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

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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 boogiemán. 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 counter-reactions 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 ethnographic 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 crises 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

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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 super-cised, 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 venture-some 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 (1975:36). 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 1979: 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 *auluma* (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 1979: 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 *pōula* 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 *tautalaititi* 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" (1987:13: 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 'aiga 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 cockfighting. 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 "man-nered 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.

<i>A'e, a'e pa'u</i>	Climb, climb
<i>Ifo, ti'o tae,</i>	Fall down shitting shit,
<i>Oso ile malae</i>	Jump on the <i>malae</i>
<i>Pi Fa'avae.</i>	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." 'Avutu 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'a Samoa*, "the Samoan way of life."

Shore, in his review of this article, suggested that threats are more common than 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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