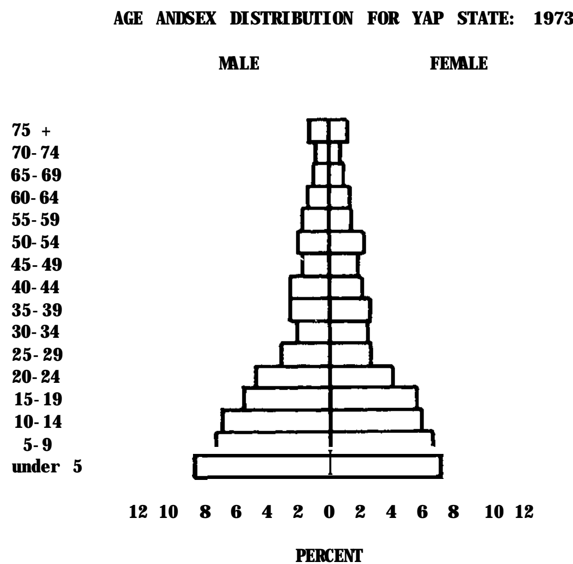


FIGURE 5. Population pyramids: 1970, 1973.

The age-sex structure of Yap State in 1973 indicates at most minor changes from 1970 (Figure 5). The age composition of individual municipalities was broadly similar to that found in 1967 (Table 13). Basic similarities hold when comparing municipalities and island units as well, with the age structure for Yap Proper and the Outer Islands essentially the same as for the entire region.

Yap State experienced slight increases between 1970 and 1973 in crude birth rate and general fertility rate, and an essentially constant total fertility rate (see Table 9). The crude death rate increased slightly

TABLE 13. **Population by Age and Area: 1973**

Area	Total Persons	Age Group (Percentage)[a]			
		<15	15-24	25-59	60+
Yap State	7,870	41.9	18.7	30.4	8.0
Yap Proper	5,140	42.0	18.8	30.8	7.7
Dalipebinaw	169	49.1	14.8	27.2	8.9
Fanif	367	42.2	16.3	31.9	7.4
Gagil	537	46.6	17.9	28.7	6.3
Gilman	217	36.9	21.2	29.0	12.4
Kanifay	235	42.6	19.1	28.9	8.9
Map	337	42.4	18.4	28.8	10.1
Rull	1,463	40.2	18.1	35.6	5.6
Rumung	129	50.4	7.8	27.1	14.7
Tomil	666	39.9	23.3	27.0	9.6
Weloy	1,020	42.2	19.9	29.7	7.0
Outer Islands	2,728	41.6	18.6	29.7	8.5
Eauripik	127	50.4	13.4	30.7	5.5
Elato	32	25.0	28.1	37.5	6.3
Fais	212	36.3	11.3	36.3	16.0
Faraulep	122	41.0	18.0	28.7	6.6
Ifalik	314	42.0	16.2	32.8	6.1
Lamotrek	233	49.4	12.9	32.6	4.7
Ngulu	8	25.0	0.0	62.5	0.0
Satawal	354	49.2	12.4	28.2	9.0
Sorol	8	12.5	-	87.5	-
Ulithi	710	33.5	29.9	24.2	9.9
Woleai	608	45.1	16.3	30.1	8.1

Source: Office of Census Coordinator 1975.

[a] Percentages may not sum to precisely 100.0 due to exclusion of individuals whose ages were "not specified."

over the same period, although infant mortality decreased (see Table 12). Data on mobility in general suggest a continued limited role for migration in the demography of this region: in 1973 most TTPI-born persons in Yap State normally resided in the same municipality where they were born, with a lesser proportion having moved from elsewhere in the state (Table 14). The exception to this trend was Rull, nearly 16.0 percent of whose population came from other parts of the Trust Territory. Apparently municipalities that experienced substantial population growth during the early 1970s-notably Weloy, Rull, and Gilman municipalities, and Ulithi Atoll-also received relatively large numbers of in-migrants from elsewhere in the region. More than 27.0 percent of

TABLE 14. **TTPI-born Population by Area, According to Municipality of Usual Residence and Home District: 1973**

Area	Total Persons	Percentage			
		Same Municipality	Elsewhere in Yap	Elsewhere in TTPI	Outside of TTPI
Yap State	7,611	73.7	22.2	4.0	0.1
Yap Proper	4,903	66.4	27.5	5.9	0.1
Dalipebinaw	168	85.1	14.9	-	–
Fanif	364	90.4	9.6	-	
Gagil	536	96.8	3.2	-	–
Gilman	216	70.4	26.9	2.8	–
Kanifay	235	88.9	11.1	-	–
Map	337	87.5	12.5	-	–
Rull	1,314	47.4	36.3	15.8	0.5
Rumung	128	81.3	18.8	-	–
Tomil	623	88.1	11.7	0.2	–
Weloy	982	33.9	58.2	7.7	0.1
Outer Islands	2,708	86.9	12.6	0.5	0.1
Eauripik	127	92.9	7.1	-	–
Elato	32	96.9	3.1	–	–
Fais	212	92.9	7.1	–	–
Faraulep	122	99.2	0.8	–	
Ifalik	311	97.7	2.3	–	–
Lamotrek	233	90.1	9.9	-	–
Ngulu	8	87.5	12.5	-	–
Satawal	353	90.9	7.4	1.7	–
Sorol	8	100.0	-	-	-
Ulithi	697	67.6	31.4	0.7	0.3
Woleai	605	93.2	6.3	0.5	-

Source: Office of Census Coordinator 1975.

the 1973 population of Yap Proper had migrated from elsewhere in Yap State.

Regional Demography in 1977

The TTPI Office of Planning and Statistics conducted a census of Yap State in 1977 (Office of Planning and Statistics 1982). Unlike all other censuses discussed in this study, this effort focused upon de jure rather than de facto population and was designed primarily to document the distribution of skills throughout the state. Because this was not a com-

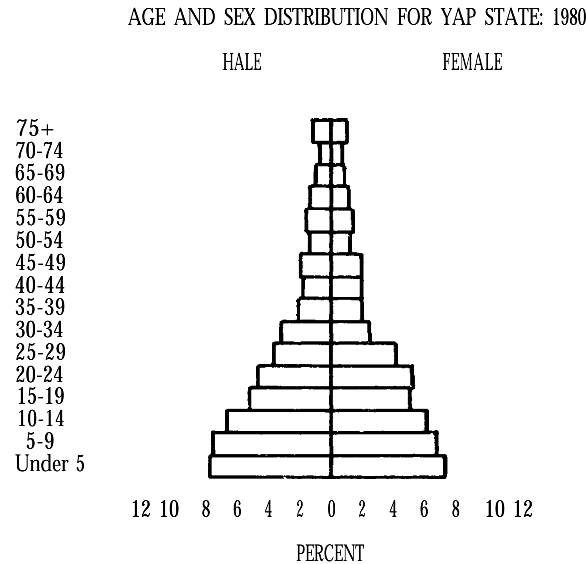
plete census, detailed data are unavailable on population characteristics such as age-sex composition. Moreover, because the data collected were de jure, strictly speaking they are not fully comparable with the de facto data collected in other census years. Nevertheless, information exists on the distribution of population throughout the region, and it probably provides a reasonable indication of the de facto arrangement of people (see Table 3). Note in particular the continued dominance of Yap Proper, which contained nearly 65 percent of the total population-once again dominated by Rull and Weloy municipalities. Similarly, note the continued dominance of Ulithi and Woleai atolls in the Outer Islands, which together accounted for more than half of the population outside Yap Proper.

Regional Demography in 1980

The U.S. Bureau of the Census conducted a second detailed census of the Trust Territory in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983a), making demographic data available for the entire state of Yap as well as for individual municipalities. Unfortunately, careful examination of the data suggests undercounts of certain ethnic groups (Yap Office of Planning and Budget 1988a:4). These undercounts, coupled with results of the de jure census of 1977 and likely heavy out-migration to the United States during the late 1970s (to take advantage of the recently established Education Opportunity Grants), give the impression that population decreased between 1977 and 1980-the first decrease between census years since 1958. Although out-migration is a legitimate demographic cause of depopulation, the former two reasons are functions of data accuracy and comparability and should be considered as such.

Because the 1977 census was de jure, we are reluctant to compare it with the 1980 de facto census. Indications are, however, that the relative population distribution on Yap Proper and in the Outer Islands in 1980 continued in the general proportions recorded in both 1973 and 1977. The earlier importance of certain municipalities began to diminish, with the relative contributions of Rull and Weloy on Yap Proper and Ulithi Atoll in the Outer Islands decreasing slightly.

Data on the age-sex composition of Yap State in 1980 show little change from 1973 (Figure 6). The same generally can be said for data on the age structure for individual municipalities (Table 15). Once more there is little regional difference in the age composition of Yap Proper versus the Outer Islands, or among individual municipalities.



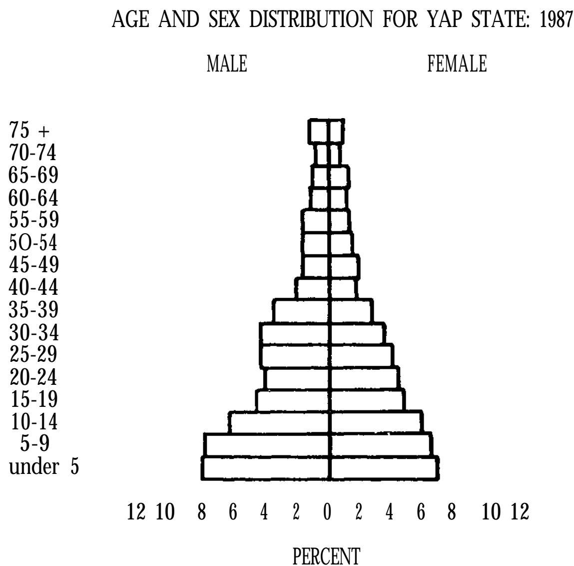


FIGURE 6. Population pyramids: 1980, 1987.

Vital statistics indicate slight increases in two of the three fertility measures considered (see Table 9). The most sensitive measures of fertility considered here, namely the general and total fertility rates, were slightly higher on Yap Proper than on the Outer Islands (see Table 10). Compared to 1967, the only other year for which we have such detailed data, fertility on Yap Proper apparently declined in 1980 while fertility on the Outer Islands increased. Mortality data for Yap State indicate a decrease in crude death rate and a slight increase in infant mortality when compared to 1973 (see Table 12).

Data on mobility in 1980 suggest a continuing limited role for migra-

TABLE 15. Population by Age and Area: 1980

Area	Total Persons	Age Group (Percentage)			
		<15	15-24	25-59	60+
Yap State	8,100	42.4	18.6	30.8	8.2
Yap Proper	5,196	42.0	19.0	31.2	7.9
Dalipebinaw	211	46.9	20.4	27.0	5.7
Fanif	392	41.3	17.1	33.2	8.4
Gagil	616	44.5	19.2	27.8	8.6
Gilman	228	37.7	23.7	25.9	12.7
Kanifay	225	41.3	19.6	29.3	9.8
Map	319	38.9	20.1	27.3	13.8
Rull	1,436	40.8	17.8	35.0	6.4
Rumung	130	46.2	16.9	25.4	11.5
Tomil	713	42.1	22.7	27.8	7.4
Weloy	926	42.8	16.8	34.2	6.2
Outer Islands	2,904	43.1	17.9	30.2	8.6
Eauripik	121	43.8	17.4	30.6	8.3
Elato	51	45.1	17.6	25.5	11.8
Fais	207	46.4	13.5	24.2	15.9
Faraulep	132	40.2	15.2	36.4	8.3
Ifalik	389	45.5	14.4	33.2	6.9
Lamotrek	242	46.3	17.4	27.7	8.7
Ngulu	21	14.3	14.3	57.1	14.3
Satawal	386	44.8	15.5	28.2	11.4
Sorol[a]	7	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ulithi	710	39.2	24.6	28.7	7.5
Woleai	638	44.4	16.5	32.4	6.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983a.

[a] Age breakdown not provided.

tion which, if anything, declined in importance (see Table 16). Most Yap State residents in 1980 resided in the same municipality as in 1975. Slightly higher mobility occurred in Rull and Weloy municipalities on Yap Proper (now joined by Gilman), and on Ulithi Atoll in the Outer Islands.

Regional Demography in 1987

In 1987 the Yap Office of Planning and Budget conducted the most recent detailed census of Yap State (Yap Office of Planning and Budget 1988a). Results indicate that the demographic structure--age-sex composition-for the state remained virtually unchanged from 1980 (Figure

TABLE 16. Population by Area, According to Place of Residence in 1975: 1980

Area	Total Persons[a]	Percentage			
		Same Municipality	Elsewhere in Yap	Elsewhere in TTPI	Outside of TTPI
Yap State	6,376	90.3	6.7	1.3	1.6
Yap Proper	4,141	91.2	5.2	1.4	2.2
Dalipebinaw	175	93.1	6.3	-	0.6
Fanif	320	98.8	0.9	0.3	-
Gagil	507	98.0	0.8	0.4	0.8
Gilman	182	86.8	9.3	3.3	0.5
Kanifay	189	100.0	-	-	-
Map	227	98.2	1.3	-	0.4
Rull	1,111	83.2	9.5	2.4	5.0
Rumung	103	97.1	2.9	-	-
Tomil	568	94.5	3.9	0.7	0.9
Weloy	759	88.1	6.2	2.6	3.0
Outer Islands	2,235	88.7	9.5	1.1	0.6
Eauripik	104	98.1	-	1.9	-
Elato	41	95.1	4.9		-
Fais	166	98.8	0.6	-	0.6
Faraulep	114	97.4	1.8	0.9	-
Ifalik	302	100.0	-	-	
Lamotrek	193	99.0	-	1.0	
Ngulu	9	100.0	-		-
Satawal	326	91.5	3.5	4.1	0.9
Sorol	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ulithi	478	64.6	33.1	0.8	1.5
Woleai	512	91.2	7.6	0.6	0.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983b.

[a] Includes only those individuals more than 5 years old. Excludes 12 individuals whose 1975 place of residence was not given.

6). But overall population change is a different matter, for the total number of inhabitants grew by more than 2,000 during the first seven years of the 198Os, an average annual increase of 3.3 percent (see Table 3). The proportion residing on Yap Proper grew slightly between 1980 and 1987; the populations of all but two municipalities there increased and the demographic dominance of Rull and Weloy continued to grow. Though the proportion of Yap State population residing on Outer Islands declined during this period, the absolute population of all but

two Outer Island municipalities grew. Ulithi and Woleai atolls remained the largest population centers in the Outer Islands.

Vital statistics presented in Table 9 indicate substantial drops in natality between 1980 and 1987 for the crude birth and total fertility rates. However, decreases in mortality more than compensated for these drops. The crude death rate exceeded 10.0 only once between 1980 and 1987, and infant mortality exceeded 40.5 only three times during the same period (Yap Office of Planning and Budget 1988b:68). This low mortality resulted in substantial population increases. Data on migration to supplement the vital statistics presently are unavailable.

Population Dynamics in Yap State: Causes, Results, and Repercussions

Underlying Causes of Population Dynamics

The population of Yap State declined from at least the mid-nineteenth century until the 195Os, when it began to grow again. In describing population change in this region, we briefly noted possible reasons underlying it. We now examine the mechanisms of population change in Yap State more carefully, considering the demographic causes of both depopulation and regional population growth over the past three decades.

The population of Yap State had begun to decline by the time Germany acquired it in 1899. Despite the absence of detailed data, it is likely that high mortality played an important role in this depopulation. Although estimates of infant mortality as high as 80.0 percent during the Spanish period (Price 1936) probably are excessive, diseases that clearly were introduced before 1900 continued into the early twentieth century. German administrators also documented two epidemics for the Yap region during their tenure-influenza in 1903 and typhoid between 1910 and 1911 (Hunt et al. 1954:22-23).

Yap State's population decline continued throughout the three decades of Japanese rule, and attempts to curb depopulation began as early as 1915. The Japanese commissioned a special study of depopulation during the late 1920s and early 193Os, in response to growing concern from the League of Nations (see Fujii 1934a, 1934b). The immediate causes were identified as low fertility and high mortality. Measures of both compared poorly to other parts of the western Carolines as well as to the Japanese in Yap State itself. The Japanese study focused in particular upon health and its effects on fertility and mortality, and identified excessive mortality as the principal cause of population decline.

The high death rate was attributed to disease-in particular, widespread tuberculosis, chronic bronchial catarrh, and acute infantile intestinal inflammation (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944: 37). In addition, at least three major epidemics were documented for the region: influenza about 1924, diphtheria in 1925, and amoebic dysentery in 1936 (Hunt et al. 1954:27).

The Japanese research concluded that low fertility significantly contributed to depopulation as well, and cited the high incidence of gonorrhea as the main cause (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944: 37). In an attempt to curtail the depopulation, the Japanese improved the quality of drinking water, native housing, and waste disposal facilities, provided increased medical attention, and increased education and training on health-related issues (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:37-38). Population in the area continued to decrease, though, possibly due to Yapese reluctance to accept imposed cultural changes and possibly because of the incomplete distribution of improvements (see Yanaihara 1967: 192-194; Peattie 1988:87-90).

Throughout the period of Japanese rule, migration apparently played a limited role in the demography of Yap State (see Table 6). The relocation of men from Yap Proper to the Outer Islands and beyond (e.g., Angaur in Palau, to work phosphate mines) for commercial reasons represented the most prevalent cause of movement.

By 1946, soon after the United States took over administration of the region, the population of Yap Proper had declined to 2,582-a decrease of roughly 800 during the preceding decade (Hunt et al. 1949:36). Between 1947 and 1948, researchers from Harvard University studied depopulation on Yap Proper as part of the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (Hunt et al. 1949, 1954; see also Murdock 1948). The study concluded that high mortality indeed was a major problem, naming widespread yaws, pulmonary tuberculosis, and epidemics such as those noted above as the main causes (Hunt et al. 1954: 27-29). The Harvard study also concluded that low fertility played a key role in depopulating Yap Proper, probably resulting from a combination of venereal and other diseases (such as amoebic dysentery) known to reduce fertility, and cultural practices that served to limit conception or terminate pregnancies when raising a family would have been difficult (Hunt et al. 1954:31-45). Some argued that self-induced abortion was the main cause of this low fertility (Schneider 1955); other researchers countered that genitourinary infections were the main contributors on Yap Proper prior to World War II (Underwood 1973; see also Hagaman 1974). A study of reproductive events among women on

the High Islands revealed no trends differing markedly from other populations examined (Hunt and Newcomer 1984). On Ulithi Atoll, an examination of depopulation led to the rejection of many prevalent theories of population decline (e.g., abortions, infanticide, male absenteeism) in favor of genitourinary disorders (Lessa 1955: 182).

Modern medicine eventually became available in Yap State, reducing mortality and helping to control diseases that reduced fertility. Noticeable improvements were evident shortly after the onset of U.S. administration (Hunt et al. 1954:45-47), and population began to grow on the High Islands almost immediately. An analysis of the demographic structure on Yap Proper between 1946 and 1966 indicated that resident populations were in the early phases of a period of rapid growth (Underwood 1969: 16). This growth in large measure was a direct product of the change in balance between crude birth rate and crude death rate, with the former exceeding the latter by 1947 (Figure 7). A

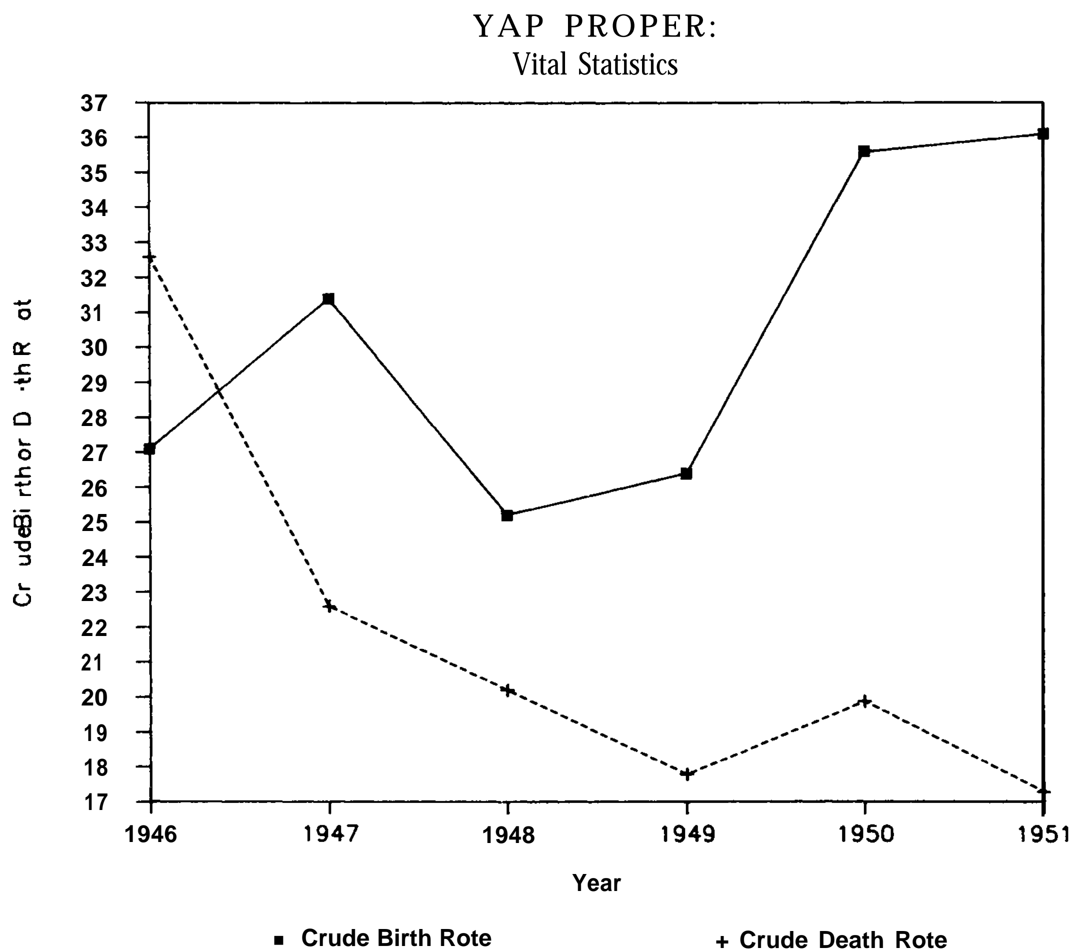


FIGURE 7. Change in fertility and mortality on the High Islands: 1946-1951.

generally constant relationship between fertility and mortality eventually emerged (see Tables 9 and 12) and persisted into the late 1980s.

With a few restricted exceptions, post-World War II population growth occurred through means other than migration. Detailed data beginning with the early 1970s support this claim. For example, although 15.8 percent of the residents in Rull Municipality in 1973 had come from outside Yap State, only 4.0 percent of the total state population migrated from beyond state boundaries (see Table 14). Internal migration apparently was more prevalent, particularly affecting Yap Proper; in 1973, of all persons residing there 27.5 percent claimed other parts of Yap State as home, helping to explain the surge in relative demographic importance of Yap Proper following the 1967 census. However, migration even within Yap State declined by 1980. More than 90.0 percent resided in the same municipality as in 1975 (see Table 16). One possibly important consideration, particularly on the Outer Islands, is the nonpermanent, short-term circulation of population, as documented elsewhere in the Pacific (see Chapman and Prothero 1985). Due to a lack of pertinent data, population circulation was not examined in this study.

Changes in the Regional Organization of Population: Statistical Insights

Having discussed the demographic history of Yap State and possible reasons for changes in population, we now examine more formally shifts in the regional arrangement of people. This inquiry employs selected spatial statistics and focuses in particular upon changes in the geographic distribution of population during the twentieth century.

To evaluate the changing regional arrangement of people in Yap State, we apply two complementary statistical concepts: measures of *point-to-point temporal association* and *spatiotemporal association* (see Gale and Gorenflo 1990). These measures represent a slight modification of methods devised by Hubert et al. (1985) to examine spatial configurations in a single period. In the synchronic case, point-to-point association concerns the relation between the values of different variables measured at the same locations and at the same time; typically one can employ any of several familiar measures of correlation defined in a nonspatial context (e.g., Kendall's *tau)* to assess point-to-point association (Hubert et al. 1985:36). In the present research context, we apply this basic concept to evaluate the degree of correspondence between a single variable measured at the same location at different times, specifi-

cally, the degree to which the population distributed among various places at time *t* corresponded to the population of the same places at a later time *t'*. As in the synchronic case, point-to-point temporal association is not inherently spatial and employs statistical measures of correlation defined originally in a nonspatial setting. Here we use Pearson's product-moment coefficient and Spearman's rank-order coefficient. In point-to-point temporal association, high positive values for periods *t* and *t'* indicate a strong correspondence between the same places in those two periods. Values range from 1.0 (perfect positive correspondence) to -1.0 (perfect negative correspondence),

As originally defined (Hubert et al. 1985), spatial association concerns the correspondence between the values of two variables *and* their spatial distribution at a particular moment in time-thus explicitly incorporating location into the analysis. In this context, high positive spatial association indicates a situation where like values occur in proximal locations and contrasting values occur at locations further apart (see Tjostheim 1978; Hubert and Golledge 1982; Gorenflo and Gale 1986). Spatiotemporal association, on the other hand, examines the correlation of a single variable at two points in time and its spatial distribution in each time period (Gale and Gorenflo 1990). In the present setting, we employ the approach developed by Hubert et al. (1985) to assess spatial association, based upon a quadratic assignment method of comparing two matrices statistically (see Hubert and Schultz 1976). Here we focus upon the following matrices: D, a 21 x 21 matrix of Euclidian distances, where each entry d_{ij} represents the distance separating place *i* (High Island municipality or Outer Island) from place *j* in Yap State; and C, a 21 x 21 matrix containing information on the population of places in Yap State recorded in two census years. For matrix C, letting $p_{i,t}$ and $p_{i,t'}$ denote the populations of place *i* at times *t* and *t'*, one may define each entry c_{ij} via the following function:

$$c_{ij} = [|p_{i,t} - p_{j,t'}| + |p_{j,t} - p_{i,t'}|] / 2. \quad (1)$$

As with point-to-point temporal association, values of spatiotemporal association range from 1.0 to -1.0. Additional mathematical details of spatiotemporal association may be found in Gale and Gorenflo (1990) and in Gorenflo (1990).

Calculating point-to-point temporal and spatiotemporal association measures provides complementary means of assessing the changing structure of regional organization in Yap State. The former measures local change-that is, the degree to which the population living at par-

ticular places at time *t'* corresponded to the population at those same places at time *t.* In a traditional Micronesian setting with limited mobility, values of this measure should be fairly high, particularly over short periods and in the absence of disproportional changes in population such as might be caused by localized diseases or natural disasters. Spatiotemporal association assesses broader spatial change, the degree to which the populations of places at time *t'* were similar to the populations of proximal places at time *t.* High positive spatiotemporal association would indicate regional evolution toward a homogeneous spatial distribution of population, whereas high negative spatiotemporal association would indicate regional evolution toward more marked differences in the spatial distribution of population.

Measures of point-to-point temporal association for Yap State indicate very high and statistically significant ($p < .0l$) correspondence between successive census years, with all measures .937 or above (Table 17).[5] These results suggest that, despite the traditional distinction between the High Islands and Outer Islands, demographically these two subregions behaved similarly-through instances of depopulation as well as instances of population increase. Even between 1935

TABLE 17. Statistical Comparisons for Yap State Regional Population: Between Select Census **Years**

	Point-to-Point Temporal		Spatiotemporal
Years Compared	Pearson	Spearman	Quadratic Assignment
1925 & 1930	.990	.981	-.014[a]
1930 & 1935	.987	.991	-.036[a]
1935 & 1958	.968	.974	-.055[a]
1958 & 1967	.937	.961	-.111[b]
1967 & 1973	.969	.981	-.120[b]
1973 & 1977	.994	.985	-.112[a]
1977 & 1980	.992	.983	-.11O[a]
1980 & 1987	.988	.974	-.113[b]
1925 & 1987	.849	.904	-.120[a]

Note: Levels of significance, unless otherwise noted, are $p < .0l$.

[a] $p > .1O$.

[b] $.05 < p < .1O$.

and 1958, a period of twenty-three years that included a major war, point-to-point temporal association was quite high. Over the sixty-two years between 1925 and 1987, point-to-point temporal association was nearly .850, indicating a noteworthy persistence of local similarities in the regional arrangement of population throughout Yap State even between distant points in time. These results contrast with similar measures calculated for the Marshall Islands, for instance, where a substantial decrease in point-to-point temporal association occurred during the war, and minimal correspondence was evident between the earliest and most recent censuses (Gorenflo 1990).

Spatiotemporal association between consecutive years in Yap State, on the other hand, tends to be minimal and negative. Only three of the eight comparisons were even marginally significant statistically ($.05 < p < .10$) (see Table 17).[6] The three comparisons that are significant-for 1958 and 1967, 1967 and 1973, and 1980 and 1987-indicate very slight tendencies for the populations of places in one year to be near places with dissimilar populations and far from places with similar populations. No correspondence, either positive or negative, is apparent in the other comparisons between consecutive census years, or between 1925 and 1987.

To augment the statistics that explore questions of change over time, we also calculated spatial autocorrelation values for population distributions in each census year. Spatial autocorrelation concerns the interdependence of a variable over space (Cliff and Ord 1973, 1981); it represents a means of assessing what Tobler referred to as the first law of geography, namely that "everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things" (Tobler 1970:234). Strong positive spatial autocorrelation in the present research setting would signify a situation where places with similar population sizes were proximal and places with dissimilar population sizes were distant from one another. Comparing autocorrelation values for different years provides yet another means of assessing changes in regional demography over time. In the interest of consistency, we calculated spatial autocorrelation for census years 1925 through 1987 via a quadratic assignment approach for comparing two matrices (Hubert et al. 1981). The matrices examined included matrix D, defined as above; and matrix X, containing measures of population differences between all pairs of places at a single point in time (defined in a manner equivalent to the measure used above in equation [1]):

$$x_{ij} = |p_{i,t} - p_{j,t}|, \qquad (2)$$

where $p_{i,t}$ and $p_{j,t}$ denote populations for places i and j at time t.

Results of our spatial autocorrelation calculations indicate two phases of interdependence between the population of separate places (Table 18). The first phase, comprising the census years 1925 through 1958, has very low and statistically nonsignificant (p > .lO) autocorrelation. The second phase, from 1967 through 1987, has slight (-.llO to -.119), marginally significant negative autocorrelation, indicating a limited tendency for places with dissimilar populations to be proximal and places with similar populations to be distant from one another.

Repercussions of Yap's Population Dynamics

Regional population change in Yap State presents an interesting example of demographic evolution. Absolute numbers of people decreased throughout the region from roughly the mid-nineteenth century until after World War II. In the past forty years this trend has reversed, often increasing at rates previously undocumented for the area. Reasons for population change, at the regional level as well as in individual places, often differed between years. Despite these many potential sources of variability, the regional arrangement of population remained remarkably consistent. Although physical constraints-size and location of potential areas of habitation-could explain some of this consistency, studies of other areas demonstrate the degree to which such constraints can be overcome in modern Micronesia (e.g., Gorenflo and Levin

TABLE 18. **Spatial Autocorrelation Calculations for Yap State Regional Population: Select Census Years**

Year	Spatial Autocorrelation	Significance
1925	.003	> .lO
1930	-.023	> .lO
1935	-.043	> .lO
1958	-.065	> .lO
1967	-.118	.05
1973	-.113	.lO
1977	-.llO	.lO
1980	-.llO	.lO
1987	-.119	.05

1990). We now examine briefly previous and anticipated impacts of population dynamics in the area.

Traditionally, the people in Yap State comprised a series of individual, interrelated ranked societies-variations of the chiefdoms prevalent throughout the Pacific before European contact (Sahlins 1958:249). Populations on the High Islands were larger than those on the Outer Islands. Chiefdoms on the High Islands also were larger and class was of greater importance than on the Outer Islands. In all, Yap Proper contained 150 to 200 class-stratified communities (Oliver 1989a:32). Each High Island community contained three chiefs, the individuals possessing the highest status and greatest authority (Lingenfelter 1975:99-103). Villages also were ranked, and the chiefs of the three most highly ranked villages served as paramount chiefs for the High Islands (Lingenfelter 1975: 122-126). Despite certain key dissimilarities with their High Island counterparts-including smaller populations and differences in social and political structure-the Outer Islands were similar to Yap Proper in containing ranked societies ruled ultimately by paramount chiefs (see Bates and Abbott 1958:53-57; Alkire 1965:32-38; Lessa 1966:32-38).

Kinship defined most formal patterns of social, economic, and political interaction within island units in Yap State. Interaction between units followed traditional patterns of duties and obligations established by a widespread system of ranked clans and lineages, ritualistic behavior, and mutual economic interests. Such interaction apparently occurred often between certain proximal places. For instance, Alkire writes of the fundamental interdependence of Elato and Lamotrek atolls with Satawal Island, marked by frequent visits and exchanges among these three island units (1965:135-169); and Lingenfelter describes the complex network of communication and exchange between ranked communities on the High Islands (1975:131-147). On a much larger scale, during traditional times long-range interaction also occurred between Yap Proper and islands beyond the present eastern limits of Yap State, together comprising the "Yap Empire" (see Oliver 1989b:580-584).

The Yap Empire consisted of three basic units: landlords residing in the Gilman and Gagil districts of the High Islands, to whom certain other portions of Yap State owed tribute and allegiance; Ulithi Atoll (and semiautonomous Fais Island, which dealt only with Ulithi); and "Woleai," which included the atoll of that name and all islands eastward to Namonuito and Pulap atolls (the latter two places presently part of Chuuk State) (Lessa 1950; Oliver 1989b:582).[7] Every two or

three years, a canoe fleet formed at the easternmost components of the empire and moved in a prescribed pattern westward gathering representatives from the other subject islands with their tribute. Three types of tribute were brought to the High Islands: religious tribute, canoe tribute, and tribute of the land. The first two were collected by the ultimate leader of the fleet, and passed directly to the paramount chief of Gacpar in the Gagil District; the third was passed from each Outer Island representative to the High Island lineage head who claimed ownership of a particular island's lands. Representatives from the Outer Islands in turn received gifts of food and turmeric (Alkire 1977:51). As with most transactions between the traditional components of Yap State, the pattern of exchange within the Yap Empire was prescribed according to ranking between places (Figure 8) as well as between individuals.

The role of interisland exchange during traditional times in Yap State probably was only superficially economic, serving the more important function of establishing valuable socioeconomic ties through which the Outer Islands could receive assistance in times of environmental fluctuation (Alkire 1965: 135-174). This is not to say that economic exchange would not have been desirable. Fundamental environmental differences existed, notably between the rich and generally more productive High Islands and the limited natural resources characteristic of the coralline outer islands and atolls (see Office of the Chief of Naval Operations 1944:8-20; Wiens 1962; Alkire 1965:12-22; Connell 1983:l). As a result, some locations had direct access to particular resources that others did not, generating the potential for exchange. However, distance apparently limited the frequency of trade except between proximal locations. Thus, exchange occurred fairly frequently among Elato, Lamotrek, and Satawal (Alkire 1965), possibly between certain dominant-subservient proximal Outer Atolls (see Figure 8), and even annually between Ulithi Atoll and the Gagil District on the High Islands (Oliver 1989b:581)-but only every two or three years throughout the Yap Empire. Neither sociocultural nor technical mechanisms evolved to

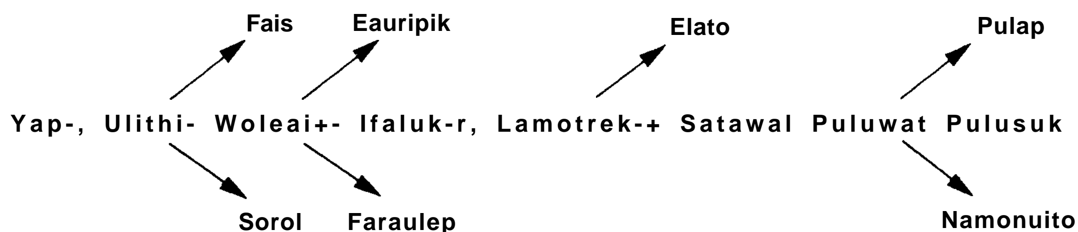


FIGURE 8. Authority within the Yap Empire (after Lessa 1966:39).

permit constant exchange, as seen in other complex societies in the form of frequent energy flow from subservient units to maintain a ruling elite. Apart from the logistical difficulty of constant trade in Yap State, from the perspective of the High Island chiefs such exchange simply was not necessary; inhabitants of Yap Proper were not dependent on resources from the Outer Islands (Lingenfelter 1975: 153-154).

The results of our statistical analysis of regional demography suggest that Yap state was poorly organized for frequent exchange during the twentieth century. Spatial autocorrelation statistics indicate that the state showed either no spatial trend in the distribution of population or a slight trend for negative autocorrelation. Other factors being equal, two types of spatial autocorrelation values would facilitate exchange between places-high positive values, suggesting that demands and potential producers similar in magnitude are in close proximity; and high negative values, possibly indicating a situation where centers are interspersed regularly with smaller population concentrations (the hinterlands to support the centers). Spatiotemporal association statistics, in turn, indicate that regional organization never evolved toward either correspondence between populations and locations or toward an interspersed pattern of large and small populations. In the past, the arrangement of people apparently had little effect on the success of individual places at the regional level. In the present setting where integration of separate components within Yap State is desirable, this regional distribution of producers and demands, coupled with limited regional integration in the past, could pose serious problems for planners and administrators.

Concluding Remarks

The preceding study has explored regional population change in Yap State, approaching this task from two different perspectives. One was purely demographic, as we summarized regional population changes for eleven census years between 1920 and 1987, and attempted to explain the dynamics observed in terms of demographic processes. The demographic history of Yap State during the twentieth century comprises two main phases: a period of depopulation throughout the region until shortly after World War II, apparently caused by diseases that depressed fertility and increased mortality; and a period of population growth, probably well underway by the early 1950s and apparently the result of controlling disease with modern medical technology. The second perspective was regional, as we examined the changing arrange-

ment of population in Yap State through the application of selected spatial statistics. Our statistical inquiry indicated relatively little change during the twentieth century, with a strong statistical correspondence between the populations of individual places in different census years. Our regional analytic results also indicated a lack of regional homogeneity in terms of the distribution of population, both within particular census years and as the area changed-a situation that could hinder any attempts to integrate the region into a highly interactive, functioning whole.

In the face of increasing pressures from non-Micronesian cultures throughout the past 150 years, the people of Yap State stubbornly retained many of their traditional ways (Useem 1946). In addition to the persistence of sociocultural institutions and behavior, the distribution of population showed a remarkable consistency even during the dramatic changes of the past seventy years. Presently Yap State faces important new challenges, as it attempts to incorporate a rapidly growing population dispersed over a large area of the Pacific Ocean within a single political entity. In similar situations, other portions of Micronesia have experienced rapid migration to urban centers as people attempted to gain access to modern amenities (see Gorenflo and Levin 1989, 1990). Despite Yap State's adherence to patterns of the past, the realities of modern development may lead it down a similar regional evolutionary path. To avoid such developmental directions will require a two-pronged strategy: controlled population growth, so that the region does not exceed its ability to support itself; and carefully selected development in certain Outer Islands, to help minimize both migration to urban centers and the need for constant long-distance interaction with Yap Proper. Yap State plans indeed do consider limited development in the Outer Islands, focusing upon agriculture and fisheries (Office of Planning and Statistics 1985:18-19, 109-113; Yap Office of Planning and Budget 1990). It is through the adoption of carefully devised development strategies, designed in part to avoid the problems encountered by other portions of Micronesia, that Yap State can aim toward a sustainable regional system.

NOTES

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planning issues were discussed in the context of the demographic evolution of Yap State. Diane LaSauce helped to edit the final manuscript. We alone are responsible for any errors or shortcomings that remain.

1. In the interest of clarity and consistency, when referring to parts of Yap we follow modern conventions and use the term *Yap State* to denote the geographic area of the present state of Yap within the Federated States of Micronesia-even when discussing the region prior to 1979, before the "state" officially existed. We employ *High Islands* or *Yap Proper* for the four closely grouped high islands (also known as the Yap Islands) that traditionally contain the majority of people in the region. Finally, we use *Outer Islands* to refer to the coralline islands and atolls within Yap State but outside of the High Islands (see Figure 1).

2. Whenever possible, we use census data both as points of reference and to calculate measures of demographic trends and characteristics. The intercensal population figures over the past forty-five years vary in accuracy; we present estimates for the entire state but limit our reliance upon them, as the trends they indicate do not always appear valid. For example, the apparent population declines of 1970-1971, 1979-1980, and 1985-1987 may well be the result of mixing de jure estimates with de facto census figures. Ultimately, we treat Yap State as if its population growth has continued virtually uninterrupted since the 1950s with population growth on the High Islands beginning as early as 1946-1947 (Hunt et al. 1954:23, 28; see also Underwood 1969:9).

3. Because this study seeks to examine demographic change within a functioning sociocultural system, we focus exclusively upon Pacific Islanders for 1920, 1925, 1930, and 1935. The number of Japanese residing within the Mandated Territory varied over the three decades that Japan controlled the area. Because these fluctuating numbers of what may be considered imposed in-migrants would cloud our understanding of regional demographic evolution within Yap State, we consider only Pacific Islanders for the Japanese period of administration.

4. Vital statistics measures used in this article are defined as follows. Crude birth rate is the number of births in a year per 1,000 population. General fertility rate is the number of births in a year per 1,000 women of childbearing age (here taken as ages 15-49). Total fertility rate is the sum of age-specific fertility rates for women of childbearing age. Crude death rate is the number of deaths in a year per 1,000 total population. Finally, age-specific death rate is the number of deaths per 1,000 members of a particular age group.

Vital statistics often play an important role in understanding population change. However, it is important to keep in mind when examining the present study that vital statistics in Micronesia often are unreliable. In particular, deaths tend to be reported late if at all, leading to underrepresentation of mortality as a process underlying demographic change.

5. We did not include demographic data from 1920 in any of our spatial statistical calculations, due to the aggregation of data for certain municipalities-as noted earlier in the text and in Table 3.

6. We conducted three tests of significance for quadratic assignment calculations: comparison to an approximation of a normal distribution; comparison to a Pearson Type III Gamma distribution; and comparison to a Monte Carlo, or randomized, reference distri-

bution for each pair of matrices examined (see Cliff and Ord 1981:63-65). Significance levels noted in the article invariably refer to the last test, as no cases of the first two tests were significant at $p < .10$ for spatiotemporal association.

7. Ngulu Atoll at one time was a part of the Yap Empire, owing allegiance to the chief of Guror in the Gilman District of Yap Proper. However, the empire usually is considered to consist of the "Woleai" island units and Ulithi Atoll, which ultimately owed allegiance to chiefs from two villages (Gacpar and Wonyan) in the Gagil District on Yap Proper (Lingenfelter 1975: 147).

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

Richard J. Parmentier, The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. Pp. xxiii, 341, maps, illus., glossary, index. US$15.95 paper, US$49.95 cloth.

Review: **MARY** S. **MCCUTCHEON**
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Richard Parmentier's provocative book, The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau, presents evidence from the Palau Islands to show how history and myth articulate values of the historian and his or her social group. Stories told and retold reveal messages that are specific to time, place, source, and circumstance. These narratives and texts also provide material for analyzing culture-specific principles structuring political, social and temporal domains.

Parmentier did his research in the district of Ngeremlengui in the Palau Islands (Republic of Belau). This is a district of great historic importance where myths, stories of the old days, and histories are integral parts of its heritage.

Many of us take for granted a whole post-Enlightenment set of legal, scientific, and epistemological assumptions and may consider myths and orally transmitted stories of the old days less credible than written histories. For Palauans credible evidence takes the form of chants, properly told stories, and *olangch,* the enduring signs that an event took place. These *olangch* may be stone monuments or other features of the landscape that endure, or they may even be idiosyncratic regional behavioral and customary characteristics that transcend generations and testify to past events that gave rise to these traditions.

Parmentier's book begins with a chapter describing Palau, its prehis-

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tory and Austronesian roots, and the history of its relations with Europe, Japan, and the United States. Subsequent chapters describe the internal geopolitics of Palau and of the Ngeremlengui district with reference to historic events-wars and truces-that characterized precontact Palau. He peppers the text with various versions of tales of the very old days and more recent times. He analyzes these stories, their physical testaments, *olangch,* and Palauan social relations according to a set of metaphoric structural-principle "diagrams" that give them meaning.

By considering history a domain that can be observed from various perspectives, Parmentier forces the Western reader to take stock of our own told and retold, written and rewritten histories. It is a truism that as soon as an event has occurred and the observers, having blinked their eyes, begin to relate it, the facts become distorted. Even the tape recorder and the camera, by the very fact that they are held and aimed by a human observer, do not give an "etic," objectively true side of the story.

After reading Parmentier's book, we cannot help but pause and consider our own obsession with historical documentation and the biases that these sources contain. Historical narratives are dependent on historians who, by sifting through their "facts" and by systematizing them for their audience, inevitably distort them. We are constantly revising our histories as our contemporary perspective tempts us to emphasize some events and diminish others. Parmentier forces his reader to grapple with the whole issue of the nature of documentation.

Parmentier shows how history and symbolism represent principles that organize the social and political order. He repeats and analyzes stories as told to him by different historians to make the point that social rank and geopolitical position influence historical narrative. Then, in a final chapter that makes the reader smile with pleasant recognition, he relates Palauan stories that are linked historically to events with which we Westerners may be familiar from our versions of Palauan history: the visit of the Antelope's Captain Wilson, the mid-nineteenth century visits of Semper and Cheyne, the purchase of guns from O'Keefe, and the retaliatory fire-bombing of Melekeok after its citizens allegedly looted O'Keefe's ship. These milestones in a Westerner's history of Palau suddenly become only incidental to other events more salient to the Palauan historian.

Palauans, like everyone else, make selective use of their histories to argue land cases in court, to justify the succession of a leader, to situate the new capital city, and even to persuade the U.S. Congress that certain recent political positions have historical foundation. Symbols of

historical events, the *olangch* that Parmentier describes in his book, are also continually manipulated to give new meaning to old events. One sees today the conscious *"olangch* - ification" of things in modern Palau with future histories in mind.

Each of the stories Parmentier tells is its own gem worth reading totally independent of the rest of the text. Many Palauans are interested in collecting their own stories and reading whatever has been written about them. In the early 197Os, in fact, the Palau Community Action Agency amassed an extensive set of files on the myths and histories of each district of Palau. Parmentier made good use of these files, and thanks to his research, his notes may be the only extant record of this information: All of the files and the building that housed them burned to the ground in the early eighties. This loss and the additional historical narratives he transcribed make Parmentier's field notes and research materials an extraordinarily valuable resource.

I note, optimistically, that Palau has now embarked on a new project to collect local histories under the supervision of the Office of Historic Preservation. One volume is in press, a second is currently being edited, and a third is on the drawing board.

Scattered throughout the book are innumerable other interesting pieces of information that testify to Parmentier's meticulous research. There are fascinating footnotes on Proto-Austronesian roots of Palauan words and customs, a thorough review of archaeological work in Palau, and a plethora of interesting details on European and Japanese contacts in Palau.

Only a few weaknesses to the book come to mind. Most are so minor as to be virtually insignificant. Ngkeklau, for example, mentioned on page 97, is in Ngerard, not Ngerechelong, and Machiko Aoyagi, mentioned on pages 74 and 141, is a "she," not a "he."

Parmentier makes the perfectly justifiable decision to use correct modern orthography for almost all native terms and proper names. In one place, namely table 1 on page 62, he should perhaps have made a concession to older conventions more familiar to many readers by inserting a fifth column with "frequently encountered alternative spellings" of district names. In this column would go, for instance, Koror, Kayangel, Airai, Peleliu, and Angaur.

Some of Parmentier's discourse is a bit difficult to understand on first reading. The review of Charles Sanders Peirce's theories and the discussion of "diagrammatic icons" could have been made clearer for the reader not well versed in semiotics. Still, however, Parmentier's style is refreshingly lucid in comparison to that of Michael Silverstein, the

author of the foreword. I would hate to think that a reader who encounters terms such as "configurationality" and "subsequentiality" before starting the text proper would be discouraged from continuing.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Richard Parmentier's work is a model of precision, depth, and integrity with a message to members of any culture professing a reverence for history and the icons that represent it. But the highest compliments should come from the people of Ngeremlengui. Parmentier's tireless and patient work with his primary informant, Malsol Ngiraibuuch Ngiraklang, one of the best recognized authorities on Palauan history, earned him a title in the hierarchy of chiefs in Ngeremlengui. When I was writing the outline for this review, I happened to meet a man from Ngeremlengui who was attending a meeting in Washington. He had also read Parmentier's book and commented, "On a scale of ten, I give Rick's book a nine plus."

Review: **MAC MARSHALL**
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

A continuing concern of twentieth-century anthropology has been finding effective ways to incorporate process and change (including historical time) into our theoretical paradigms. Whether through efforts to document cases of the historical diffusion of cultural elements and traits, through attempts to explain the evolutionary "emergence" of new structural forms, or from a hope that functionalism could be resuscitated with models of "dynamic equilibrium," there has been a continued quest to capture "change" in our models of human social life.

The applications of structuralist transformations and exchange cycles to anthropology originally were presented as ahistorical (Levi-Strauss's "mechanical time"), and distinguished from the "statistical time" employed by historians. In recent years Sahlins (1981, 1985) has led an effort to bridge this gap by wedding cultural structure to historical events in a dialectical process, thereby incorporating change and process into a revamped structuralist paradigm. The goal has been to join synchronic structural analysis to diachronic historical analysis. As one of Sahlins's students, Parmentier has been caught up in this enterprise, and The Sacred Remains provides an illuminating illustration of the strengths and weaknesses of this approach.

Parmentier's book is an ambitious effort to understand "the link between social relations and historical process" by identifying a set of

signs that operate as an underlying model of cultural structure. He argues that this underlying model of "unseen, unoccupied, unused, and unspoken" signs yields "the diagrammatic representation of social institutions and relationships" that, in turn, functions "as [a set of] meaningful constructs in which the structure and processual regularities of Belauan society are recorded, imagined, and interpreted" (pp. 124-125). This is a bold claim.

A crucial task in assembling a model that combines structure and history is to determine how to "get at" the underlying structure. One way this has been attempted in recent years has been to exploit a category of information long shunned or deemphasized by historians and anthropologists seeking to reconstruct historical events: a people's oral traditions (myths, legends, genealogies, histories, etc.). Those who have followed this path hope that by carefully studying and critically examining oral traditions they will be able to identify a hidden structural pattern or "logic" characterizing these narratives. Parmentier's book on Belauan myth, history, and polity is a sophisticated attempt to accomplish this feat.

Parmentier argues for the existence of four key signs (Peircean "diagrams," a subclass of icons) "which organize the composition and interrelations among persons, roles, and sociopolitical units." The four signs Parmentier identifies are: path, side, cornerpost, and larger/smaller (p. 108). He believes that these four signs or diagrams together constitute an underlying cultural structure that makes sense of "history from the perspective of local actors and their cultural categories" (p. 54). He "gets at" the semiotic relations of these diagrams primarily through analysis of assorted Belauan narratives dealing with their own political history, and secondarily via an examination of various "symbolic markers": sacred stones, particular trees, traditional Belauan valuables, local place names and ranked political titles (p. 109).

Finally, Parmentier tries to demonstrate that the revealed underlying semiotic model of cultural structure permits a reinterpretation of Western narratives about historical events in Belau from the late eighteenth century onward. The bulk of his book is a detailed presentation of Belauan and Western historical narratives interpreted via their relationships to the underlying structural model that he develops in chapter 3.

Parmentier sees his sort of anthropological analysis as a way to bring the Other back into the history of the Other, as that has been recorded and interpreted by Western historians. One way to think of Parmentier's work is that it is an effort to develop a kind of "polyvocal" history,

in which people are allowed to "speak for themselves," somewhat along lines of recent postmodernist concerns to compose "polyvocal" ethnographic texts. Parmentier's hope is that we might begin to understand historical events in other cultures not only from the perspective of Western observers, but also from the emic point of view of participants in that cultural tradition. The implication is that this emic point of view is revealed in his semiotic anthropological model of Belauan cultural structure.

While the inspiration for Parmentier's model comes from semiotics and the specific ethnographic components come from Belauan narratives and "symbolic markers," the underlying model he develops is essentially structuralist. In fact, Parmentier's model conforms quite specifically to the requirements for a structural model laid down by Lévi-Strauss (1963:279-280): It exhibits the characteristics of a system; there is a possibility of ordering a series of transformations to result in a group of models of the same type (cf. Parmentier's chapter 4); these properties make it possible to predict how the model will react if one or more of its elements are modified; and it is constituted to make immediately intelligible all the observed facts.

Although Parmentier does not cite Victor Turner, parts of his argument remind me of Turner's work. In particular, Parmentier's argument for an underlying pervasive cultural structure in Belau that integrates the Belauan polity and organizes the categories of Belauan history (narrative texts) is reminiscent of Turner's statement that the ultimate unity of the Ndembu is expressed in the recurrence of a system of ritual symbols representing Ndembu historical origins (1957: 290-291). Similarly, just as Parmentier demonstrates how the Belauan polity is "held together" (at least conceptually) by the four key semiotic relationships (or signal relationships), Turner argues for the politically integrative role of Ndembu rituals: "It [ritual] is not so much a buttress or auxiliary of secular social regularities as a means of restating, time and again, a group unity which transcends, but to some extent rests on and proceeds out of, the mobility and conflicts of its component elements" (1957:316).

I take anthropology to be a scientific endeavor in the sense of a search for systematized knowledge derived from observation and study in order to determine and understand the nature and principles of that being studied. One goal of any scientific investigation is to identify general regularities and recurrent patterns in the phenomena under study. In anthropology (and many other scientific disciplines) this poses an

epistemological conundrum: Does the scientist discover system/order/regularity/pattern "out there" in the world, or is this something that is created by the investigator? I incline to the latter view; Parmentier apparently believes the former.

This leads to what I perceive as the major weakness of his approach: The semiotic model of cultural structure is presented as an emic (Belauan) model that has been discovered by Parmentier "out there" in the narratives, lithic objects, and so forth. But I remain unconvinced that this is a Belauan model for how culture and history work, despite Parmentier's identification of Belauan lexemes for each of the four signs on which he focuses. It is by no means unusual (let alone unique to Belau) to find linear relationships (paths), binary oppositions (sides), quadripartitions (cornerposts), and gradations in size, rank, value, etc. (larger/smaller) in many cultural systems around the world. In fact, Parmentier periodically makes a case that these relationships are common to much of the Austronesian world (e.g., pp. 109, n. 1; 117, n. 2; 124). Levi-Strauss stated many years ago that the anthropologist may have to construct "unconscious models," by which he meant "a model from phenomena the systematic character of which has evoked no awareness on the part of the culture" (1963:281-282). Parmentier has failed to convince me that the models he presents are not "unconscious models" in this sense.

But why should we accept all of this as a peculiarly emic Belauan way of seeing things? If, rather, we grant that Parmentier has skillfully created a set of semiotic categories that order and make sense of his data (categories that have Belauan lexical referents), we can go on to admire the sophisticated analysis that he produces.

And there are numerous strengths in Parmentier's analysis. The linking of semiotics and structuralism is innovative, particularly as a means for rethinking anthropological studies of history. The refreshing openness with which alternate versions of narrative are treated (e.g., p. 233) suggests one productive way in which anthropologists can come to terms with the intracultural variability of which we have become so acutely aware in recent years. Indeed, Parmentier shows how we can exploit this diversity to create general cultural principles and implicit cultural theories. I was also impressed by the way he successfully related Belauan stories and Western eyewitness historical accounts through his general structural-semiotic model. Although there is a risk of privileging "native texts" here, this may counterbalance the risk that more mainstream approaches to historical evidence may privilege West-

ern views contained in written documents over those of the Other contained in oral traditions. Parmentier makes a compelling case that a closer approximation to reality comes from a combination of the two.

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Review: DEVERNE REED SMITH
STATE OF MELEKEOK
REPUBLIC OF PALAU

The Sacred Remains is a provocative ethnography. Parmentier presents a description and analysis of the political structure and processes of Ngeremlengui, Palau,[1] and offers a historical perspective that reveals the different models utilized over time. Although classed as Micronesian, Palau (Western Carolines) is a primarily Austronesian culture that was settled early[2] and remained in relative isolation for a lengthy period. As such, it provides "a rare glimpse of a fairly large-scale polity without a single overarching system of kingship" (p. 55). Its culture did not accord well with older anthropological models and approaches; therefore, only in recent years have central aspects of Palauan culture been clarified in the scholarly literature.[3] Although I may question the validity of Parmentier's approach, the richness of the data and his careful scholarship made The Sacred Remains a most valuable contribution to the ethnographic literature on Palau.

Parmentier conducted two years of field research (1978-1980) in Ngeremlengui, the community *(beluu:* hamlet, district, state) on the west coast of Babeldaob Island that was chartered by myth with the responsibility and authority to preserve the traditions of Palau. Establishment of modern Palauan political structure took place when, in one part of an epic myth, the goddess Milad gave birth to four children

(each a *beluu):* Ngeremlengui, oldest son and thus higher in rank and "sacredness" than its three younger siblings; Melekeok, second son, with a tendency toward boastfulness and arrogance, as is true of younger brothers; Imeliik, Milad's only daughter and cherished because all males require a sibling of the opposite sex to fulfill their exchange/marital obligations;[4] and Koror (Oreor), who, as the youngest son with access to fewer resources, must be more energetic and enterprising.

Palauans stress differences at every level. Migration histories tell of different origins outside of Palau; the migration histories of one's kin unit and how it won land, a title, and kin ties or alliances within a community and throughout Palau further distinguish one group from another. Differences are so emphasized that many people within Palau currently argue that one general history of Palau should not be written, for each state is too distinct in origin, history, and traditional ways of doing things to make an overall history meaningful. Instead, many states feel their individual histories must first be recorded. Similarly, many Ngeremlengui titleholders argue that The Sacred Remains is not the history of Ngeremlengui: the history of Ngeremlengui will not be written until the knowledge of the three remaining titleholders is recorded (see below).

In the following sections, I first review some of the central aspects of Parmentier's book; I next turn to a discussion of his approach to the Ngeremlengui data. Lastly, I examine some of the broader issues involved in the recordation of oral traditions. Both the nature and function of traditional knowledge have changed since the time of Parmentier's research. Because the recordation of traditional knowledge and questions as to who should write Palau's history (or histories) are major issues in modern Palau, Parmentier's contribution presents an opportunity to discuss current concerns.[5] Since Palauans stress differences, I should note my perspective is that of Melekeok, a *beluu* on the east coast of Babeldaob Island that is the seat of the paramount title (Reklai) of the northern confederacy and a traditional rival to Koror, seat of the paramount title (Ibedul) of the southern confederacy, and to Ngeremlengui.[6]

The Sacred Remains

Parmentier defines "history" as "a universal cultural category differentially manifest in societies, in which the relationship between past, present, and future states of a society is expressed by signs in various media which are organized by locally valorized schemes of classifica-

tion" (pp. 4-5). His specific focus is upon the "kinds of categories" that operate in the cultural configuration of history and on how such knowledge is recorded, transmitted, and manipulated by those who hold the right to possess this knowledge (p. 9).

The lush physical environment of Palau has been deeply enriched by an abundance of cultural and historical stone markers that are mute reminders of an ancient time to those of low rank, signs of popular legends or events to some knowledgeable people, and multilayered signifiers of meaning to those who hold the right to know oral traditions and the power inherent in such secret, manipulative knowledge. Such stones -some carved megaliths, others unmarked or marked by the gods or man-are termed *olangch* (objects that contain histories). Other primary *olangch* are: names (titles and their rankings, place names, names in migration histories, etc.), chiefly title land sites with their stone burial platforms,[7] and Palauan valuables.[8]

Employing a semiotic framework, Parmentier utilizes *olangch* as a modality by which to present the history of Ngeremlengui and its changing models over time. Such use of *olangch* is not simply an analytical device on Parmentier's part but an accurate reflection of how Palauans have merged their natural and cultural environments. As modalities of history, signs function in two ways: as "signs of history" (symbols of historical events) and as "signs in history" (their use, meanings, manipulation, conquest, or exchange). "Signs of history" are "representational expressions which, through their iconic, indexical, and residually symbolic properties, record and classify events as history, that selective discourse about the diachrony of a society" (p. 11). Such signs can originate in the context of the events to which they refer or, at a later time, as the "self-conscious reconstruction of the past" (p. 11). "Signs in history" refer to those signs of history which, "as objects, linguistic expressions, or patterns of action, themselves become involved in social life as loci of historical intentionality *because* of their function as representational vehicles" (p. 12). In Palau, Parmentier notes that, as in many preliterate societies, "signs of history" also are "signs in history" (p. 12). To quote Parmentier, "signs of history" and "signs in history" are "extensionally deployed in social action, and by encoding the layered course of historical change they make possible an intensional sense of cultural continuity through time. When functioning as historical signs, several kinds of objects and expressions are labeled by the general ethnosemiotic term *olangch,* 'external sign' or 'mnemonic marker' " (p. 12). Thus, external signs require two kinds of reading skills: (1) knowledge of *olangch* so that one recognizes what the object is or signifies and (2) the "predictive interpretations of 'prophetic signs' or 'portents'

(ulauch)" (p. 12). Knowledge of the latter plays a significant role in social action for interpretations are constantly "modified, manipulated, contested, and concealed' (p. 13).

Parmentier relates the use of physical objects as "signs in history" and "signs of history" to the ethnographic examples of the Golden Stool of the Ashanti (as described by Rattray [1923:287-293] and Fortes [1969: 138-191]) and the linkage between segments of localized ramages and *marae* structures in Tahiti (Sahlins 1958: 165). Parmentier's approach to *olangch* is guided by Sahlins's concept of "structural history" and Fortes's (1945:224) perception of history as being recorded by the structure of society itself (p. 14).

The basic problem in Palauan history is well perceived by Parmentier: "how can events, with their context-dependent and pragmatically valued quality, be recorded so that, on the one hand, the structure of society-in particular the hierarchical arrangement of its parts-can be invariantly reproduced, and so that, on the other hand, this repeated structure gains value from the cumulative weight of layered events" (p. 15). Parmentier suggests that "the trick of history" (p. 15) in Palau is the maintenance both of the invariance of structure (that a place's rank is timeless and of sacred origin) and the value of temporal precedence (for example, that a chiefly line is more ancient than other, lower-ranking lines).

Utilizing the unpublished oral histories collected by the Palau Community Action Agency, archival materials, ethnographies (the author's persistent failure to properly cite sources is a disappointing feature of the book), myth, legend, and data from informants, Parmentier offers a vivid portrait of the drama and dynamism of Palauan politics-a shifting world of villages and districts, titled chiefs and their political councils, with alliances formed, betrayed, or broken, all in pursuit of Palauan valuables that could be obtained through warfare and the display of trophy heads; institutionalized concubinage, marriage, and the exchanges that flow through affinal alliances; and institutionalized friendship or feasts. In chapter 3, the author identifies four significant Palauan categories-which appear in myth, chant, and historical narratives as well as in the geographic arrangements within *beluu* - that are basic to Palauan polity and history. These categories are diagrams in the Peircean sense (1931-1935, 4:447) through which "the cultural valuation of these signs as they organize patterns of social relations in Belau" can be established (p. 108). Similar cultural diagrams are found, for example, in Balinese temple organization (Geertz 1980) and in the residential organization of Tiv hamlets (Bohannan 1958).

The four diagrams that organize social relations are: (1) paths *(rael)*

that link elements in a linear order (such as those Parmentier discerns in migration histories); (2) balanced sides *(bitang)* that, to Parmentier, combine similar, yet opposed, members of symmetrical pairs (such as the division of a *beluu* into two halves: *bita el taoch,* one half-channel and the other half-channel, a mechanism that promoted cooperation and competition within the *beluu;* and *bita el eanged,* the alignment of *beluu* into two competing half-skies, a feature that Parmentier and others have noted was recent at the time of recorded contact); (3) four "cornerposts" *(saus)* that function to join four terms in a coordinated structure (p. 18)-for example, the four *beluu* created by Milad are the *saus* of the Palauan political structure (social or political units are described as being a "house" *[blai]* with the cornerposts supporting the structure); the four highest-ranking titles within any *beluu* also are the *saus* titles, having greater authority in decision-making matters than the lower six or seven title;[9] and (4) graded series, such as "large/small" *(klou/kekere),* a gradation that places elements in hierarchically ranked series (p. 18).

The next three chapters explicate the four models. Case studies of the histories of the Ngeremlengui district (once a major district of primary *beluu* and allied *beluu)* and of the founding of one of its *beluu* (Ngeremetengel) reveal the differences both in the models used and the histories told by those of high rank and those of low rank. Those of high rank (Imeiong) present a static view that reinforces the place's sacred descent from Milad; people of low rank relate a dynamic history of contests for power, wonderfully contrastive to the static view of royal charter. I particularly appreciated the abundant use of chants and stories given by Parmentier. The author points out in this "tale of two cities" (p. 255) that the latter version points to a realistic conception of political rank as reflective of actual power and indexed by factors such as population, economic growth, and the residential presence of high-ranking titleholders. Nonetheless, Parmentier observes that (at the time of his research) the Imeiong version is the legitimate one and, as such, it is the version taught in schools and used in land claims (see below). Political rank, then, depends in part on controlling *olangch* and in part on the strategic manipulation of the rhetorical implications of political modes such as "paths" and "cornerposts" (p. 256).

I recommend The Sacred Remains be read by all who are seriously interested in the Pacific. It will be of interest also to those concerned with problems of theory and structure. Its subject is complex, and the presentation is sophisticated. Because so much history is encoded in Palauan names and Parmentier does not treat other aspects of the cul-

ture in detail, it will be difficult for readers not familiar with Palau to follow at times. Its excellence makes it well worth the effort.

Discussion

In spite of the Palauan emphasis upon variation, I discern no major areas of disagreement with Parmentier's data. I am sure other reviewers have noted Aoyagi (e.g., 1979) is a female ethnographer, not male; my interest is in the utility of Parmentier's analytic approach and in the impact that ethnographic writings now have within Palau.[10]

My overall impression of the book is a curious one. There is a strong sense of the presence of two distinct dialogues within this volume-one a rich Palauan dialogue, ably interpreted by the ethnographer, from which I learn so very much; and a second one that does not relate to or intersect with the first dialogue. The second dialogue, addressed to colleagues, is but a reinterpretation of what already has been said in the Palauan data in much more eloquent and richly ambiguous terms. The discrepancy between the two levels of discourse, side by side, only reflects the limitations of anthropological models, typologies, and terminologies. Moreover, the second-level dialogue too often gives the impression of Palauans mindlessly following structural dictates. Although Palauans love to articulate their rules, what they say seldom is what is. Their genius always has been in the bending, stretching, manipulating, and denial of the rules, as Parmentier's data dynamically illustrate.

The sharp sense of two separate levels has been described by Dening (1980) as being a natural and inevitable division inherent in the ethnographic endeavor. According to Dening, dialogues about models are addressed to colleagues and are reflective only of the conversations anthropologists have with one another about a reality that has meaning only to those who construct models. This process bears little resemblance to the dynamism of the culture-the processual level. Perhaps I am naive or optimistic, but I think solid processual ethnographies do, in time, yield models of multilayered meaning to both the ethnographers and those studied. The excellence of Parmentier's data reinforces this belief, and I am indebted to him for providing them so richly. My sense of disquiet relates to the sharp gap between the data and the theoretical discourse.

Parmentier was interested in semiotics and in structural linguistics before he went to Palau (e.g., see Michael Silverstein's foreword, pp. xi-xvi). Earlier versions of Parmentier's work in Ngeremlengui (e.g.,

1981) reflect an even greater overlay of a priori theory and solutions to general theoretical issues than is present in The Sacred Remains. Palau was a "puzzle" in the anthropological literature simply because it was approached only with our concepts of unilineal descent and alliance theory (Smith 1977, 1981, 1983:3-g). Parmentier's analysis leads him to stress many of the same features I discerned in an earlier analysis of social structure-the significance of a quadratic approach (to understanding marital alliances rather than a focus just on descent, affinity, or cross-siblingship), the significance of process and context in shaping principles. Although my knowledge of Palau has deepened over the years, I have not yet adequately described the relationship between structure and process that I sense in Palau. It surely is a scholar's choice what path to take with his or her data; nonetheless, I think Parmentier would have made a far greater contribution to our theories of structure and process had he focused more narrowly on the data at hand. The utilization of the semiotic framework as a means by which to discern the cultural historical categories that are of significance within Palau especially requires the careful examination of how contexts and use are related to (or interact with) structure. In a culture that so highly values the art of ambiguity, we need to know how Palauans recognize and respond to "secret" or esoteric signifiers. Without such a balanced approach, we are left with a dialogue that has reality and conceptual meaning only at the same level of analysis as those studies of kinship terminological systems that derived meaning exclusive of their rules of use.

The Peircean aspects-"path," two sides of similar but opposed members of symmetrical pairs, four "cornerposts," and graded series such as large/small-are a significant step, for the categories *are* culturally important modes of spatial/social orientation. However, in a culture where process and contexts so shape principles (as noted by Parmentier), the second-level dialogue does not give sufficient attention to the processual level. In the classes of traditional Palauan medicines, most products are the sum of their parts; however, there is one class whose medicines are "more than" the sum of their parts. This suggests we have not yet identified all relevant Palauan categories that are basic to our understanding of structure. "Lineality" and "balanced opposition" are appropriate conceptual terms at one level of contrast. Yet a typology based on these terms tends to obscure other levels of analysis not yet fully described. The components within each of the four aspects differ in nature and function. Nero, for example, observes that power is differentially allocated among the *saus* titles so that the four titles do not

split into two equal halves but are graded according to differing responsibilities and contributions (1987:88-94). Similarly, a *bai* or *beluu* splits into two sides only when some action is required, such as decision making or increasing productivity. This is not quite the same thing as two fixed halves or sides. The typology is a valuable working tool; the problem is that it comes to have a life of its own, a convenient handle on a complex matter, and is utilized in print by other scholars not familiar with the culture. It precludes closer analysis of the components within each category, an analysis that would enable the analytic models to more closely approximate the reality of Palauans.

A few internal signifiers are missed in Parmentier's analysis, and possible internal reasons for variations in legends are not explored. This suggests a need for greater focus on the many layers of meaning and especially on how meanings are signified to a select few in certain contexts. The chants he gives us are a primary example of the complexity of layers. He would need to detail how certain words or the mention of a name signify another "path" (another history), recognized by only a few, so readers could appreciate the complexities involved.

Migration histories are a second such example. Parmentier gives one version of the migration history of the social unit whose history I now am writing. The version he presents (p. 259) is from the PCAA file; the donor was the paramount titleholder of the northern confederacy. The same titleholder gave different versions to several other ethnographers; his private journals contain yet other versions. The titleholder of each kin unit approves the history that is to be made public in Melekeok's current history project. The point of academic interest is that the Reklai, as would any titleholder, tailored the history to suit his listener. Within the Palauan framework, all versions are true if they were given by the Reklai. Moreover, other linguistic signifiers within this legend are not treated by Parmentier. For example, in the "Story of the Migration of Uudes," we read that a group of people "stopped briefly at the house of Tengadik to drink water and exchange a few words, then continued their journey" (p. 259). "To drink water" signifies a particular historic incident where "the water was muddy" (things were uncertain or unclear) and actions were taken to make the "water" clear and useful. The latter is but one example of second-layer signifiers embedded within this history.

The effect of rank on differential histories also is not explored consistently. For example, Parmentier reviews variations of the Chuab myth, a creation myth with which most local histories now begin (e.g., Nge-

burch and Tmodrang 1983). This myth tells of the creation of the physical/social universe and, for Parmentier, is evidence of the first lineal-based polity. Most versions stress that Chuab, a giant, was destroyed, and his body became the various *beluu/* islands. Why would Ngeremlengui informants deny this and yet other Palauan historians utilize it? My informants suggested it was because people of sacred charter do not like to admit their "low" origins (southern island from which Chuab came). This may not hold, but it fits Parmentier's essential points in a better way than does treating variation as "the ultimate step in rhetorical condensation" (p. 153). Moreover, in analyzing why one version has become popular Parmentier fails to note the impact of our writings upon the histories Palauans are writing. Familiar with our need for lineality and a "beginning," the Chuab legend may be more popular now simply because it has become an accepted "beginning" point for writing a book.[11]

Lastly, a greater emphasis on the process of the negotiation of meaning and knowledge is required. Since written histories now are used in the courts to determine land and title disputes, readers should be made aware that written histories-such as the PCAA oral histories file-are very new forms of traditional knowledge. Perhaps because knowledge is so powerful and those who contributed their knowledge to the PCAA project were aware of this fact, access to the files was restricted. The material did not circulate in the public domain. Kesolei, a Palauan ethnographer, has written on the nature of knowledge and secrecy in Palau, where only selected individuals hold the jural right to knowledge (1978). She notes that two people may give precisely the same recipe. Only that which is given by the jural holder of this knowledge is deemed "correct"; the other is not. In traditional Palau, knowledge that moved into the public domain was a by-product of negotiations between titleholders. No one person would put forth his own knowledge; negotiations took place with at least one other titleholder before decisions were made or strategies arrived at. There were stone platforms where the decision-making titleholders could meet apart from the other titleholders; messengers carried conversations back and forth in a silent assembly of the *klobak* (titleholders), the use of messengers being so structured that no one but the two chiefs knew the content of the negotiations. Parmentier's primary informant was one of the most esteemed historians in Palau; his death was still being mourned within Ngeremlengui and Palau in 1989, as it was by ethnographers, for he was also the primary informant for other books (e.g., Johannes 1981). Parmentier's book is cherished by some within Palau for people take it to be the *rubak's*

(respected elder) words, the *rubuk's* knowledge. The fact that any one person's knowledge has been made available-without the traditional process of checks and balances-is quite new. Although Parmentier has recorded the history of Ngeremlengui, other primary titleholders in this *beluu* take exception for, by tradition, there cannot be one history unless it is one of consensus and negotiation. The history of Melekeok as told by its traditional rival is, as Parmentier notes, a history from the perspective of those of high rank in Ngeremlengui. Now that it is in print, it becomes part of the political process of Palau without the counterbalancing it would have received traditionally. I regret the inclusion of some of the data without a more balanced perspective being provided by the author. For example, Parmentier relates how residents of one "hamlet near Melekeok" served as spies to report the Reklai's war plans to Ngeremlengui. Parmentier names the hamlet (p. 288). At no point does the author clarify that this hamlet was a "defeated land" *(cher)* in relation to Melekeok, of very low status. One political segment's draft state constitution deleted this hamlet from Melekeok. Other hamlets similarly have used ethnographic materials to argue a separatist path. Now, there are many informants in Melekeok who wish to use my current book as a vehicle through which to counter Ngeremlengui/Parmentier.

The nature and function of traditional knowledge have changed markedly since the time of Parmentier's research. "Secret" knowledge began to move into the public domain and to be recorded with the initiation of the land determination program in the early 1970s. I attended initial Land Commission hearings in Melekeok in 1973 and saw the tenseness and intense interest in the "secret" knowledge now becoming public record. Many families met privately to determine what would be said in public, reaching their own private understandings so that they would not have to state "secret" matters in public. Traditional knowledge became even more of a significant public issue with the increased number of court cases involving disputes over land title and with the creation of state constitutions in the early 1980s. In the course of constitution writing, elected officials had to turn to their elders for knowledge of traditional political structure and process, for boundary names, or for the determination of criteria of citizenship. The volumes of the German ethnographer Kramer (1917-1929) were consulted by elders who could not remember title rankings. Nero (1987) has reported that Koror State elected not to record its boundaries or other aspects of traditional knowledge for it recognized that to do so would remove the very fluidity and ambiguity required for chiefly negotiations. Furthermore, Koror

State recognized that popular knowledge of traditional matters would move power and authority from the domain of chiefs into the domain of a voting populace. Similarly, in the early 198Os, the Palau Supreme Court discouraged a plan to codify "custom" for it felt that such an effort would remove the fluidity and flexibility the court required to interpet "custom" and to mesh it with Western law.

Palau has changed enormously within the last five years; the *beluu* I once described no longer exists. The rate of change is astonishing, as are the changes in the people themselves. Many changes are attributable to an Americanized youth-the majority of the population--who watch video in the small *beluu* on Babeldaob that have some electricity; other introspective changes can be traced to the political uncertainty of recent years. Although the Supreme Court cautioned in the early 1980s that it could not handle the overload of land dispute cases within our lifetime and has since been restructured to alleviate its overload, almost every land parcel and every title is in dispute before the court or the Land Commission. A new category of individuals has emerged-those who hold knowledge about traditional ways of doing things and of specific histories have become "experts," appearing quite frequently before the court and Land Commission. As the systems blend, however, an "expert" who gives an accurate history of a social unit still may be challenged by an attorney or a member of that social unit for speaking a history to which the "expert" has no jural right. The issue remains not accuracy but who has the right to give this knowledge.

Adults commonly express an urgent interest in having Palauan culture and history taught in the schools. A wish to teach youth an appreciation of traditional values and an awareness of cultural loss with the death of each elder who possesses Palau's history are the stated reasons. The recordation of traditional knowledge is supported by more agencies now than in the early 1980s with elected officials (often U.S.-educated) expressing a need to know more of their own culture and titleholders of once-secret knowledge eager to leave a recorded legacy. The republic has created the post of "National Treasure" to honor historians and artisans of repute. Membership now consists of one historian appointed by each state (The Society of Historians), and they have created two volumes of Palauan history *(Rechuodel).* Since Palauans not only have assisted the works of foreign ethnographers but themselves have engaged in the preservation of their oral histories and traditions (e.g., Blaiyok and Metes 1989; Kesolei 1971, 1975; Ngeburch and Tmodrang 1983; PCAA 1974a, 1974b, 1976-1978; Society of Historians in process; Umetaro 1974), there is an increasingly strong demand that histories

written by Palauans or texts that present the Palauan perspectives of history be used in the schools and courts. Such texts would have more authority within the Palauan framework than do works by foreign ethnographers.

Given the nature of knowledge-both as traditionally and currently used-there are inherent political problems in creating a history for Palau. The states differ in their responses to this problem. Some feel it should be done by the traditional leaders by traditional methods. Other states argue that recordation and historic preservation efforts are Western concepts and should be done by Americans; some states seek doctoral anthropology students to record the knowledge of their titleholders and offer housing in return. Two states-Melekeok and Koror-have hired anthropologists to write their histories from their own perspectives. The volumes created by the Society of Historians (Division of Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Social Services, Republic of Palau) are challenged now and then by traditional leaders who maintain their representatives do not have the rank and authority to speak this knowledge or to speak for the *beluu.* The first volume was presented to the titleholders in the *bai* of each state so that the book would be sanctioned by the traditional chiefs. This sanction increases its acceptance by the public. Some officials think there must be just one official history, with no variations acknowledged. Researchers who cannot fit within their framework or work on problems that are of internal priority would not be encouraged.

At this point, so distant from a few years ago when everything was secret within a fluid and ambiguous system, our ethnographies are welcomed but with increasingly mixed feelings. Our academic dialogues once were outside the Palauan system of knowledge and authority. Now, no matter how accurate our data or how solid our intentions, texts are legal and political resources that must be dealt with by those whom we study. Due to the strong wish to record traditional knowledge while it is still possible to do so, anthropologists are sought to assist in meeting this need. However, agencies and communities that are investing in the creation of their histories, often at the expense of building basic infrastructure, state they are overwhelmed with priorities and problems. Academic research that is not relevant to their own needs is not encouraged by all. Where they once willingly assisted our academic research without reservation, Palauans increasingly are asking that they first be consulted so that the researcher may coordinate her or his needs with theirs. Since knowledge of traditional matters no longer is a matter of negotiation before a silent assembly in the *bai,* they ask to be

included in our dialogue since it is they who must deal directly with what we write.

NOTES

1. The Republic of Palau recognizes two official languages: English and Palauan. Since "Palau" is the appropriate spelling for English texts, I adhere to the designated spelling. Located approximately six hundred miles southeast of the Philippines, Palau is a republic comprising sixteen states. It has yet to approve a Compact of Free Association with the United States.

2. Bellwood (1983) charts the expansion of Austronesian settlement into the western Micronesian area at 4000 to 3000 B.P. The dates have been somewhat confirmed by carbon 14 dates placing the settlement of western Micronesia not later than the first or second millennium B.C. Parmentier discusses early settlement/residential patterns in Palau on pages 28-39. Recorded contact was in 1783.

3. For example, see McCutcheon 1981 on land use in Melekeok, Nero 1987 on a history of the paramount titleholders of Koror, and Smith (1977, 1983) on Palauan social structure and adoptive practices. There also has been a considerable amount of recent archaeological work (e.g., Gumerman, Snyder, and Masse 1981; Snyder and Butler 1990).

4. The patterned flow of goods and services *(omeluchel)* across marital and parental ties is one whereby food, labor, rights to a woman's sexuality, rights to her children, and other services flow from the woman's side to that of her husband. The value of the tie is determined by the amount given over time; reciprocity and "payment" in the form of rights to land and Palauan valuables are given at various points in the relationship.

5. From July 1989 through January 1990, I was the Palau Ethnographer at the Division of Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Social Services, Republic of Palau, based in Koror. I worked in conjunction with an archaeologist to develop recommendations for the preservation of the historic and cultural resources of Palau. The work was done under the auspices of the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation, U.S. National Park Service, under a grant administered through the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The project entailed research in Ngatpang and Ngeremlengui.

6. Since 1972, I have conducted six years of research in Melekeok. I now am resident in the community, employed by this state to write a book on their history and to create materials to teach this history in the local school so that the children of Melekeok may learn an appreciation of traditional values.

7. Titles adhere to the land. There is a specific land parcel associated with a title and an accompanying taro swamp. House platforms are of stone, height being determined by rank, and only significant and successful ancestors are buried therein to watch over the affairs of the living. Decisions made at this site have greater authority than do decisions made elsewhere.

8. Palauan valuables *(udoud er a Belau)* are small bars and cylinders of glass or mineral of unknown antiquity and origin, possibly entering Palau from the Philippines. Each piece now is named and has a history of previous owners and the transactions in which the piece was utilized.

9. The *beluu* differ in the amount of power distributed among the top four titles and in their alignment to one another. On the whole, power is differentially distributed to the top four titles (or top two), for the holders are the ones who maintain the structure through their decisions, their purchase of their seats in the meetinghouse *(bai),* and their responsibility to pay the fines for kin or community members who commit offenses. The two paramount titles (Reklai and Ibedul) are granted singular powers because the holders are the ones who pay the valuables to make peace and permit conquered peoples to return to their homeland.

10. I am indebted to Katherine Kesolei for her comments on an earlier draft of this review.

11. In the early 197Os, few titleholders knew the names and rankings of titles below the fifth or sixth, for only the first four are of common significance. With the increased use of Kramer's listings of titles (1917-1929) as basic reference works, all ten or eleven titles are fixed in rank. The system once may have been more fluid before recorded listings. In Melekeok, research suggests the lower five titles were unranked until the Reklai listed them for the Japanese administrators.

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Response: Richard J. Parmentier,

Brandeis University

My fellow Micronesianists Mac Marshall, Mary McCutcheon, and DeVerne Reed Smith do me the distinct honor of taking seriously the arguments of The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau *(SR),* and I welcome this opportunity to thank them and other reviewers of the book[1] for their careful attention and insightful criticisms. Taken together, the reviews have stimulated my own reexamination of the book's central themes and specific conclusions about the possibilities of a semiotic approach to Micronesian ethnography, and have caused me to become aware of ambiguities in its presentation and of more serious problems in its overall conceptualization. My goal in this response is fourfold: first, to state briefly what I believe to be *SR's* main theoretical contributions and ethnographic conclusions; second, to respond to a few general areas of criticism found in more than one review; third, to clarify some misunderstandings that the book has unfortunately promoted; and fourth, to indicate avenues for future Belauan research in light of the reviews. Whereas this genre of author's response often functions to cut off further debate, I hope that mine will encourage it.

Signs and History in Belau

The principal utility of *SR's* application of an analytic vocabulary taken from Peircean semiotics is the isolation of four "iconic" diagrams (paths, cornerposts, sides, and gradation) that recur in many contexts of Belauan culture and the specification of a category of "indexical" signs (called *olangch)* that function as cultural "shifters" by articulating these organizational diagrams with social institutions and historical experience. In contrast to structuralist approaches, the four Belauan diagrams are analyzed as differentially valued, and thus the possibility of transformation without change of meaning is denied.[2] And the focus on *olangch* as (Peircean) indices is intended to replace the (Saussurean) notion that semiotically constituted cultural categories operate independently of nonsemiotically constituted historical events. Thus, *olangch* are both signs of history and signs in history,[3] and the intentional manipulation of these semiotic markers depends on regularities in their contextual deployment.

In his comments Marshall (citing Victor Turner) makes an excellent observation in saying that, despite factional tensions and contradictory principles of social organization, members of a society share a body of "symbols" that can serve as signs of their collective identity (what Turner aptly calls "multifaceted mnemonics" [1977:58]). This can be fruitfully applied to Belau by viewing these indexical markers, whether stones, valuables, or names, as shared signs that then get organized or manipulated differentially.[4] The theoretical importance of Marshall's point is that, for societies like Belau at least, cultural identity consists of regularities of indexical structure rather than of Schneidereal "galaxies" of abstract symbolic constructs-a point repeatedly made by Michael Silverstein (1976).

Second, *SR* advances a generalization that the systematicity of these diagrams and indices is inversely related to indigenous awareness (p. 120; cf. Silverstein 1981). The "emic" categories, with distinct lexical labels and prototypical exemplifications, are put into play in narrative sequences and spatial patternings, but there is no consciousness of the complexities or implications of diagrammatic combinations, since the knowledge of actors relative to the system is necessarily limited by both temporal constraint and social position. For example, a storyteller from 1800, a period of intense confederation factionalism, would perceive the Milad polity as an archaism, while a contemporary storyteller would consider the opposed "sides of heaven" to be an equally "traditional" pattern: similarly, a person cannot occupy an Achimedean posi-

tion above the hierarchical social order. As a result, the analysis of Belauan culture as a system offered in *SR,* while obviously building on local models, texts, and interpretations, is not one that any Belauan would or could have suggested. Certainly I never had any hint from my informants concerning the semiotic conclusions proposed in the book-I only started to look for systematicity after a series of challenging questions from Marshall Sahlins, George Stocking, and Michael Silverstein at my thesis defense. Of course, having sent to Belau copies of my thesis in 1981 and the book in 1987, I would suspect that some Belauan readers have by now developed reactions at a systematic level.

Third, a goal in writing the book was to suggest that Sahlins's mode of analysis in Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities stands in need of revision, especially with reference to the semiotic relationship between myth and history. Although I clearly indicate (and here reaffirm) my deep indebtedness to Sahlins, my teacher, thesis advisor, and now colleague, the criticisms of his model in *SR* are indirect and muted, as might be expected from a young scholar trained under Pacific studies' common "big man" turned "chief'‘-if not "sacred king." For Sahlins (1981), myth is to history as type is to token; that is: cultural categories are to contextual experience as general semiotic regularity is to realized signs. While clearly a devastating critique of all Malinowskian "charter" theories of myth, since myths involve inherited categories rather than being merely present fictions created as projections onto the past, this analytic model is limited by its contention that the pan-Polynesian theory of myth and history is grounded in type-token relations, technically, a semiotic relation of trivial iconicity.[5] Thus, the transformation of mythic categories (e.g., the oppositions agriculture/warfare, fertility/sacrifice coded in the Lone/Ku myths) is inevitable when these categories become instantiated in social contexts manifesting conflicting human interests (e.g., Captain Cook's fateful visit of 1779; Sahlins 1988:43). Additionally, my Belauan research was designed to show that a culture's historicizing activity is not restricted to narrative discourse. This is why I attempt in *SR* to link up lithic and spatial signs to the more strictly linguistic material that Sahlins relied on.[6] In the end, for Sahlins myth and history are semiotically disjoined, a function of his concentration on symbolic values rather than on indexical values, that is, those signs with meaningful regularities of a temporal and spatial character.[7]

The Belauan materials examined in *SR* offer an alternative possibility: that type-token iconism is *only one* of several semiotic models, others being indexical shifters, quadripartite coordination, and hierarchical ranking. Clearly, Belauan "paths" featured in the Latmikaik-Chuab

stories, as well as in the "dynamic" perspective on political order (p. 136), are roughly equivalent to the Polynesian model of "replication" proposed by Sahlins. But the origin myth cycle goes on to describe the beginnings of not only a logic of indexicality (found paradigmatically in the journeys of Rak and Chuab, where *olangch* [place names and chiefly titles] are deposited in a chain of locations) but also a logic of "textuality" in the sign complexes underlying the sibling-based polity created by Milad. Furthermore, in Hawaii diachrony is restricted to the realization (and reformulation) of mythic templates stimulated by exogenous forces; in Belau diachrony can be seen in the narrative transformation of culturally valued semiotic models, with the power to typify exogenous forces of change in terms of local theories of history (p. 154). Thus in Belau the myths reveal the category of historical transformation, while in Hawaii the mythic categories are the object of transformation of historical forces.

Of course, what would be highly illuminating, though totally inaccessible, are data on the diachronic trajectory of mythic narratives' use of these alternative semiotic models. The sequence of myths reported in chapter 4 represent these models as themselves coming into being in a particular order (paths [plus indexicality], then cornerposts, then sides), but the history of that representation would enable us to specify the pragmatics of historical representation in a way exactly parallel to ethnographic data on the contextual manipulation of sacred stones (thus rendered signs in history) .[8] Being denied this retrospective information, Belauan scholars can look forward with eagerness to the continuing work of Nero and Smith, who for Koror and Melekeok respectively are charting the path-or the sides-of contemporary historiography in Belau.

At the ethnographic level-and here I beg the patience of non-Belauan specialists-SR's most important contribution is the identification of forms of political organization other than the well-documented binary factionalism (the "sides of heaven") so elegantly analyzed by McKnight (1960) and others. In reviewing evidence for a conceptually powerful quadripartition (the polity of Milad) and for a mythologically projected polity based on linear paths (the polity of Chuab), I open up Belau to cross-cultural comparison with island Southeast Asia, where "cornerposts" and "paths" are widespread. Similarly, my analysis renews the possibility of interdisciplinary cooperation between ethnographers and archaeologists,[9] since the status of the polity of Chuab (i.e., a set of villages located roughly on the east coast of the archipelago) is at present without empirical documentation. These stories of migration

and relocation could be a mythic representation of either initial settlement at either the northern (Ngetmel) or southern (Ngeaur) extremities, of sequential in-migration from various island Southeast Asian sources, or of dramatic demographic dislocation due to overpopulation or natural disaster. Perhaps it will be possible, as the recent work of Van Tilburg (n.d.) points out, to correlate transformations in political organization with a diachronic typology of monolithic stones. The polity of Milad could also receive empirical confirmation if the pattern of quadripartition was found to characterize stoneworks throughout the archipelago. Without such corroboration, however, *SR* only argues that the distinct organization of the Chuab and Milad polities reflects semiotic and ideological concerns rather than actual political dynamics (p. 196).

Second, I link the "dynamic" historiographic perspective of low-ranking districts, villages, houses, and titles to the earlier Latmikaik-Chuab myths of linearity and the "static" perspective of high-ranking entities to the Milad cycle with its quadripartite order-ironic in that the myths referring to a period later in time are used to legitimize the higher-ranking perspective, but not ironic when contrasting implications are appreciated: that linearity carries the possibility of new paths and fresh combinations, while quadripartition projects an image of stable maturity, generated at one moment and immune from alteration.[10] The strongest evidence for the regularity of this linkage is that the cornerpost model of the pan-Belauan Milad polity is said to have been created at the moment the goddess gave birth to four stone-children in the forest of Ngerebesek, while the cornerpost polity of Ngeremlengui district is said to have been created in parallel fashion by the Ruchel gods at a stone pavement in nearby Ngerutechei village. These two acts of "dynamic synchrony" are thus indexically anchored and become thereby mutually reinforcing. The apparent strengthening of Chuab stories in contemporary Belau, far from challenging the thesis of *SR,* would in fact be equally elegant proof of the validity of the postulated correlation between political rank and historiographic perspective. That is, the Ngeremlengui-based model of Belauan polity should be strongly repudiated by modernizing political forces in Belau-a situation any ethnographer would find disconcerting, since the validity of *SR's* conclusion requires the rejection of a central portion of its data by local people!

Third, I propose that the peculiarity of Imeiong's title organization (the only capital village where female titles go to wives rather than sisters of the four cornerpost titleholders) can be accounted for by seeing

the relatively "endogamous" self-reliance of quadripartite politics as one way to isolate Imeiong's presupposed high rank from the exigencies of exchange, warfare, and alliance. While awarding sacred female titles to in-marrying women may at first seem a strange way to limit the demands of affines, upon reflection the elegance of the strategy is obvious: giving in-married high-ranking spouses Imeiong-based titles derived from local house names deprives them of their own matrilineally generated titles; similarly, chiefly sisters sent to marry outside Imeiong are not accompanied by Imeiong labels. This analysis is, at a more abstract level, supported by the generalization that, in Belau as elsewhere in the Austronesian world, entities of the highest rank (villages, titles, valuables, stories, stones) are maintained as constitutive of the cultural order by being kept out of the ebb and flow of historical experience (p. 267).

Local Models and Analytic Constructs

I turn now to three specific areas of criticism made by more than one reviewer: the biased character of narrative data, the putative awareness of semiotic complexities by Ngeremlengui informants, and the problem of missing ethnographic information.[11] *SR* has been criticized for relying too heavily on information provided by a single informant, the late Ngiraklang Malsol. To be sure, many of the texts translated in the book were recorded during sessions with Ngiraklang, who was my "father," teacher, and friend. We worked together approximately three afternoons per week for two years, and my collection of his narratives runs to over a thousand typed pages, a corpus I hope to edit and publish in the future. Ngiraklang, as all who knew him will agree, was a genius, blessed with a remarkable memory that seemed to sharpen at the same time that his short-term memory and physical strength began to fade and a fierce dedication to finding out the "true" account. He was also proud of his position as Ngiraklang, traditionally the highest-ranking title of the capital village of the highest-ranking district in Belau. It was his passionate belief that knowledge of the stories and stones of Belauan tradition would be lost forever if elders like himself did not exhaust themselves in making both public and permanent what had once been "closely guarded" (p. 16).

I do need to explain, however, that during the course of my fieldwork I spent almost every free evening in the company of Chief Ngirturong Otaor and also studied with Ngirutelchii Dudiu, another member of the "cornerpost" council of titleholders in Ngeremlengui. But *SR* is not a

book based solely on "elite" sources. In order to develop sensitivity for contrasting perspectives I learned about the history of Ngeremlengui from untitled individuals from low-ranking Ngeremetengel village (the basis for the analysis in chapter 6). And in order to contrast male and female perspectives I worked closely with several female titleholders and young women without titles, several of whom have continued to be a great help over the years. Curiously, the biggest gap in my knowledge is from my own cohort, that is, young male adults, in whose sporting and fishing life-style I did not participate. More crucially, during my stay in Ngeremlengui the district conducted a "school" in Belauan traditions for all villagers; titled elders instructed young and old, male and female, titled and untitled in myths and chants, explained sacred stones, and recounted historical events.[12] All the elders in Ngeremlengui were most eager for everyone in the district to learn about their past, and I only hope that the stories I translate in this and future publications will assist in that effort.

My understanding of Belauan culture was, in addition, shaped by careful study of the Belauan texts collected by the researchers associated with the Palau Community Action Agency, especially the chants and stories recorded by Santos Ngodrii Kloteraol. That this vast archive of oral traditions has been destroyed by fire is an immense tragedy for the Belauan people, and my partial transcriptions of this material constitute only a small replacement. To summarize, *SR* is about Belau from the perspective of Ngeremlengui (p. xix), and its conclusions about the relationship between multiple perspectives biased by rank are derived from the widest possible distribution of resources within the district and in Belau.[13]

Second, several critics have claimed that my semiotic analyses are far too complicated to represent the conscious or "emic" models of my informants. I must apologize if any readers got the impression that this was my claim or if they were led to believe that my informants knew about overlapping diagrammatic complexes, sequential narrative transformations, or transcendent hierarchical categories. These constructs and the conclusions about their systematic relationship-both diachronic and synchronic-belong entirely to the analytic language of cross-cultural semiotic anthropology and comparative Oceanic ethnography. A point of possible confusion arises over any claim that people in Belau recognize a semiotic model, such as an iconic form (e.g., "path") or an indexical pattern *(olangch).* This claim does not mean that people know that a "path," for instance, is a semiotic construct, only that their intentionality and social action evidences shared rules of interpretability. We

can call these "ethnosemiotic" when they are given local lexical labels. The analytic vocabulary for these regularities developed through cross-cultural research is the business of anthropologists' metalanguage. Marshall's statement that the four icons taken "together constitute an underlying cultural structure" is correct but I contend that, as a system, this structure is not an "emic" one, that is, not subject to awareness or pragmatic manipulation. As noted above, the only claim about "psychological reality" (Barley 1988) pertains to the individual diagrams and distinct sets of *olangch.* The phrase quoted by Marshall from p. 54 about "the perspective of local actors and their cultural categories" was not meant to imply that Belauan culture as an "underlying structure" (Marshall's phrase) is the object of indigenous awareness. On the other hand, I completely side with Marshall's point about scientific regularities and, with him, insist that Smith's "two levels of discourse" is far from a "limitation of our models," but rather constitutes the necessary foundation for anthropology as a scientific discourse.

The only thing distinctive in my account is that it takes as data to be explained Belauan concepts and signifying forms (lithic signs, narratives, patterns of action) and relies on a limited set of ethnosemiotic constructs (e.g., *olangch).*[14] This attention to indigenous sources does not imply that Belauan storytellers are historians in the sense of being factual reporters of events or that the salience of myth places Belauan culture in some mythopoetic world where people believe they are fish. The point, rather, is that stories and myths provide important clues for outside observers to discover the meaningful categories operating in the culture that motivate actors to fight real wars, conclude real marriages, and confront real colonial powers. As should have been clear, I strongly oppose both the structuralist assumption about logical transformation as well as the Geertzean aim to adopt native explanatory models as our own.[15] And, at the level of ethnographic evidence, I sincerely hope that no other readers entertained the notion suggested by Smith that I am somehow the source of my own data.

Third, critics have pointed out that *SR* presents only a portion of Belauan ethnography, since it treats the culture at the political level (titles, villages, districts, confederations, polity, what Belauans call "public affairs") and neglects data such as kinship roles, exchange rituals, and marriage strategies (what Belauans call "household affairs"). While perfectly valid, this criticism is even more serious given the fact that in an early publication (Parmentier 1985) I proposed a model to explain the articulation of three levels of social reality (person, house, and district) by comparing the constitution and movement of three

classes of stones (valuables, gravestones, and monoliths). While I have not entirely rejected this admittedly premature synthesis, I could not manage to treat all these forms of data in a single book-may I claim Meyer Fortes and Raymond Firth as my models here? I have, however, published separate articles on the system of house affiliation (Parmentier 1984) and on exchange rituals (Parmentier 1988). In fact, *SR* suffers from a double delimitation of its scope: the political over kinship and "traditional" stories over contemporary narratives; the companion volume in preparation on kinship, exchange, and village-level social change will, I trust, remedy this situation.

NOTES

1. Barley 1988; Goodenough 1989; Hanlon 1989b; Körner 1989; Lieber 1989; Lingenfelter 1988; Mason 1988-1989; Nero 1989.

2. Perhaps the closest ethnographic parallel to the range of Belauan diagrams is the case of the Inca, for which Tom Zuidema (1983, 1989) has identified dual opposition (upper/lower), quadripartition, lines, and hierarchical gradation. Even Inca sacred stones *(huaca)* resemble Belauan *olangch* in that they were carried away by conquerors.

3. Despite the use of quotation marks in Goodenough's review (1989:544), I never call *olangch* "symbols of history" or "symbols in history," since this would confuse the point about their essential indexicality.

4. A slight problem with this application is that for Turner it is the *significata* rather than the variable signifying forms that are shared "values and norms" (1977:79). Furthermore, ritual symbols are not called *olangch* in Belau, whereas the Ndembu term for ritual symbol means "landmark, or blaze" (Turner 1973: 1367).

5. Sign occurrences that are instances of general regularities are produced and recognized in terms of formal resemblance between the template or type and the replicated instance. This kind of iconism should not be conflated with the more important resemblance that motivates the relationship between sign vehicle and object.

6. Much more work needs to be done on the role of stones in Belauan political action, especially to investigate the correlation between types of stone and patterns of manipulation; stones also need to be studied in relation to exchange valuables.

7. In the introduction to *Islands of History* Sahlins significantly modifies this argument in claiming that "prescriptive" and "performative" structures can be found within the same society and in noting that the realization of cultural categories in history is a matter of pragmatic construal (1985:xiii).

8. In *SR* I do not consider the problem that the Ngeremlengui stories as told today are peculiar in Belau in that, for the most part, storytellers do not participate in the rhetoric of binary political factionalism, for example, between Koror and Melekeok or between the "upper" zone and "lower" zone of the archipelago.

9. A first effort at this cooperation is Lucking and Parmentier 1990.

10. Since the skewing of mythical and historical narratives by rank is the subject of three chapters and the primary point of the entire book, I am perplexed that Smith found the topic "not explored consistently."

11. An unintentional laxity in proofreading and miscommunication with the press resulted in more typographical errors than is acceptable for scholarly publications. Readers can easily correct most of these, but I take this opportunity to correct errors in Belauan: p. vii *read* Iechadrachuolu; p. 32 n. 8 *read* Bairulchau; p. 971.10 *read* Ngerard district; p. 1141.41 *read* Uchelsung; p. 1421.26 *read* Obakeramechuu; p. 155 *read* (Ngerard); p. 203 1. 16 *read* kerdi; p. 2031. 18 *read* dosurech; p. 2111. 31 *read* Bungaruau; p. 248 1. 19, 1.21 *read* Ngchemesed; p. 2551. 8 *read* ulak; p. 273 1. 26 *read* Chemeruaol; p. 3021. 11 *read* Ngarameketii; p. 3021. 15 *read* Obilmeai.

12. Since my tapes of these sessions are the single greatest source of information I have about the transmission of cultural tradition in Ngeremlengui, I question Smith's contention that the information was collected without "traditional process of checks and balances."

13. Both Nero (1989) and Smith neglect this crucial limitation, though their specific corrections on details of Koror's and Melekeok's history are welcome. In particular, Nero's point that on p. 77 I confuse the removal of an individual Ibedul titleholder with the reordering of the system of titles is especially important because it illuminates the differences among Imeiong, Melekeok, and Koror with respect to chiefly titles: Imeiong recognizes no historical sequence of in-migrations of its four titles, Melekeok talks clearly about unification by a late-arriving line, and Koror insists that its chief came to power at a particular point and never lost it.

14. See Hanlon 1989a for an excellent review of trends in Micronesian history.

15. My substantial debt to the philosopher Charles Taylor should have been directly indicated; see his essay "Understanding and Ethnocentricity" (1985).

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CONTRIBUTORS

L. J. Gorenflo, L.E.A.R.N., 2204 Chestnut St., Port Townsend, Wash. 98368

Michael J. Levin, Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. 20233

Jeannette Marie Mageo, Anthropology Department (C-001), University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, Calif. 92093

Mac Marshall, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52242

Mary S. McCutcheon, Island Biogeography Files-Stop 166, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560

Richard J. Parmentier, Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 02254

Heinz Schütte, 5 Bd. de Port Royal, 75013 Paris, France

DeVerne Reed Smith, Melekeok State Liaison Office, P.O. Box 1557, Koror, Palau 96940

Jehanne H. Teilhet-Fisk, Visual Arts Department (B-027), University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, Calif. 92093