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TABU

Analysis of a Tolai Ritual Object

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University.

July 1991
DECLARATION

Except where otherwise acknowledged this thesis is my own work.
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Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the 'persistence of tabu (shell-money)' among the Tolai of New Britain. This tabu is made from little shells of a family (Nassarius) which are abundant in the seas of Indo-China and the Pacific.

Before the arrival of Europeans on the Gazelle Peninsula, the Tolai acquired these shells from distant places and manufactured them into tabu. The shells were strung onto strips of rattan. These strips were joined into strings and then packed into coils or baskets. The express purpose of tabu in the coils or baskets was ritual exchanges. At some ceremonies, this tabu was distributed in small amounts to everyone who attended. These small pieces then became the 'monetary' tabu. They circulated for a short while as 'money' but then they were 'trapped' and taken out of circulation by many individuals, who hoarded them away again in coils or baskets for future rituals.

Today the Tolai still acquire the shells from distant places and bring them to the Gazelle Peninsula for manufacture into tabu and it is still important to the cultural life of the Tolai. It continues to perform a monetary role, but only to a lesser degree due to the introduction of modern cash. The importance of tabu for the Tolai today lies in its 'ritual' role.

As a 'ritual object', tabu embodies many cultural 'desires'
and 'ideals' and in this sense represents 'human society' itself. It is used in ritual as a 'dominant symbol' with many layers of meanings. These meanings are activated in presentations. In each presentation, a different meaning or set of meanings is activated. The meanings activated in these presentations become statements. These statements express desires, intents and emotions. Many of these desires, intents and emotions relate to three cultural values: property ownership, kinship and identity. The statements cannot be uttered by word of mouth because they are socially disruptive, undesirable, humiliating and even dangerous (when they relate to spirits). They can only be made through the ritual presentation of tabu. In this sense tabu is a medium of communication about matters which are culturally Tolai and this is an important factor in the persistence of tabu today.
INTRODUCTION

Tabu, a traditional medium of exchange of the Tolai, is the object for which they are known to the outside world. It is a key material symbol for the Tolai which was used by them before Western colonisation and is still being used today. It is used on the Gazelle Peninsula, on Watom Island, and the Duke of York Islands (where it is known as dewarral\textsuperscript{1}).

The aim of this thesis is to answer one major question: Why has tabu persisted in modern-day Tolai society despite over one hundred and twenty years of contact with the outside world? In an attempt to answer this question I will enquire into the role of tabu in the modern day Tolai society of Matupit.

Since 1875, the beginning of sustained European colonisation, tabu has always been recognized as an important part of Tolai culture. For instance, one of the first missionaries to settle among the Tolai wrote:

There is not a custom connected with life or death in which this money does not play a great and leading part. I am convinced that the man who best understands the power and uses of tabu, be he missionary or

\textsuperscript{1} Watom Island people speak Kuanua, the same as the people on the Gazelle Peninsula and culturally they are very much Tolai as the people on the Peninsula. Duke of York Islanders speak a slightly different language to that of the Tolai on the Peninsula. Culturally they lie between the cultures of the Gazelle Peninsula and the nearby New Ireland, but they are much more akin to the Tolai on the Peninsula.
trader, will carry the greatest influence among the people, because in understanding the subject he will be led almost into the secrets of their very hearts, and their life will be understood by him as though it were spread before him as a chart. Take away their money and their secret-societies sink at once into nothing, and most of their customs become nothing (Danks 1887: 316-7).

Danks identified the central importance of tabu and his description of it as 'money' was elaborated by many other writers. For example, Rickard (1890), Brown (1910), Quiggin (1949), all stress the monetary function of tabu. Enzig summed up the tabu - as - money argument as follows:

Most ethnologists agree that the dewarra or tambu is the most highly developed form of currency in the Pacific area. Even authors who are otherwise reluctant to admit the monetary character of various objects used for payment in primitive communities, readily admit that the shell strings used in certain parts of the Bismark Archipelago qualify to be considered a currency (Enzig 1949: 83).

After making the above assertion, Enzig then went on to discuss a list of characteristics of tabu which it shared with other objects which were considered to be currency:

2 Tambu is the pidgin version. Apparently some writers such as the Epsteins have adopted this version instead of tabu.
easy divisibility, a store of value, a medium of exchange, a standard of value and a standard of deferred payments (Enziger, 1949: 84-6).

Subsequent commentators challenged this argument and stressed the ceremonial and political role of tabu. Consider Firth for example:

Strings of shell discs and similar articles are certainly a form of condensed wealth and act as a store of value. But they do not consistently perform any other function of money. They may pay for canoes or may be traded against one another, but they do not facilitate everyday exchanges, as those of food and implements, nor are market values of other commodities expressed in terms of them. The use of such articles is largely ceremonial; individual pieces often have names and unique histories; and are connected with the fortune of special persons and clans (Firth, 1961: 882).

In the late 1960s, a synthetic view was developed by A.L. Epstein. He accepted that tabu was a currency, but added that it had other important distinguishing characteristics:

Yet despite its important economic functions, the real significance of tambu for the Tolai lay elsewhere. My informants, anxious that I must grasp its full meaning, would sometimes volunteer the remark that formerly tambu had been like God
to them; it gave them life. Today when everyone uses Australian currency too, the distinction between the secular and ritual significance of tambu is expressed in such phrases as a mani ure ra nian, ma a tabu ure ra minat, money pertains to food (i.e. to mundane things), but tambu pertains to death. It is in the rites and ceremonies performed for the dead that many of the values and customs associated with tambu are most clearly exemplified (Epstein 1969: 230-1).

A.L. Epstein then went on to discuss the use of tabu in political exchange between groups:

'Big man' leadership of the kind we have been considering here depends upon the presence of an institutionalised form of wealth, in this case tabu, which through the network of the exchange system, can be manipulated to create a following of political supporters. At Matupit, as we have seen, loss of accumulated stocks of tabu during the war, and increasing involvement in the wage and cash economy after the war, have seriously affected the capacity and interest of the islanders to accumulate shell-money and put it to work. Consequently, there has been a decline in their ceremonial life, accompanied by the virtual disappearance of big men of the traditional type. (Epstein 1969: 250).
While these scholars have made important contributions to understanding the role of tabu in Tolai life, my perspective is somewhat different. First, following Weiner (1978), I want to emphasize the role of 'meaning'. As she notes, exchange acts provide opportunities for people to communicate messages to each other, which may be too disruptive or dangerous to utter in words (1978: 177). Such messages are coded in other terms such as 'love' and 'generosity'. Weiner also argues that in exchange situations, to a large extent objects of exchange are seen as representations of social facts of the moment. They are rarely seen to contain any inherent meanings, qualities, powers or values, such as the hau of Maori exchange objects. When discussing Trobriand exchange she says that they had layers of meaning relating to 'use, function, motives, politics, economics, and social relations' (1978: 177). With these inherent meanings, the yam then becomes a visual statement in exchange situations. It signifies words too powerful or dangerous to be uttered.

When trying to understand tabu among the Tolai, we become aware that it is more than an object of monetary exchange, or a representation of social facts. In many situations it is shown to have inherent or temporarily attached forces which determine its usage and protect it from misuse, abuse and even misappropriation. The why, how, where, when and by whom, tabu is used, are considerations which are not necessarily determined by people using tabu. Some of these considerations are determined by powers inherent in or temporarily attached to tabu.
In *tabu* exchange situations, the act of exchange is not only to create, confirm, or to maintain social and political relations between groups. The act is not a fixed procedure which must be followed to achieve the above goals. There are variations of presentations and receipts of *tabu* which are determined by the intentions and desires of the persons involved. An important trait of *tabu* exchange is that each exchange act may be loaded with a combination of intentions and desires. The nature of one *tabu* exchange act determines that each has a different set of meanings, which makes it totally different from all other exchange acts. No two exchange acts can ever be the same because each act has different intention and desires, and relate to different individuals and groups.

The second way in which my approach differs from previous writers on the topic is that, as a Tolai, I have privileged access to the 'native point of view'. Thus for me, the 'meaning' of *tabu* is not simply an abstract theoretical one but has deep personal resonances. This has given me insights which I have used to help answer the question set.

I undertook formal field research from May 1980 to October 1981 and then from July 1982 to January 1983, among my people the Tolai. A great deal of the data in this thesis is the result of the above-mentioned field research but, of course, I have also used information obtained unconsciously throughout my life. I hope that my answers to the question concerning the persistence of *tabu* will be of some benefit
to the Tolai. I also hope that my work will make some contribution to anthropological literature on exchange.

On the outset I must say that tabu is used today in commercial transactions. As will be shown in Chapter III, this commercial role only constitutes a very small part of the role of tabu and as a result, is not the primary reason for the persistence of tabu in modern-day Tolai society.

I intend to show that tabu persists because it embodies many cultural ideas and ideals. To a large extent it is what Turner would call a 'dominant symbol', in the sense that it represents 'human society' itself (as will be discussed in Chapter IV). As a symbol of 'collective sentiments', tabu has some degree of sacredness which is important for continued Tolai reverence towards it. But again, this function of tabu is not sufficient to explain tabu's persistence for ritual usage in ceremonies.

The term 'ceremony' is used here to mean 'any complex organization of human activity which is not specifically technical or recreational and which involves the use of modes of behaviour which are expressive of social relationships' (Gluckman 1962: 22). Following Munn (1973), I define 'ritual'

... as a generalized medium of social interaction in which the vehicles for constructing messages are iconic symbols (acts, words or things) that convert the load of significance or complex sociocultural
meanings embedded in and generated by the ongoing process of social existence into a communication currency. In other words, shared sociocultural meanings constitute the utilities that are symbolically transacted through the medium of ritual action. The generalization of ritual symbolism derives from its capacity to synthesize and circulate meanings from many domains and specific situational contexts through the agency of a comparatively limited number of tokens or vehicles, sometimes very simple in form, that have assumed varying degrees of semantic 'multivocality' (Munn 1973: 580).

Rituals which involve tabu enable individuals and groups to communicate to each other through ritual tabu exchange and to convey coded Tolai messages. In the first instance there are three main themes of ritual exchange: social relations, identity and property ownership. Many of these ritual exchanges relate to these three themes, such as creating, confirming and maintaining, personal, social, economic and political relations or establishing rights of ownership over property such as land. But at the same time, the exchange acts transmit messages about intents, desires, personal-interests and emotions. In many of these exchange acts, the messages are multiple. They may be about, personal, social, economic and political relations all in one.

Many of the messages communicated through ritual are too embarrassing, socially undesirable, disruptive, destructive
and even dangerous because they relate to the spirit world. For these reasons these messages cannot be expressed publicly by word of mouth. They can only be communicated through the ritual symbol, tabu.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter I is an introduction to the Tolai, and in particular to the people of Kikila on Matupit among whom fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken. In Chapter II, I present the Matupit and Kikila setting, giving some idea of the economic environment and subsistence activities. In Chapter III, I discuss the production of shells into tabu and also its role as 'money'. The monetary function of tabu is discussed briefly here in order to establish that it is used as a money today but that this is not the main reason for its persistence. Chapter IV deals with beliefs about the spiritual realm which gives tabu its sacredness in certain situations. In this chapter I also discuss some of the permanent and temporary powers of tabu. These are the powers that determine its usage and protect it from misuse, abuse and even misappropriation. Tolai kinship and social relations are discussed in Chapter V to present some idea of the nature of relationships. Many of the tabu exchanges discussed in later chapters are conducted along kinship lines. The next four chapters (VI Marriage, VII Death and Mortuary Ceremonies, VIII Tubuan, IX Land Tenure), constitute the main body of the thesis. I introduce each institution and then discuss the tabu exchange acts in them. I show that while tabu exchange acts relate to particular institutions, they all carry very much the same
messages with the same motivations, intentions and desires. I look at the various levels involved, personal, social, economic, political and spiritual. At these different levels I show that exchange provides an occasion for people to bor (harangue), wawirwir (shame), wamalari (insult) and wabilingaran (denigrate), each other publicly as individuals and groups without too much social disruption. They also express ogogabut (self-aggrandizement), and warpin (agonisticism). Some of these exchanges are said to be done out of balamarmari (compassion), warmal (affection), warmari (love/pity) and niligur (grief). At the same time they are underlaid by desires and intentions for personal gain. In Chapter X, I conclude with a brief review of my argument.
Chapter I

FROM THE PAST TO THE PRESENT

The Tolai

The Tolai inhabit the Gazelle Peninsula of the island of New Britain, in Papua New Guinea. The Gazelle Peninsula is within the East New Britain Province, with Rabaul as the provincial centre. The Tolai are of Melanesian stock and speak an Austronesian language, Kuanua. They number about 100,000 of which about eighty percent live in rural villages (See Map I). The population sizes of these villages range between 300 and 3,000. A large number of these people are cash crop farmers (cocoa and copra) or subsistence farmers, artisans and or a combination of these three activities. The town of Rabaul is small and offers only limited employment, so only less than twenty percent of the Tolai living in the surrounding villages work in the

1 While most of the Tolai population live on the Gazelle Peninsula, some live on the nearby Duke of York Islands and Watom Island.

2 There are other groups apart from the Tolai who constitute the population of East New Britain. The larger of these groups are the Mengen of the south-coast of New Britain and the Baining of Central New Britain.

3 Kuanua is spoken by most Tolai and is understood by all Tolai. But there two groups of languages who speak two slightly different languages; the Duke of York Islanders and the Birara of the south-coast of the Gazelle Peninsula.

4 In some cases small villages have merged as a result of population increase and forming larger villages. This is the case with many of the villages near the urban centre, Rabaul.
Map I The Gazelle Peninsula.
town. Most of these people live in the villages and commute between the village and town every morning and afternoon. A larger number of Tolai people who are in wage employment, are in other urban centres of Papua New Guinea.

Nearly all of the villages are served by one of the best road systems in Papua New Guinea, facilitating easy and regular travel between the villages and to the town. Many people in these villages operate public transportation services, known as 'Public Motor Vehicles', more commonly known as PMVs. These are mini-buses and trucks or utility vehicles which have been fitted with seats. These are the main means of transportation. With the construction of the Warongoi hydro-power station in the Province, in the last ten years many villages have had electricity services put through to them under the Papua New Guinea Government's Rural Electrification Scheme.

Physically, most of the villages on the Gazelle Peninsula and the nearby Watom and Duke of York Islands, do not look anything like traditional Tolai villages. Most of the houses in these villages are permanent buildings made of imported materials. Many of these households have imported European furniture and other household items including

5 This figure differs between villages, usually depending on the proximity and accessibility of the village to the town.

6 Traditionally the Tolai lived in hamlets, with populations of between only 20 and 80 people in each settlement. The houses were made of local wood and bamboo for the inner structure, coconut fronds for the wall and grass for the roof.
consumer items such as stereo-players and TVs. In some villages rusty corrugated ironing roofs and abandoned rusty car bodies are eye-sores.

By Papua New Guinea standards, the Gazelle Peninsula is one of the most developed Provinces in the country. In addition to the well developed road system and the electrification of much of the rural areas, the Gazelle Peninsula boasts many other social and economic infrastructure services which are considered to be adequate and advanced, compared to other many areas of Papua New Guinea. These are services such as education, hospitals and cash crop development. The Tolai have enjoyed many of these services ahead of many of the groups of Papua New Guinea, for at least forty years.7

Between the 1950s and 1970s the Tolai were considered to be one of the most sophisticated groups in Papua New Guinea (Epstein 1969). By the mid-1970s many Tolai had gone through advanced levels of the education system. A large number of the graduates filled jobs in the Government services, such as teaching, nursing and clerical jobs. As most of the rest of the Papua New Guinea was still very much undeveloped, many of the Tolai school graduates had to be sent to other areas of the country to work for the Administration. When Papua New Guinea attained political Independence in 1975 and introduced the National

7 The infrastructure developments were done by the Germans, Japanese (who mainly built the roads) and the Australian Colonial Administration. The Australian Administration poured a lot of money into the infrastructure development of the Gazelle Peninsula because of the economic returns from cocoa and copra.
Localization Programme, many Tolai replaced Australians in many key positions in the Public Service and other semi-government organizations. After Independence, when other areas of the country produced more school graduates, the number of Tolai in the Public Service decreased. Today many Tolai continue to live and work in many of the urban centres of the country. Some have returned to the Gazelle Peninsula to take up wage employment in Rabaul town, for self-employment or to merely live in the village.

Today the Tolai participate fully in the public sector and the private sector, both on the Gazelle Peninsula and abroad. 8 On the Gazelle Peninsula the Tolai engage in modern politics at the National, Provincial and Community Government levels. Nearly all, belong to one Christian Church or another, the main ones being Roman Catholic and the United Church. 9 Many Tolai manage and own modern large scale enterprises. Tolai, both on the Gazelle Peninsula and abroad, participate in modern-day recreational activities, such as sports.

The Matupit

Matupit is an island village in Blanche Bay. Over the years the Matupit have always considered themselves to be more sophisticated or more informed about the outside world than

8 From hereon my usage of 'the Gazelle Peninsula' includes Watom Island and the Duke of York Islands, unless I qualify the term such as 'mainland Gazelle Peninsula'.

9 In fact it would be very difficult to find a Tolai who does not belong to a Christian Church.
other Tolai. This is because they consider themselves to have had a relatively longer period of contact with the outside world and also because of their current close proximity to the town. They sometimes look down on other Tolai, calling them kaulung (being unfamiliar with European ways) and talk of them as 'bush-people' living in dark forests, in valleys and in the hills.

Matupit, being only a small island is mostly a residential place. The islanders' traditional gardening areas were on the mainland. Today most of this traditional land has been planted with copra and cocoa. The Matupit no longer do any 'serious gardening'. A lot of the gardening they do today is within cocoa and coconut groves where the soil is very poor. Because of this land shortage, many people have gone as far as the Bainings territory, towards the centre of New Britain to purchase land. This land is initially put to gardening land but then later it is also planted with cocoa. The shortage of land makes it difficult for the Matupit to maintain some aspects of their traditional life. For instance, much of their diet today consists of imported foods, such as rice, bread, biscuits, tinned-meat, tinned-fish. For more traditional foods such as bananas, taro and aibika (spinach), the Matupit have to depend very heavily on the town market.

The Matupit are very much tied to the town for their

10 This is gardening where certain prestige food crops such as taro and particular varieties of bananas are cultivated.
livelihood. They engage in village based economic activities such as fishing, collecting megapode eggs, and preparing food for sale in the town, in order to earn money. The fish, the eggs and the food, all have to be sold in the town for money.

Apart from the difficulties created by the close proximity of the island to the town, the Matupit are still very much Tolai as other Tolai of the Gazelle Peninsula. They participate in many of the traditional ceremonial and ritual activities in other Tolai villages. They also stage their own traditional ceremonial and ritual activities.

Tolai history

The Gazelle Peninsula was not known in European history books until Cartaret sailed through St. George's Channel in 1787. It is not known what happened in the next eighty years but it is known that traders of the German firm, Godeffroy's of Hamburg, were already trading in the Western Pacific area by the second half of the 1870s. In 1873, the first Europeans on record landed on the Gazelle Peninsula. These were two traders from the firm, Godeffroy's who were landed at two different locations on the Gazelle Peninsula. One was at Nonga on the North Coast and the other was on the island of Matupit. They did not stay for very long because soon after their arrival, they had an argument with the natives on Matupit who burned their

11 These were mainly trading for copra but they also traded for trepang.
houses and chased them away. Traders continued to operate in the area for the next two years but there is no record of any more landings.

In August 1875, the Methodist Missionary, George Brown, landed at Port Hunter in the Duke of York Islands. In the same month he sailed to the mainland Gazelle Peninsula and landed on Matupit, his first landing on the mainland. Brown had brought some Fijian lay-preachers with him, all of whom remained at Port Hunter for some time. After a number of visits to the mainland, the Fijian Missionaries were gradually posted in various village locations. In November 1875, the first Fijian preacher was posted on the mainland Gazelle Peninsula. He was Peni Gaumia, who was posted at Matupit. Gradually other preachers were also posted to other village locations on the mainland. In 1878 five of these Fijian preachers were ambushed and killed by Tolai in the hinterland. A punitive expedition waged by Brown and some traders resulted in the destruction of many villages in the Blanche Bay area. George Brown’s arrival and the posting of the Fijian preachers are important events to the

12 Brown was a Missionary in Samoa, Tonga and Fiji before making the trip to New Britain. He recruited the lay-preachers in Fiji for the first trip. In later trips he brought in preachers from Tonga and Samoa.

13 The lay preachers actually walked into a trap which had been laid by a ‘bigman’ named Talili, who did not want the missionaries to open up the interior of the Peninsula because it would have destroyed his monopoly on the flow of trade goods into the interior.

14 This caused an uproar back in Australia, both within the church and outside of the church. Brown himself has documented a lot of the debate on this subject in his Autobiography.
Tolai and they still commemorate them today. These events are remembered with more fervour than Government events.

A month after Brown's arrival, Eduard Hernsheim, a German trader, sailed into Port Hunter and then to later establish a trading post on New Britain. In 1879, a Scotsman, Thomas Farrell and his part-Samoan de-facto wife, Emma Forsayth, arrived at Mioko Island in the Duke of York Group. After operating a trading station there for a few years, Emma Forsayth who later became Queen Emma, decided to move to the mainland Gazelle Peninsula. In 1882, Emma moved to Ralum in the Blanche Bay area. With the help of her part-German brother-in-law, Richard Parkinson, Emma established a cotton plantation. Later she established a copra plantation, the first in the Western Pacific. The Ralum estate became a thriving centre for European social life. Queen Emma later bought a lot of land around the Ralum area and then later extended her acquisitions to other areas of the Gazelle Peninsula. It was in these early years that the Tolai began to lose a lot of land. Later, other traders also settled on other locations of the Gazelle Peninsula. These traders and Missionaries were of different European nationalities. There were British, 

15 Richard Parkinson was married to Emma's sister, Phoebe. He was a botanist who brought in many European plants and trees for planting at Ralum. Many of these plants and trees now thrive on the Peninsula.

16 Emma brought in many of her part-Samoan relatives, including many unmarried females, who were the main attractions in the community.

17 In this period, the Tolai lost about forty percent of their land, a lot of which was claimed as having been bought by Emma.
Australian, American, Belgian and German.

The German nationals succeeded in convincing the German Reich of the commercial worthiness of the area. In 1884 the German flag was raised at Matupit, proclaiming New Britain and other islands of the Bismark Archipelago, a German Protectorate. Later, flags were raised on the shores of mainland New Guinea. German administration lasted until 1914. During their term of administration the Germans did not have a clear policy on the development of the Tolai but they left a very good road-network which was important later to Tolai economic progress. They also left the Tolai with the luluai and tultul system of government which was important to early Tolai political development.

From 1914 to 1921, the Gazelle Peninsula along with the rest of the New Guinea Protectorate, was under an Australian Military Administration. In 1921, an Australian Civil Administration took over the administration. This period was marked by inaction and disinterest on the part of the administration, in most parts of the Protectorate. The Tolai on the other hand, made some progress during this period. Some of them bought trucks and had began to build modern houses.

In 1942, Tolai progress was abruptly halted by the Japanese invasion of Rabaul. As Rabaul had a large

18 The luluai was the administration’s representative in the each village or district. The tultul was the assistant of the luluai.
concentration of Japanese troops, the Gazelle Peninsula was devastated by allied bombing. Tolai properties such as houses, trucks and tabu, were seized by the Japanese and much of it was destroyed. After WW II, the Australian Administration's attitude of inaction and disinterest changed to one of more concern for the welfare and development of the local inhabitants. For the Tolai, the administration of this era brought about two significant developments which greatly effected their history and progress. First, in 1950 the Local Government Council system was introduced on the Gazelle Peninsula, as a pilot project for later introduction to other areas of the Territory. The Tolai embraced this system with great enthusiasm. Five Local Councils were established among the Tolai population; Rabaul, Vunamami, Reimber, Vunadidir and Livuan. These Councils were wholly managed by Tolai. Rather than being mere instruments of the Australian Colonial Administration, the councils became heavily involved in the social and economic development of the people. By the early 1960s, these Councils had become very wealthy. In 1963, the five Councils amalgamated to form one prosperous and thriving large Local Government Council which was known as the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council. An attempt by the Colonial Administration in the late 1960s to change this all-Tolai Council into a multi-racial Council was the cause of much controversy and turmoil on the Gazelle Peninsula, which will be mentioned again below. Second, in the 1950s the Administration encouraged the planting of cocoa by the Tolai, as a cash crop. This was successfully propagated by the Local Government Councils. By the early
1960s, much of Tolai land was planted with cocoa. To process and export the produce, a public enterprise, known as the Tolai Cocoa Project was formed under the newly amalgamated Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council. Again, this enterprise was wholly run by Tolai.19

By the late 1960s, the Tolai had had almost twenty years of experience in local level government and some degree of economic management. With the formation of the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council and creation of the Tolai Cocoa Project, the Tolai felt that they were ready and able to progress further in political and economic advancement. But their enthusiasm for progress was weighed down by a number of problems, much to their annoyance and dissatisfaction. They were faced with two main problems. They had an acute land shortage and they had an administration which did not agree that they were ready to progress further. The land shortage was caused by the land alienation by Europeans such as Queen Emma in the 1880s, a very high birth rate of three percent and the recent planting of a lot the land under cocoa and coconuts. The Administration's negative attitude towards Tolai progress was evident in its attempt in the late 1960s to change the already prosperous all Tolai Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council into a Multi-Racial Council.

The problem of land shortage had been presented to the

19 Many of the Tolai who ran the Local Government Councils and later economic ventures, were trained at the Vunadidir Local Government College, just outside of Rabaul.
Administration on many occasions in the past. The people wanted the return of the lands which had been improperly alienated by Europeans, but these requests fell on deaf ears. In 1968 a number of confrontations occurred between Tolai and European plantation owners. At around about the same time, a proposal for the creation of the Multi-Racial Council was circulated. The new Multi-Racial Council was to include the Europeans, Chinese and Mixed-Race people who lived in Rabaul town. The Tolai felt cheated, as they had successfully ran the Council system for over twenty years in the rural areas, while the outsiders spent their time in the town looking after themselves. Now that the Council was economically viable, they wanted to be part of it. The Tolai feared the continuation of political and economic domination by the involvement of 'others' in their Council. And at about the same time it was discovered that the Tolai Cocoa Project was to become a limited company with European membership on the Board of Directors.

In late 1968, the Tolai conducted a number of protest marches, sit-ins and squattings, notifying the Administration to return all the alienated land and recind the proposal to create a Multi-Racial Council. The responses from the Administration were negative. A large number of Tolai refused to pay their taxes to the Council, and which resulted in many of them being arrested and gaoléd.20 This led to the formation of the Mataungan

20 The people used to pay taxes under their respective Councils and also under the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council. But they refused to pay their taxes when they heard of for the creation of the multi-racial
Association, a pressure group to confront the Administration on the above problems. Very little progress was made in negotiations with the Administration.

In 1969 annoyance and dissatisfaction turned into frustration and anger. A number of violent clashes erupted between the Administration and the Tolai. The Administration brought in riot police to move protesters who were squatting on plantations and to protect Administration employees and property. The Tolai were divided into three factions; those who supported the formation of a Multi-Racial Council, those who were against it and those who were neutral on the issue. Those who were for the formation of the Multi-Racial Council were represented by the Greater Toma Council, a newly formed body in the hinterland of the Gazelle Peninsula. Those who were against the proposal were represented by the Mataungan Association. The neutral faction was represented by a body known as Warbete (Neutral). Because of these divisions, violent confrontations also occurred among the Tolai.

For the three years after 1968, the Gazelle Peninsula was in turmoil. The Mataungan followers defied all Administration orders and directives. They refused to accept any Administration services. The number of Mataungan tax defaulters increased. They were arrested and they

21 The people from this area were very conservative. Their representatives in the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council voted for the creation of the Multi-Racial Council.
filled the goal. When they got out of gaol, these people paid taxes to an alternative government which had been formed as the administrative arm of the Mataungan Association. This body was known as the Warkurai Nigunan (Home Rule). This body was responsible for the administrative functions that the Councils had been responsible for before the troubles began. The Warkurai Nigunan collected the taxes from the people in order to carry out the functions previously performed by the Councils. The other two bodies mentioned above, Greater Toma Council and Warbete, carried out similar functions for their followers. At the same time a business arm of the Mataungan Association was formed, known as the New Guinea Development Corporation. This Corporation collected shares from the people and bought off a number enterprises in and around Rabaul, including a number of coconut and cocoa plantations.

After some time the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council was suspended, which in the meantime had been formed despite the people’s protestations. A Rabaul Area Authority was formed but this did not effect the Tolai people’s life very much. The Tolai remained in their three factions. After Papua New Guinea attained political Independence in 1975, the Tolai were among the first people to call for greater autonomy of local political entities, such as provincial governments. Today the Tolai live under the East New Britain Provincial Government, which was established in 1976 with its headquarters in Rabaul. Within this Provincial Government there are Community Governments
and within these there are Village Councils. The issue of alienated land was resolved much later when a lot of the land in question was returned to the people under the Plantation Redistribution Scheme.

**History of Matupit**

Compared to most Tolai villages on the Gazelle Peninsula, Matupit as an island village, is of recent origin. According to oral history, Matupit was originally a huge coral reef in the middle of Blanche Bay which was called the *mata pit* (mid-way fishing spot). The reef was a common fishing ground for the villages on the shores of Blanche Bay.

Due to volcanic activity, the highest part of the reef was gradually pushed up out of the water forming a small atoll. A man called Diararat, from the Blanche Bay village of Raluana, settled on the first area of dry land. He later built *wangan* (sand catchment) to build up the soil on the atoll. Diararat's wife joined him on the atoll then later other relatives came to join them there. As the island grew bigger, many people from different villages on the shores of Blanche Bay came and settled on the island. Thus the population of Matupit Island was made up of people from the villages around the shores of Blanche Bay. Most of the clans on Matupit today, are historically linked to villages on the shores of Blanche Bay.

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22 This story has been told by A.L. Epstein in his book 'Matupit'.
Matupit was very important during the very early period of Tolai contact with the outside world. Being located in the middle of Blanche Bay, and having a protected harbour on the eastern side of the island, Matupit was easily attractive to the first Europeans.

As was mentioned above, one of the first two Europeans on record to set foot on the Gazelle Peninsula landed on Matupit Island. Although this trader did not stay on the island for very long, he provided the 'natives' with the chance of being familiar with Europeans.

About two years after the trader was chased away, a second European came ashore on Matupit. This was the Reverend George Brown, who went ashore on Matupit Island on August 24 in 1875. On this first call, Brown made friends with the people of Matupit. After stationing the lay-preacher there in November 1875, the island became a frequent place of call for him during his later trips to the mainland Gazelle Peninsula. From Matupit as a sub-station, the other lay-preachers were gradually posted in other villages of the Gazelle Peninsula.

In 1876, the German trader, Eduard Hernsheim, saw Matupit for the first time when he accompanied Brown on one of his visits to the mainland Gazelle Peninsula from the Duke of York Islands. After failing to establish a trading post on

23 This harbour was known as Matupit Harbour and it was where Hernsheim built his wharf.
the Duke of York Islands, Hernsheim established a trading station on Matupit in 1879. The station later became a busy trading post. The Station was at Matupit Harbour on the eastern side of the island. There was a wharf, an office complex, a general trading store and a copra depot. Men from other islands of the Bismark Archipelago were employed at the trading station. Hernsheim himself lived at Raulai, at the southern end of the island.

During the German Colonial Administration, many men from Matupit attended schools and some of them had gone on into job apprenticeships. When German Administration ended in 1914, the Matupit fell into stagnation. The progress they had made under German rule could not be continued. Only some of the men who had been through German schools were able to work for the Australians who administered the Territory of New Guinea as a Trusteeship of the League of Nations.

During WW II, many Japanese troops were stationed at Matupit Island. Most of the islanders were moved off the island onto the gardening areas on the mainland. A number of big machine guns, many of which are still in place, were positioned on the island due to the island’s strategic position in relation to Rabaul Harbour. Thus during the allied bombing raids, much of Matupit was devastated. Many Matupit people died during the bombing raids and at the hands of the Japanese.

After WW II, Matupit was at the forefront of reconstruction
of the Gazelle Peninsula. When the Australian Colonial Administration presented schemes for development of the people, the Matupit embraced them. Matupit was one of three Tolai villages which had the first schools. The Matupit welcomed the introduction of the Local Government Council system. Under this system they came under the Rabaul Local Government Council and were represented by articulate and progressive men. These representatives (Village Councillors) were advocates of the development schemes laid out by the Colonial Administration. In the 1950s they welcomed the introduction of cocoa as a cash crop. They gave over a lot of their land for pilot projects in cocoa farming. By the end of the 1960s, Matupit had many well-educated men and women and it had become a prosperous village.

When the troubles of the Gazelle Peninsula began in the late 1960s, the leadership of the Mataungan Association was dominated by Matupit Islanders. The articulate spokesman of the Association, John Kaputin, was a Matupit Islander. The President of the Association, Mr. Damien Kereku, was also from Matupit. Many of the initial rallies of the Association were held at Matupit. Some of the most violent confrontations between the Administration, the police, members of other Tolai factions and the Mataungan Association followers, occurred on Matupit. When the leader of the Australian Parliamentary Opposition, Gough Whitlam, came to the Gazelle Peninsula to hear the grievances of the Mataungan Association, he met the Tolai people in a rally at Matupit Island.
Today Matupit comes under the Kabiu Community Government, within the East New Britain Provincial Government. Within the Kabiu Community Government, each village has a Village Council. Each Council is presided over by an elected Councillor who represents the village in the Community Government. Matupit constituted one village but because of its very large population, it had to have three Councils in three districts and with three representatives in the Community Government. The three district Councils operate independently of each other but sometimes they combine activities such as having combined meetings.

Summary

The Tolai are a Melanesian people who live on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, and who speak an Austronesian Language, Kuanua. The majority of Tolai live in villages on the Gazelle Peninsula but some live in many urban centres of Papua New Guinea, in employment.

Historically, the Tolai have had over one hundred and twenty years of contact with the outside world. Sustained contact began in the mid-1870s, with the arrival of the Reverend George Brown in the Duke of York Islands. Each wave of outsiders left different impressions on the Gazelle Peninsula and the Tolai. George Brown and his contemporaries brought the lotu (religion), Queen Emma introduced the coconut plantation system. In 1884 the Gazelle Peninsula became part of a German colony of New
Guinea, and the Germans introduced the *luluai* and *tultul* system of government to the Tolai. After WW I, New Guinea came under Australian rule as a League of Nations mandate. During WW II the Japanese occupation of Rabaul attracted massive bombing by the Allies, which resulted in devastation of the environment and property and also loss of many Tolai lives. In the early years after WW II, the Australians introduced the Local Government Council system and cocoa as a cash crop, which were important to Tolai political and economic development. In their last few years as colonialists, the Australian Administrators created conditions which were conducive to anti-colonialist feelings, which manifested themselves in the emergence of the Mataungan Association and which later led to calls for an end to Australian colonial rule, by the Tolai. The history of the Tolai was also very much the history of the Matupit people. Matupit people were in the midst of many of the important events which occurred on the Gazelle Peninsula and which effected the Tolai.
Chapter II

THE KIKILA SETTING AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Introduction
In the village district of Kikila, where my fieldwork was concentrated, the scene is like that in other Tolai settlements. The bitumen road from the town runs through the middle of the district, with power poles on the side. There is a school on the boundary of the district and there is one church in the district. The houses are built of imported materials, such as corrugated iron and cement. There are trade-stores and many rusty car wrecks are scattered throughout district. Yet despite this, Kikila is still organized as a traditional Tolai village.

Residence in the district follows traditional lines. Although there are modern introduced social and political groupings, there are also traditional ones which are important in the regulation of daily social life. The adherence to traditional settlement patterns and the maintenance of traditional groupings manifest, and reinforce the continuity of Tolai traditional life and culture.

A similar role is performed by the economic activities of the people. Because of the easy accessibility of the town, many depend on the town market to sell their products and many people are in wage employment in the town. Yet at the same time, the majority of Kikila people earn their livelihood from traditional types of economic activities.
In this chapter I shall discuss the settlement patterns and economic activities at Kikila.

I

Settlement Patterns

Matupit

Matupit Island is situated to the south of Rabaul town, less than two kilometres from its boundary. It is linked to the mainland by a causeway about 100 meters long. The road between the town and the island is sealed. It continues all the way through the island. The area along the road between the town and the causeway is planted in cocoa and coconut trees.

The island has an area of only about half a square kilometre. Most of the land area is covered in residential houses except for small areas of bush, most of which are reserved for taraiu (tubuan sanctuary). The soil on the island is very poor, being mainly made up of sand and pumice. In the past many trees grew on the island but over the years people have gradually cut them down, and with the soil being so poor they do not regenerate. Only coconut palms and fruit trees such as mangoes or oranges are to be found. The patches of bush-land consist mostly of grasses and shrubs. During the 1937 volcanic eruption, tidal waves

1 The tubuan is a masked figure representing a fraternity which is known as the 'Tubuan society', which is discussed in detail in Chapter VIII. The taraiu is its sanctuary and it is where the fraternity members gather.
triggered off an erosion process which continued for the
next 47 years, claiming an area about one tenth of the
island. Since 1984, magma in the Blanche Bay area has been
causing upward thrusts, in some areas. As part of this
process Matupit is being pushed further out of the sea,
causing some of the areas lost in the erosion to emerge
from the sea and to be reclaimed.2

The road service gives the people ready access to
Government services, for example in the field of health
services. Like many Tolai villages, Matupit is served by
Christian Churches. Electricity is supplied under the
above-mentioned Rural Electrification Programme. There is a
local primary school and, until recently, there was an Aid
Post.

The island is divided into three districts; Kikila (also
known as Matupit No. 1), Rarup (also known as Matupit No.
2) and Kurapun (also known as Matupit No. 3), as shown in
Map II. Originally these three districts constituted three
village settlements which were clearly separated by bush-
land.

Today, with the large increase in the population, the bush
has disappeared and the island looks like one huge village.
Nevertheless, the division into the three districts is
still observed on many occasions by the people. Today they
are important for church administration, government

2 These new reclaimed areas are causes for disputes
between people, over their ownership.
Map II  Matupit Island, showing district boundaries.
administration and for traditional ceremonial activities. Most traditional cultural activities are organized within these districts, although there is some co-operation between the districts.

The three churches on the island are, Roman Catholic, United and Seventh-Day Adventist, with the Catholic Church being at the northern end of the island, the United Church in the middle and the S.D.A. at the southern end. The Catholic and United churches command large following while the S.D.A. only has a small congregation. All the community school age children of the island go to the Government Community School (Matupit Community School), including some children from squatter settlements at the southern end of the town. Most of the secondary school aged children attend Boisen High School, a government day-school in the Nodup area, east of Rabaul town. The children have to travel to this school by P.M.V. In the early 1960s, the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council built a Community Centre in the middle of the island. This building is often used for government business, such as meetings and Village Court hearings. Also in the middle of the island is a sports oval which was established very soon after WW II. This oval is the only one on the island and is supposed to serve all three districts but Matupit being keen sportsmen, 3

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3 There are two major squatter settlements at the southern end of the town. One is of Sepiks, of mainland New Guinea and the other is of Keremas of the Papuan Gulf. These people are squatting on Matupit soil and they interact a lot with the Matupit. They find it easier to send their children across to the island rather than through the town, to school.
often find it difficult to fit all on this oval, so many of them have to utilize sports ovals in the town. According to the National Census of 1980, Matupit Island had a population of 2,139.

In traditional ceremonial activities, the three village districts are independent of each other. Activities held in one district do not require the participation of people from the other two districts. This is because there are traditional core clans within each district which constitute a system. Sometimes people from Kikila and Rarup attend and participate in ceremonies at Kurapun, but only do so as individuals rather than as clan representatives. Socially people from the three districts are linked to each other but in terms of traditional politics, the three districts constitute three independent systems. The only occasions on which the three districts combine are major ceremonies. Districts invite each other to these ceremonies as participating guests, just as they invite guests from other Tolai villages. They participate in these ceremonies with some degree of competition. For instance there are the men's dances, women's dances and the tubuan dances, in which the skills and styles of the districts are arrayed against each other.

Kikila

Kikila is the southern-most district of Matupit. It is linked to Rarup and Kurapun not only by the sealed road but also a number of smaller roads and foot-tracks. It takes
Map III  Kikila district, showing hamlets.
about ten minutes to walk from Kikila to Rarup and to Kurapun about fifteen minutes. The district is divided into two territories Rawalian (the beach side) and Rapui (the bush side), as shown in Map III. These two territories are divided by the sealed road that runs through the centre of the district. Rawalian is on the eastern shores of the district. Rapui is on the inland side of the road. Apart from the physical division created by the sealed road, the two territories are separated by their histories. Rawalian is the old area of settlement while the settlement in Rapui is relatively new.

The Kikila Environment

The sealed road ends in a cul-de-sac at the southern-most end of Kikila, near the hamlet of Raulai. At the northern end of the island, in fact just after the causeway, a vehicular dirt road branches off the sealed road and runs along the eastern side of the island, ending in Rauradi hamlet at Kikila. Also branching off from the sealed road are two smaller vehicular dirt roads which provide access to the seven newly established hamlets as well as the blocks of land sold to the people by the United Church. There are no vehicular roads into the old hamlet areas because they are so crowded. At various stages openings are made in for vehicles to pass through but they are closed most of the time due to arguments over land.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church is at the southern-most end of Kikila, where the sealed road ends. The power poles
follow the sealed road, all the way down to the S.D.A. Church and along the way they branch off to various parts of the district. On the south-western end of the island, there is a stretch of land where all the taraiu are situated. In the past each tubuan had its own taraiu, but today because of land shortage, many tubuan have to share. Only three taraiu are being shared today by all the tubuan of the district. These are IaUbia, Palnakawawar and IaIlailam. All the taraiu of the other tubuan were washed away in the erosion caused by the tidal waves of the 1937 volcanic eruption. Kikila District is served by four trade stores, two of which are equipped with refrigerators and freezers to store frozen meats and soft drinks, including Coca-cola.

As the soil on the island is not suitable for any kind of gardening, all three Matupit districts have their gardening land on various locations on the mainland. Kikila gardening land is mostly to the east and south-east of the island. This area is volcanic, with two volcanos, Matupit Volcano (Tavurvur) and the Mother (Kabiu), and a number of hot springs and areas of burning sulphur. There are four gardening areas in this territory; Vunavuru, Rabuana, Ralokor and Raulawat. In the past it was in these four gardening areas that the Kikila grew all of their food. But today most of this land is planted in cocoa and coconuts. The people plant some varieties of bananas and some vegetables amongst the cocoa and coconut trees or small vacant plots but they come to these areas mainly to work on their cocoa and coconut groves. It takes between half an
hour and one hour to travel by canoe to these areas, five minutes by motor-boat and fifteen minutes by car.

Settlement

As has been mentioned above, the first people to settle on Matupit came from many villages on the shores of Blanche Bay. At Kikila district, many of these people made the island their home and their descendants did likewise, living on the island as 'segments' of their clans on the mainland. Over the years some of the 'segments' had become relatively independent of their clans of origin on the mainland and have made Kikila their home. Some of these segments maintain strong links with their clans of origin on the mainland while they are very weak in the case of others. The Kikila population today is made up of the members of 76 groups, both clans and segments. Some of these groups have had members in the district since the very first migrants came to the island from the mainland, and some arrived in later years while others have only arrived in very recent times. While Kikila is home to all of the people who live there today, not all of them can say that they belong to Kikila or even Matupit. This is because they belong to groups which do not belong to Kikila.

In 1982, the population of Kikila was 871. Of this number, 4

4 Most of the recent clan arrivals in the district were through marriage, mainly on the part of women. In these cases the women who came to marry Kikila men never returned with their children to their place of origin. They stayed on and so did their descendants.
300 were children below thirteen years of age. Of the remaining 571; 74 were students in both East New Britain and other centres of the country; 151 were employed in East New Britain; 82 were employed in other centres of the country, plus eight housewives; the remaining 256 were listed in the census book as 'farmers'.

Residence

Residence in Kikila is organized on the basis of clan grouping and it is in localities which are known as ki ur na gunan (which I shall call hamlets). There are altogether 18 of these hamlets in the district, plus an area of blocks of land in an adjacent area known as Palnaparau, which was sold to the people by the United Church. Of the 18 hamlets, 11 are traditional, and seven are newly established. These hamlets are listed in Table I, with the traditional hamlets in list A and the new hamlets in list B. The 11 traditional hamlets are in Rawalian territory on the eastern shores of the district, while the new hamlets and the blocks of land bought from the United Church are in the inland territory, called Rapui.

The traditional hamlets of Rawalian have become very expanded due to the population increase. They have become one big open sandy settlement with very little territorial demarcations. Despite this, these hamlets are still the focal points of residence. They still have the same names and people still have great emotional attachments to them. Today some of these hamlets are still owned by the same
Table I. List of hamlets at Kikila.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamlets</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Rauradi</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Rariana</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Vunabukubuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Wawardaula</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Raulai</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. ToKimut</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Vunakoai5</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Vunangalulup</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Rabakut</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Vunakukup</td>
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<td>11. Vunaratalia</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>List B</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vunaubia</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Diararat</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Palnaboro</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Matanapolo</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. ToMogoro</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Raulataur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Vunagiau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[5\text{The actual name of this hamlet is Kikila, which is where the district gets its name. Vunakoai is an alternative name and I have used it here to avoid confusion.}\]
clans which owned them about twenty years ago, some have changed hands and some are currently under dispute.

Up until the 1960s, all the people of Kikila lived on the Ravalian area, in the 11 traditional hamlets. But then these hamlets could no longer accommodate the burgeoning population, so that some people had to move to the Rapui territory, which was only bush until this time. They established the seven new hamlets. Palnaboro, Matanapolo and Vunagiao hamlets are extensions by Rakalkal, Rakar and ToLabit clans respectively. ToMogoro was established by Raturpit clan, which abandoned its hamlet in the Rawalian territory because of alleged bad omen in that hamlet. Vunaubia and Diararat hamlets were created by Ramarovot and Walaur (two of the clans listed in the above Table I, Group B). Raulataur hamlet was established by Raulataur clan, which always had this land as their madapai, but never occupied it. In addition, the blocks of land sold by the United Church at Palnaparau, has a total of 13 houses belonging to Kikila residents.

In the hamlets, residence is supposed to be avuncu-virilocal. Upon marriage, men are supposed to take their wives to their maternal uncle's hamlet to reside there. But this is not the pattern of residence at Kikila today. Of a total of 131 households in the district, only 58 follow this rule.6 Residence of the other 73 households are based on other relationships and arrangements, which will be

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6 My reckoning here is through the male heads of households.
discussed in Chapter VI. While people try as hard as possible to follow the traditional pattern of residence, it is extremely difficult. There are two main reasons for this difficulty. One, there is too much pressure in the district on residential land. Two, the fact that many of the residences in the district today are permanent buildings, makes it difficult for people to move when they want or should. Many people whose groups are landless, live in the district. Also, many people whose clans own land in the district, do not necessarily live on its land.

Most of the residential buildings in Kikila are made of permanent materials, while a few are partly made of local bush material. In the more recently established hamlets and on the blocks bought from the United Church, the buildings are all of permanent materials. These houses have gardens, are big and quite elegant. The majority of them were built in the last ten to fifteen years. Most have electricity, imported furniture, fridges stoves, TVs and many other trappings of modern living. As many of the people living here own cars, there are vehicular roads serving the houses in this part of the district. In the traditional hamlets, most of the houses are also of permanent material but the ground is bare sand with no

7 This is in the case of people moving at free will. In cases of there being arguments over land and when a person is told to move, he has to dismantle the permanent building no matter how costly this may be. Kikila is full of concrete blocks, being the foundation remnants of permanent buildings which had to be moved in the past.

8 Usually the roof (corrugated ironing roof) is permanent material while the walls and the floor are made of local wood, bamboo and coconut leaves.
grass or gardens. Moreover they are small, run down and display many layers of rust and smoke. Some of these houses were built in the mid-1950s while the rest were built between the early 1960s and mid-1970s. Where local bush-material is used, the houses look new, as they do not last too long and have to be replaced every few years. Only two households in this part of the district have electricity connected to them. With no roads in this part of the district, the houses are only served by footpaths meandering between them.

Local Groupings

Like the other two districts on the island (Rarup and Kurapun), Kikila before outside contact was large enough to constitute a gunan (village). It had its own local groups, as listed above, which had their madapai in the district. These local groups were the basis of local social organization and formed political alliances. Rivalries took place within the district, between groups and individuals, separately from the other two districts. When new forms of social and political organization were introduced by government and the churches, Kikila maintained its separate identity. Today it maintains social and political groupings which are distinct from those of the other two districts.

District Council

Kikila is represented by one elected Councillor in the Kabiu Community Government. In addition here are a number
of committee-men to assist the Councillor who are also elected by the people. The Councillor, ToWartovo, is a former teacher in his fifties. The duties of this person include, calling meetings at Kikila, attending Community Government meetings in town and relaying requests, resolutions and directives between the Community Government and the people. Although being a Councillor is a paid job, not many men like it because they say it involves a lot of work and the pay is too low. I also suspect many men also recognize that it is without real authority. Every Wednesday, at about 8:00 am, the Councillor calls a meeting in the district. No one really comes until 10:00 am or 11:00 am. The meetings are held in the middle of the district, under the shade of mango trees. During these meetings many matters of the National, Provincial and Community Governments are relayed to the people. The issues that take up most time in these meetings are village and district matters, such as some of the {\textit{totogor}} (parcel of food) price issue that is discussed below. It is at these meetings that people can air views on any matter.

\textbf{The Urur}

In the district there are three groups which are known as \textit{urur}. These three groups have names: Rauradi, Raulai and Turaulai. Originally, these three groups were identified with certain geographic areas in the district, mainly in the old settlement area of Rawalian territory. Turaulai was at the northern shores of the district, Rauradi in the east and Raulai was towards the southern end of the district.
These three groups were formed in the 1950s originally to raise funds for the Methodist Church building.

After the church building was completed in the 1960s, the three urur remained. These groups are to some extent still used for church administration. They continue to engage in fund-raising activities, but this is for no special purpose but simply so the group can have some money in its account. In 1990 all three urur were taking turns in hiring the Kikila Cats Club House⁹ to hold gambling (bingo) nights during the week, to raise funds. These urur hold meetings, when necessary, to discuss matters relating to the church or urur business. Today many people have moved out of the hamlets they resided in thirty years ago, but their names are still listed in the same urur. These urur are larger groupings than clans and they are run by committees of men who are known as lualua (leaders). These three groups often compete with each other in the many activities they engage in, the main one being fund-raising. They have separate bank accounts which are always the subjects of secrecy. Large amounts of monies are always sources of great pride for the group members.

II

Economic Activities.

The people of Kikila are to some extent, tied to the town

⁹ This is one of three Softball Clubs on the Island. The Club House is at Kikila.
of Rabaul for their livelihood. Men and women from the district are engaged in urban wage employment. Some people run their own businesses in the town. People sell their cocoa and copra to buyers in the town. Women of the district sell food and other goods in the town market. But at the same time a larger number of people still draw their livelihood from rurally based traditional activities outside of the town. Out of a total of 407 working age adults living in the district in 1980, only 151 drew their livelihood from the town through wage employment and running of private businesses. The other 256 (about 63%) drew their livelihood from rurally based activities, and the situation is still very much the same in 1990. The main sources of livelihood for the Kikila people are, egg digging, selling of food at the market, cash cropping and wage employment. The two main sources of livelihood for the majority of the people are egg-collection by the men, and the selling of totogor by the women at the town market.

Egg Collecting

Among the Tolai, the Matupit have always been associated with the kiau na ngiok (egg of the megapode), which are found in Matupit territory on the mainland, near Matupit Volcano. According to oral information which I collected from a number of old men, the general egg-lands area moved from one location to another, but never too far away from the foot of Matupit Volcano.10 It seems that the last

10 Some old men offered the suggestion that the egg-lands have remained within the vicinity of the volcano because it
movement was caused by the volcanic eruption in 1937. These old informants said that before WW II there were small holes in the sandy soil of the current sites, only about two feet deep, where the birds used to lay their eggs. Men used coconut shells to remove the sand in these holes to find the eggs. During WW II, the Japanese banned the local people from entering these egg-lands so that only they themselves could collect eggs there. They introduced the use of spades and shovels and thus made the holes bigger and deeper. Since then the men have always used spades and shovels.

The Egg-land environment

The warmth of the volcanic soil in some areas of Vunavuruvu, Rabuana, Ralokor and Raulawat provide ideal conditions for the incubation of megapode eggs. The birds lay their eggs all around these areas, in holes amongst the coconut and cocoa trees. But the main area where the birds lay eggs in the thousands, is Raulawat, which is to the south-east of the island. This area is almost directly at the base of Matupit Volcano (locally known as Tavuruvu). The soil at Vunavuruvu and Rabuana is quite warm and there are many egg-holes in these areas. But in most places this soil is volcanic clay and is very hard for the megapodes to

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The eggs are about two and a half times the size of chicken eggs. The flavour is much stronger than that of chicken eggs. The megapode is a migrating bird which has been shown to seasonally migrate along the volcanic belt between Hawaii and Indonesia.
dig through. Near the foot of Tavurvur, there are some places where the soil is very sandy, so sandy that nothing much grows there, except for a few trees and shrubs. The sand being easy to sift and the warmth from the nearby volcano, provide ideal conditions for the incubation of eggs. The birds dig between three and six feet into the sand in order to lay their eggs. After laying their eggs they fly off leaving the incubation process to the sand and the heat from the volcano. The megapodes usually come to lay their eggs in the dry season, which is between May and August. This period is referred to as the e na kiau (egg season).

Raulawat is the general name given to the egg-lands area. Within the general area there are specific place names for each plot of land. There are four plots where the main tavula kinakal (digging spots) are found; ToVele, ToBua, Tamaduk and Ramak. These plots of land belong to four Kikila clans but anyone is allowed to collect eggs on these plots of land, as long as they are prepared to pay the tinatax (the levy) which is imposed on each man. ToVele and Ramak belong to Bitabutua, ToBua belongs to Torovoi and Tamaduk belongs to Odaodo.

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12 Even if anything could grow there, they hardly ever survive for very long since the men are always digging up their roots.

13 The wet season is no good for the birds because the sand gets too cold for incubation of the eggs.

14 This is usually one egg for every four eggs collected.

15 Over the years there have been many disputes about the ownership of these lands. Some of these disputes were observed and recorded by Epstein in the 1960s. Since the
In terms of traditional boundaries, the egg-lands are in the territory of Kikila District and in the past only Kikila men used to dig for eggs there. Today men of the other two Matupit districts come to the egg-lands and also a large number of men from other villages on the Gazelle Peninsula. On any one day during the height of the egg season, as many as 500 men can be present at the egg-lands. Of this total, about 160 are men of Kikila District. Most men of Kikila would go at least three days a week, except for a few who would go six days a week.

Egg-collecting is the main source of income of the majority of all the able-bodied Kikila men who are not in wage employment in the town. It is very hard work, involving a lot of digging in the hot sun. If a man wants to and his body can take it, he can do this job every day of the week. It takes a certain skill to be able to find eggs. The number of eggs a person is able to collect depends on the

1960s the ownership of two plots of land have changed hands.

16 Men from Rarup and Kurapun can enter the egg-lands without too much question. Also men from neighbouring villages such as Talwat and Nodup can also come without too much question, but men from other villages must be accompanied by men from Matupit

17 This is about 80% of a total of 227 men above 16 years old in the district.

18 Even those in wage employment also dig for eggs in the weekends and during holidays.

19 The skill here involves being able to know where eggs are deposited just by looking at the birds foot-prints in the sand and also by feeling the compactness or looseness of the sand. Part of the skill also involves being able to find the eggs without accidently breaking them during the digging.
time of the year and also on the skill of the person.

Digging

On any day of the week, the canoes start leaving the beaches of Kikila at about 6:30 to cross the one kilometre passage between the island and Raulawat.\textsuperscript{20} When the first canoes reach the shores at Raulawat, they do not immediately enter the egg-lands. Instead they wait for other men to arrive, because there is an accepted understanding that everyone has to start digging at the same time and also it is to give the megapodes more time to lay their eggs. A watch is kept out for canoes which are still travelling between the island and Raulawat, to ensure that everyone has come ashore before the signal is given for everyone to enter the \textit{tavula kinakal} (digging-areas).

At about 8:30 am the signal is given for the digging to begin and all the men move onto the sandy areas where the holes are. Initially everyone rushes or walks around in the sandy area inspecting the bird’s footprints. Those who are experienced at reading foot-prints can tell how many eggs have been laid in one hole and where they are laid. After the inspections and choices having been made, the men start digging in the sand.

Not all the men who enter the \textit{tavula kinakal} know how to dig for eggs. Among them there are people who are known as

\textsuperscript{20} Now with the construction of a road from behind Matupit Volcano, some men travel by car to the egg-lands.
melem (skilled) and there are others who are known as ravu (without skills). Almost all the men of Kikila district are melem, because many of them would have been familiar with this activity since they were very young boys. Ravu are mainly men from other villages who have not had much experience with egg-digging. Melem work individually while ravu work in parties. The melem work individually because they have mastered the art of being able to tell from birds foot-prints, how many eggs are in a hole and where they are laid. The latter skill is more important to them because it allows them to walk around on the peripheries of the tavula kinakal inspecting tung kake (isolated holes), to pick out eggs without moving too much sand. The ravu work in groups because they do not know how many eggs are in a hole and where they are placed, so they have to excavate a lot of sand and hope that in the process they will come upon the eggs and without accidently breaking them. Because moving of sand is very arduous, they have to work in parties, so they can take turns. These groups usually consist of, a man with his sons, a man and his nephews, a man and his guests from other villages or just a group of teenagers. In some cases one person in the group is a melem who then supervises the digging so that the eggs are not accidently broken in the process.

A practice which began between the two World Wars, is the woroworo (ban on egg-digging). The people of Kikila realized that some money could be made from the eggs. A decision was taken to make some funds for the district by
controlling the egg-digging.\textsuperscript{21} A period of \textit{woroworo} on the egg-lands was introduced, in which no one was allowed to dig for eggs. The bans were instituted so that the megapodes could be left in peace to lay many eggs. The period of ban began on the Monday and ended on Thursday and digging was allowed on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.\textsuperscript{22} On the Friday, the district imposed a levy of one egg per four eggs on all the diggers. These eggs were sold and the proceeds went to a Village District Fund. After WW II these \textit{woroworo} continued but they were for a different reason. These bans were imposed by the land-owners, who on the open days collected a levy from each person digging on their land.

Today these \textit{woroworo} still continue but with so many men all wanting to dig for eggs it is impossible for anyone to impose any kind of control. Whenever anyone tries to do this, the district always goes up in uproar, arguing that the egg-lands was a main source of many people's income and that no one should be greedy and try to control it. It is argued that people should dig for eggs whenever they need to, as long as they agree to tinatak by the land-owners.

At about 12 noon on any digging day, the call goes out that it is time for the tinatak, to which some men respond by immediately concealing some of their eggs in order to reduce the amount of levy they have to pay. A member of the

\textsuperscript{21} At this time it was only men from Kikila District who used to enter the egg-lands and no men from anywhere else.

\textsuperscript{22} Sunday was left open for the S.D.A. men.
clans which owns each plot of land goes around among the men and collects the levy. For every four eggs a man has, he has to pay a levy of one egg. These eggs then belong to the land-owners. After the levy has been collected the men continue to dig until about 6:30 pm, when they return to the island. No levy is charged on the afternoon finds.

Sales of the Eggs

When the eggs are brought home, it is the job of the women to sell them. They have a number of ways of marketing and selling the eggs. The easiest way is to keep the eggs in the house and listen out for any persons wanting to purchase eggs. In this case the eggs are sold raw, for K0.50 toea each. The most common way of selling eggs is to boil them and take them to the town market for sale. They are supplemented with one or two bananas, but the price is still K0.50 toea. Although it would seem easier to sell eggs raw, since there is no price difference between raw and cooked, most women prefer to cook eggs and sell them. They seem to prefer spending a day at the market selling eggs then quietly selling them from their houses. In some cases, women and also men, take cash in advance. When the eggs arrive they are merely handed over to the person who advanced the cash. In other cases, women have established relations with people in other Tolai villages and through whom they can sell their eggs. In this case the eggs are merely left with the people in these other villages and the proceeds are collected later, with commissions paid to the sellers. Apart from selling eggs, some are directly used to
buy goods from the village trade-stores, since most trade-stores accept the egg as a medium of exchange.23

Income

The old men and women comment that before the 1960s, not many men used to go digging for eggs. They said that the escalation in the egg-digging activity started when the price of the eggs started to increase. Before WW II, one shilling could buy one kewa (a unit of four eggs).24 After WW II, two eggs could be bought for one shilling. In the mid-1960s the price rose to a shilling per egg. In the early 1970s the price went up to $0.20 cents per egg and since then the price has continued to rise to the current K0.50 toea figure.

During the season proper, which is between March and July, a melem can collect between forty and sixty eggs in a day, while a ravu can collect between twelve and twenty eggs. With the price of one egg at K0.50 toea, for a days work, most men of Kikila (who are usually skilled diggers) can make between K20.00 and K30.00 while lesser skilled persons can make between K6.00 and K10.00. By rural Papua New Guinea standards, egg-digging provides a high rate of income. This is attractive to many men, despite the hardship. If we average the number of eggs collected at 30

23 If they can help it, most people try to avoid this because the exchange rate is unfavourable.

24 There are three main units in the egg counting system. Kewa is four eggs, arip is 40 eggs (ten kewa) and pakaruat is 400 eggs (ten arip).
per person, in a day the Kikila men would collect a total of 4800 eggs. In money terms this would be a total income for the district of about K2,400.00 per day. For the majority of men of Kikila, egg-digging is their main source of income. With the money they get from the eggs, they are able to buy their food from the market in the town and the shops in the village, they pay for children's school fees and to meet other kinds of expenses.

Women on the Egg-lands

As a rule, women are not allowed to venture onto the egg-lands when the men are digging. I never got any clear explanation for this restriction but I suspected that it is because the men find it easier to move around in the sand when they are nearly naked and did not want the women around. The women do come to Raulawat but they remain on the beach. At about 9:30 am, after the men have started digging, they arrive by canoe in parties of two or three persons. They bring pots of rice, beef or chicken stew, kettles for boiling water, tea, bread, biscuits, ripe bananas, oranges, betel-nuts, cigarettes and peanuts. They bring all this food for sale to the men, who buy with eggs. When they arrive on the beach, the women find shady trees under which they settle down to sell the food. When the men get hungry or merely want to have a smoke or a betel-nut, they emerge from the egg-lands and come to the women on the beach. For one egg, a man is able to get a plate of rice with some stew or a cup of tea with some navy biscuits. He may get a bundle of peanuts or a parcel of betel-nuts. This
is a very profitable activity for the women because they are selling their food at K0.10 toea or K0.20 toea values for one egg each. For instance, a woman sells a cup of tea with two navy biscuits worth, K0.10 toea, for one egg. She in turn then sells her egg in the village or in the town market for K0.50 toea. The women who engage in this activity are mostly widows or young unmarried women. For many of these women, this is a very important source of income. Each woman receives about 80 eggs in one day.

Kikila District and the Egg-lands

While the plots of land on the egg-lands are recognized as belonging to certain clans, in recent years this understanding is becoming more and more meaningless. The owners of the land here do not have as much control as they would with land on the island or in the gardening areas. This has been demonstrated over the years by the failed attempts of these land-owners to assert their authority their over these lands. Year after year the landowners have difficulty maintaining the rule of levy collection. They are always challenged by men who ask why they have to pay levy when the land-owners had nothing to do with the creation of the eggs and they (the men) themselves had to sweat to find the eggs. They argue that these eggs are the products of wild-birds and therefore should be free to everyone. Some argue that the egg-lands are warwadoan pire ra tarai (blessing to the people) and intended for everyone. The land-owners on the other hand, argue that if men did not continuously go around digging up their land,
they could plant something on it to earn a living. These kinds of arguments always cause confrontations between the men (and the women behind them) and the land-owners. These confrontations occur only between the men of Kikila and the land-owners, and did not include men people from the other two districts or from other villagers. I recall an incident in which I was involved, to demonstrate the importance of the egg-lands to the people.

The 1975 egg-season started a month early, in about February, and the land-owners did not think it was time to begin tinatak. They tried to begin collecting the levy in March but the men refused to pay. They argued that it was already well into the season and men who had been digging in the last month had not paid any levy. They told the land-owners that they should forget the current year and start properly the following year. The land-owners persisted and a few men paid, but the majority continued to refuse. Attempts were made to impose woroworo, but they were disregarded by the men.

The observance of levy payments was insisted upon by the leaders of the three land-owning clans. These were three old men in their seventies, ToKaputin of Torovoi, ToGarama of Bitabutua and ToPepelegi of Odaodo. As they were old, no one really took very much notice of them. But in about May, their case was taken up by Melly ToPaivu, a young man who was ToGarama’s son. ToPaivu reminded the men to observe the levy payment, but they still refused. With the support of the three old men, ToPaivu announced in a village
meeting in which the matter was being discussed, that from hence a fee of K0.50 toea would be charged from every man and young boy who set foot on the shores of the egg-lands. This was to be paid on the beach before each person entered the egg-lands on each day. As ToPaivu was a respected young man, there was no open response although everyone knew that the majority of the men and their women folk were against this idea.

A younger man, ToInia, was at that time involved with the Nginarau (a youth group) in the district. He heard many complaints from many men and women about the proposal put forward by ToPaivu, but they were not prepared to speak out against it. ToInia organized a group of about sixty teenage boys from his group who went to Raulawat armed with catapults, and massacred about three hundred egg-laying birds in protest. When news of the massacre reached the village, there was wailing from the women and general uproar. The women wailed for the birds because they had been the lifeline of the village for generations and had been victimised by greed. Some men were angry that the massacre was mindless and unnecessary. In the evening, a meeting was called in which ToInia and his boys were to be questioned about why they had killed the birds. Everyone gathered, including the three old men and ToPaivu, except for ToInia and his boys. They had gathered in another part of the district and sent word to the meeting that what they did was right and it was on behalf of the 'silent majority'. 
I arrived in the district later that evening, to the sound of a lot of angry speeches coming from the meeting ground near my father's house. ToInia and his boys were still refusing to come to the meeting. When I inquired, I was asked by the Village Councillors to ask ToInia and his boys to come to the meeting, as I had originally created the Youth Group in the form of a Correspondence School. Initially ToInia did not want to come, saying that he had already sent an explanation to the meeting about his and the boys' actions. He asked me to relay this message again but I declined. I told him that if he thought that what he did was right, then he should go and explain it to the people himself rather than getting intermediaries to do it. In the end ToInia and the boys agreed and they came to the meeting. At the meeting ToInia explained that he and his boys did what they did to protest against ToPaivu's proposal. He explained that the birds were warwadoan (blessing / gift) to the people of Matupit, and if the land-owners wanted their land they could have it minus the birds which were intended for the people. The three old men, members of their clans and ToPaivu, spoke out condemning ToInia and his boys for what they had done. ToKaputin spoke out very strongly telling ToInia and his boys that they had no right killing the birds on land which was not theirs. He told the meeting that for many years the people of Kikila and the rest of Matupit had benefited from the eggs from his land at ToBua. Some had built modern houses with the money they had made from his land. He said he knew of some families over the years who had depended entirely on the eggs from his land for their livelihood. In
all these years he and his clan have never asked for very much. All they have ever wanted in all these years was a few eggs from the many hundreds and thousands that men had collected over the years. He was pleading that the men and the people as a whole recognize and respect his position as the 'owner' of the land of ToBua. He pleaded that the men at least allow members of his clan to collect the levy. A few other people spoke, expressing the same sentiments as ToKaputin, but the rest of the people were the 'silent majority'.

Early the next morning, the police came from the town in five paddy wagons and arrested ToInia and his boys. They locked them in the cells in town. After paying bail, they were released and the matter was referred back to the village for resolution. The matter just died down and ToPaivu's proposal was never carried out. The men began to pay their levy, however.

*Totogor*

Amongst the goods that were sold in the pre-contact markets were, cooked food such as, punupur (taro baked with meat or fish in coconut cream), waluwal (grated cassava baked with coconut cream and nuts), tutubai (aibika baked with taro or cassava in coconut cream) and wuwwai (eggs whipped in coconut cream and steamed in banana leaf wrapping). After European contact the selling of these kinds of food in the town markets continued and up until today. Up until the mid-1960s the Matupit also produced the same kinds of food
for sale at the markets. This was a women's activity. But after the mid-1960s, it was difficult for the Matupit to prepare these kinds of food, except for eggs, because they could no longer grow any of the ingredients on their land. All they could take to the market were boiled eggs and baked or smoked fish.

In the early 1970s, Matupit women started producing a kind of dish called totogor, using baked or smoked fish and vegetables. Initially the vegetables came from their gardens but when their gardens were displaced more and more by cocoa and coconuts, they had to buy these vegetables from the town market. The fish and green vegetables are boiled in coconut cream. When cooked, and with bananas added, it is divided and wrapped in a number of banana leaf parcels. As far as I can remember, when the totogor first appeared in the town market, the price was $0.10 cents per parcel. In the early 1970s the price went up to $0.20 cents, then it later increased to K0.30 in the early 1980s. Today it is K0.40 toea a parcel. Most Kikila women prepare and sell totogor whenever fish is available to them, which depends on the catches from fish-nets and deep water fishing.25 Today women from other villages also sell totogor.

25 In the mid-1970s the Japanese were allowed to fish for tuna in New Britain waters. This almost destroyed the fishing activities of the Matupit because the Japanese caught a lot of small fish as bait around the shores. This changed the feeding patterns of fish such as tuna, which followed these small fish to near the shores. The tuna stayed away from the shores and the Matupit could not catch any fish. They instead bought fish from the Japanese. Fortunately in the mid-1980s the Japanese were banned from fishing around New Britain waters and the fish returned.
Kikila women sell their *totogor* in the town market, in village markets and public gatherings and it can be delivered piping hot to offices in the town, on order. The preparing of *totogor* is an important activity for the women of Matupit, since they do not have land like other Tolai to be able to grow other food for sale. On any week-day, a woman wakes up about six o’clock in the morning and begins to prepare the *totogor*. She boils the bananas, scrapes the coconuts and prepares the fish and vegetables. When the bananas are cooked they are taken off the fire and left on the side with the skin on. The fish and green vegetables are put in a saucepan and milked with coconut cream, then boiled. While the saucepan is on the fire, the banana leaves are prepared for the wrapping and the boiled bananas are peeled. When the fish and the vegetables are cooked, they are distributed onto the banana leaves and are wrapped into parcels. By the time they finish, the time is about 10:30 am. They take the food to where it is to be sold. Food for the town market or town offices are transported by P.M.V. As *totogor* is intended to be eaten as lunch, the women try to arrive in the town before lunch-time.

I present here an argument which erupted at a Village meeting in 1980, in which the pricing of *totogor* was the issue. A Village Committee man, ToButman, introduced the subject by saying that he had heard that the price of

26 Saturday is not a good day to sell *totogor* because most of the offices are closed and the women themselves are busy buying food for their families.
totogor had recently risen from K0.20 toea to K0.30 toea, and that some Matupit women were responsible for this increase. ToButman also added that he understood that not all the women of Matupit were in agreement with the rise and that it was causing some animosities among them. He asked all the women in to inform the meeting about the background to the rise in price and why it was causing animosities amongst them. There was no response from the women, but there was an immediate grumbling from amongst the men, which was muffled, but it indicated disagreement with the price rise. This immediate grumbling temporarily discouraged the women from airing their views, and they only murmured amongst themselves. After the men’s grumbling had subsided, IaMilian an elderly woman, presented an explanation on the price rise and the basis for animosity amongst the women. She explained that it was some women of Rarup (Matupit No.2) who had introduced the new price, and that not all Matupit women were selling their totogor at the new price. IaMilian said that other women were angry because the women who decided on the rise were lazy ones who did not prepare their food properly and were mainly interested in making quick money. Gaining confidence from the first woman speaker, other women spoke up, mainly reiterating the explanation given by the first speaker. They criticized the women of Rarup for the alleged careless way they prepared their food, but none of these women disagreed with the price rise. After some time, IaNeveli, an outspoken young woman spoke. She began by telling all the previous speakers and all women to stop beating around the bush and instead tell the meeting what they wanted.
IaNeveli told the meeting that among the women who had just spoken, there were some who were already selling at the new price and the rest would gladly support the rise. She stated clearly that she supported the price rise and scolded the men for immediately grumbling about the initiative taken by the women and not giving them a chance to explain their reasons for the price rise. The men were silent and IaNeveli tried to imprint upon them the importance of this activity to women's income. She used her own situation as an example because her husband was paralysed in one leg and could not do much. This meant she was the bread-winner in the family and she relied very heavily on her selling of totogor. IaNeveli said she wanted the new price to be accepted. The women murmured in agreement. ToButman, the Committee man, spoke up again. He said that in principle he personally supported the price rise but urged that all the women must be in agreement about this, since this was their 'business'. ToButman said that he would raise this matter at the next combined village meeting so that the women of the other two districts, Rarup and Kurapun, could also air their views. The next combined village meeting did not eventuate as scheduled. At the next Kikila meeting, the women pressed for a decision to be taken on the price rise, explaining that some of them were anxious about it. A senior Committee man re-introduced the subject, saying that he had assessed that most of the women at Kikila were in agreement with the price rise and the men would gladly support it. He asked if there were any arguments from any women against the rise. No comments came from the women nor from the men. The
Committee man announced that, as there was no objection to the price rise, he declared that the Kikila Village \( C \)ouncil had accepted the new price rise and that their women could sell their totogor at the new price. He again urged the women to get together with the women of the other two districts in order to sort out their disagreements on the subject. To my knowledge no meeting was ever held by the women but the new price was accepted by all Matupit women.

At the first meeting it was evident to me that all the women had known about the price rise for some time but were reluctant to adopt it readily out of fear of being scolded by the men. After the meeting I spoke to some of the women and discovered that many of them had actually been selling at the new price. They felt that the increase in price was justified because the prices of some of the ingredients which they had to buy at the market had gone up. Some of them had been forced to reduce the amount of food in each parcel but this went against them when customers compared the amounts in their parcels to others. They said they expected that initially people would not accept the new price but that they would change their mind when they realize that it was justified. They added that women from other villages would agree with the price rise and predicted and that they would gladly adopt it.

When I asked why they did not make their views known to the meeting, they said the men would not agree with them, as indeed happened. A number of women complained bitterly about the men's reaction, saying it was very unfair. They
said that on many occasions in the past, the men had been in very much the same situation with regard to the price of eggs. They said that the initial reaction of some men was to go against those who decided on the increase, saying that they were 'money hungry'. Secretly, all the men in fact supported an increase in price. These women argued that totogor was important to the women as eggs was important to the men. When I later spoke to women from Rarup and Kurapun, they said very much the same things as the women of Kikila, but they were angry that the Kikila women had originally pretended to oppose the increase.

The emotions that flared during the discussions of the price increase showed that totogor was a very important source of income to the women of Matupit. It was especially important to those women who had come to live on the island, through marriage or other reasons, and had no access to land for cash cropping.

Cash Cropping

We could say that, at one stage the Tolai economy rode on the 'trunk' of the coconut palm. Between the 1950s and 1970s, the Tolai were considered to be one of the most prosperous people in Papua New Guinea, through their copra and their cocoa. But during the mid-1970s, the prices of these two crops began to drop on the world market and have remained low ever since. Despite the bad prices for so long, the Tolai still maintain their cocoa and
coconut groves although they are no longer the main sources of people's income.

As has been mentioned earlier, Matupit agricultural land is on the mainland, with the Kikila land being to the east and south-east of the island in the areas known as Vunavuruvu, Rabuana, Ralokor and Raulawat. As in other Tolai communities, most of the land in these areas has been planted in cocoa and coconuts. Although they do not get good returns from these two crops, the people still maintain their groves. Apart from making gardens among the cocoa and coconut trees, the Kikila still derive small incomes from their groves.

Apart from cash cropping on the above-mentioned traditional areas, there are some Kikila individuals and families who undertake cash cropping in other areas of the Gazelle Peninsula and West New Britain. The cash-cropping in other areas of the Gazelle Peninsula is mainly covered in cocoa. The main cash crop in West New Britain is the oil-palm, which also offers a very low return. On the whole, the Kikila now only harvest their cash crops, when they have nothing better to with their time.

27 In these cases people obtained land in the 1950s and 1960s through the Local Government's Resettlement Schemes, in a number of areas in central Gazelle Peninsula, such as Kerevat, Vudal, Vunapalading and Warongoi. A number of families from Kikila got land under these schemes.

28 Most of the people who took up oil-palm blocks in the 1960s in the West New Britain area have returned to Matupit, due to the very low prices.
Fishing

To the Matupit, fishing has a very long history, but many of the traditional means of fishing have been replaced by more modern ones. The main means of fishing today are, deep-water fishing with lines, two kinds of net-fishing and occasional dynamiting. The Kikila practice all three modes of fishing.

Deep-water fishing is done around the island and further out into Blanche Bay. At night, the men load their canoes with some food, bait and lines and paddle some distance away from the island. They mainly paddle to the open sea at the south of the island where they know there are good fishing spots. At these spots they can catch some of the most relished fish such as red-emperor and sea-cod. The men stay out all night and come home with their catch in the early hours of the morning. A few of these fish are hawked around Chinatown but most are bought up by the women for totogor. Fish-nets are of two kinds which are referred to as ubene na wawatur and ubene na nial. Ubene na wawatur are simple gill-nets. They are relatively cheap and are owned by individuals and families. They require only one or two persons to operate them. The Kikila put these nets at strategic locations in the sea, off the island and the mainland. Some of the catch is consumed by the family, some is sold to others and most of it is used for totogor by female members of the family. Ubene na nial are nets which are positioned in an arch in the water with the two ends tied to poles on the shore. When the fish enter the arch,
the ends are quickly pulled ashore with the fish trapped inside them. There are a number of locations on Matupit where this kind of net fishing is done. These locations are on the travel routes of the tuna fish. The ubene na nial are more expensive and require many people to operate them. Thus only a few of these nets are owned by individuals and families, while most are owned by groups. At the height of the fishing season, the catch from these nets can be quite enormous. It is common to see about 300 ten kilogram tuna fish in one catch. As tuna is not regarded as a good eating by most Matupit Islanders, most of the fish from the nets are bought up by the women for totogor. Dynamiting fish is illegal but some men take no notice of this. Whenever men find some dynamite they use it around the shores of the island and also of the mainland. Some Kikila men are amongst those who use dynamite. Some of the fish from the catch are eaten but most are sold to the women for totogor.

Wage Earning

In 1982, a total of 151 Kikila men and women were engaged in wage employment in Rabaul and other Government Administrative Centres of East New Britain. A further total of 82 men and women were employed in urban centres in other parts of the country. Except for a few, the people who are

29 Tuna is a strong flavoured fish and often dry. The Matupit say people from inland villages do not know the difference between good fish and not-so-good fish and will buy tuna anyway.
engaged in employment in Rabaul, live in the village. These people go to work in the morning by PMVs and return to the village every afternoon. The jobs that these people hold in the town range from menial cleaning jobs to top executive jobs, both in the public and private sectors. The workers' wages are important to themselves, their families, their relatives, their friends and the economy of Kikila. The wages are important to the worker and his/her family because this is their main source of livelihood. It is important to the workers relatives because in many situations he/she is heavily relied upon for the financing of clan ceremonies, and many relatives also often come to him/her for subsistence money. Also most households in the district consist of extended families and wage-earners are the main bread-winners. The wages are important to the Kikila economy because a large proportion of the workers' wages are spent in the district, on local food produced by other people, eggs, groceries from the trade-stores and on services such as PMV fares.

Summary

Matupit is a small island only half a square kilometre in area. Because of its burgeoning population, most of the island is residential land. The island is divided into three districts, Kikila, Kurapun and Rarup which are separate entities under the Kabiu Community Government. Within these districts, the people live together in hamlets which are owned by clans. In Kikila there are altogether eighteen hamlets. Eleven of these are traditional hamlets while
seven were established during the last twenty years to cope with the increasing population. There is a noticeable difference between these two groups of hamlets. The houses in the traditional hamlets are small and old while those in the recently established hamlets are big and new.

The types of income-earning activities discussed so far are those in which a large number of people participate. Apart from these, there are a number of income-earning activities which some people can engage in. These are, the operating of copra-dryers, trade-stores and P.M.V.s. Over the years these ventures have not been very profitable and they provide mainly a community service.

The Kikila are tied to the town of Rabaul, but they are not entirely dependent on it. The town is important to the economy of the district, but it does not provide all the people’s livelihood. Some people earn wages in the town but the majority still look to traditional rural activities as their main sources of income.
Chapter III

FROM SHELLS TO TABU

Introduction

What is known as tabu are small nassa shells which have had their backs broken off and are strung on strips of rattan. The standard unit of tabu is a length known as a pokono, which has been translated by previous writers as a 'fathom' (Epstein 1969, Salisbury 1970). In each pokono there are between 360 and 400 individual shells, depending on the spacing between shells. These shells are mainly collected in shallow waters outside of Tolai territory. Before European contact the main source was in the West New Britain area but today other new sources have been discovered in other parts of the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands, from where they are imported into Rabaul. The shells from these new sources are slightly different but because of the high demand for shells, they have been accepted into the Tolai tabu system. There are many means by which these shells come to Rabaul, and all of these means involve the payment of cash for the shells. The shells come to Rabaul mainly in their raw state and their manufacture into tabu is done by Tolai specialists. In usage, tabu can be used in amounts ranging from a tip (five shells - in monetary transactions), to hundreds of fathoms (mainly in ritual ceremonies). The tabu that is made from the new shells is stored for ritual and ceremonial purposes but at certain times, after kutu tabu (tabu distribution),
some of it circulates for short periods, as money. Then it is collected and hoarded away again for ritual and ceremonial purposes.

I

The Shell and Its Acquisition.

Shell Species and Texture

The shell from which tabu is made, is of a particular species which is collected from the waters of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. This shell is of the Nassarius (Nasa) family which are abundant in Indo-China and the Pacific (Abbott & Dance 1990). Altogether there are 350 species ranging in sizes from .6 cm to 7.6 cm (Gordon 1990). The nassa species preferred for tabu are about seven millimetres long and measure about five millimetres from the lip to the tip of the whorl on their backs. My attempts to establish the species name(s) was unsuccessful, but as will become clear in this chapter, today there may be a number of species which are being used as tabu.1

In the waters of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, there are many species of shells which are very similar to tabu, but these have certain characteristics which separate them from tabu shells. Many of these species are of the

1 Salisbury identifies the shell as *Nassa callossa*. With the help of Ms Catherine Bielecka of the National Aquarium (Canberra), I identified two very similar species to tabu shell, Globose Nassa and Black Nassa, but not tabu.
wrong shape, the wrong size, the wrong texture and wrong colour.

One of the most important considerations of a tabu shell is its colour. A shell of the right species has to be of the right colour if it is to be made into tabu, and this colour has to be maintained if it is to continue to be used as tabu. Although shells are treated with some plant mixtures, this is mainly just to enhance this natural colour. This natural colour has to be maintained from the day the shells are collected from the sea and through the days when they are being used as tabu. In consideration of this, the shells collected from the sea have to be live ones rather than dead ones. Dead shells washed up on the seashore are no good because often the sun will have bleached them and thus will have spoilt their natural colour. People have to go out wading in the shallow waters to collect these shells.

These shells are usually found on sandy sea-beds which are free of sea-weed and coral. This area is about 40 meters from the shoreline. The water in this area is between one and two meters deep so that the heads of people wading in the water for shells always remains above the water when they stand on the sea-bed.

As the shells are so small and they live and travel half buried in the sand, they are very difficult to see on the sea-bed, from the surface of the water or from under the water. They are only detected by their tracks on the sand.
Because they are so small and cannot be seen, the shells cannot be picked up individually from the sand on the seabed.

*Collection from the Sea*

The way to collect these tiny shells is to attract them with vegetable food matter such as scraps of coconut meat still in the shell and banana peel. In the evening of any day, the vegetable matter is thrown into the water in the area where the shells are found. It is allowed to sink to the bottom of the sea. During the night the shells come out from under the sand and settle on the vegetable matter to eat whatever they can extract from it. By morning of the next day, many of these shells are still feeding on the vegetable scraps, so this is the time for the shells to be collected. At about $7^\circ$ clock in the morning the people, with goggles, go into the water and find the vegetable matter. They collect them out of the water with live *tabu* shells still clinging onto them. The shells are brushed off into bags or cans and the vegetable matter is thrown back into the water, to be collected the next day.

At the *tabu* shell sources outside of Tolai territory, the above tasks of collecting the shells from the sea are done by the people who own the beach sites, and who are mostly non-Tolai. Tolai who go to the shell sources to collect shells are made to wait on the beach while the beach owners themselves go into the water.
The shells that have been collected from the sea are buried in the ground for a number of days to give time for the animals in the shells to decay. After a few days the shells are exhumed. They are soaked in sea water for a day or two and then washed thoroughly to clean and to purge them of the stench left by the decayed organisms. Many people today use 'Omo' soap powder because they say it enhances the colour of the shell.

The preferred colour of shells are shiny white around the lip area and light brown on the whorl area. The shells are dried, then they are packed into bags or tins for transportation to Rabaul.

The Sources of Shells

A number of writers have provided good accounts of how tabu shells, in both the pre-contact and post-contact times, found their way into the Tolai tabu system (Danks 1887, Rickard 1893, Enzig 1949, Salisbury 1970). According to these writers, the main source of tabu shells at the point of European contact and for some time after, was the Nakanai of West New Britain.

From the accounts given by early Europeans who arrived on New Britain, it is clear that there was an established trade network between the Nakanai and the Tolai (Danks 1887, Rickard 1893). Today, despite the discovery of many new sources of tabu shells as will be shown later, the Nakanai area remains one of the main sources and also the
most reliable.

Apart from being the main and most reliable source of shells, Nakanai is also important to the Tolai and their tabu because the shells that come from there are the ones which are considered to be of standard quality. This is important today when people are always discovering new shell sources in other parts of the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands. Shells from these recently discovered sources are always compared to the shells from the Nakanai area to ascertain their acceptability as tabu shells. In the last fifteen to twenty years a number of tabu shell sources have been discovered in other parts of West New Britain, other areas of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

New Sources and New Shells

From about 1960 onwards, when Tolai began moving to some parts of West New Britain, other sources of tabu shells were discovered further West of Nakanai. These sources then became regular sources of shells in addition to the Nakanai area sources. One of these newly discovered sources is the Dagi district in the Wide Bay area. This became and still is the main source of shells for migrant Tolai workers to West New Britain. Dagi also became the main source of shells for the many Tolai who acquired blocks of land under the Resettlement Scheme in the Oil Palm area

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2 See Salisbury’s list of source names.
near Cape Hoskins. Compared to the shells from the Nakanai area, the shells from this area are slightly darker and are not as shiny, but they are acceptable.

Closer to the Tolai, new sources of shells were also discovered in non-Tolai areas of East New Britain. The best known of these areas is the East Pomio Division of the Pomio sub-district. Early Tolai migrant workers to this part of the Province discovered these new sources and since then these have become some of the main sources of shells for the Tolai. Between 1975 and 1983, these were the main sources of shells when shells in the Nakanai area sources were found to be scarce. The shells from the East Pomio Division are considered to be of nearly the same quality as those from the Nakanai area but some people complain that many of them are too small. This makes it very difficult to thread them onto normal size strips of rattan and many of them end up cracking in the process.

In the mid-1960s and early 1970s, when migrant Tolai workers went to the island of Bougainville to work on the copper mine, some of them discovered shell sources on some parts of the island. When these sources were first discovered between 1965 and 1970, a great volume of the shells from the island appeared in Rabaul. With their high wages from the mine, the Tolai on Bougainville bought a lot of these shells and sent them back to Rabaul. Back in Rabaul, initially people had reservations about accepting these new shells into the system because they were very different to the shells from the Nakanai area and other
areas of New Britain. Compared to the shells from the Nakanai area, these shells were larger, the lips were slightly red and the whorls on their backs were darker brown.

Thus for a long time people refused to accept these shells from Bougainville because of their different features. After some time these shells were accepted into the system after it was realized that too much of it had already been introduced into the tabu system. While some people were refusing the new kind of shells in some situations such as bride-price payments, tubuan fines and compensation payments, other people were already accepting them in other situations such as at tabu distribution ceremonies. It was also realized that some of the shells’ different characteristics gave them some advantages over the shells from New Britain. One main advantage which the Bougainville shells had over the New Britain shells was their big size. This meant that they were easier to handle during production into tabu. Their bigger size also meant that after the whorl was broken off, the hole left in the centre was big enough for the shell to be easily strung onto rattan strips, without much risk of breakage.

At around about the same time when tabu shell sources were discovered on Bougainville, new sources were also discovered on the islands of Manus by Tolai migrant workers to that Province. The volume of shells from these Manus sources was not as large as that coming from the previously-mentioned sources. The shells from the Manus
islands sources were very much the same as those coming from Bougainville. Since the Bougainville shells had made the breakthrough into the tabu system, these Manus shells had no difficulty being accepted.

After sources were discovered on the island of Bougainville, Tolai who crossed the international waters to the Solomon Islands also found tabu shells there. Initially some shells were found in the nearby Shortland Islands but later larger sources were discovered further south, on the island of Malaita. Shells from the Shortland Islands were very similar to those from Bougainville Island and so had no problem being accepted into the tabu system. The shells from Malaita Island turned out to be very much the same as the shells from the Dagi area in West New Britain. These Malaita Island shells also had no problems being accepted into the tabu system.3

It must be added here that while the Tolai accept slightly different species of shells as has happened in the last fifteen to twenty years, it does not mean that the tabu system is so flexible to the point of accepting any kinds of shells. As has been mentioned above, tabu shells have to be of certain quality and any species which does not meet this quality requirement, comes under very close scrutiny before it is accepted. While I have only mentioned some new

3 While the shells from New Britain, Bougainville, Manus and the Shortland islands find their way to Rabaul through the waterways of the Bismark Archipelago, the shells from Malaita Island have to come through Port Moresby. This is because they are brought in by plane from Honiara.
shell species which came under scrutiny and were eventually accepted into the system, I must mention here that many shell species from many other sources were refused acceptance because they were very different from the standard.

**Acquisition of Shells**

**Pre-European Contact**

The ways by which new shells enter the Tolai tabu system from the above-mentioned sources, are many. According to the early Europeans mentioned earlier who settled among the Tolai, the main way was by men who periodically went on shell collecting trips to the Nakanai area. At certain times of the year, men from coastal villages of the Gazelle Peninsula loaded their canoes with trade goods and headed in a westerly direction. They travelled along the northern coastline of the island of New Britain, to the Nakanai area. On arrival at the villages of the shell sources, the men traded the goods which they had brought with them for palatabu (tabu shells). If the shells had been collected from the sea by the locals and had been treated and dried, the men acquired them and immediately made arrangements to return home. At other times some parties of men were not so lucky, if the shells had not been collected from the sea. In such cases they had to camp at the villages near the shell sources for some days or even weeks, waiting for the shells to be collected and treated by the locals (Danks 1887, Rickard 1890, Salisbury 1970).
It is difficult to determine what the Tolai brought with them to the Nakanai area in pre-contact times to exchange for tabu shells. According to the accounts of the early Europeans, food was an important item of trade, but there were two other items which are mentioned in these accounts. These are the pele from the Duke of York Islands and the tapsoka from New Ireland. These shell items were made in the above two areas and were used in the West New Britain area as valuables. Thus the Tolai acquired these items from the east and traded them for tabu in the west (Danks 1888, Chowning 1972). Also, before the arrival of Europeans, there was a trade network between the islands of New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville and islands in the Solomon Islands (Connell, 1977). One item which travelled in this trade network was Solomon Islands shell-money which originated from the island of Malaita. This item travelled west through Bougainville, New Ireland and to New Britain. Solomon Islands shell-money was used as valuables in Bougainville, New Ireland and West New Britain.

After European contact, parties of Tolai men still travelled to Nakanai in large canoes, in search of shells. As European trade goods became easily available to the Tolai in Rabaul, the men loaded some of these goods, such as metal tools, on their canoes to use in the trade. As their forefathers had done, the men travelled along the northern coast of New Britain until they came to Nakanai. Later when modern boats were being made by Chinese in Rabaul, the Tolai bought some of them and used them for
these trips (Salisbury 1977).

When the men got to Nakanai, those who had friends there sought them out. According to my informants on Matupit, *bartalaina* (friendship) between Tolai and Nakanai men was mainly between 'bigmen'. The trips were organized by or under the auspices of these bigmen. Other friendships also developed between ordinary Tolai and Nakanai men, but these were secondary. In this situation, the main part of the exchange of goods for shells was between bigmen. As friendships also developed between ordinary men, some exchanges also took place between them.

There is no clear information on what unit of *tabu* was exchanged for what amount of goods, before the arrival of Europeans. The only unit of shells mentioned in early accounts was the *pupulu* (parcel) (Rickard, 1887). But there was no mention of the size of these parcels or how many shells were in them. There are no accounts of the amounts of goods exchanged for these parcels. The earliest accounts we have on the relative values are those of European trade goods to units of shells. The goods were valued in cash terms and the unit of shells was the 15 oz salmon tinful.

According to Salisbury, the price of shells between 1920 and 1950 was five shillings per 15 oz salmon tinful (Salisbury, 1970: 282). Since these early days the 15 oz salmon tinful has remained the standard unit until today, while the cash price has constantly risen. According to my own survey, from about 1960 to 1970 the price per tinful
was between $3.00 and $5.00. Between 1970 and 1980 the price ranged between K5.00 and K8.00. From 1980 to 1990 it was between K10.00 and K12.00 and by the beginning of 1991 the price was between K12.00 and K15.00. The prices provided here are in ranges because people charge different prices in different situations. For instance the prices of shells at the shell source areas were much lower than the prices that were being asked in Rabaul. In the price ranges given above, the prices given at the bottom of the range were the prices being asked at the shell sources while those at the top of the range were those that were asked at Rabaul and villages on the Gazelle Peninsula. It must be added here that the prices given above were those that were accepted by both the sellers and the buyers. Otherwise higher prices were being asked on some occasions but which people refused to pay or very few people paid.

Contemporary

Between 1950 and early 1991, the ways by which tabu shells enter the tabu system have become more varied. This is due to the increase in the number of shell sources and also other factors such as forms of transport, outmigration patterns of the Tolai and the availability of cash, as will be shown here.

The traditional Nakanai area is still the main and important source of tabu shells and trips are still made

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4 In 1975 P.N.G. stopped using the Australian dollar and introduced its own national currency, the kina (K).
there by Tolai for the sole purpose of buying new shells. But these trips are no longer made in canoes, the activity is not restricted to men only, and goods are no longer used in exchange for shells. The trips are made in aeroplanes and modern ships. They are undertaken by individuals or at the most, parties of two to three persons. Many women make these trips on their own arrangements. Cash is now the main means of acquiring shells. Most of the people who go on these trips stay with Tolai relatives or friends who through job posting or for other reasons, have come to live in places near the Nakanai area. The kinds of trips described here are not only made to the Nakanai area. These same kinds of trips are also made to other areas of tabu sources such as Dagi, East Pomio Division but not sources in the Solomon Islands since this is another country. People used to make these trips to Bougainville until recently when trouble erupted on the island and forced many Tolai to leave.

After leaving Rabaul, the people making these trips arrive at the town centres near the tabu sources such as Cape Hoskins (in West New Britain), Palmalmal (in the Pomio Sub-District) and Lorengau (in Manus). Quite often a lot of shells from the nearby shell sources are sold in these town centres by the local people. When these shells are available, then the people who are on buying trips buy as much as they want or can afford, and then return immediately to Rabaul. If no shells are on sale in the urban centres, these people wait around for some time until they are available. In some cases these people have to go
to the shell sources themselves and pay the local people to collect the shells and treat them for them.

Today many Tolai, through job postings, live in centres near the shell sources. These people buy the shells when they are being hawked around the town or semi-urban centre by the local people or during their free times go to nearby sources to buy some. Having purchased the shells, these migrant workers either send them home to Rabaul or they keep them until their own return home.

In 1975 a young man from the Kikila District bought a total of 100 fathoms worth of new shells, while he was on a job posting to Kimbe. He acquired these shells through a number of purchases. After each purchase he stored the shells in a four gallon kerosene drum until his return home when he brought it with him. In 1976 another young man was able to purchase 30 fathoms worth of new shells in two one-week trips to Kimbe from Rabaul. I established that between the years 1959 and 1983, a total of 2,695 fathoms of new shells entered the Kikila district of Matupit in this way. Apart from acquiring shells for themselves, migrant workers also acquire shells for their relatives, friends and acquaintances at these peoples' own expenses. These people give money to the migrant workers when they go on job posting. The shells are sent back to Rabaul when they are acquired. Between 1959 and 1983, a total of 3,341 fathoms of new shells entered the Kikila district in this way.

5 The year 1959 is the earliest date of tabu purchase my informants can remember.
this total, relatives received 3,001 fathoms while friends and acquaintances received 341 fathoms. Thus in the period 1959 to 1983, a total of 6,036 fathoms of new shells entered the Kikila district of Matupit directly through migrant workers.

In the early 1980s, the local people from the shell sources began bringing the shells to Rabaul themselves. They sold these shells in the town and in the villages around the Gazelle Peninsula. These local people from the areas of tabu sources are mainly from the Nakanai, Dagi and East Pomio areas. They collect the shells from the sea, clean them and take them to Rabaul for sale. This is because these people have come to realize that they can get better prices for their shells in Rabaul than in their home areas. Thus they bring the shells themselves to Rabaul whenever they can. Between 1978 and 1982, four locals from the East Pomio and Nakanai areas sold a total of 400 fathoms worth of new shells to the people of Kikila. The prices they charged for these shells were between K10.00 and K15.00 per 15 oz salmon tinful. This part of the shell trade was of recent development during the period of fieldwork but it quickly developed into a major avenue for new shells entry into the tabu system between 1983 and 1990. Also, from about 1980 to 1990, a great volume of shells entered the tabu system from the Solomon Islands. These shells were brought in by Solomon Islanders who came to Port Moresby either to work or as students.
Middlemen

A fourth way by which people acquired new shells is through middlemen who cashed in on the trade, although the activities of these people have been scaled down a great deal in the last five years. In their heyday, these people were mainly Chinese, Mixed-race and a few Europeans who ran businesses and plantations near the areas of the shell sources. At least one Australian man with his Matupit wife were in this part of the trade. This person ran a lumber Company in the Wide Bay area where the Dagi shell sources are located. He and his Matupit wife bought the cleaned and treated shells from the local people at Dagi for between K8.00 and K10.00 per tinful. They brought the shells to Rabaul and Matupit and sold them for K15.00 a tinful. I confirmed the case of a Chinese man and his family who were selling shells from their home in Rabaul town. This family owned a plantation in the East Pomio area. I established that this family had been involved in the trade for a number of years. These middlemen either sold the shells from their homes in Rabaul town, hawked them around in the villages of the Gazelle Peninsula or delivered them to pre-arranged buyers in the villages. Just before and during my fieldwork period, the volume of new shells entering the tabu system through the middlemen was quite enormous, which I shall briefly discuss here.

The middlemen who were confirmed as trading in tabu were mainly dealing in shells from the West New Britain and East Pomio areas. Amongst these there were five main operators
while the rest were minor dealers. This distinction is based on the consistency of involvement in the trade and the volume of shells handled. The main operators were middlemen who had established sources of shells where they consistently collected their shells when they were available. For instance the Australian with the Matupit wife, mentioned earlier, had a number of shell sources near where his lumber company was operating. As the place was quite remote, he was the only buyer of the shells in the area. His wife who remained in Rabaul made sure that an amount of money was constantly available for the purchase of these shells. She insisted to her husband that he buy the shells from the local people whenever they offered them for sale. The wife then had a constant supply of shells for sale at their residence in Rabaul town and at Matupit. The Chinese family mentioned earlier had a number of shell sources near their plantation in the East Pomio area. This family were the only people who had the money to buy these shells so the local people regularly came to them with shells for sale. The family constantly bought the shells knowing that they could make a few kina from their resale in Rabaul. In June 1982 the family sold two 56 lb bags of shells, each containing about 600 fathoms of tabu. Earlier in the year, in about February, the family had sold another two bags with about another 600 fathoms of shells in each. The year before, 1981, they sold one bag-full with about the same amount of shells as those above and in 1980 they sold another bag-full. In the three years previous to 1980, the family sold varying amounts ranging between three-quarter and half bag-fulls on a number of occasions. When I
talked to this family in 1982, they were talking about giving up their part in the shell trade due to pressure from the East Pomio Community Government. They had heard that the East New Britain Provincial Government in tandem with the East Pomio Community Government were in the process of drawing up legislation to stop 'non-natives' from being involved in the shell trade. The family finally pulled out of the trade in 1983.

The minor operators referred to above were middlemen who were not involved in the shell trade on a regular basis and not in big amounts. These people worked or were regular visitors to places near the shell source areas. They bought the shells on occasions when it was offered to them and when they had the money for purchase. Apart from the middlemen in the West New Britain and East Pomio shell trade, I was informed about other middlemen who were involved in the Shortland Islands, Bougainville and Manus trade but I could not confirm these.

For the Matupit and most other Tolai, the easiest and most convenient way for them to acquire new shells is to buy them when they are being sold in Rabaul town and around the villages of the Gazelle Peninsula, by local people from the shell sources and middlemen. But the problem with this avenue was the high prices often asked for in these situations. The Matupit are forever complaining about the high prices that the local people from the shell sources and middlemen are always asking for their shells. During my period of fieldwork, while the prices that were being asked
at or near West New Britain and East Pomio sources were K10.00, the prices that were being asked by local people from these areas and middlemen in Rabaul were about K15.00 per 15 oz tinful. I also confirmed that some shells which had come from the direction of Bougainville were selling for K20.00 a tinful.6

In 1982 the East New Britain Provincial Government and the East Pomio Community Government were receiving many complaints from people about the involvement of middlemen in the shell trade. Complaints were being voiced about the exorbitant prices these people were charging for the shells. Some discussion took place between the two governments on the matter and there was agreement that some legislation was needed to control the prices and to keep middlemen out. But before the legislation was formulated, the two governments made an interim arrangement to solve the problems. The East Pomio Community Government collected the shells from the people in its constituency and had them shipped to Rabaul. Through its office of Community Government, the Provincial Government sold these shells to the Tolai. The proceeds from the sales were sent back to the people in East Pomio.

Under the above arrangement, the first two shipments arrived in the Community Government Office in Rabaul in the first quarter of 1982. About 3,000 fathoms of shells was sold at a price of K15.00 per salmon tinful. I was told

6 It is not clear whether these shells came from Bougainville or from the Solomon Islands.
that almost K10,000.00 was made from these sales. No further shipments were made after the above two. When I inquired about this I was told that the shells were no longer found in abundance so it was no longer worth the effort of the Community Government to collect them. The talked about legislation was never done, although most of the middlemen were scared off and never got back into the trade.

While it was easy to establish the ways of acquiring new shells, as discussed in this section, it was not so easy to ascertain the amounts of shells involved in these acquisitions. I had difficulty ascertaining the amounts of tabu involved because most people did not talk freely about the shells they had acquired. With regard to the acquisition of new shells, although people are encouraged to acquire as much as possible, they are not to divulge to anyone the amount of tabu acquired. A person should not even tell or admit to anyone that they had acquired some tabu (whether they are in new shells or already in tabu form). In this respect, the acquisition of shells should be done as secretly as possible. The fewer people know about an acquisition, the better. The reasons for this kind of behaviour ranges from maintaining modesty to fear of sorcery by jealous or envious people and fear of the power of tabu itself.

In the Kikila district of Matupit, only one person admitted openly to me that he had made a trip once specifically to acquire tabu. In 1976 this man went to Dagi and stayed with
his daughter. His daughter's husband was working for the government at the Dagi Station. Although he went to stay with his daughter, this person admitted that the real purpose of his trip was to buy some shells for himself. He told me he acquired 140 fathoms worth of shells on this trip and that he would go again after he had collected enough money. Otherwise, the only way to get information on acquisitions was to first obtain the information from a second person then ask the person who made the acquisition, and hope for confirmation.

Flow of New Shells into the Tabu System

Tolai not only seek tabu when they need some for a specific purpose such as mortuary ceremonials, bride-price payments or tubuan ceremonies. Although preparations for these occasions heighten people's tabu acquiring activities, Tolai are always looking for ways to make tabu. They will never pass up a chance to make tabu. They will acquire tabu whenever the chance arises, whether they are old shells or new shells. In the acquisition of new shells, there are times when the volumes acquired are high and there are times when they are low. There are at least four factors which determine the volume of new shells acquired by the Tolai, and thus the volume of new shells into the tabu system. These are: the seasonal availability of shells, availability of cash, accessibility to the tabu sources and the level of ceremonial and activity involving tabu.

One feature of tabu shells which the Tolai have learnt to
accept is that sometimes they are found in great abundance
in the water at the source areas and at other times they
are very scarce indeed. A Kikila woman who had lived in the
Dagi area for at least ten years told me that these
fluctuations were very noticeable. This woman said that
during peak of the flux, the local people collected a lot
of shells and many Tolai were able to buy a lot of shells.
She herself was able to buy some for her family, her
parents, her relatives and friends. But she also spoke of
the times when the shells were scarce. These times of
scarcity were most frustrating for many Tolai who came to
the area in search of shells. She said many of these people
stayed for weeks and even months checking the shell sources
and hoping for a change in the situation. Her own situation
became difficult during these times because she could not
meet the demands for shells from her parents, her relatives
and her friends. She said they used to sometimes accuse her
of being selfish and greedy.

The means through which tabu shells get to Rabaul also
affects the volume of flow of shells into the tabu system.
Before European contact and for some time after, tabu came
to Rabaul through only one means. This was through the
parties of men who went in canoes to the Nakanai area, as
outlined earlier. Most of my elderly informants told me
that before the arrival of Europeans, it was very difficult
indeed to own tabu. Only a few fortunate ones, mainly
bigmen, owned tabu. Everyone else either had very little or
none at all. This was because there was not very much tabu
in the system. And there was not very much tabu in the
system because the means by which new shells could come into the system was limited to only one. My informants told me that in those days a person who owned one hundred fathoms of tabu was considered to be very wealthy.

After the arrival of the early Europeans, pacification and the introduction of better means of transport made it possible for more trips to be made to the Nakanai area, to acquire shells. This meant an increased amount of new shells entered the system. Since the mid-1960s, with better transportation and the discovery of many new shell sources, a greater volume of shells is entering the tabu system.

Today the main way to acquire new shells is to purchase them with cash. While the shells may be available at the source areas and are easily transportable to Rabaul, they still have to be purchased with cash. Without cash, no new shells will enter the tabu system. It seems to follow that the more money people have, the more tabu they will have (much of which they acquire as new shells). Since the early days of the introduction of cash on the Gazelle Peninsula, the increase in the inflow of new shells into the tabu system has followed the increase in the availability of cash to the Tolai. My list of people who have purchased new shells, shows that the majority of these are people who had cash at their disposal, mainly people who had jobs. Those with sizeable incomes are to be found at the top of the list.

However the most important determining factor of the level
of flow of new shells into the tabu system is the level of ritual activity, which involves the use of tabu. It is these ritual and ceremonial activities which generate interest among people to collect tabu. When the level of ritual and ceremonial activities is high, the level of tabu acquiring activities is also high. The level of ritual activities is determined by people's need to perform these activities.

A person in need of tabu in order to participate in the ceremonies can build up a collection in one of two ways. First, he or she can engage in activities such as the selling of goods for tabu, which is discussed below. Second, he or she can buy new shells. Many people choose to buy new shells instead of engaging in the tabu making activities because they consider the former to be a faster and easier way of acquiring tabu than the latter.7

7 There is not much difference between the cost of collecting tabu through the tabu making activities and by the purchase of new shells. People prefer to buy new shells because the tabu making activities require a lot of capital, both in cash and in tabu. These activities also require very good organizational skills. They are also risky in that a person cannot be sure how many people are going to attend an occasion staged by him/her to make tabu. Buying new shells is easier because a person can buy small amounts of tabu at a time and not wait until they have a large amount of cash and tabu, as the tabu making activities require. A person only has to pay someone (usually a specialist) to manufacture the shells into tabu.
Before European contact and up until about 15 to 20 years ago, all the shells that were acquired form the above-mentioned sources arrived in Rabaul in their natural state, i.e., as single shells with their whorls still intact. The making of these shells into tabu was done in Rabaul by specialists, when the shells landed there.

After the new shells have been acquired, they have to be manufactured into tabu. There are three stages in the production process. These are the binabar (breaking of the whorl on the back of the shell), niuk (stringing of the shells onto the strips of rattan) and rurua (joining of the new pieces of tabu into longer pieces). The binabar is quite easy and can be done by anyone including children. Traditionally, niuk and rurua were done mainly by specialists who were skilled in this job, and elderly people. Today there are a lot of new shells coming in which is too much work for the specialists and the elderly people. Also, the pay for these jobs is quite attractive. For these two reasons, these jobs are no longer restricted to only the specialists and the elderly. Many younger men and women are also doing these jobs.

Traditionally binabar was done on the back of a coconut.

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8 Payment is set at a certain amount of cash or tabu per arip (ten fathom). In 1990 the rate was K5.00 or 1 fathom per ten fathom.
shell. The shell was put in a groove on the side of the shell, facing downwards. With a sharp instrument such as a piece of bone, the whorl at the back of the shell was pierced. The hole left in the shell was large enough for the strip of rattan to go through when stringing the shells together. This task was laborious because the shells had to be picked up individually, placed on the coconut shell then pierced. Today this task is made easy with the use of a pair of pliers.

The shells are spread out on a piece of cloth with their backs up. With the pliers, the whorls on their backs are merely pinched off. The hole left in the back should be big enough to allow the strip of rattan to be pushed through it easily. At the same time this hole should not be too big otherwise the shell will be loose on the rattan strip. The idea is for the shell to firmly grip the rattan strip but it should not be too tight.

Niuk is the most laborious and specialised of the three tasks. The shells which have had the whorls on their backs pinched off are strung onto strips of rattan. A strip of rattan about 60 centimetres long is shaved with a small knife or a potato peeler, until it is about three millimetres in diameter. It is rubbed with some oily leaves to make it slippery. The shells are then strung

9 The strips of rattan have to be soaked in water overnight before use. This is so they can be flexible to use and are not too brittle and do not break easily.

10 Today many people use soap instead of oily leaves.
on one after another, always ensuring that they are the right distance apart. They can be as close as possible to each other, but they cannot be more than three millimetres apart. A good *tensa niuk* (shell stringer) is judged by the way he does not string the shells too close together thus using too many shells, and does not string them too far apart thus making the spacing unacceptable. One end of the rattan is put through the shell from the lip side. The rattan goes through the shell and appears at the back where the whorl has been broken off. The end of the rattan that appears at the back of the shell is held away, in front of the body while the shell is pulled along the rattan towards the body. This is a very painful exercise indeed for the fingers, the hands and the back. The result of *niuk* are pieces of *tabu*, 60 centimetres long which are known as *wuwuai*.

When a number of *wuwuai* have been completed, they are joined together in the process known as *rurua*. One end of these pieces of *tabu* is split into two and the end of another piece is shaved until it is thin as possible. The shaved end of the second piece is then slipped into the split end of the first piece. When the shaved end is in the split end, two or three shells from first piece are moved over the split end, thus holding the split together tightly with the shaved end inside it. The joint is then secure. This process is then repeated until a ten fathom length is produced.

The *tabu* is then rubbed with a mixture of lime and grated
mango bark with a bit of water. This mixture produces a slightly wet, powdery, yellow substance. This substance gives the tabu a yellowish look. Tabu makers explained that the yellow substance was to enhance the shells' natural colour and to also protect them from the weather. While I accepted this practical and secular explanation I believe that there is more to this than the enhancing of colour and protection of the shells. On many occasions I saw incantations being made on the substance while it was being mixed and when it was being rubbed on the tabu. This substance and its application on the tabu was magical. I noticed that it was after the above treatment that people began to treat the shells as tabu proper. It began to possess a sacred element.

The production of tabu from maulana palatabu (old shells) is very much the same as that described above. Only the binabar stage is replaced by pinapa (removing of shells from the rattan strips). The production of tabu from old shells is basically making tabu from short pieces of tabu which a person had received from distributions in ceremonies or from the sale of goods. In pinapa, the individual shells are removed from the rattan strip by pulling the rattan strip through a V shaped cut on the edge of a coconut shell. Today many people use other tools such as pieces of iron guttering (with grooves cut on them) and

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*Shells which have been left out in the sun and rain lose their shiny texture, they get brittle and break easily.*

*It has to be understood that kabang (lime) has a very special place in the Tolai sphere of magic. Most of the magical mixtures include lime and on many occasion the word mangana (magic) is replaced with the word kabang.*
kitchen forks. Once the shells have been removed from the rattan strips, the rest of the production is the same as that for new shells. The only difference is the lime and bark mixture is not applied on this tabu because this is only done to new shells.

Traditionally, all shell manufacture into tabu was done in Rabaul. Only recently, with the growing number of Tolai living for long periods outside of Rabaul, some shell production into tabu is being done in centres like Kimbe, Manus and Port Moresby. Some production was also done in Bougainville until the troubles began there in 1989. In these other centres production is done by specialists who are brought from Rabaul specifically for this purpose or by visiting relatives who have some production skills. Production outside of Rabaul is a recent development, otherwise at present most of the tabu production is still done in Rabaul.

The tabu that has been manufactured into arip (ten fathoms) units, whether from new or old shells, is put away mainly for ceremonial and ritual purposes. This tabu is hoarded away for a very long time, in most cases it is for the remaining part of an adult’s life, which can be between twenty and fifty years. Some tabu, usually in loloi (coils) which are known as tabu na waki (tabu of creation), are older than this because they have been passed down from one generation to another without being distributed.

At rituals this tabu is taken out of storage and
distributed in small pieces. It is when it is in small pieces that it performs monetary functions. It circulates freely as money but then after a short while it gradually gets taken out of circulation, to be hoarded away again for ritual purposes.

At any time it is difficult to establish how much is in stock for ritual purposes and how much is in circulation as money. But there are two things which we can be sure of. Firstly, at any time, the amount stored away for ritual purposes is usually more than the amount in circulation as money. Secondly, the amount in circulation is determined by the amounts distributed in rituals ceremonies. People speak of tabu ure ra kini (tabu is for life) and mani ure ra nian (tabu for food). Tabu for ceremonials are usually larger amounts which are stored away in coils, baskets or hung on walls in five to ten fathom units. Tabu for food are usually smaller amounts, from one fathom and under, which are usually found being carried around in baskets or are found in drawers and cupboards in the house. But in spite of this distinction, tabu for one purpose may be used for the other. For instance, a person attending a ceremony in which he is has to make some tabu contribution, will merely reach into his basket and take a piece of his tabu ure ra nian and make the presentation. Also, a person who has run out of tabu for food can easily take some of the tabu which he had put aside for ceremonial purposes. From this it is perhaps a little unrealistic to talk about amounts of ritual tabu and monetary tabu, but the distinction is there and is often made by the people. In a survey of 66
households which I conducted in the Kikila district of Matupit in 1980, there were 30,192 fathoms set aside for ceremonial/ritual purposes and approximately 300 fathoms was in circulation as money.

III

The Monetary Role of Tabu

Pre-Contact

It is difficult today to say what percentage of tabu was used as money before the introduction of cash. One thing we are told by early Europeans who came to the Gazelle Peninsula was that the Tolai were very commercial. They had a number of markets in various locations in which commercial transactions were conducted. The medium of exchange in these commercial transactions was tabu. A description of a Tolai market day in the 1880s, given by Rickard, will give some idea of the commercial use of tabu in the market places.

To witness the uses and advantages of the "tabu", let us first visit the market. This is either on the beach or on the boundary of two districts, at an appointed place, where the people of two or more small districts meet every third day to buy and sell. Here the women begin to assemble early in the morning, bringing with them burdens more suitable for horses than for human beings - baskets of taro, yam, or betel-nut, coils of cane, and other various articles, which they carry on
their backs, suspended by a strap passed over their heads......

Two old friends (men) or business acquaintances meet, one of whom takes a bit of tabu, about an inch long, and containing eight shells, out of his basket, which he always carries under his arm, and turning to one of the women, buys a parcel containing four or five betel-nuts and about a dozen pepper berries, then the friends have a social chew instead of a 'social glass'. Here are women buying six yams or taro, for a piece of tabu six inches in length, or forty shells. There is a man with a large fish and a string of small ones, he does not exchange them for yams or taro but gets half a fathom for the former and a quarter for the latter, then with part of it he buys his taro and a few parcels of betel-nut, enough to last until next market day, and returns home with the balance in his basket. .... All this we have seen, but we have heard much more. One man pays a deposit on an unborn pig or dog. The beach man hands his European trade over to a bushman to sell on a commission and the latter bargains with the former to sell his cassowary or cockatoo for a commission also. We hear the names of various lengths of tabu viz, atip, for any amounts up to ten shells; a tip na arip, twenty shells; a wartuk, forty shells; a bal, eighty shells or a quarter of a fathom; a papara, half a fathom; a pokono, a fathom; a wuna em tabu, two fathoms; a gaina, three fathoms; a arip , ten fathoms. (Rickard 1893: 48-9).
From accounts by a number of old people on Matupit, there were at least seven main tavula bung (market places) in the Gazelle Peninsula before the Europeans arrived, each within ten to fifteen miles of each other. The main criterion of these seven markets was that they facilitated the flow of goods between the coast and the hinterland. These markets linked each other in straight lines, from the coast to the hinterland. For instance, the coastal market at Raburua was directly linked to the inland market of Ratavul, which was on the plateau of the Gazelle Peninsula. From the coastal villages near Raburua and the island of Matupit, goods such as fish, lime, red-ochre and eggs flowed through the Raburua market into the Ratavul market. From the villages on the plateau, goods such as taro, yams, plumes, bananas and game flowed through the Ratavul market then down to the Raburua market. There were other markets apart from these seven major ones but they were mainly small and local.

In and outside of these market places, there were four ways in which trade was conducted. These were, pinapa, wholesale trade; kunukul, retail trade; warwaba, credit; and warbua, barter. Wholesale trade occurred mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it allowed people to acquire large quantities of goods such as taro, yams, pigs and red ochre, for ceremonies. Secondly, wholesale trade allowed some traders to acquire large quantities of goods in one market for retail trade in another market. Kunukul retail trade, was mainly concerned with items which could be consumed immediately such as food or be taken home for some other
purpose. What I call credit trade here was more like sales with commission. This mainly occurred between people who were acquainted with each other. One person gave goods which he could not sell on a market day, to another person who took it to sell in another market place. The second person then gave the proceeds from the goods to the first person at a later date. In many cases the first person brought the goods to market with the intention of giving it to the second person and not just because he could not sell it during the market day. Barter took place mainly between friends and the goods exchanged were separate from the goods for sale. The first three of these four kinds of transactions were clearly commercial. And the medium of exchange was tabu.

*Contemporary Monetary Role*

The kinds of trade described above are still used in Tolai commerce today but tabu is no longer the main medium of exchange. In the market places, which are mainly in the urban areas, tabu transactions constitute a very low percentage of the transactions that take place there and is confined to only a few items. The main items which tabu can buy in the Kokopo and Rabaul town markets are: fish, lime, peanuts, red ochre, taro and bananas. These goods are also obtainable by cash, but whenever they are seen being offered for tabu, usually they have been brought to market specifically to be sold for tabu. In this case cash is not accepted, but sometimes some goods such as peanuts and lime are offered for both cash and tabu. In comparison to the
total amount of trade in cash, tabu trade in the markets today, is insignificant. According to my observation in 1980-83, on an ordinary day, not more than thirty fathoms is exchanged in the Rabaul market. This amount goes up when seasonal goods such as fish and some fruits are available in large quantities.

The low percentage of tabu transactions in the urban market places represents only a small portion of the commercial use of tabu among the Tolai today. The main volume of trade in tabu is in the villages. These transactions are conducted at homes, little market places, trade stores and at ceremonial gatherings. At Kikila, the range of goods which are obtainable by tabu covers almost everything that is locally produced and many imported goods, such as, fruits, fish, pigs, cassava pudding, rice, tea, salt, and beer.

At Kikila there are women who sell goods for only tabu. These women are well-known in the district and most have built up reputations of trading in tabu over many years. They keep a variety of goods, both locally produced and imported, in their houses at all times. The goods that these women sell rarely belong to them. They belong to other people who give them to these women to sell for tabu only. The goods are not displayed as they would have them in the trade-store. Instead they are stored in the house out of sight. A person wanting to buy something merely comes to the house and asks for the item. If the woman has it in stock and he agrees with the price then she sells it
to him. On any day of the week, day and night these women's houses are open for business. The amount of tabu a woman trader makes in a day depends very much on the volume of tabu in circulation as money. Naturally, immediately after a ceremony in which a lot of tabu is distributed, the women can expect to make a lot more tabu than at other times when there are no ceremonies. Of the sales they make, these women get cash payments or tabu commissions, from the owners of the goods. These women engage in this activity not only to make a few kina or a few fathoms of tabu for themselves but they also say that they are doing a service for their friends and relatives who do not have the time to sell the goods.

During the week women set up markets in different parts of the village. Sometimes these women sit near the school, where they set up stalls with goods displayed on them, mainly cooked food, fruits and vegetables, to sell to the school children. These goods are sold for both cash and tabu. Many of the women who sell goods at these markets prepare food specifically for sale at these markets while some merely come with whatever surplus the may have, to sell for a bit of tabu or cash. On at least two days of the week, these local women are joined by women from other villages, mainly from the inland villages, who come in trucks with goods not only for sale to school children but to adults also.

Trade store trading in tabu is not common on Matupit and only two stores indulged in this activity during the period
of my fieldwork. The transactions in these trade stores were mainly done in cash and most of the goods on sale were for cash. But at the same time there were goods such as cigarettes, rice, tea, dripping and betel-nut which were put on separate shelves and were being sold for tabu, only.

The occasions in the village in which a large number of commercial transactions in tabu take place are the ceremonial ritual occasions in which tabu is distributed. There are a number of these ceremonies and the volume of transactions depends on the amount of tabu distributed and the amount of goods on sale. In that part of the mortuary sequence known as kutu tabu (cutting up tabu), the women bring just about anything they think can sell for tabu, such as peanuts, saveloys, ice-blocks, apples, boiled eggs and cigarettes. They keep these hidden away in their baskets or cardboard boxes until the distribution takes place, then they display them. The amount of tabu that each woman is able to make on these occasions depends on three factors: the demand for the item that she is selling, the supply available at the ceremony and the amount of tabu distributed. Thus in an average size kutu tabu where about three hundred fathoms of tabu is distributed, women who sell cigarettes can only make five to eight fathoms of tabu, because although the demand is always high, many women also sell cigarettes. On the other hand, women who sell goods which were in short supply, such as boiled saveloys, can make a bit more tabu.

At the end of the day, by my estimate, at least one third
of the total amount of tabu that is distributed during the ceremony, is captured by the sellers. During the period of my fieldwork, one particular Village Councillor commented many times during Village meetings on the great amounts of tabu that were always made by women during these ceremonies. He suggested on a number of occasions that some kind of levy be imposed on these sellers. This idea failed to get support and in the end this councillor had to be content with another suggestion of his which was accepted and made a rule by the Village Government in 1981. This rule merely allows the persons staging a ceremony to accept donation payments in cash from those who attend, as token compensation for the expense of staging the ceremony.

Exchange Value Adjustments to Cash

In the tabu transactions described above, the amounts of tabu used are small, ranging between five shells and two and a half fathoms. With regard to the prices of goods, there is no regulating authority such as Price Control authorities in the modern economy. It is not clear how prices were determined before the arrival of Europeans on the Gazelle Peninsula, but three writers have given some idea of how the tabu monetary system was adjusted in response to fluctuations of supply and demand in the market (Brown 1887, Espstein 1968, Salisbury 1970). According to these three writers, the prices were set by tradition and stayed the same. In response to fluctuations in supply and demand, it was the amount and quality of goods that were adjusted. This system of adjustment is still used
today but only in a very small percentage of tabu prices. This system of adjustment is used only in the trade of goods which are locally produced.

Today, the larger percentage of prices is determined by cash prices because of the great involvement of cash in tabu activities. In a place like Matupit, where there is not much land for gardening so the people depend a lot on the town shops and markets, the involvement of cash in tabu activities is more evident. The locally produced goods sold on Matupit have to be acquired in the town market with cash. Imported goods have to be bought from the town with cash. So when the tabu prices for these goods are fixed, the cash price is an important consideration. This involvement of cash has changed the tabu adjustment system, so that instead of prices staying the same while the amounts and quality of goods change, the prices change while the amounts of goods stay the same.

Although its market adjustment system has changed, monetary tabu as used today still retains some traditional characteristics which distinguish it from cash. With regard to prices, tabu adjustments are not done in the same way as they are done in cash. This is because tabu has retained its traditional units system which is used in the pricing of goods today. There are nine traditional units, although Rickard, as quoted earlier, suggested that there were another two, which may have gone out of use. In tabu today, there are eleven recognized units. In Table II, the first nine are monetary units and the last two are ceremonial and
Table II. List of tabu monetary units.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Unit</th>
<th>Number of Shells</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a tip</td>
<td>5 shells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tip na laptikai</td>
<td>12 shells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tip na arip</td>
<td>20 shells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a wartuk</td>
<td>40 shells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a wuwuai</td>
<td>60 shells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a turakinim</td>
<td>80 shells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a papar</td>
<td>1/2 fathom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a pokono</td>
<td>1 fathom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a mar</td>
<td>100 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tutana</td>
<td>1,000 fathoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ritual.

The basic unit which is often used to compare the value of tabu to the kina (P.N.G. cash), is a pokono (See Table II). In 1981-83 the fathom was worth K3.00. If there are 400 shells in a fathom this would have meant that one shell was worth K0.075 toea. But this relative value was not recognized or used in tabu price fixing. With the kina, as the Australian dollar, in the case of a price rise, a price can be increased by any amount. For instance raising the price of a cake of soap can be done by adding one toea, two toea or any amount at all to its current price. With tabu, the new price must be the next unit, or several units up in the case of a large increase. For instance, in 1977, the price of a packet of three dry biscuits was 12 shells while the cash price was K0.12 toea. In 1980 when the cash price rose from K0.12 toea to K0.15 toea, the tabu price increased to K0.20 shells. In 1982-83, when the cash price rose to K0.20 toea, the tabu price stayed at 20 shells. This means that tabu prices do not rise gradually as cash prices do, but do so in leaps and jumps. Furthermore it means that commercial tabu is not fully equated with cash.

Exactly how tabu prices are determined, is not clear to most sellers. Also, whether sellers recognize an exchange rate between cash and tabu is not evident. The relative value I gave earlier is my own calculation from comparison of tabu and cash prices in 1981-83. The women traders at Kikila say that in order for them to be able to do good trade in tabu, they have to keep a close watch on cash
prices. As to how and when they recognize that a price adjustment is imminent, they cannot say. Most sellers could only say that when they saw other sellers adjust theirs, then they knew it was time to adjust their own. Only one very well established woman trader, IaRegina, who had been a seller for many years, told me that K0.20 toea was equivalent to 20 shells and that her price adjustments were based on this exchange rate. This woman, IaRegina, entered the selling trade in 1965 when she was introduced into it by her mother IaPia, who was a well-known seller. IaRegina said that from her mother IaPia, she learnt that 6 pence was equivalent to a tip na laptikai (12 shells) and that a shilling was equivalent to a tip na arip (20 shells). When the currency was changed from pounds and shillings to dollars and cents, she watched her mother change her rates to $0.10 cents being equivalent to a tip na laptikai and $0.20 cents being equivalent to atip na arip. During these early years she mainly followed the instructions of her mother and she did not know how she (IaPia) formulated her prices because the units of goods she sold then, were different from the units in the village trade stores, with which she tried to compare prices. IaPia was mainly selling rice, dripping, wheat-meal, salt, biscuits and twist-tobacco. These goods were rations of people who worked for the Australian Administration at that time, who instead of consuming them, left them with IaPia to sell for tabu. As these rations came in bags or cans and there was no way of telling what they were worth in cash, it baffled IaRegina as to how IaPia decided what amount of goods was worth a certain amount of tabu. The way IaPia sold these goods,
particularly with rice, dripping, wheat-meal, and salt was for customers to bring their own containers and she scooped an amount of goods into them. It baffled IaRegina even more that IaPia never used any measuring apparatus such as a scale, and for some time she was convinced that her mother was not concerned about any relative value between cash and tabu even though she said she did. It was only much later, when IaPia was very old, that IaRegina found that her mother had been very observant of what went on with prices in the village trade stores. For instance, with rice, the trade store owners used scales. But to save time, they weighed the amount at which they want to sell, poured the amount into a cup, marked the volume in the cup, then continued to use the cup rather than the scale. IaPia knew of this practice so she kept cups which were the same as trade store owners used and made the same markings on them as they did. From this discovery, IaRegina began to watch trade stores as her mother did and she began to adjust her tabu prices according to what went on with prices there.

From about the early 1970s to 1982, tabu price adjustment was easy because with the phasing out of the ration system by the Administration, the kinds of and units of goods which people left with her to sell were the same as those available in the trade stores. The way she adjusted her prices was by maintaining that the $0.20 cents (then later K0.20 toea) to 20 shells ratio remained between cash and tabu. In the event of an increase in cash price, she checked to see if it changed this ratio. If it did not, then she made no adjustments but if it did, then she moved
her tabu price to the next highest unit. She admitted that in many cases it was difficult to maintain this equivalence because of the system of units in tabu discussed earlier. Because of this, the tabu factor was often higher, but this did not matter because it was in her favour. For instance, if because of a price rise in a cash price the equivalence became K0.25 toea to a tip na arip (20 shells) IaRegina raised her price to the next tabu unit which is a wartuk (40 shells), making tabu higher by 15 shells. One of the effects of this kind of price difference is that tabu prices are stable for long periods in spite of increases in cash prices. It is because any increase in cash price still has to close the difference before tilting the balance in its favour. One other factor which contributes to this stability, is the system of price adjustment applied by Matupit trade store owners. This system of cash price adjustment is the same as the system that guides tabu prices. It is the same in that the number of possible prices is reduced because of the fact that there is a limited number of possible prices onto which prices are fixed. This kind of pricing system is found both in the village trade stores and the town markets. Unlike in the town retail stores where in the case of a rise, a price can be raised by any amount ranging from K0.01 toea to any amount at all, in the two places mentioned here, prices can only be raised by K0.05 toea, K0.10 toea, K0.15 toea, K0.20 toea or more. This means that in the town retail stores, there are ninety-nine possible prices under one kina, whereas in the markets and village trade stores, there are only nineteen. While this system stabilizes cash prices in
the trade-stores despite price rises in wholesale stores in the town, it also contributes to the stability of tabu prices because it is the village trade stores which determine tabu prices. This pricing system has a long history which dates back to the time of pounds shillings and pence and may have developed from the lack of small change among the Tolai. In Table III the system of tabu price adjustment is shown and from this the stability in both tabu and cash prices is evident.

Wapuak - (Wages)

Apart from its use in trade, tabu is used commercially in other kinds of transactions. Wapuak is a word which clearly belongs in the Kuanua language so the concept of wages could be as old as tabu itself, if not older. In 1980-83, tabu was still used as wages for many services, such as to rain-makers, healers, tubuan designers and dancers, lamp and radio repairers, carpenters, and blouse makers. The amounts of tabu paid for these jobs and services varied. Tubuan designers and dancers were paid ten fathoms and a quarter of a fathom respectively. Blouse makers charged half a fathom for each garment they made. Lamp and radio repairers charged one fathom for each item they repaired. Depending on the size of a house, carpenters charged between 30 and 50 fathoms plus cash for each job.
Table III. Tabu Prices Showing Pattern of Increase in Cigarette Prices between 1978 and 1982.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tabu Price</th>
<th>Cash Price</th>
<th>% Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>60 shells</td>
<td>50 toea</td>
<td>16.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>60 &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot;</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>60 &quot;</td>
<td>60 &quot;</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>80 &quot;</td>
<td>65 &quot;</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>80 &quot;</td>
<td>70 &quot;</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>80 &quot;</td>
<td>80 &quot;</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note the stability of tabu prices for the periods 1978-80 and 1981-80. The trade store cash prices are also quite stable compared to the many price increases suggested by the Price Control Board in these years.
Tabu is made from little Nassa shells. These shells are of a species which is of a particular size and colour which traditionally the Tolai used to obtain from the Nakanai area of West New Britain. The Tolai used to obtain these shells through barter. Today, the shells from the Nakanai area represent the standard species which is required for production into tabu.

Although a lot of shells still come from the Nakanai area, in the last twenty-five years other sources of shells have been discovered in other parts of the Bismark Archipelago and the Solomon Islands. Some of these shells are of slightly different varieties from that of the Nakanai area. Initially these varieties of shells were not readily accepted into the tabu system, but eventually they were.

Today the main way to acquire new shells is by the payment of cash. There are many different ways of buying shells. Some people make trips to the shell source areas, some merely ask their friends who go to these areas, to buy shells from them and some buy from locals of these areas and middlemen who bring the shells to Rabaul for sale.

The shells arrive in Rabaul in their raw state and thus have to undergo production into tabu. Most of the production is performed by specialists who do it for a certain amount of cash and tabu fees. Basically the production involves the piercing of the whorl at the back of the shell and stringing them onto strips of rattan.
The *tabu* produced from the shells is mainly stored away for ritual purposes. Only when it is broken into short pieces in *kutu tabu* during ritual ceremonies, does it temporarily perform the function of money. Before the introduction of modern cash, *tabu* may have had a very strong monetary function because it was the Tolai's only medium of exchange. Today, *tabu* is still used as money but to much lesser extent than in the past. Despite its monetary function both in the past and at the present, the real value of *tabu* lies in its ritual functions.
Chapter IV

SACREDNESS IN TABU

Introduction

Tabu is normally a mundane object. People handle it and carry it around like any other object. In its use as money, people use it as they would use cash. But sometimes tabu becomes more than just another object. In this chapter I shall show that in certain situations tabu becomes a sacred object. Sometimes this sacredness is inherent in tabu itself. At other times this sacredness is projected onto the object either by the situation in which it is used, or by the purpose for which it is intended. The sacredness relates to the presence of tabaran (spirits), either embedded in tabu or watching over it from very close by.

In general, the nature of the spirits embedded in tabu or watching over it from very close by, are not clearly defined. At best, this spirit is a being with certain powers but no one can really define what it is. At most times it is in the form that most people want it to be. The functions of these spirits are also not defined. Again, these functions can be what most people would want the spirit to do in a particular situation. Some glimpses of the spirit’s functions are only realized when they act, such as making someone ill when this person has misused some tabu in a particular ceremony or has misused tabu which had been intended for some specific purpose. In most situations spirits act mainly in the interest of protecting
tabu or punishing people for misusing it, although the Tolai would not define the function of these spirits in this way. The lack of clear definition of spirits in or watching over tabu, and the lack of definition of their functions, does not suggest that the Tolai have difficulty in explaining the nature and function of these spirits. This lack of clear definition merely reflects the Tolai belief system of the spirit world, which is one of great fluidity.

The traditional Tolai belief system of the spirit world is still a very important part of tabu today. The sacredness of tabu which emanates from the presence of these spirits is important to the continued use of tabu by the Tolai. Without its sacredness, tabu would lose its value to the Tolai.

I

The Tolai Belief System.

In Tolai mythology there are a number of creation myths in which two culture heroes, ToKabinana and ToKarvuvu (also known as ToPurgo), feature (Meier 1909; Parkinson 1907). In addition, there are other myths in which these two culture heroes do not feature but they also explain why some things in the environment are the way they are today. The myths in which the two culture heroes feature basically try to explain the origin of many features of Tolai culture, such as the moiety system, bride-price payment and in-law
avoidance. On the other hand the other myths try to explain the origins of other things in the environment, such as islands, rocks and the particular features in the appearance of animals. It is clear that these myths merely explain the origins of culture and other features in the environment which are important to man but they do not attempt to explain everything else. There are some things whose origins are not explained and their existence is merely accepted.

There are a number of different versions of the myth which explains the origin of the first *vara-gunan* (people) but most of them agree that it all started with one woman. In one version, this woman was the sole survivor from a population which had been wiped out by a wild boar, but in most other versions she was just there from the very beginning. Out of drops of her own blood (from her finger which she accidently pricked), appeared two little boys who later grew up to be the culture heroes, ToKabinana and ToKarvuvu (Meier 1909: 13-26). These two people then established Tolai culture.

In the myths, the two heroes are depicted as ordinary humans with limited powers. They constantly came up against the supernatural powers of spirits, which inhabited the environment. In order to combat these spirits and to master other difficult situations, they appealed to other supernatural forces for assistance, through magic. In many cases, whatever resulted from the confrontation with these spirits or from co-operation with them defined culture for
the two heroes and their descendants. The spirits pre-dated man and they were of twelve different kinds. Their presence in the environment is taken for granted and their nature has always been elusive to man. From this very early time, the Tolai have always accepted some degree of involvement of the spirit world in their lives. The twelve different kinds of spirits are found in different parts of the environment.

Tabaran Marut and Wawineai

In the very deep forest, far away from human habitation, live the tabaran marut and the wawineai. Tabaran marut may be either male or female and they live in big trees in the forest. They are believed to have long wavy hair which reaches down to the ground, and are dirty and smelly. The wawineai are female spirits which also live in big trees in the forest. By nature, these two kinds of spirits are shy of humans and try to avoid them as much as possible but humans have been known to stumble upon them when they (the spirits) are not aware of the human presence. It is believed that sometimes hunters and others wandering through the forest have come upon and seen tabaran marut when they are fast asleep in trees. With wawineai, it is believed that in the night their vaginas glow, giving a light which looks like flame from a fire. People lost in the forest are believed to have been attracted towards this light thinking it to be fire and have consequently come upon the spirit. By nature, these two spirits are harmless to humans but they will attack for three reasons. Firstly,
they will attack anyone who disturbs their niche such as cutting down the trees in which they live. Secondly, since they are naturally attracted towards bad smells, they will attack anyone who has some kind of sickness in him. Thirdly, they will attack anyone who has had malevolent magic performed against them, which is known as a puta. A puta is any part of the human body or leavings, such as hair, fingernail or faeces and food-scrap, which is then picked up by a sorcerer who performs malevolent magic on it. The rest of the harm is done by any spirit which can smell this puta on a person. But apart from this, these two spirits are believed to be indifferent to human affairs.

Kul and ling

Another two kinds of spirits are the kul and ling. The kul are midget spirits and the ling are orphan spirits. Both of these live mainly in the hollowed base of old trees within and near human settlements because they love to play with human children. It is believed that on bright moonlight nights when human children are out playing, these spirits come out and join them unnoticed. Many children's games are based on the belief in these two kinds of spirit. By nature, neither of these two spirits is of any use to humans, and are harmless. They are mostly recognized as playmates for children.

Ebar, tutana wurawurakit and wawina tabatabaran

Within and near human habitations live another three kinds
of spirits, the ebar, tutana wurawurakit and the wawina tabatabaran. The ebar can be either male or female and are very black in appearance. Within the areas of human settlement they live in abandoned houses, and other kinds of shelter such as Japanese hideouts, while around settlements they live in gullies and swamps. They are believed to wander within and around human settlements at night collecting human faeces, which is an important part of their diet. The tutana wurawurakit is an overgrown male spirit, about two to three times the height of an average human. It lives in big trees in and around human settlements. It is believed to follow a particular route to some part on the beach every night to take a bath. At particular times of the night this route has to be avoided by humans lest they encounter it. The wawina tabatabaran is a female spirit which lives in trees and secluded areas in and near human settlements. It is believed that this spirit lives in and near human settlements in order to be able to have sex with human males in order to reproduce its kind. By nature, these three kinds of spirits are malevolent towards humans and humans can only avoid their wrath by having some kind of protective magic which ward them off, known as tukal or babat. A sorcerer who performs puta sorcery on other people, does so with the intention of attracting these three kinds of spirits to kill his victims for him.

Alir pukai

In the sea there are spirits which are known as alir pukai. These spirits normally live at the bottom of the sea but
sometimes they may attach themselves to floating logs and float around the ocean and temporarily come ashore on some deserted beaches. It is considered wise to avoid big floating logs, particularly at night. Generally, these spirits are not harmful to humans but can attack when they are disturbed and when they smell sickness or puta in a person. Fishing magic is often aimed at harnessing the assistance of these spirits.

Kaia

A class of spirits which is important to the Tolai, are the kaia. Before the arrival of Europeans, it is believed that every major area of human settlement had one or a number of kaia resid} near it. These were like deities which ruled the air-space, the sea and the land in their own respective areas. At the same time they were capable of travelling beyond their own areas and could cover great distances. For instance it is believed that during the gold-field period of Wau and Bulolo in the 1930s, when many Tolai were recruited to work there, they were often visited there by some of these kaia. By nature they have the interest of the people of their areas and the Tolai in general at heart, and are acting most of the time as guardians. They control such phenomena as rain, storm and sunshine, so that any magic regarding these phenomena is aimed at harnessing their assistance. In some inter-village rivalries they are believed to participate. On Matupit there are at least three recognized kaia, ToRivan which lives on the northern end of the island, ToBoberatagul which lives on the eastern
end of the island, and ToLagulagu which lives on the mainland east of the island, near Matupit volcano. Today these *kaia* are still important forces to the Matupit Islander.

*Turangan, Ingal and Tabaran*

Also important to the Tolai, are another three kinds of spirits, the *turangan*, the *ingal* and *tabaran*. These three kinds of spirits are found everywhere in the environment and have very strong supernatural powers. The *turangan* spend most of their time floating around in the air, mainly invisible but sometimes they materialize and can be seen in the form of some kinds of birds. This kind of spirit is important to the Tolai because it is an agent in some kinds of magic. For instance in the *iniat* society, it is believed that adepts are able to occasionally transform themselves into the form of birds and fly in the air, into wild animals and wander around the bush, or into sharks and to swim in the ocean. In order to do this, they have to ritually perform magic in which they harness the supernatural power of the *turangan*. Their souls leave their bodies and with the help of the *turangan* enter into the form they desire. Besides the *iniat* there are other kinds of magic in which the power of the *turangan* is harnessed, such as dance magic, sorcery, ritual magic known as *komkom* (to identify a sorcerer and kill him), and curative magic known as *walaun*. By nature this kind of spirit is indifferent towards humans but it can be malevolent or benevolent, depending on the intentions of the person
performing magic harnessing its power.

The *ingal* also spends most of its time floating around in the air like the *turangan*, mostly being invisible or in the form of particular kinds of small birds. The supernatural powers of this kind of spirit are also harnessed in the same way as with the *turangan*, i.e., through the performance of ritual magic. But the purposes for which the supernatural power of this kind of spirit is required, are different. The *ingal* is a supernatural power which is capable of affecting human senses. For instance the power of this spirit is harnessed in *malira* (love magic), *balamarit* (beauty magic), *buai na malagene* (dance magic) and *buai na liu* (song composition magic) and *buai na kodakodop* (learning magic). Love magic is performed in a ritual known as *warbat* which is conducted by a group of persons, somewhere in the bush. This ritual is basically performed to attract the *ingal* which then gets instructions to influence the emotions of the particular person, usually female, at whom the ritual is directed. If the ritual is successful, the *ingal* makes the female feel attracted towards the person who wants her.

The *tabaran* are other kinds of spirits, which are different from those that have already been mentioned above. These are mainly terrestrial and are found everywhere in the environment. Their nature and what they look like is not clearly defined but they are also very important to human beings. This kind of spirit is more important than any of the above kinds of spirits because it is versatile. It can
be harnessed for sorcery or healing purposes. It can be a personal guardian, acting through protective magic, known as tukal or babat. It is the same class of spirits from which land, garden and home guardians come. Also, spirits of the tabaran class become the spirits embodying the tubuan masks. Tabaran spirits are the ones whose powers are usually harnessed for everyday human endeavours, such as fishing, gardening, feasting or fighting. Its powers can be easily harnessed, provided one has the right magic and ritual formulae.

_Tulungen_

In addition to the twelve spirits already mentioned above, there are the souls of the people, which are known as tulungen. Each person has a spirit which lives inside his body. It is not clear what the function of the soul is, but sometimes souls have been said to warn people of imminent danger. When a person is asleep, the souls can wander off to different places and return when the person wakes up. Traditionally, it was believed that if a person died and the required mortuary rituals were not performed over them, his or her soul would enter the Abode of the Dead known as the Gunan na Tabaran. If the required mortuary rituals were not performed, then the person was doomed to live forever in the Land of the Wretched, known as IaKupia. The Abode of the Dead are places underground and are found at a number of locations all over the Gazelle Peninsula. The exact location of IaKupia is not known but sometimes it is said that it is somewhere to the south of the Peninsula. Despite
this belief that it is to these two places that the souls of the dead go, at the same time it is common to hear people talking about having had encounters with the souls of their dead relatives, either in their homes, in the garden or on their land, days, months years and even decades after their death. Sometimes people even talk of the souls of their dead relatives as being the guardians of their gardens or their land.

The Undefined Nature of Spiritual Power in Tolai Culture.

Spirits in the Tolai belief system are free agents which have their own reasons to exist. Their reasons for existence are not defined by man. The supernatural powers of these spirits can be easily harnessed for one purpose or another, through magic. I have tried to show above that there is great overlapping in the nature of the powers of these spirits. This means that sometimes it is difficult to say what spirits are present in particular situations. This leads to the situation where, at times it is difficult to explain clearly the nature of a particular spirit force which might be believed to be at work. The Tolai are aware of this and they will readily give varying explanations of the nature of a particular supernatural force in a situation without recognizing any inconsistency. To the Tolai, it is important that supernatural power or force is there, where and when it is required. Its source and nature are secondary questions which they do not bother themselves too much with.
II

Manifestation of Sacredness

In the rest of this chapter I shall discuss the various situations in which tabu manifests sacredness. I refer to some of the spirits mentioned above as important elements in sacredness. The situations to be discussed here range from commercial tabu transactions to ceremonial and ritual presentations.

Purchasing of Ritual Objects and Knowledge

In its function as money, there are some exchanges in which the sacredness of tabu is manifested and there are some in which it is not. Those in which this sacredness is not manifested are mainly what we can clearly term as commercial transactions. These transactions take place in the market places, trade-stores and during ceremonial gatherings anywhere in the village. The amounts used in these transactions range from a tip (the smallest tabu unit of five shells) to two pokono (fathom). What usually happens in these transactions is that a person gives someone a certain amount of tabu and the second person gives some item in return, such as food or other goods. This transaction is not preceded nor followed by any kind of relationship between the seller of the goods and the seller.
When we consider some other kinds of tabu commercial transactions, we find that the concept of sacredness is manifested quite clearly. In these situations the transactions appear to be commercial but at the same time they are have social, political and ritual elements in them. Three of these kinds of transactions will be discussed here. These are, the purchase of tubuan ritual knowledge, the purchase of iniat ritual knowledge and the purchase of dawai na walaun (curative knowledge and potions).

Tubuan

As I show in Chapter VIII, the payment of tabu is a very important factor in the ownership of a tubuan. Here two ways by which tubuan can be acquired will be discussed. Firstly, there is what is known as a kinakap na kalamana (acquiring a new tubuan). In this case a young man who wants to own a tubuan, acquires it from an established bit na tubuan (tubuan manager). This transaction is usually in two stages. In the first stage, the enterprising young man buys a model tubuan at a display in a nidok (third stage initiation ceremony). The model with the necessary designs on it is representative of the tubuan when constructed in life-size form. For this mask, he pays ten fathoms. The second payment takes place some time later, when he is ready to stage his first tubuan ceremony. In this stage he pays the established manager a further ninety fathoms of tabu, for the ritual knowledge of the mask, which is known as a palawat (base / source of efficacy). After this
payment, the person is now considered to own a live efficacious tubuan which he can 'revive' in ceremonies whenever he wants to.

The second way by which rights of ownership over a tubuan can be acquired is by buying it back from someone who may have been keeping it in a caretaker role. The members of a clan pa watalil (buy back) the tubuan for their clan. By right of inheritance, the tubuan should have passed down the generations to the buyers but sometime in the past there was no qualified male in his clan who was in a position to inherit it, so it was left in the custody of other qualified persons from another clan. This tubuan is also displayed as a model in a nidok (third stage initiation) in miniature form. Everyone knows that the tubuan belongs to the clan of the person who wants to buy it back. What this person needs to do is merely to indicate to the caretaker that he intends to buy the tubuan back. Once he gives this indication, the caretaker considers it as having been returned. But the person who indicates a wish to buy the tubuan back is not allowed to watut (revive) the tubuan in ceremonies until he has obtained the palawat from the caretaker. For this he pays about fifty fathoms of tabu. This is a very strict ruling and no-one ever violates it.

When tubuan managers are asked why tubuan without palawat (base magic) cannot be watutia (raised), the answer varies. Firstly, some simply say that it is a pobono (empty) tubuan and no one will dream of raising it. By this they mean that
it is powerless. One of the dangers usually pointed out by managers when faced with this kind of question is that during public performances, tubuan are subject to many tests such as a kind of malignant magic known as kuara and attacks from other supernatural beings. Thus any tubuan without the necessary babat (protective magic) which is derived from the palawat is vulnerable to these tests. Under these tests both the mask and its wearer are endangered. The mask can break and the wearer can become ill or even collapse with the mask on the spot and die.

A second reason given by some managers is that once the eye design has been added onto the pala lor (headpiece), the tubuan spirit immediately takes up abode in the mask and it becomes powerful and dangerous. It is dangerous to all, such as initiated men who do not treat it in the proper manner women who come too close to it and uninitiated men or boys who touch anything it may have come into contact with. In any of these events, the tubuan has to have some antidote against its own powers, which again is derived from the palawat. If a tubuan does not have a palawat, then the person raising it is endangering the whole of society and must be stopped. Thirdly, some managers say that anyone who tries to raise a tubuan without a palawat is mad because if he does, the spirit of the tubuan will attack or even kill him.

Iniat

The iniat cult is a voluntary secret organization with a
strictly male membership. After having become full members of the cult, persons are believed to possess supernatural powers which put them on the same plane as supernatural beings. Like supernatural beings, they are able to change into any form at will and behave according to the nature of the form they have taken. As birds they are able to fly. As sharks they are able to swim the oceans. As wild boars they are able to wander around the bush and attack their enemies. Sometimes they are simply invisible and move around the environment. The main aim of members of this cult is to merely possess these powers but generally they are dangerous and should be avoided at all times.

Entry into membership of this cult involves the payment of a large amount of tabu after which candidates go through a series of initiations. Parts of this initiation involve exposure to many things (which contain the bases of supernatural powers), in the marovot (iniat sanctuary). Any male who has strong enough babat can allow himself to be exposed to these things. But it is only the ones who have paid the necessary tabu fees who will possess the supernatural powers. Many men tell of how they had gone through these initiations as observers without paying the required fees but did not become tena iniat (iniat men). The explanation given for this is that what is acquired by going through initiation is a turangan (spirit of the things that are exposed). This is the spirit from which the candidate will get his future powers. Some men explain that this spirit is directed by the adepts to go to only the men who have paid their tabu fees for the initiation. Other men
explain that this spirit is only attracted to those men who have paid their fees.

Healing Knowledge and Magic

There are three ways by which the knowledge of healing magic and ritual is acquired. Firstly, it is acquired through the clan. Secondly, it is received as a gift from the father. Thirdly, it is purchased from practising healers. With the first two ways, it is important that a person show some learning towards the profession. Thus the histories of many practising healers show that they spent their early years working as assistants to established healers.

Once the knowledge has been inherited or received as a gift, a person can be recognized as a healer in his own right. But to the new healer, this is only the starting point. What he is given is only to start him off. Otherwise it is up to him to increase his knowledge and build up his own name. He does this by purchasing other knowledge from established healers. It is through the payment of tabu that he acquires this further knowledge.

Joseph ToBavul, a man in his late seventies and a recognized practising healer, who initially acquired his knowledge by both inheritance through his own clan and from his father as gift. As his father was a practising healer, ToBavul spent his boyhood years as a bul tultul (errand boy who collects herbal ingredients) for him. Later he became
his tena maramaravut (assistant) and was able to mix the ingredients and perform some healing rituals. Later he could see patients alone, but only after his father had made the necessary tinata (incantations) on the mixtures he used. These incantations were the only things that he lacked, and were still withheld from him. Later when his father was very old and could not practise any more, he divulged the incantations and ToBavul became a tena dawai (healer) in his own right. But this was only the beginning for him. He says,

After I had been practising for a while, I decided to acquire further dawai (healing herbs) from other people.

(1) From Turbuman, a man from Ratung Village, I acquired a babat ure ra kuara (antidote for kuara magic). For this I paid ten fathoms of tabu.

(2) From ToUrakom, a man of Ramale Village, I acquired a dawai ure ra tabaran (antidote against malevolent spirits), and I paid eight fathoms for it.

(3) Sometime during his time of practice, another uncle (distant maternal) of mine, ToNgole had acquired the knowledge for walilikun (rebounding magic) from ToLogat, a person of Nodup, for the amount of fifteen fathoms of tabu. One day I prepared some food and with ten fathoms of tabu I took it to his house. For this ten fathoms and the food he gave me this walilikun and some other dawai which he had.

(4) From a maternal uncle, ToRarang, I acquired the knowledge for the cure of stomach ulcers, known as
kutu. Although this knowledge belonged to my clan, I had to pay a small fee of five fathoms of tabu for it because there was a kinsman who was understudying him and had the prior right to inheriting this knowledge.

According to ToBavul, each type of healing knowledge has what is known as a turangan. If it is not properly acquired such as being inherited, received as gift or paid for in tabu, it will not work because the turangan will not accompany it.

On the other hand, it is crucial that the services of healers be paid for promptly, in tabu (though today cash constitutes part of the payment). Of all the transactions which I would call 'commercial', this is one where credit is unthinkable. Sometimes this payment is made before the healing act is performed, but in most cases it is made immediately after the curing act. Since in most cases a small audience is present, mainly out of curiosity about the cause of the illness, the payment is ritualized. If the payment is not made, the curing performance will not work because the turangan will not allow it. According to ToBavul, it is the payment of tabu which activates the turangan to work.

In all of the above three situations, the transactions are in many respects commercial. The tubuan ritual knowledge, the iniat ritual knowledge and the walaun knowledge are supposed to be paid for with tabu. At this level tabu has a monetary function. But from what people say about the
strict requirement for payment, tabu becomes a sacred object which is exchanged for items which are to varying degrees also sacred.

*Ritual and Ceremonial Exchange*

While some commercial transactions do not manifest the sacredness of tabu and only some do, it is in its ritual and ceremonial use that the sacredness of tabu is very evident. This sacredness is not only evident in the exchange situations but also in the storage of tabu for these ritual and ceremonial purposes. To show this sacredness, the use of tabu in four Tolai institutions will be discussed here: marriage, land, mortuary rituals and the tubuan.

Marriage

The tabu which is used as bride-price will be considered under this heading of marriage. There are a number of ways by which this tabu is amassed. Firstly, it is saved over a number of hardworking years by the groom's parents. Secondly, the relatives of the groom pool it shortly before the payment. Thirdly, it is made in the ceremony known as namata, which takes place after a period of pre-marriage seclusion (See Chapter IX). Fourthly, if he is old enough, the tabu is from the groom's own savings.

According to tradition, all bride-price is automatically
the property of the bride’s mother’s clan. But there are many cases whereby, according to prior arrangement, it goes instead to the father’s clan. In this case, the bride whose bride-price is in question and her brothers stand in a position to inherit something such as a big canoe or land from the father’s clan. Whatever the case may be, the tabu is normally left with the head of the owning clan.

Once the tabu has been put into a basket and stashed away for safe-keeping, it becomes the sacred property of the owning clan. It must not be squandered in any way. Sometimes it is used as bride-price to acquire a wife for a male member of the owning clan. In this case it is replaced as soon as possible. Its ultimate use is for distribution at the death of a person of the owning clan, mainly the mother or father of the bride. If it is used for any other purpose, it is considered to have been squandered and the person responsible is expected to fall ill and die.

What causes the squanderer to fall ill and die is not quite clear. Most people would say that it is the tabu itself which has attacked him. But exactly how an inanimate object can do this it is not clear. People speak of the squanderer as i wakaina ra tabu (he spoilt the tabu) and so ra tabu i konomia (the tabu swallowed him). The idea here seems to be that the tabu has inherent power in itself.

Land

Another exchange which comes under the category of social
and political exchange is that regarding the sale and purchase of land. To the Tolai, land was not and still is not, a commodity to be bought and sold. There were a number of means by which rights of ownership could be transferred from one party to another. But these transfers were mainly along the routes of established relationships between the parties involved. Purchase was one way of transferring rights from one party to another, but it was along established social and political relations between two parties.

The transfer of rights to land through purchase is a fairly involved affair which will be discussed in Chapter VI. What needs to be mentioned here is that there is a formal gathering which is attended by members of both the receiving and relinquishing clans. It is during this formal gathering that the tabu is formally handed over to the land relinquishing party. For the relinquishing clan, it is important that they attend because it is to show their agreement to the transfer and as a sign of good faith. For the receiving clan, they must attend as witnesses. Apart from the handing over of tabu, food is also distributed and eaten by those who have come. This is the recognized and normal way of transferring rights through purchase and anything outside of it such as private deals is regarded with suspicion and lays the groundwork for future disputes.

After the tabu has been received, it is left for safe-keeping with the head of the relinquishing clan. Since land is the property of the clan, this tabu is the property
of the clan. Once it is in this state, it takes on an air of sacredness about it. It cannot be used for any purpose other than clan ventures such as clan ceremonies. Some of it can be borrowed by members of the clan or distributed at the death of a clan member. In the event of its being used for any of these purposes, the whole clan must be consulted. If anyone squanders this tabu or uses it for any purpose without the approval of the clan, it is said that ra tabu na konomia (the tabu will swallow him or her). Here again, tabu is seen to have inherent power in itself.

Mortuary Ceremonies

Under this category the exchange to be discussed is what is known as minamai (funerary ceremony). This is the distribution of tabu at the death of a person as part of the mortuary process, discussed above. When a person dies, the tabu to be distributed which is usually in baskets or coils is brought before the crowd which has gathered. After it has been taken out of the baskets or cut out from the coils, it is given in varying amounts to those who are going to distribute it to the crowd. When witnessing this phase of the ceremony the observer will notice that the persons who are handling this tabu have had their hands and faces smeared with either lime or red ochre. This ochre or lime had been specially prepared into what is known as babat (protective magic). When it is worn on the face, it is to protect the persons against kuara (malevolent magic) which can be aimed at them by people from amongst the gathered crowd. When it is smeared on the hands and arms,
it is to protect them against the tabu which they are handling. People have to have some protection against this tabu because it is considered to be dangerous. Out of fear of some powers in tabu people are reluctant to touch it without any babat.

Initially when people express fear of the tabu, they are simply thinking of it as being dangerous, without necessarily having any clear idea as to why it should be. When people are questioned on this, the answers are varied. Apart from the fear of possible magic, there is fear of the spirit of the tubuan and the spirit of the owner of the tabu (in this case it is the person who has just died). They fear the spirit of the tubuan because some of the tabu that is to be distributed may have come from the tabu of the tubuan. They fear the spirit of the owner of the tabu because he may not like the people who have been selected to distribute it. But these reasons are not important and not many people think of them when handling tabu on these occasions. What is important is that the tabu is dangerous and can make an unprotected person ill or even kill him.

Tubuan Ceremonies

Another ritual exchange in which the idea of sacredness of tabu manifests itself is, its payment to tubuan. There are many ways by which the tubuan earns its tabu, ranging from fine collection from people who break its code to sort of tribute payments by members of the clan it is associated with. When the tabu has been collected through these
various means, it becomes part of what is known as the kiau na tubuan (egg of the tubuan), which is eventually made into a coil.

When the tubuan publicly takes anything into its possession, it symbolically either, takes it in its hands, puts it feet on it or merely walks around it. With tabu it usually takes it in its hands or puts a foot on it. Once it has done this, the tabu becomes extremely potent with tubuan power. Even a single shell which had falls off the string must never be picked up by anyone for his or her own use. If any of this tabu is to later pass from the tubuan to an individual or for any other purpose, it has to be ritually purified first. The fear of tubuan power on this tabu is so strong that in the taraiu (tubuan sanctuary), whenever a piece is found which no one can claim, it is considered safe to put it in the tubuan collection.

At the end of each tubuan revival period, egg of the tubuan is taken to the house of the manager to be stashed away. When it is in this state, it is extremely dangerous for all, particularly the women and uninitiated males, to touch it or come near it. This tabu is not to be used for any purpose other than ritual in tubuan ceremonies and distribution at the death of the manager or other senior persons of his clan. Before being distributed at a mortuary ceremony, it has to ritually purified.

It is clear that it is the presence of the tubuan which makes the tabu potent. But there is some inconsistency here
because this potency remains even after the tinut (revival period) is over and the tubuan spirits are believed to have gone back to their home, miles across the sea. There is a ceremony which is known as a pulpulung (symbolic killing), in which the masks are destroyed and burnt. After this, their spirits are believed to walk along the shores at night to their home at Siar, an island off the south coast of New Ireland. To the Tolai, there is no inconsistency in the idea that the tubuan spirit can be in two places at the same time. It is of very little interest to him to be able to explain this. To him what matters is that the power of the tubuan is in the right place when he needs it.

Summary

In everyday usage, tabu is a mundane object but in some situations it becomes sacred. This sacredness is not clearly defined, for example where it emanates from. Sometimes this sacredness appears to be inherent in tabu itself and at other times it is not in tabu but surrounds it very closely. This sacredness is associated with spirits, but the nature and purpose of these spirits in tabu is not clearly defined. This lack of clarity of nature and purpose of spirits in tabu reflects the generally unclear identity of spirits in the Tolai world of the supernatural and the unclear definition of their purposes.

Altogether there are twelve different kinds of spirits in the Tolai world of the supernatural. These spirits have names, and some people have some sketchy ideas of their
appearances. But their identities, purposes and powers are not clearly defined. In any situation people can say that a spirit is present or is at work, but they cannot say what kind of spirits of the twelve types and what is the purpose of its presence.

Even though the spirits are not clearly defined, what is important for the Tolai is that these spirits and their powers are present in situations where and when they are needed. In the case of tabu, there are many situations in which it has to have the presence of spirits. These spirits give it sacredness. This sacredness is important for the protection of tabu itself against misuse and abuse and also for its continued reverence by the Tolai.
Chapter V

SOCIAL STRUCTURE KINSHIP AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Introduction

In traditional Tolai society, as throughout Melanesia, social groups were very important and they are still very important to the present-day Tolai. On the materialistic level, membership in these groups is important for the rights to and inheritance of land and modern property such as houses and cash-crop holdings. At the same time these groups are important for other considerations such as identity, sense of security, and group assistance or support. It is the group that owns properties such as those mentioned above and thus a person has to be a member of the group to have rights to them or to inherit them. The other benefits listed here are also acquired through membership in the groups.

Every member stands in particular relationship to all the other members of the group, and which define his or her position of membership in the group. A person's clear position in these relationships entitles him to rights to property of the group. Also, peoples' position in these relationships determine their identity and the kinds of benefits they can expect from other members of the group, such as sense of security and assistance or support.

Despite the importance of membership in groups for access to the above benefits, there are provisions for non-members
of the kin groups to draw these benefits from social
groups. These are possible through the highlighting,
emphasis, and maintenance of certain kinds of existing
relationships between non-members and the group.
Relationships are developed and maintained between persons
or groups to facilitate the provision of benefits. This is
crucial today when vital resources such as land are scarce
and also when many Tolai live away from localities of their
social groups and have to draw the above benefits from
other groups in other villages. In this chapter I shall
show the nature of these relationships and how they are
developed, in order to show in later chapters how tabu is
used to maintain them.

I

Social Structure

The Tolai compare their social system to the barnavudu
(banana plant). A cluster of banana plants which had
originated from the same sucker is known as a vuna
barnavudu (cluster of banana plants). A group of people
believed to originate from a common matrilineal ancestor is
known as a vunatarai (clan). A hand of bananas is known as
an apik. A sub-group within the vunatarai, with clearly
common matrilineal ancestry, is known as apik tarai
(lineage). A fraction of a hand of bananas is known as a
kakaang so sub-groups of apik tarai are known as kakaang.
Beyond the clans, each clan belongs to one of two papar
(sides) which previous writers have called moieties. These
are exogamous moieties, and which are known as the Marmar and Pikalaba.

The Vunatarai (The Clan)

Tolai clans are exogamous matrilineal descent groups. Unlike many societies in Melanesia, these clans are not totemic. Although the members believe that they are descendants of a common ancestress, in most cases this cannot be ascertained. These clans are not residential units, and their members are spread out over a number of villages. For instance, the 76 matrilineal groups at Kikila all have membership in the other two districts of Matupit and other Tolai villages. This situation is not very different from many other Tolai villages. The members of a clan in a village comprise the 'local group' of the clan, which are often referred to also as the clan. The difficulty in translating the term, _clan__, as shown here has been noted by Epstein and he decided not to translate the term in order to avoid confusion (1969: 126). On the other hand, Salisbury saw continuity between the wider 'group' and 'local group' and referred to both entities as 'clan' (1970: 70). In this thesis I refer to both entities as clans, in the same way as Salisbury did, unless I qualify the term to make a distinction. It is the local group which I will be talking about most of the time, when using the term 'clan'.

In principle each clan is supposed to be under the authority of a _lualua_ (leader) or _ngala_ (bigman). But
because of the scattering of clan members, each group of
members in a village or other locality under the authority
of a local lualua or ngala. The lualua or ngala has four
main roles: political leader, ritual leader, authority on
clan land and guardian of clan tabu. In some cases the
above roles are performed by different persons (mostly
men), in which case the most senior of them is known as the
lualua and the others are known as ngala. A person attains
the position of lualua or ngala only through merit, that is
through his successful performance in the roles listed
here.

Despite the dispersed nature of these clans, each one
associates with a particular village or other locality. In
each village or locality, there is a plot of land which is
known as pia na madapai (land of origin) of the clan. These
plots of land are where the ancestors of the clan once
lived in the past. If the ancestors of a clan lived in more
than one place, then the clan can have more than one pia na
madapai. These plots of land are important to the clans
because it gives them and their members a sense of
identity, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter
VI. No discussion about Tolai clans can be adequate without
consideration of their relationships to the land, so a
brief discussion will be given here.

It is common to hear people in arguments over land ask
their antagonists where their pia na madapai are located.
In answer, the antagonists will name one of these plots.
Each clan has a name, although this is not used everyday
use. In most cases the names are associated with the madapai of the clan.

Apart from the pia na madapai, a clan also owns other plots of land. This land is the property of the clan and the members of the clan merely have rights to it. Like its members the land of the clan is found in a number of villages or other localities. But while I have said here that the land is the property of clans, it is actually the local clan members in a village who control the land in their locality. Clan members of one village may use clan land in another village, but only after consulting the local ngala of the clan. In situations where the local clan population dies out, the clan members from other villages take control of the land in the locality.

Only some clans have land in every village or locality where its members are found. In such cases the clans have very strong links with these villages. Quite often, these villages are close to the original village or location of the clan. For instance, of the eleven clans which own land at Kikila, nine have land in the villages on the shores of Blanche Bay and the eastern side of Mount Mother. Also, large numbers of members of these clans live in these two areas.

On the other hand, there are many clan members living in villages or other localities in which their clan has no land. They become the local "landless". Yet they consider themselves to belong to these villages or other localities
and they participate fully in the village affairs and under Government administration they are listed as belonging to these villages. Despite their separation from the rest of their clan who live in other villages, they continue to maintain contact with them. The members in these local groups look to local clans for their land requirements, as will be discussed shortly in this chapter.

Clans at Kikila

There are only 11 clans which are considered to belong to Kikila. These clans are listed in Table IV. All of these clans originated from villages in the Blanche Bay area. Torovoi, Rakalkal and Rakar came from Raluana village, Raulataur and Odaodo came from Karavia, ToLabit from Walaur, Nanuk from Tavana, Raturpit from Kabakaual, Vunakua from Talwat, ToMairaira from Raburua and Bitabutua from Davaon village. The 11 clans have different histories and they came to the district at different times in the past. The movements of ancestors from village to village on the Gazelle Peninsula and then finally to the Kikila district can be remembered, but the names of people who were in these movements are forgotten. From all the genealogies that I collected, it was mainly the ancestors who lived on Matupit who were remembered. The times of arrival of most of these clans in the district are beyond living memory. Some of the clans remember their first ancestors who came to the district but others cannot.

Of the 11 clans, six have maintained very close contact
with their 'mother' clans in their villages of origin. While these links are maintained, they do not have the same name and are distinct entities. Members of these clans move back and forth between Kikila and the villages on the mainland, on short visits for ceremonies and for long periods for residence. The other five clans have not maintained close contact with their 'mother' clans on the mainland but they know the links exist.

The above 11 clans are considered to be of Kikila because their madapai are within the territory of the district. In addition to the madapai, these clans also own other plots or stretches of land in the district and in the gardening areas on the mainland. Most of the land which belongs to the Kikila district is divided between these 11 clans.

Immigrant Clan Segments at Kikila

In addition to the above 11 Kikila based clans, there are the members of 65 other groups, who also consider the district to be their home. None of these clan have any madapai at Kikila so they are not considered to be from the district. Yet the majority of them have been in the district for at least 50 years and some for over 100 years. Some of these groups have as many members as the smallest clans of Kikila but most of them are smaller. Some are represented by one person each. In this sense they cannot be called 'clans', so I shall call them 'immigrant clan segments' and will refer to them as 'segments'.
Table IV. Showing Clans at Kikila.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clans</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ToLabit</td>
<td>83+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Odaodo</td>
<td>40+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rakar</td>
<td>30+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rakalkal</td>
<td>42+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ToMairaira</td>
<td>93+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Torovoii</td>
<td>57+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Raturpit</td>
<td>84+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Raulataur</td>
<td>48+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bitabutua</td>
<td>18+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vunakua</td>
<td>78+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Nanuk</td>
<td>96+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ This is because it was difficult to clearly establish the number of people living outside of the district, particularly children.
I list these 'segments' in Table V. Only those numbered 1 to 31 below could be identified by name, while those numbered 32 to 65 could not be so identified. Each is given a number, 1 to 65, but in the 'Unidentifiable' list I put them under their village of origin, to give closer identification. To refer to the segments in the first list I use the names and to the second list I use the numbers together with their village of origin.

Of the 65 immigrant clan segments in the district, only eight are from clans of the other two districts of Matupit, 43 are from villages in the Blanche Bay area and fourteen are from other villages on the Gazelle Peninsula.

The clan is a ceremonial unit. The performance of ceremonials is one of its most important functions. Clans are obliged to perform certain ceremonies and those which do not attend to their ceremonial obligations are often subjected to insults and humiliation by other clans. By attending to their ritual obligations, the clans are said to tuba ra warwaula (cover shame) or to pun ra tinata (avoid talk). Some of these ceremonies are very important to the survival of the clan, particularly those relating to mortuary rites. Through the performance of these ceremonies, the clan establishes itself as a force to be reckoned with, which is important for its survival. For clan members, participation in these ceremonies is obligatory and has implications for continued membership of the clan and access to its resources, especially land. A person who does not participate in the ceremonies of his or
her clan is said to be a *parau na rumu* (hidden spear - a person who always evades his or her ritual responsibilities). Nothing draws together clan members from different villages more powerfully than ceremonies.

*Apik tarai* (Lineage)

While a clan is clearly understood as a group of people who believe they are matrilineally descended from an ancestress, what constitutes a *apik tarai* (lineage), is not defined. It is clear that the lineage is a segment of the clan, but which segment, is not fixed. It may be constituted by all the descendants of a great, great grandmother or it may simply consist of all the descendant of one grandmother. The composition of this social grouping is circumstantial. There are a number of reasons for the splits within clans to form lineages, such as large population sizes, shortage of clan resources such as land, and physical separation. Some splits are permanent and some are only temporary, but when they are in existence they are distinct social units. How permanent or how long a split lasts depends on the seriousness of the reason for the split. To show the development and nature of cleavage within clans, I shall here cite one case, which occurred within ToMairaira clan at Kikila.

ToMairaira is a Kikila clan which has one ‘land of origin’ in the district and a number of others on the northern and eastern shores of Blanche Bay. It is part of a bigger clan which has members at Davaon on the Western shores of
Blanche Bay, Kunakunai in the hinterland of the Kokopo area, Vunadidir and Napapar in the hinterland plateau of the Gazelle Peninsula. Before the arrival of Europeans, a woman (whose name has been forgotten) of the big clan left Davaon and went to Walaur to marry a man from there. From Walaur, this woman and her husband moved to Davapia, then onto the mainland north of Matupit Island. The descendants of this woman settled on a number of locations in the north and east of Matupit Island, which they established later as ‘land of origin’. About 150 years before the arrival of Europeans, the ancestors of ToMairaira clan were settled on a plot of land on the east of Matupit Island known as ToMairaira (which later became a madapai from which the clan got its name). From ToMairaira, the ancestors moved to Matupit Island. They settled on a plot of land there called Rariana, which they established later as ‘land of origin’.

The earliest ancestor of ToMairaira clan its members can remember, is IaKalavua (A 1), as shown in Genealogy I. She lived at Rariana hamlet and had two daughters, IaMidi (B 1) and IaGagara (B 2). According to John Vuia (E 14) (a member of the clan), as far back as IaKalavua, ToMairaira was always one group. When he grew up as a child, John Vuia saw that his elders always resided together on the same plots of land. Their households consisted of descendants of both women, IaMidi and IaGagara. For gardening, in some areas the descendants worked the same plots of land and in others they worked separate plots. Some of the plots on which these people worked gardens, were ‘land of origin’ of the clan. There were at least three plots of ‘land of origin’,
which the ancestors used continuously as gardens. These plots were Vunavuruvu, ToMairaira and Tagalkapa.

The split within the clan occurred over the land of Vunavuruvu in 1970. IaTavaran (E 17), IaUlai (F 10), IaPeaka (F 9), ToUradok (F 8), Turkaul (F 6) and ToKania (F 5) had food gardens at Vunavuruvu. ToKania and his two brothers, ToUradok and Turkaul, began planting young coconut trees in and around their food gardens. This came to the notice of ToIsimel (E 11) and ToBual (E 5), who went to Vunavuruvu and pulled out the young coconut trees. When ToKania and his two brothers heard of this, they enlisted the support of ToBurangat (F 11) and the four of them physically assaulted ToIsimel and ToBual. This incident was the beginning of a split within the clan, between the descendants of IaMidi and IaGagara, which lasted for a number of years.

The matter of the assault was taken to court at Kikila. When ToIsimel and ToBual were asked to explain their reasons for pulling out the young trees, they said that they did not want coconuts to be planted at Vunavuruvu: the land was very fertile and the only suitable subsistence gardening land left, as most of the clan land had been planted in cocoa and coconut trees. They argued that the coconut trees would spoil the land and make it no longer suitable for food crops. To the four assailants and most of the people who listened to the court hearing, it was obvious that the explanations given by the two men were not the real reasons for their actions. It was clear that these
two men were concerned about the fact that most of the clan’s land were being occupied and used by the descendants of IaGagara. The descendants of IaMidi were feeling threatened in a number of ways.

At the time of the assault, ToIsimel was living on ToMairaira land at Kikila, but away from the main hamlet because there was no room there. He had to clear away bush in a new area to build his house. His gardens were at the ToMairaira the ‘land of origin’ about 1,500 feet up the side of Mount Mother. His brother ToDarius (E 10) was also living at Kikila but on land which he had bought from another clan. His gardens were not on ToMairaira land but on his wife’s clan land. ToIsimel’s sister, IaTauvi (E 8), was a widow but was still living on her deceased husband’s clan land despite the fact that he had died many years ago. She had only a small plot of ToMairaira land at Tagalkapa, on which she and her only son ToLong (F 2), made their gardens and grew a few cocoa trees. IaRodi (E 9), ToIsimel’s other sister, lived on ToMairaira land at Talwat. She had six daughters, two of whom were already married and had children. With the other four women having the potential to also have children, ToIsimel and ToBual were concerned that they might be denied access to land by the descendants of IaGagara.

During the period of the split, some attempts were made to bring the two groups together again. IaMarmari (F 1) was given two plots of land, one at Tagalkapa and the other at Vunaitirai. IaRodi and her children were given some of the
land near Talwat and at Rataraiu. The main idea behind these actions was that all the land which had been cleared or occupied by descendants of IaMidi in the past, were to be allocated to her current descendants, and those of IaGagara to go to her own descendants. At the time of the split there was enough land for this arrangement to be made. After a few years it became obvious that the number of members of ToMairaira had increased and there was no land for them. It slowly became apparent that it was no longer possible for this arrangement to meet the land needs of the clan. The above arrangement was abandoned, the split forgotten, and the clan came together as one entity. In the cleavage of ToMairaira clan, the division had its origins only two generations above the oldest living member of the clan, IaLino (D 2).

On the other hand, the cleavage in Vunakua clan had its divisions reckoned to at least three generations before the oldest living member of the clan. The split in this clan occurred over residential land in the Kikila district. Two segments of this clan, headed by ToNebuka and ToPenias, always lived at the local group hamlet of Vunakoai. The head of the other segment, ToMararang, also lived in this hamlet but he died in the late-1960s, leaving his permanent house in the hamlet. The descendants of ToMararang’s segment were all women who lived with their husbands in various parts of the district and the island. In the early 1980s one of these women, IaMolo, lost her husband in a car accident and the husband’s people moved her off their land. IaMolo moved with her children into ToMararang’s house at
Vunakoai. Later IaMolo’s elder sister, IaTarai, was forced by sea erosion to move from where she was living with her husband and children. She and her family built a house at Vunakoai and moved there. The hamlet was clearly very crowded and this is when the arguments began. In the end ToNebuka had to move his entire settlement, consisting of his house and those of his two sons, to one of the blocks of land that were sold by the United Church at Palnaparau. This left a large gap in the hamlet, which is being gradually filled by the members of ToMararang’s lineage. ToPenias and other members of his lineage are still residing in the hamlet and this causes frequent arguments between them and the lineage of IaTarai. The group is now divided into three apik tarai. This cleavage only began in the mid-1980s, but by the end of 1990 the clan was undergoing a very disruptive period.

During my fieldwork period, of the 11 land-owning clans of Kikila, one was split into four apik tarai, two into three, five into two and another one, in addition to ToMairaira, was in the mending process. Apart from open argument and some people from within the clan (mainly the elders) avoiding each other, splits within clans are not apparent in everyday life. It is mainly in ritual, and political matters that these splits are clearly manifested. The splits are apparent in ritual, and political life because these are matters which are attended to by the clan as a whole and not lineages or smaller units. When clans are split into lineages, its rituals and political affairs are still carried out in the name of the clan but the
organizational arrangements are divided between the lineages, which often clearly manifest the cleavages.

**Kakaang (Sub-lineages)**

The kakaang are also not very significant social units in everyday life. Their significance emerges in a limited number of situations, such as in the ownership of property. Some of these properties are land, fruit trees, cash crops such as cocoa and copra, canoes and permanent houses. The principles of kakaang ownership of these different kinds of properties are very much the same. I shall here discuss the ownership of land to illustrate these concepts.

While the basic principle is that land belongs to the clan (clan), there are certain times in the history of the land when it is owned by individual kakaang (sub-lineages) and apik tarai (lineages), as will be shown in more detail in the discussion on land in Chapter VI. In the traditional Tolai land tenure system, there were six ways by which a person acquired rights to land. These were, kamara (conquer in warfare), tawatawai (first clearing and occupancy), kunukul (purchase), tinabar (as gift), kutu bat ra tabu (distributing tabu) and totokom (rent). Conquer was done through warfare but this was no longer possible after pacification by colonial governments since the late nineteenth century. First occupancy is only possible in Baining territory, in the hinterland of the Gazelle Peninsula. In Tolai territory, it is still possible to acquire rights to land through kunukul, as tinabar, by kutu
bat ra tabu, and through totokom. As rent only gives a person or group only temporary rights to land for only a stipulated period, what will be said below does not apply to this means.

Land acquired through first occupancy, purchase, as gift and through distribution of tabu: for an initial period, belongs to the person or group who acquired it before it becomes the property of the clan. A person who clears and occupies virgin, unclaimed land owns that land and for as long as he is alive, it is his personal property. He may dispose of this land to other persons or groups, through sale, as gift or other means, without any constraint from his clan members. But if this person has not disposed of the land at his death, it automatically becomes the property of his direct heirs. His direct heirs are his brothers, sisters and matrilineal nephews and nieces. This group of people owns the land and for as long as they are alive, this land is their property, separate from other land of their clan. The group’s holding of this land makes them a distinct entity which is known as the kakaang. Over time, when the members of the original owning kakaang have all died, the land passes to their descendants, who by then may constitute a number of kakaang forming a apik tarai. The land then becomes the property of this lineage. Further along in time, when the origin of this land has been forgotten and becomes unimportant, it then becomes the property of the clan.

In kunukul, it is individuals or sibling groups who acquire
land. It is uncommon for whole lineages or clans to purchase land. After the land has been purchased, its ownership status evolves in the same way as that described in land acquired through first occupancy. With land tinabar and kutu bat ra tabu, it is also individuals or sibling members of a family who acquire land. For as long as these people are alive, this land belongs to them. After they have died, the status of ownership of the land evolves in the same way as land acquired through first occupancy.

II

Kinship

Among the Tolai a person has three kinds of kin, barmaku (affines), bartamana (paternal) and barniuruna (clan relatives). Barmaku principally refers to a person’s spouse’s clan relatives but in many situations it is used broadly to include the spouse’s moiety. Bartamana are those who belong to the father’s clan. Barniuruna are the members of a person’s own clan and is also used broadly to include people of the person’s moiety. In addition, these terms refer to any persons who stand in putative relationships in any of the above categories. The terms are also used to refer to relationships which develop out of political alliances. For instance, a man can refer to allied clans to his wife’s clan as barmaku.

In each of the three kinds of kin, there are a number of different kinds of relationships which have specific names.
These relationships entail certain modes of behaviour and responsibilities for the people who are involved in them. Barmaku has two significant behavioural features. The first of these is avoidance relationships: that between a man and his mother-in-law and her sisters and that between a man and his brother’s wife and her sisters. The second feature is its role in many ritual performances, such as tabu presentations in tubuan and marriage ceremonies, which will be discussed in Chapters VIII and IX respectively. Otherwise, the more important of the three kinds of kin are the bartamana and the barniuruna.

Bartamana (Paternal Relatives)

In the bartamana category, there are six different kinds of relationships: (1) bartamana, that between a person and his or her father with his brothers and classificatory brothers, (2) barwiwina, that between a person and his or her father’s sister with classificatory sisters, (3) barnauwana, that between a person and his or her father’s sister’s children, (4) barmatuana, that between a male and his father’s sister’s daughter’s children, (5) barnana, that between a female and her father’s sister’s daughter’s children, (6) bartubuna, that between a person and his or her father’s mother with her brothers and sisters.

In the bartamana (father/child) relationship, the father refers to his children as natugu (son/daughter) and they refer to him as tamagu (father). As descent among the Tolai is matrilineal, a father and his children belong to two
different clans. Despite this, the bartamana relationship is important to both the father and his children. This is because the father has certain responsibilities towards his children and the children have certain responsibilities towards their father.

In the early years of the children's life, the father is the main provider of their sustenance such as food and shelter. And in conjunction with their mother, he is the most instrumental in the upbringing of the children. Later when the children begin to enter certain stages of cultural life, such as initiation into the tubuan, the father makes the arrangements and pays the fees. His sons are initiated by his clan tubuan. When the children are of marriageable age, the father makes the necessary arrangements. For his sons he arranges and funds the namata (pre-marriage seclusion) and associated marriage rituals. In these rituals the father uses properties of his clan: land (for the seclusion), designs on ritual objects and also magic. The father is responsible for the arrangements and also most of the financing of his daughters' weddings. In addition he contributes to and frequently assists in the ritual and other affairs of his children's clan.

In addition to the above responsibilities, one of the most important concerns of a father is to ensure that his children are not landless. In their early years, the children and (their mother) depend on the father for residence and gardening land, in which case they use his clan land. Later in life, if the children's clan does not
have sufficient land or because their clan is from a different village and does not have land locally, the father must acquire land for them. The most common means of fulfilling this responsibility is for a father to acquire some land from his own clan. This is done through either tinabar or kunukul, as discussed later in Chapter VI.

On the children's part, during their early life they do not have very much to offer their father, but when they become adults, they become very important to him. Apart from being responsible for him in his old age, the children have the more important obligation of assisting him in the performance of his ritual roles. Assistance in the performance of these rituals are in the form of tabu, cash, food and labour. This assistance is given to the father as an individual, but is also seen as assistance to his clan. At his death, the children have the even more important responsibility of playing major roles in his mortuary ceremonies, in tandem with members of his clan. A major part of this responsibility is kutu tabu during a number of ceremonies in the mortuary process, which will be discussed in Chapter VII.

As the bartamana (father/child) relationship also includes the father's brothers and his classificatory brothers, all the men in this category refer to the children as natugu and the children refer to them as tamagu. The children's relationship with his brothers and classificatory brothers are essentially the same as that with their real father. This relationship entails the same kinds of obligations,
but to lesser degrees as relationships become more distant. For instance, the children feel more responsible towards their father’s brothers than to his classificatory brothers.

In the barwiwina (children/father’s sister) relationship, the woman calls the children wiwigu and the children also refer to her by the same term. From the children’s very early years, the father’s sister is very important. The children depend on her as they would depend on their own mother. But more importantly, this woman is the ritual figure-head and companion, for the children, in life crises and other kinds of rituals. For instance, in the gomogomo (formal introduction of a new-born child into his father’s parent’s house) it is the father’s sister who plays the leading role in the rituals and later carries the baby during the warwaliu (ritualized familiarisation tour of the village). Later, when a male child participates in his first dance, it is the father’s sister who performs the kapakapal (public acknowledgement/confirmation) ritual for the boy or young man.

Later still, when the children are entering adulthood, the father’s sister continues to be their ritual figure-head and companion. For instance, when a girl is taken after a warkukul (bride-price payment) from her father’s house by the groom’s people, it is the father’s sister who symbolically releases her. During adulthood, the father’s sister becomes an even more important ritual figure for the male children because of the many avoidance relationships
between a man and his own kinswomen. She becomes the female partner to the male child in these rituals. In this barwiwina relationship, the father's sister can take or ask for anything from the children without hesitation. Today many children refer to their father's sister as kaugu misis (my missus - i.e. boss;) because they can get anything they ask for. In crucial matters between the father's clan and the children, such as the giving of land to the children as tinabar, the children always rely on their wiwigu to be on their side.

Barnauwana is the relationship between a person and his or her father's sister's children, and people refer to each other by the same term, nauwagu. During their childhood years, the cross-cousins spend a lot of time together. With males, in many situations such as the performance of rituals associated with the tubuan, a boy or young man always acts in tandem with his father's sister's son. In many ritual situations, the barnauwana is a prescribed ritual unit. In these rituals, the father's sister's child always plays the leading role and is known as the bartubuna (grand-parent) and is also known as a_u (breast), while his nauwagu plays the assistant or supportive role, and he is known bul na warwangala (child of the clan).

Children in this relationship support each other as brothers and sisters. When they reach their teens or

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1 The term is symbolic of the person having received sustenance from his father's clan, which is represented by his nauwagu who is acting in tandem with him during the rituals.
puberty, the relationship between the males and females change to one of avoidance. Males begin to avoid their female nauwagu and vice versa, and this remains for their rest of their lives. On the other hand, nauwagu of the same sex still remain very close and supportive of each other, also for the rest of their lives. The male/female avoidance relationship observed here is the same as the brother/sister avoidance relationship as will be discussed below. This indicates that the barnauwana relationship is as important as the brother/sister relationship. Because of the strength of bonds between cross-cousins, it is sometimes said that having barnauwana is as good as having brothers and sisters, for father’s sister’s children should always look after their nauwagu, since the latter are the offspring of their clan.

Barmatuana is the term given to two kinds of relationships: one in this bartamana category and the other in the barniuruna category. In the bartamana category, the term refers to the relationship between a male and his father’s sister’s daughter’s children. Persons in this relationship refer to each other by the same term, matuagu. The relationship between females and these children is known as barnana. The female refers to these children as natugu (my child) and the children refer to her as nagu (my mother). In this relationship, the children have to look after their matuagu and their nagu, because they are bul na warwangala of the clan. They assist them in some matters such as in rituals and provide them with necessities such as residential or gardening land, as will be discussed in
Chapter VI.

The term bartubuna is used in many contexts in Tolai kinship. In this bartamana category, the term is used to refer to the relationship between children and their father’s parents and also their father’s matrilineal uncle and aunt. The father’s father, although another bartubuna, is not so important. It is the other three bartubuna which are important, because they belong to the father’s clan. These are the people who control all property of the clan, including magic, ritual design and knowledge and land, some of which the children may want to use or acquire. People in these three categories are responsible for the children because they are bul na warwangala of the clan.

In the bartamana kin category, all the people who are fathered by men of a clan are known as bul na warwangala. People of the fathering clan refer to them generally as natugu (my child) or a bul (a child). The children in turn refer to all the members of their father’s clan (both male and female) generally as, tamagu (my father).

Barniuruna (Matrilineal Relationships)

In the matrilineal kin category, there are seven kinds of relationships. These are: (1) bartubuna, between a person and his/her mother’s mother, (2) barkakuna, that between a person and his/her mother’s mother’s brother, (3) barnana, that between a person and his/her mother, (4) barmatuana, that between a person and his/her mother’s brother, (5)
bartanawawina, that between a female and other female siblings, (6) barturana, that between a male and other male siblings, (7) bartaina, that between a person and siblings of the opposite sex. Some of the relationship terms listed here are the same as those used in the bartamana relationships, discussed earlier, but they refer to different kinds of relationships.

Bartubuna is also extended to include mother’s mother’s sisters and classificatory sisters. These women call a person tubugu (my grand-child) and the person refers to them by the same term. The mother’s mother is instrumental in the upbringing of children, particularly those of her daughters because they belong to her clan. She is the person children go to for most of their daily needs, mainly food and bits of tabu to purchase small items. On the other hand, the children are important to the mother’s mother because when she is old and feeble, it is the children who look after her and some even permanently live with her. It is often said that the children are important to the old woman because it is they who will ‘bury’ her.2

Barkakuna is extended to include mother’s mother’s brother’s classificatory brothers. In this relationship, persons refer reciprocally to each other by the same term, kakugu. The mother’s mother’s brother is important because in most cases he is the oldest male in the clan, and often is the lualua of the clan. He controls all the property of

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2 This is to mean that it is the children (grandchildren) who will play important roles in the woman’s mortuary ceremony, mainly in the distribution of tabu.
the clan, including land. This person is the one who decides on the rituals of the clan, especially life crises ceremonies such as births, initiations, marriages and deaths. In most cases, this person is actually the one who provides most of the tabu finances for these ceremonies. In addition to the above, the barkakuna is important to his sister’s daughter’s children because it is from him that they inherit intellectual property, such as dance songs of the clan, healing knowledge, magic, and ritual designs. For the mother’s mother’s brother, the children have the same responsibilities towards him as they have towards his sister in the bartubuna relationship discussed above. These children will also ‘bury’ their mother’s mother’s brother.

Barnana is also extended to include mother’s sisters and classificatory sisters. These women refer to a person as natugu (my child) and the person refers to them as nagu (my mother). In this relationship, the nagu is central to a person’s life. During childhood, the mother provides a lot of sustenance and care. When the person grows older, she is the one who is instrumental in life crises events of the children, such as initiation and marriage. Most importantly, the nagu is a person’s most important link to the clan. Through this link, a person establishes membership of the clan, from which he or she gains identity and at the same time has access to clan property such as land and other intellectual property.

During their childhood years, the natugu do not have much to offer their mother. As they become adults, they take on
many of the responsibilities of the mother towards the clan. They also have to look after her when she is old and frail. Most importantly, they are the ones directly responsible for ‘burying’ their mother. It is indeed very shameful for a person to be told that he or she did not ‘bury’ his or her mother.

Barmatuana is extended to include the mother’s brother’s classificatory brothers. People in this relationship reciprocally refer to each other by the same term, matuagu. For a person, the matuagu is the most important male in the barniuruna category of kin. This is because in many instances this person plays the role of father. While this person may have the responsibility of providing for his own children, at the same time he has also to ensure that his sister’s children are being cared for adequately. He provides them with food, clothing and money for important matters such as school fees. In many of his sister’s children’s life crises rituals, this person is a very prominent figure and he also provides some of the tabu finance for these rituals. As mentioned earlier, sometimes these responsibilities are assumed by the father, but in principle they belong to the mother’s brother. For instance, he is the one who determines whom his sister’s daughters can marry and how much tabu bride-price is to be paid for them. He gets to keep the bride-price in the name of the clan. In addition, it is from the mother’s brother that a person acquires certain properties, such as coconut groves, gardens, and intellectual property of the clan.
As the children get older, they become more important to their mother's brother. The male children assist in clan matters such as in clan rituals and begin to assume some of his responsibilities. The female children also help, such as in providing tabu support and helping in the preparation of food for the ceremonies. In general they support him with food, cash, tabu and labour. Most importantly for the mother's brother, the children are his direct heirs.

Bartanawawina is extended to include a female's mother's sister's female children and other classificatory sisters. Women in this relationship reciprocally refer to each other as tanawawigu. The women in this relationship constitute the main body of a clan, mainly because are the ones who reproduce the clan. As they are the ones who perform many of the clan's chores such as preparing food for ceremonies and looking after the male members of the clan, these women have to be very supportive of each other. This is one relationship in which there should always be mutual dependence because, unlike most of the relationships discussed in this category so far, the women are of the same generation and should be of the same age-group.

Barturana is also extended to include a male's mother's sister's male children and other classificatory brothers. Men in this relationship reciprocally refer to each other as turagu (my brother). Between siblings barturana is important from very early childhood days because they spend a lot of time with each other and support each other against others. When they get older and reach adulthood,
they rely heavily on each other for things such as food, money, tabu, and general moral support in any venture that any of them undertake, whether for the clan or for personal reasons. Unless there is standing conflict between them, when a person initiates a venture in modern business or traditional ceremonies, it is expected that his brothers will come to his assistance without having to be asked to do so.

Bartaina is extended to include the mother’s sister’s children of the opposite sex. People in this relationship reciproccally refer to each other as taigu (my brother/sister). As children, people in this relationship spend a lot of time together and are encouraged by their parents and clan relatives to provide support for each other at all times, whether it is at play or in any chores they are assigned. They are taught to understand that the males should always look after the females and the females should always be supportive of the males.

As the children grow older and towards puberty, bartaina are discouraged from spending too much time together. They are not allowed to play together, sit together, tell sexual jokes in front of each other, or even live in the same house if it can be helped. This later becomes a very strong avoidance relationship. But despite the strength of this avoidance, bartaina give each other a lot of support. It is often said that the best relative a person can have is a brother (for women) and a sister (for men).
Social relations in Tolai society are supposed to be determined by kinship but in reality a large number of social relations are based on other kinds of relationship which are created for particular reasons. These relationships are created mainly out of the need for social support and access to resources such as land. At Kikila a large percentage of the relationships between people there are based on these kinds of arrangements. This is mainly because of the large number of clans with members in the district, who do not "belong" there.

**The Moieties**

Most Tolai are conscious of their moiety membership. When people speak about their moieties, they do not necessarily use their names but often refer to them by using the terms 'them' and 'us' or 'you' and 'us'. Tolai are always concerned, even today, about which of the two moieties they belong to, but when they are asked about their significance they simply say: "the Marmar marry the Pikalaba and the Pikalaba marry the Marmar." This explanation has its roots deep in the past, as shown by the following myth:
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<td>9</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ratavul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walaur</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapollo</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karavia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tavuiiliu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gunanba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matalau</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kurapun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davaon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabuana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The two culture heroes, ToKabinana and ToKarvuvu were brothers, who lived at Davapia. One day ToKabinana said to ToKarvuvu, "Climb a coconut tree and pick two tirip (young nuts) of the ngenge (brown) variety." ToKarvuvu went off and picked two nuts. But instead of picking two brown nuts, ToKarvuvu picked a brown one and one of the green variety (makadao). He gave the brown one to ToKabinana and hid the green one.

ToKabinana tied the brown nut to the back end of his canoe and paddled out to sea with it. On the way he felt someone’s presence at the back of the canoe but he did not look back. In a little while he felt that the person had begun to paddle with him. Instantly he looked back, and there sitting at the rear end of his canoe was a woman instead of the young coconut. Her skin was brown. When ToKabinana and the woman came ashore, ToKarvuvu said, "Good, we have a woman. She will be for the both of us." His brother ToKabinana corrected him, "Don’t be silly. This is our mother. We shall get another one for you." He sent to ToKarvuvu for the other nut. When he saw the green nut, ToKabinana was angry with his brother. "You fool ToKarvuvu. Now you have spoilt our descendants. They will be divided into ‘them’ and ‘us’." The two brothers tied the green coconut to the rear of the canoe and paddled out to sea. Again as before, a woman appeared at the rear of the canoe in place of the coconut. She was not brown as the first one, instead

3 These are two rocks in the middle of Simpson Harbour, which are also known as the ‘Beehives’.
she was very black. When they came ashore, ToKabinana said to ToKarvuvu. "You have spoilt our descendants. Their skin was supposed to be all the same colour and were to belong to only one group. Now we have to have two groups. One group will be ngenge and the other will be makadao. The ngenge will marry the women of the makadao and the makadao will marry the women of the ngenge group."

ToKarvuvu said, "Good. Now we have a woman for the both of us." His brother retorted, "No, she is my sister in-law. Because she will be your wife."

ToKabinana sorted us out. Those of 'us' and those of 'them'. The ngenge group was to pay bride-price to the makadao group and the makadao group was to pay bride-price to the ngenge group.4

All previous writers on the Tolai have noted the tenacity with which this dualism persists in Tolai society. The explanation given by the Tolai, and which has been accepted by previous writers, is true. But as I shall show below, this dualism has more far-reaching implications for Tolai social and political relations than the Tolai themselves care to admit.

Apart from regulating marriage, in many situations the dualism is a guide for social and political relations. For instance, it is a guide for social relations in the case of a man who comes to an area or village where he has no

4 From a collection of Tolai myths by Meier, told in Kuanua. The translation is mine.
relatives. In this case two things can happen, the man himself chooses which clan he will *ki navavai pire* (staying under the auspices of), or his hosts will make this choice for him. Whether the choice is made by the man himself or his hosts, in most cases the man ends up with a clan of the same moiety as his own. While this person is in the new village, he is treated as an adopted member of the clan that has taken him in.

As a guide for political relations, in many situations the dualism prescribes choice of political alliance. These alliances are mainly needed in situations of confrontation, such as in land disputes and ceremonies. Some alliances are formed between clans of opposite moieties, but in most cases they are formed between clans of the same moieties. There is a very strong sense of 'us' versus 'them' involved in the formation of these alliances.

The 65 immigrant (Table V) clan segments at Kikila depend on the 11 clan of the district to provide them with some resources such as residential and gardening land and in general to 'take them in'. The most important consideration of all is land. As to which moiety these clan segments 'stay under' at any point in time, depends on the way they came to the district in the first place and also the duration of stay in the district.

In Table VI, I list the duration of stay of the immigrant clan segments and below I discuss their original reasons for coming to Kikila and the ways in which they have
Table VI. Arrival of Immigrant Clan Segments at Kikila.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years at Kikila</th>
<th>Number of Segments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 +</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
created relations with the clans at Kikila. The reasons for these clan segments' coming to the district and their
duration of stay determines the kinds of relationships they
have with the local clans and thus their status in the
district.

The most common way for immigrant clan segments to come to
Kikila was through marriage. Of the 65 segments at Kikila,
59 originally came to Matupit through marriage. A total of
49 of these came in through women who married Kikila men
and the other 10 were men who came to marry Kikila women.
The ten men all came to the district only in the last fifty
years and are still alive. They all depend on their wives'
clans for land but in other matters such as ritual and
social relations, they 'stay under' clans of the same
moiety as their own.

On the other hand, the 49 segments which came to the
district through women, came in at different times in the
last 100 years. One of these one came more than 100 years
ago, ten in the last 100 years, 24 in the last fifty years,
13 in the last 20 and one in the last ten years. The
members of the segments which came more than 100 years ago
are now scattered in different parts of the district. The
original woman of this segment of course, died about 100
years ago, leaving the clan in the district, which is now
three generations old. Only in the last ten years have two
young men of the segment bought some land, on which some of
the members now reside. The clan is becoming more and more
independent. This segment is of the Marmar moiety so for some matters such as political support and ritual ceremonies, it is 'staying under' the auspices of a Marmar clan of Kikila.

Of the ten segments which arrived about 100 years ago, three are 'staying under' their fathers' clan, as bul na warwangala. Two of these have two generations of members each in the district while the other one has only one generation of members. The other seven segments are 'staying under' the auspices of other clans other than their fathers', through alliance arrangements. Six of these are of the Marmar moiety, with four of them 'staying under' Marmar moieties and the other under a Pikalaba clan. Only one segment is of the Pikalaba moiety and it is 'staying under' a Pikalaba clan.

Of the 24 segments which have been in the district for about 50 years, five original women along with their husbands have died and the descendants stay on in the district. Two of these clans 'stay under' clans other than their fathers' clans. Both of these segments are of the Marmar moiety and they are 'staying under' Marmar clans. The other three segments 'stay under' their father's clans as 'children of the clan'. Of the remaining 19 segments, an additional two women have died but their husbands are still alive. The children in the two segments are still staying in the district with their fathers. The two segments now have two generations each in the district. In the remaining 17 segments, a further nine husbands of the original women
have died but these women and their descendants still remain in the district. Two of these 'stay under' clans other than those of their fathers. Both have two generations each of members in the district. Both segments are of the Marmar moiety and are in alliance with clans of the Marmar moiety. The other seven segments are still 'staying under' their fathers' clans, as 'children of the clan'. All of these segments have two generation of members each in the district. The remaining eight segments which came to the district about 50 years ago have both parents still living so the children are under the father's clan.

Of the 12 segments which arrived in the district about 20 years ago, only one of the original women has lost her husband so she and her children are 'staying under' a clan other than her husband's clan. This segment now has two generations of members in the district and is 'staying under' a Marmar clan since it is also of the Marmar moiety. The other 11 segments are still with their fathers who are still alive.

The one segment which came to the district about ten years ago consists of a newly married woman with her children, so they live with her husband.

The reason for arrival of the last six segments are unclear or unknown. One of these appeared in the district only in the last 20 years, represented by a woman and her children claiming to own the land on which they consequently settled in the district. She claimed that one of her male ancestors
in the past had lived on this land. It is not clear why and
how this man came to the district. This woman’s claim was
strongly denied by most of the old people in the district,
which did not make very much difference. The woman and her
children stayed.

The other five segments all arrived on the island more than
100 years ago, thus it is difficult to ascertain their
original reasons for coming to the district. These segments
are no longer ‘staying under’ any of the clans of Kikila.
Some of them have come to own land in the district through
various means, including displacement of clans by political
strength. All five of these segments are involved in
disputes involving land claims in the district.

From the above, it is clear that upon first arrival in the
district, the outside segments ‘stay under’ local clans.
Men who come to marry in the district, ‘stay under’ their
wives’ clans for resources such as land, and for other
matters such as rituals they ‘stay under’ clans of the same
moieties as their own. The presence of these men’s
segments in the district will end when they die or they
return to their home villages, as the children belong only
to the mother’s clan. Segments which come to the district
through marriage by women initially ‘stay under’ the
women’s husbands’ clans. This is the situation when the
husband is still alive and it may continue after his death.
While the rule is that after the death of a husband, a
woman is supposed to move with her children back to her own
land, many women do not observe it. Many offspring also do
not observe this rule. They continue instead to stay on their fathers' land even after the death of both parents.

When people are living with their father on his land, they can use any of his clan's resources whenever they want to. The father's clan is said to have *wangala* (made big/procreated) these people and they are known as *bul na warwangala*. In this respect, the father's clan is obliged to provide them with the necessary resources for their growth. A clan which denies its 'children' the use of its resources or merely neglects them, is said to have merely *peke wue diat* (defecated them) rather than having procreated them, which is an insult to the father's clan. In turn, the 'children' together with their mother have to observe certain obligations towards their father's clan, such as supporting them in land disputes and participating in their ceremonies. Because the father is still alive, the 'children' are not expected to *tur kapa* (stand in the clear) with their assistance to the clan.

After the death of the father, their children and their mother are supposed to move back into the fold of the mother's clan. The father's clan is under no obligation to continue to provide resources for the 'children' but it is considered *bona mangamangana* (good form) for *bona warmaliurai* (good relations) to be maintained between the clan and the children. With this understanding, the 'children' are allowed to continue to use resources of the clan, such as residing on the clan land and using gardening land. Of course this can only continue if no one in the
father's clan objects and when the resources being used can be spared by the clan. In return for the continued use of the clan resources, the 'children' have to observe certain obligations to the father's clan. Unlike when their father was alive and they were not expected to 'stand in the clear' with their assistance to the clan, now they have to do so. They have to attend to their obligations towards the clan more independently rather than as mere dependents of their father. Their continued fulfilment of these obligations is important to their continued bona warmaliurai with the people of the father's clan.

Apart from merely continuing to fulfil their obligations towards their father's clan for the continued use of their resources, some 'children' choose to establish their rights to these resources through some means such as kunukul. Today many of the clans which have remained at Kikila after the death of their father, are able to do so because they have 'purchased' some land from their fathers' clans. 'Purchase' gives people legitimate rights to property, such as land, but it does not alienate the land from the original owners. To a very large extent, the 'children's' legitimate rights to the resources are still very much dependent on 'good relations' between them and the father's clan. They still have to observe obligations to the clan such as making tabu presentations in their ceremonies. Without the continued fulfilment of these obligations, any 'purchase' is meaningless. They are obliged to fulfil them as long as someone in the father's clan can remember who this resource belonged to in the first place, which can be
a very long time.

The 'children' can continue to utilize the resources of their father's clan only for as long as the clan members allow them to do so. As soon as the clan members change their minds, for one reason or another, the 'children' have to stop using these resources. In the case of residential land, they have to move and find other places to live. If they have land, then they move to it. But if they do not have any land, they have to find other clans who can provide them with some land to live on. In the case of gardening land, they can tokom (hire) land from other clans. When they find a clan which can provide them with some land, they are then said to ki navavai pire that clan. In this situation, they then have obligations towards the clan which they 'stay under', which are very much the same as those towards the fathers' clan.

While the above 'staying under' arrangements are made mainly to suit the needs of the landless clans, there are other 'staying under' arrangements which are made to suit the needs of a land owning clan which has land but does not have members to occupy it. Apart from needing members to occupy the land and prevent it from being claimed by others, clans are also interested in having people in order to perform their obligatory ceremonies. Today many of the 11 Kikila clans do not have many of their members living in the district.

All of the 11 Kikila clans have members living outside of
the district, in the two other districts of Matupit and in other villages of the Gazelle Peninsula. As shown in Table VII, the absentee rates in the clans ranges between 23% and 95%. For instance, for the clan of Rakalakal, only 4.7% of the members are in the district. With the clan of Raulataur, 77% of the members are in the district. Of the absentees of Rakalkal clan, only 11.9% are in urban centres of the country while of the absentees of Raulataur, only 6.4% are in urban centres. The majority of the absentees are in other Tolai villages and the other two districts of Matupit.

To maintain social position, political power and resources, a clan needs numbers. In the absence of a large membership, the clan has to look somewhere else for the numbers. The immigrant clan segments in the district provides the main source from which clans can enlist 'numbers'. The clan attracts the immigrant clan segments by taking them under their auspices and also providing them with resources such as land. This means that any resources of the clan which are not being utilised by its members are allocated to the members of outside segments for their use. It is better for the clan to allocate these resources to people they choose rather than leave them sitting idle to be later claimed by people of other clans as their own.

Under the above kind of arrangements, many segments have existed at Kikila for many generations. For the members of these segments, their relationship to their host clan is very important because it is through this that they get
Table VII. Clans of Kikila with members present in the district, and with moiety affiliations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Moiety</th>
<th>Total Members</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ToLabit</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>83+</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Odaodo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rakar</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rakalkal</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>42+</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ToMairaira</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>93+</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Torovoi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>57+</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Raturpit</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>84+</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Raulataur</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>48+</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bitabutua</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18+</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vunakua</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>78+</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Nanuk</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>96+</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M - Marmar, P - Pikalaba. + - because the numbers outside of Kikila could not be properly ascertained.
their means of sustenance. While it is important that they maintain their membership in their own clans in their village of madapai, it is also important they attend to their responsibilities towards their host clan. Many people at Kikila today spend a lot of their cash and tabu resources in the maintenance of their relationships with their host clans rather than with their own clans outside of the district.

Conflicts and Alliances

At Kikila today, many of the clans which originally did not own any resources such as land, now own some. In addition, there are other clans which are involved in disputes with some of the 11 Kikila clans over ownership of land. Most transfers of land or rights to it are based on consensus between clans, as will be shown in Chapter VI. But there are other ways of acquiring land which involve political wrangling, arguments and disputes which have to go before the district authorities for resolution. Many of the clans or segments which now have land, acquired them through some of these means. They had to wrangle with some of the original clans of Kikila to acquire this land.

A case of conflict wrangling over land and which required the formation of clan alliances is that between the local clan, Bitabutua, and three immigrant clan segments (Karavia 44, Kabakada 39 and Matalau 47), discussed in Chapter VI. At Kikila there are many stories like that between the above three clans and Bitabutua. At my time of fieldwork
between 1980 and 1983, in addition to the land dispute mentioned here, there were another four similar cases. In all four cases the claims were made by immigrant clan segments against recognized clans of Kikila. Two of the claims were made by two groups of allied segments, as above and the two were made by individual segments.

Summary

Among the Tolai today, social groups are still very important because they provide people with social benefits and important resources such as land. The most important social group is the clan. This is the group that provides the social benefits and owns important resources such as land. A person must be a member of the clan in order to have access to any of these benefits. And people establish their relationship to the clan on the basis of a number of relationships which are generally known as barnjuruna (clan relatives). At Kikila there are 11 clans which provide these social benefits and resources for their members.

But at Kikila there is a burgeoning population of people who do not belong to any of the clans from there and so by rule, are not in any position to draw social benefits from, and have access to the resources of the groups there. In this situation a number of different kinds of relationships are developed and maintained between immigrant clan segments and local clans, to facilitate the drawing of social benefits and use of resources. These relationships are the bartamana, 'staying under the auspices of' and
political alliances, which are developed under the directive of the moieties. Many of these relationships are created and maintained by the regular presentations of tabu, as will be shown in the following chapters.
Chapter VI

TABU AND LAND TENURE

Introduction

Land is a central issue for the Tolai, both culturally and economically. This is clear from the works of such writers as Epstein (1968), Epstein (1969), Sack (1973), Bradley (1982) and Fingleton (1985), who worked among the Tolai. The one hundred and twenty years of recorded Tolai history is replete with accounts of arguments, confrontations and killings relating to land, mainly between the Tolai and outsiders (both administrations and individuals). From an examination of some of these accounts, it is clear that the basis of confrontation was resistance by the Tolai to encroachment on and alienation of their land by outsiders.

But encroachment and alienation by outsiders was not the only reason for Tolai concern with land. In the late 1950s, when Epstein arrived among the Matupit Tolai he found that:

land was not simply an issue between the islanders and the Europeans, it was also a matter to which the Matupit devoted a great deal of their public life and energies in acrimonious disputes amongst themselves (1969: 2).

1 Sack (1973).
By the mid-1960s, the Tolai were facing acute land shortage. This shortage began in the early 1900s, when about 40% of all Tolai land had been alienated by Europeans (Sack 1973). In the 1950s and 1960s the Tolai had a very high population growth rate of 3.8%, and were boxed into the eastern tip of New Britain, the Gazelle Peninsula.2 Also in the 1950s, the introduction of cash crops such as copra and cocoa created new demands on the available land resource (Bradley 1982).

By the end of the 1960s the problem of land shortage remained the same. But all of the above-mentioned writers argued that land shortage was only a partial explanation for the Tolai concern with land. They explained that land to the Tolai was more than simply space. For instance, Epstein wrote:

On an island as tiny as Matupit, with a burgeoning population, it is clear that there will be a premium on space. Yet it remains doubtful whether in itself this is adequate to account for the number and character of the (land) disputes (1969: 197).

The above writers pointed to cultural concepts of land and drew connections between land and concepts of identity. This connection was epitomized by Epstein when he wrote, Land for the Tolai is pre-eminentely an index of group identity. This is clear in regard to the political units of the society, which are named local groups,

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but it is equally true of descent groups. Members of the clan acknowledge their common bonds not by reference to genealogy, but by tracing their links to a number of small localities, their places of origin (vunapaina or in some parts, madapai) (Epstein 1969: 198).

In the 1970s, some of the alienated land was returned to the Tolai under the Plantation Redistribution Scheme, but this did not relieve the land pressure by much. The Tolai are still boxed into the Gazelle Peninsula with a high population growth rate. Cocoa and copra plantations still take up large areas of the available land. At the same time, Tolai concepts of land have scarcely changed. Land is still more than just space, and it remains an important symbol of identity.

In this chapter I shall discuss the ways by which contemporary Tolai are able to fulfil their need for land as space and as a symbol of identity, amidst the changes that have occurred over the last one hundred and twenty years and the pressures caused by the burgeoning population of the Gazelle Peninsula. I shall show how tabu is used in acquiring land, both as space and as a symbol of clan identity.
Land Tenure System

Despite the pressures that impose on Tolai land, most of it is still regulated by the traditional system of land tenure. This system of tenure defined land under a number of categories which determined how people should use the land. Under this system there are number of ways of acquiring land. These determine the kind of relationship a person has to land. Depending on the means of acquisition, a person may own the land or may only have rights to it.

_Different Categories of Land._

Basically land falls into three main categories. These are pia _tabu_ (taboo land), pia _wakuku_ (ownerless land), and pia _kai ra tarai_ (land owned by people). There are four different kinds of 'taboo land'. These are _taraiu_ (tubuan sanctuaries), _marovot_ (iniat sanctuaries), _matalawar_ (spirit underworld) and pia _na kaia_ (land of the _deities_). These four kinds of 'taboo land' are small in size. Human access to these plots is either restricted to particular persons or category of persons, or is completely barred to everyone. They are considered to be inhabited by the

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3 On Matupit and the nearby areas on the mainland, there is no pia _wakuku_ apart from those areas around Matupit Volcano, which are unsuitable for cultivation because sulphur is still burning on them.

4 Another fraternity. Unlike the tubuan fraternity, this is strictly voluntary in membership.
spirits they are associated with, such as the *tubuan* in the *taraiu*. Some of these plots are within 'land owned by people' and some are in 'ownerless land'.

**Pia tabu**

The *taraiu* are plots of land located some distance away from human settlement. This is where the initiated men and boys gather, away from the uninitiated and women, during *tubuan* revival periods. Only those who have been initiated into the *tubuan* fraternity are allowed on this land. During the periods of revival, these sanctuaries are highly potent with the power of the *tubuan* spirit. During non-revival periods and after they have been abandoned they remain taboo land but are less potent. The size of such areas varies according to the male population they are supposed to accommodate.

On Matupit, there are three *tubuan* sanctuaries plus one on the nearby mainland. These are big in area compared to those on the mainland because many *tubuan* are forced to amalgamate their sanctuaries by the pressure on land. In general, because of the restrictions on access, *tubuan* sanctuaries are unsuitable for any other purpose such as residence, gardening or other economic activity. In principle, a *tubuan* sanctuary should be located on land which belongs to the clan that owns the *tubuan* occupying it.5

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5 As will be shown later, *tubuan* are owned by clans.
The marovot are also a plots of land, to which access is restricted to initiated iniat members only. It is dangerous for non-members and women to set foot on these areas because spirits embodied in kalawuar (stone figures) which are buried in the ground are believed to reside there. Only by digging out these stone figures can an iniat sanctuary be made safe for access to everyone. Because of the malignant nature of this cult, sanctuaries are found on 'ownerless land', mainly on the borders of claimed land. On Matupit there are no more iniat sanctuaries because the cult has virtually died out, but many such places can still be found on the mainland, particularly around the north coast area of the Gazelle Peninsula as this had always been the main stronghold of this cult.

Matalawar (spirit underworld) are small in area compared to the two kinds of sanctuaries mentioned above. They are about half the size of a football field, and are found mainly on the boundaries of 'land owned by people'. The exact entrance to an abode of the dead is invisible, so people fear venturing onto such plots in case they inadvertently walk through the entrance. There are stories of many people who had walked through entrances by mistake and consequently disappeared for days. On the island of

6 These are animal figures carved out of limestone.

7 Every now and then stories circulate that a person went through one such entrance and disappeared for months, years and even forever. When these persons reappear, it is not on the same spot but miles or even hundreds of miles. In 1980, a white man who entered a mata lawar on the outskirts of Rabaul town, was believed to reappear three months later on New Ireland more than two hundred miles away.
Matupit, there are at least two such places although they do not arouse as much fear today as they used to do in the past. On the mainland though, in Matupit territory, there are at least five such places and which still evoke a lot of fear in people today.

Pia na kaia (land of dieties) are places in the environment where kaia (deities) live. Like the matalawar, they are found on the border of 'land owned by people'. They are about the size of a football field, although it is difficult to define their boundaries. It is dangerous to venture onto these plots of land because of the risk of being attacked by the deities that live there.8 On Matupit the three plots belonging to the three deities of the island have been greatly reduced in size by those who own the adjoining lands.9 Unlike the matalawar on the island, the three pia na kaia still inspire a lot of fear in the hearts of people.

It is important to distinguish pia tabu from the other two categories of land because it shows that land has affinities with the spiritual world and not just the human world. It shows too that land is not mere space to be controlled by humans, but it is something in which the

8 Deities are supposed to protect people but they can attack them for a number of reasons, as discussed in Chapter IV.

9 In Tolai land tenure, what defines a plot of land is a name and not boundary marks. Although the plot of land is reduced physically, conceptually it remains the same. This means that the plot may expand and contract.
supernatural world has some degree of interest and control.

*Pia Wakuku (Ownerless land)*

Ownerless land is mainly bush land, over which no particular clan or individual has any claims. But despite this understanding, it is not open to access by anyone and everyone. Land in this category is divided between village groups. This means that the land is the domain of the village and village members have rights of access to it while members of other villages do not. The land is important to a village population for hunting, collecting of wild fruits, and other bush products. Epstein referred to the rights a local residential group has over this category of land as 'rights of commonality' (1969: 119). For the Matupit, not much of this land exists, either on the island, or on those areas of the mainland where the islanders have claims. There are only those areas around the volcanic zone which are unsuitable for cultivation. To the Matupit, most of the ownerless land is in the Bainings territory, where many islanders have purchased some.10

*Pia kai ra Tarai (Land owned by People)*

'Land owned by people' is the category of land which is of most interest in this chapter. As the name suggests, this land is owned by people, mainly as clan groups. There are

10 Land purchases from the Bainings are not conducted in the say way as they are done among the Tolai themselves. Cash is mainly used in these purchases.
four different kinds of land in this category, which people always regard in order of importance. They are pia na madapai (land of origin), gunan (residential land), motonoi (beach landing) and tavula papalum (working area). The land of a clan is not divided into the four kinds mentioned here, and they are not used strictly in accordance with the way in which they are classified. For instance, land which is classified as 'working area' can easily be used as 'residence land'. In everyday speech, when people are talking about a clan's land, they do not distinguish between one kind of land and another. They refer to all the land belonging to the clan as pia na vunatarai (clan land). But in some situations it is important to distinguish one kind of land from another. One such situation is the transfer of rights or ownership of land. Here it is important for both the giver and receiver to know what kind of land they are dealing with. This is because there are some kinds of land the rights to which or ownership of are easily transferable while there are some which are not.

'Land of origin', is a plot of land from which a clan is believed to have originated. The concept of 'origin' does not imply any idea of coming out of the ground, as in Trobriands' belief of origin. It simply means that a clan can trace its past to such a plot of land. This plot has nothing to do with the first appearance of the clan, but rather it verifies the past existence of the clan. This is why a clan can have more than one 'land of origin'. These plots are distributed over areas through which the members of a clan had moved over the years: the plots of land on
which members of the clan had settled for some time during migratory movements. What makes these plots madapai is a long period of residence, but more importantly, the burial of dead ancestors in them. Because of the very strong link with the clan, this kind of land is the most difficult to transfer to another group. For a clan parting with this kind of land is like alienating part of its own history. The transfer of such land from one group to another is almost unthinkable.

At Kikila, there are plots of land which are known as ‘land of origin’. Because of the nature of the settling of the island, these plots are linked to others on the shores of Blanche Bay.11 For instance, ToMairaira clan has one ‘land of origin’ on the island which is known as Rariana. This ‘land of origin’ was founded when the ancestors of this clan first arrived on the island. Before they came to the island, the ancestors settled on another plot of land, called ToMairaira, on the ridges of Mount Mother. ToMairaira also became a ‘land of origin’ and it is from this land that the clan gets its name. Before they came to ToMairaira, some members of the clan had settled on two other plots: Tagalkapa and Vunaitirai, which also later became ‘land of origin’. Tagalkapa is at the foot of Mount Mother and Vunaitirai is on the eastern shores of Simpson Harbour. The early ancestors of the clan originally came

11 The members of clans that finally settled Matupit Island, spent some time wandering and living on the shores of Blanche Bay. Some came from villages straight onto the island.
from Davaon on the western shores of Blanche Bay.\textsuperscript{12}

Next in importance is the kind of land known as gunan. This kind of land is not only that on which current residence are found, but includes those plots on which ancestors of clans had settled for short periods of time in the past. The periods of residence were too brief for these places to become madapai as no dead ancestors were buried on them. Despite this, the clans seemed to maintain very close links with this kind of land as residential land.\textsuperscript{13} For the people of Kikila, many of these old residential lands on the mainland are now under cash crop cultivation but very few people forget their histories. These plots of land are also closely guarded by the clans which once occupied and now own them.

A motonoi is a plot of land on the beach which belongs to a clan. Motonoi are coveted by clans for a number of reasons. Beach landings gives right of access to the sea and its products. Also, in villages on the coast, these beach landings are part of the history of clans because they may have been landing places during the periods of early migratory travel. Furthermore, the 'beach landing' is very important for rituals such as the kawai irop (disembarkation) of tubuan after a kinawai (canoe dance)

\textsuperscript{12} There are also madapai in the Davaon area but the Matupit members of the clan are not concerned with this. It is left to the Davaon members.

\textsuperscript{13} The only explanation I can think of is that some people leave magic herbal plants (which are clan or personal property) on these sites when they move on. They also bury tukal (magic stones) and leave them behind.
and the erection of the *tulu* (bamboo pole) in the marriage sequence. A clan can rent out its *motonoi* to other clans or persons for various purposes such as net-fishing, collecting coral for lime, and for ritual purposes such as the *kinawai*. But it is almost unthinkable for a clan to transfer ownership of such land to other clans or persons. The three kinds of 'land owned by people' I have discussed so far are often referred to as *pa na waki* (sacred land from the ancestors).

The final kind of 'land owned by people' is the *tawula papalum* (working land). This is where most of the economic activities on land is done. In the Kikila district, there is hardly any land available for this purpose because most of the land there is either *madalum* or *gunan*. All of the Islanders' 'working areas' are on the mainland, mainly east and south of the island. Most of this land is under cash crop (copra and cocoa) cultivation and only a little is used for subsistence gardening. While this land is mere gardening land, it is not any less important than the 'land of origin', 'beach landing' and 'residential land'. Sometimes certain events happened in the past on this kind of land, which was important to the history of the clan. These phenomena may have something to do with ancestors of the clan. Although people from other groups can *tokom* (hire) this land for gardening purposes, clans do not easily transfer them to other groups.

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14 It is important that a person performs these two rituals on his own *motonoi*. 
It should be clear from what has been said above that, among the Tolai, it is extremely difficult to transfer land from one party to another in the same way commoditized land can be bought and sold. In fact, as will become evident below in the discussion on land ownership, the Tolai tenure system is very much against the transfer of land from one party to another. Despite this, people with no land still manage to 'acquire' land in one way or another for their purposes. This is possible through the traditional land tenure system, which is still effective today. In this system, there are a number of principles through which landless Tolai can acquire land or rights to it. These principles are important to the distribution of the limited land available to the Tolai today. An important element of these principles is tabu exchanges. These principles of distribution will be discussed here, with particular focus on the use of tabu.

**Acquiring Land**

In his work among the Tolai, Epstein reported that according to the traditional system of land tenure there were six ways of acquiring rights to land. These were: first occupancy, displacement by invasion, kunukul (purchase), kutu bat ra tabu (distributing tabu), tinabar (as gift) and totokom (rental) (Epstein 1969). To this list, I shall add another means of acquiring rights to

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15 It is difficult to talk about a Tolai as being landless. 'Landless' here refers to people who do not have land in one locality but have some in another.
land, which I shall call kini (sitting).

First Occupancy and Displacement

First occupancy took place when a person cleared virgin forest for subsistence, residence or some other purpose. Initially this land belonged to the person or persons who cleared and settled on it. They had the right to dispose of it to other persons if they wished. At the death of these persons, if the land has not been disposed of to others, it automatically passes to the surviving members of their clan.

Today there are no virgin forest areas in Tolai territory, so no land can be acquired by first occupancy. The only virgin forest areas on the Gazelle Peninsula are in Baining territory, but the Tolai can only acquire some of this land by purchase and not by first occupancy.

Displacement

Displacement by invasion happened when persons occupying land were displaced by others. This happened mainly during the periods of kamara (warfare). The new party settled and claimed the land as theirs own, although today there are still disputes between parties over land on which this kind of settlement took place. Since the cessation of warfare at the end of the last century, acquisition by displacement is no longer possible.
With the above two means no longer possible, the only way to acquire land or rights to land today are through purchase, distributing tabu at mortuary ceremonies, through gift and through rent. By these means, the landless on Matupit are able to acquire utility land from other clans.

Purchase (Kunukul)

Kunukul takes place when one party, either an individual or group, pays a clan in tabu for a plot of land. Although I use the term 'purchase' here, I do so with caution. This is because the concepts surrounding land purchase among the Tolai are different from those surrounding Western land purchase. It is different in three ways. Firstly, the vendor clan does not lose all rights to the land. Secondly, purchase can only take place between socially or politically related clans. Thirdly, the tabu paid during the ceremony is not the final payment. Fourthly, although cash is used today, no purchase is accepted between clans unless tabu is also used.

Because land is the property of clans, purchase is an affair between clans rather than between individuals, and it is conducted with some ceremony. In a purchase, the 'buyers' prepare some food at their home and invite the members of the clan from which they want to acquire the land, and other interested people. When all have arrived, the tabu as payment for the land is displayed on a mat for everyone to see. A person from the 'vendor' party comes forward and checks the tabu. If it is the right amount, he
places it in a basket and the transaction is complete. After this the food is distributed and eaten in good spirit by everyone who has attended. This is followed by short speeches and the formalities are completed.

When a clan agrees to have some of its land to be purchased by other persons, it still retains some degree of rights and control over it. With regard to rights, the members of the vendor clan can still use this land for particular purposes after consulting the purchasing party. The latter party cannot deny them access to the land. With regard to control, the vendor clan still maintain a certain amount of interest in how the land is used and by whom. For instance, children purchasing land from their father’s clan cannot invite members of their clan who are not linked to the father to use the land because members of the father’s clan will object to it. They agreed to the purchase of the land on the understanding that it was to be used by people whom they ‘fathered’. Any breach of this understanding can lead to the purchase agreement being rescinded.

In any land purchase, it is important that the parties to the transfer be socially or politically related. Socially, there is a limited number of relationships only through which land purchase is possible. The main one is the bartamana (father - child) relationship. In the absence of a ‘real’ social relationship, a putative one is emphasised in order to facilitate a purchase. Politically, purchases are made between allied clan or in order to confirm or strengthen reinforce alliances. One aspect of purchases
involving social and political relations is that it is most important that these relations be continued. Any deterioration in relations immediately calls for a reconsideration of the purchases. Of the 68 households at Kikila whose heads were not linked matrilineally to the land, 26 were there through the bartamana. These people said they had acquired the land they were living on by purchase, but it is very likely that many may have originally had them passed to them as gift through someone in the past. I say this is likely because many of these people came to live, or continued to live, on the land after the death of a clan member while knowing that it did not belong to their clan. I shall show below how a 'gift' can become 'purchase', in order to show how the earlier means can be easily overshadowed by the latter. In addition to the above-mentioned 26 households which were on land purchased through the father-child relationship, another two were on land purchased through putative relationships and two were on land purchased through political alliances.

Rent (Totokom)

Rent only applied to the use of land for specific purposes and specific periods. Before the town market and cash became important to the Matupit, the people depended on subsistence gardening for most of their livelihood. Rent of land for this purpose was very common. The rent was paid in tabu. A person renting land used it for as long as his crops lasted, after which the land reverted to the clan which originally owned the land. Today, with most of the
land being taken up by coconut and cocoa cash cropping, there is virtually no land available which can be rented for subsistence purposes. This means that renting of land does not apply in the areas tawula papalum (working areas).

The main purposes for which the Matupit rent land today are for ceremonial performances, for sites on the beach to park canoes, and for strips of land as tracks for personal vehicles. With regard to rent for ceremonial purposes, it is only valid for the duration of one ceremony. People have to rent land from other clans because either they do not have any land within the vicinity of where they want to stage the ceremony, or they do not have enough space on their own land for such a purpose. Renting of land to park canoes is made because only a few clans on the island own any land along the beach. Out of the 11 land-owning clans in Kikila district, only six own all the beach. The renting of land for vehicular tracks and to park canoes lasts for as long as the person who paid the rent has a vehicle or a canoe, unless his or her relationship with the land owner turns sour.

Tinabar (Gift)

Land is acquired as tinabar when it is given without any direct exchange of tabu, as in the cases discussed here. Again, I use the term ‘gift’ with some caution because there are many aspects of tinabar which make it appear more than ‘gift’.
Gifts are only made along certain kinship lines such as that between 'fathering' clans and their 'children'. In the case of children acquiring land from their fathers' clans as tinabar, it is preceded by any one of three situations. (1) The father may have received and kept the bride-price for one of his daughters. Since in principle the bride-price should go to the daughter's clan, by keeping it the father is in debt to her and to her clan. In this way tinabar of land is seen to restore balance. (2) Land as gift is received following the receipt of nidok (third stage initiation into the tubuan fraternity) by a father's clan. This is because normally a person pays his initiation fees to his own clan's tubuan. Here, since it is the father's clan which receives this tabu, they are obliged to give something in return for it. Traditionally other kinds of property could be given in return for this fee, such as large canoes or fishing nets and other things considered as economic assets. Today it is easy to buy a net cheaply in the town and canoes are no longer worth what they used to be because people do not use them as much as they use outboard motor boats. This leaves land as the main asset with which to restore the balance. (3) Land is received as gift by children, following their distribution of large amounts of tabu at their fathers' minamai (funerary ceremony). Although children are expected to distribute tabu at their fathers' mortuary ceremonies, it is customarily only a small amount. The burden of providing most of the tabu, rests with the members of the father's clan. By distributing a large amount of tabu, then, the children are performing a duty which should be performed by
the members of the father's clan. For this regard they can expect to receive some kind of property from their father's clan. Often it is land which is given to them.

While it appears that there is an exchange of 'gift' land for tabu, the recipients' rights are not as secure as with land acquired by purchase. This is because the idea of gift-giving is very strong in this context. What guarantees the recipients' rights over the land is the continuation of the relationship through which the exchange was made in the first place. While it is important that such a relationship should exist for any exchange to take place, it is equally important that it continues if the recipients' rights are to be maintained. Any change in or deterioration of this relationship can immediately put a gift of land under reconsideration. To illustrate this I shall cite a court case which came before the Village Court magistrates in 1982.

The case focused on the removal of a moko (strands of grass symbolising taboo) on a plot of land of the Rakalkal clan. Before the court were two groups of people which were headed by two women, IaKunai and IaLaita. It appeared from the court hearing that in the past these two groups had considered themselves to belong to Rakalkal clan. Their ancestors had lived together at Raulai, a stretch of land at the southern end of the district. During the recent past there had been some questioning within the clan of the membership of the group headed by IaKunai.
From evidence given by two elders, IaKolot and ToUrapal, and also from the Genealogy sheets which were compiled by the Land Titles Commission in 1963, it was clear that IaKunai's group did not belong to the clan. According to the evidence given by IaKolot and ToUrapal, the ancestors of IaKunai's groups had lived at Raulai merely under the auspices of the ancestors of Rakalkal clan. As I will show later, IaKunai's ancestors were not the only people living under the auspices of Rakalkal clan at Raulai. At the end of the last century, a man by the name of Tatop had also lived there. This man does not appear in the Rakalkal clan Genealogy and from the evidence given by the two elders, it appeared that he did not belong to any of the two groups before the court. He had two children, IaPupuak and ToLikun, who were also present at the hearing.

The background to the case before the Village Court was that IaLaita had sold a plot of Raulai land to Carol, a young woman whom she had *kukutu pa* (adopted) from a different clan. Carol and her husband wanted to build a permanent house on this land and had actually began planting pegs to mark out the building. When IaKunai heard of this, she sent one of her daughters with the moko, which the daughter put on one of the pegs. IaLaita's husband, ToKutu, found this and removed it, asking angrily among the neighbours as to who had put the moko there. IaKunai heard about ToKutu's behaviour and brought the matter before the court. The court deliberated on the matter for some time but it was decided that the case be suspended because the two groups were questioning each other's membership in the
clan and rights to the land. It had become a matter for the Land Mediators Committee, a body set up under the Provincial Government system to deal with local land matters.

Before the Magistrates could declare the case suspended, ToLikun, who had been silent during the entire hearing, asked permission to speak. He began by commenting that it saddened him to see his father’s clan being split by the two groups before the court. He added that as a child growing up at Raulai he did not see any divisions between Rakalkal clan and his father and the other members of the clan (including the ancestors of IaKunai’s group). They had worked together as a unit. ToLikun had spoken for only a few minutes before his sister, IaPupuak, broke in. She supported what her brother had just said but then quickly switched to what appeared to be her main point of interest. She categorically stated that she wanted her brother ToLikun to continue living where he was, which was on a plot of land at Raulai. She explained that this plot was given to them by their father Tatop as tinabar for two reasons. Firstly, her tabu na warkukul (bride-price) was claimed by Tatop and was distributed at his minamai by the members of Rakalkal clan. Secondly, his brother ToLikun had paid his nidok fees to the tubuan IaWalwal, of Rakalkal clan. She was adamant that her brother must remain on the land in order to maintain their rights to it. Her statement did not get any response from the two groups before the court.
The point of interest here is that Tatop was able to give the land to his children despite the fact he did not belong to Rakalkal clan. And he did this with the full knowledge of the then members of Rakalkal clan. It appears that during the time when the gift of land was made, Tatop was considered as a member of Rakalkal clan. During the hearing, while much was said by IaLaita and her group to the effect of rejecting IaKunai and her group including their ancestors, nothing was said to reject Tatop.

IaPupuak had spoken on her own and her brother's behalf because on a number of occasions in the recent past IaLaita had tried to remove ToLikun from the land. It appeared that the good social relations which ToLikun referred to as existing between Tatop and the ancestors of Rakalkal clan did not carry over into the generation of IaLaita, IaKunai, IaPupuak and ToLikun. It seems that this is a result of the fact that IaLaita did not grow up at Matupit. Her mother married a man from Bai and that is where she was born and grew up. Only when she got married did she come to Matupit to live at Raulai. On her arrival at Matupit there was only one living member of Rakalkal clan, ToMatinut, who was very old. After his death IaLaita and her son ToWakit were the only living members of the clan at Matupit while the rest of the members of the clan were living at Talwat. As a result IaLaita did not recognize any pre-existing relations between her clan, IaKunai and the children of Tatop. When I left Rabaul in 1983, a suspension order was given on the building of the house by Carol and her husband pending a hearing by the Land Mediators Committee, and ToLikun still
lived on the plot of land mentioned above.

On residential land at Kikila, out of the 71 households which are on land of other clans, nine are on land which had been acquired as 'gift'. This number could be higher if we assume that some of the households which are said to be on purchased land were originally acquired as gift, but that this part of the land’s history had changed because their status had changed. The status of these plots changed because the recipients decided to make small payments to the original owners as purchase. This is done because of the lack of guarantee of security over gift land. It is difficult to fully ascertain the exact history of such plots because people want to think of the land as having been purchased rather than having been received as gift. Clearly, this is because land acquired through 'purchase' is more secure than land received as 'gift'.

*Kutu bat ra tabu (Distributing Tabu)*

*Kutu bat ra tabu* is an indirect way of paying tabu to a clan for a plot of land. This is done at the *minamai* of a deceased person of the clan from which the land is to be acquired. Like the means of acquiring land that have been discussed so far, the pre-existence of social and political relationships are important considerations. In most cases, the person intending to acquire land may even be using the land already, which means that the required pre-existing relationship is well developed.
A person wanting to acquire land by 'distributing tabu' first approaches the ngala of the deceased person's clan in order to inform him of his or her intentions. If everything is all right then on the day of the distribution she or he merely shows the tabu to the leader and other senior members of his clan and then distributes it, just like other people distributing other tabu during the ceremony.

As in purchase and gift, a person's rights to the land acquired by distributing tabu is also not very secure. Security of rights is again dependent on the continuation of the relationship between the donor and recipient parties, through which the transfer of land was made in the first place. To illustrate the lack of security of land acquired through kutu bat ra tabu, I cite the case of the children of ToLengangar.

ToLengangar belonged to ToMairaira clan, which is one of the land-owning clans at Kikila. His wife belonged to a clan of Rarup District, so his children did not have any land in the district. On their father's death, the children wanted to acquire a stretch of land of ToMairaira clan, known as ToAngangup. This land is in the gardening areas south of the island and the children, together with their father, had planted some coconut trees there. Their intention was agreed to by three senior members of the clan, including the leader ToLokot. On the day of ToLengangar's minamai, three of the children, ToTita, ToKowa and IaWole distributed about 100 fathoms of tabu. The other members of the clan also accepted the arrangement
and the land and the coconut grove on it were given to the children.

About a year after the above arrangement, a large segment of ToLengangar’s clan changed their mind. This was triggered off by an incident which took place at the coconut grove. IaKiki, ToLengangar’s sister’s daughter (ZD) had asked ToKowa to collect some coconuts from the grove, to which ToKowa agreed. IaKiki then hired a truck, went to the grove and picked up a pile of coconuts. This pile of nuts had been collected earlier by IaMarna (ToKowa’s mother) to be processed as copra. When IaMarna went to the grove and found that the nuts were gone she inquired and found that IaKiki had taken them. Not knowing that ToKowa had given permission in the first place, she sent word to IaKiki that the grove and the land were now her children’s and that she should first obtain permission from them if she wanted to collect nuts from there.

IaKiki responded by confronting IaMarna, saying that she (IaMarna) and her children should leave the land and the coconuts on it. She gave five reasons. First, she said the land ToAngangup was madapai of ToMairaira clan. Second, her husband ToIudas’ and her children had helped in the planting of the coconut trees at ToAngangup; and not only ToLengangar and his children had planted them. Third, a copra drier which had been built by her husband and her three elder sons, intended for use by ToMairaira clan, was now controlled by IaMarna’s children. Fourth, the tabu the children had distributed at ToLengangar’s minamai was not
100 fathoms, and she was not shown this tabu before the distribution. Fifth, her tabu na warkukul had been kept by ToLengangar at his house and at his death she did not know what happened to it. She suspected that the tabu which the children distributed during ToLengangar’s minama was her bride-price and that the children did not distribute any of their own tabu at all. IaKiki got the support of other members of her clan, particularly her younger sister IaWarkia. These two women often went to the coconut grove to collect nuts, defying ToLengangar’s children’s rights to the trees and the land. On my departure from Rabaul in the beginning of 1983 IaKiki and IaWarkia were frequenting ToAngangup and collecting coconuts from the grove as if the land still belonged to their clan and ToLengangar’s children had receded into the background. On a later trip to Rabaul in 1990, I found that the children of ToLengangar were again in control of ToAngangup grove with the approval of ToMairaira clan.

Using land under the auspices of other clans

At Kikila there are many people using residence and garden land which do not belong to their clans. These people are said to be merely kini (sitting) on the land. People in this situation are allowed to garden or reside on these lands by virtue of social or political relationships that may exist between them and the clan which owns the land. When people talk about a person who is merely ‘sitting’ on land, they qualify the verb by the relationship through which the person is sitting on the land. A person ‘sitting’
on land under the auspices of his father's clan is said to be in kini na bartamana (sitting under the father-child relationship). 'Sitting' under the auspices of an allied clan is known as kini na barniuruna (sitting as clan members). Such people have not 'purchased' the land; they have not distributed tabu for it; it has not been given to them as gift, and they are not renting it. Their use of the land is based on the good relationship between them and the clans which own the land. An important part of this relationship is the tulue ra balana lima (extending of hand) by those in 'sitting' to the important affairs of the land-owning clan, such as in rituals and ceremonies.

Although residence is supposed to be avuncu-virilocal, as has been mentioned earlier, today at Kikila not many people follow this rule. There are many people living in kini na bartamana, some for very long periods after their fathers' death. Many of these people have kept their residence status by continually participating in the ceremonial affairs of the land owning clans. This is the case with ToLipirin, who is living on Torovoi clan land.

ToLipirin is currently living in the ToRovoi hamlet known as Rauradi. It was on this land that his father ToKulinio of ToRovoi clan had lived and brought up his three sons and two daughters. When ToKulinio died just after World War I, the two daughters had got married and lived with their husbands on their land, and the eldest son lived with his wife on her clan land. The other brother, ToIngilit had also married but continued to live at Rauradi with his wife
and children until his death in 1976. ToLipirin had not married by the time his father died, and he continued to live at Rauradi too. When he got married later, his wife joined him at Rauradi, and they were still living there in 1990.

Neither ToLipirin or ToIngilit had purchased the plots of land they lived on, nor had they received them as gift. According to ToLipirin, he and his brother had been allowed to remain on the land because they were maravai watikai (constantly close) to the members of ToRovoi clan and they had constantly tulue ra balana limai dir (extended the their hands) to the clan. Being 'constantly close' means to be helpful to the members of the clan, such as giving food to them and giving them a hand in any task they perform. To 'extend the palms of the hands' means to contribute tabu in ceremonial affairs of the clan. ToLipirin gave me a list of ceremonies, mainly mortuary ones, in which he himself had contributed tabu. This is listed in Table VIII. To show his strong relationship to the clan, ToLipirin was proud to tell me that he and his elder brother, ToKutu, still controlled the babat (protective magic) of the ToRovoi clan tubuan, Tataur, which their father used to control.

With regard to occupancy or use of land through clan alliances, this is possible as long as the alliance persists. The decision to allow members of other clans to occupy land is basically a political one. A clan allowing the use of its land by others does so in order to strengthen its numbers in the political arena. In many
Table VIII. Major Tabu Contributions of ToLipirin to Mortuary Ceremonies of ToRovoi Clan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deceased</th>
<th>Tabu Amount</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>IaTigal</td>
<td>30 fathoms</td>
<td>FZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>IaPlia</td>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
<td>FZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>ToKi</td>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
<td>FZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>ToRumet</td>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
<td>FZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Tiamuruka</td>
<td>20 &quot;</td>
<td>FZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>ToKaputin</td>
<td>20 &quot;</td>
<td>FZS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
situations such as land disputes and ceremonial performances, in which clans are constantly competing for prestige and renown, these numbers are very important.

Of the eight households in Kikila occupying land in accordance with clan alliances, one is under an alliance one generation old, three under alliances three generations old, two under alliances four generations old and the other two are under alliances over six generations old. As mentioned above, what is required of people occupying land through alliances is the support of their numbers. But more importantly, tabu support in ceremonial affairs is a crucial consideration, which if not forthcoming, jeopardizes the occupants rights to the land. Of the four alliances mentioned here, two are harmonious while the other two are experiencing tensions due to neglect of the maintenance of their relationships.

Apart from people 'sitting' on land, on kini na bartamana and alliance bases, there are others such as widows who have been able to stay on their husbands' clan land for long periods after their deaths. Of the five widows living on their former husbands' clan land, one has stayed on for over ten years after her husband's death, one for over 15 years, one for over 20 years and the other one for over 30 years. This last one married a man from outside of Matupit and they continued to stay on the land. All of these women constantly contribute varying amounts of tabu to the ceremonial affairs of their former husbands clans'. Because of these constant tabu contributions, they have maintained
their position on the land.

II

Ownership and Identity

The basic principle in Tolai land ownership is *a pia kai ra vunatarai* (land belongs to the clan). This means that all land known as *a pia kai ra tarai* (land owned by people) are owned by clans. The land owned by each clan is not in a single block, but is spread out in a number of *pakana pia* (plots), each of which has a name. The plots are found in different localities depending on where members of a clan can be found. For instance, if a clan has members living in three villages, it can be expected that plots of land belonging to the clan can be found in and around these three villages.

Although all clan members can use clan land wherever it may be, it is actually the local members who control all the land in a particular locality. Clan members from other localities must first consult these people before they can use any land under their control. This local group control is exercised through a local leader, who is known as a *ngala* (bigman). This person is also sometimes known as a *bit na pia* (the base - controller of land), and he is the most knowledgeable about the clan’s plots of land in the locality. Because of this knowledge, this person is the clan spokesman or spokeswoman in land matters, such as in situations of land dispute. He is the one who is
consulted by clan members and others who want to use clan land. He is consulted so that he can show what plots are available and where their boundaries are. Today, because more and more clans are being left with cash crop plots which were planted by members of the clan who are now deceased, the ngala have the new responsibility of regulating the picking of produce by members of the clan. Through the above roles, the ngala has some degree of control over clan land more than any other members. But apart from this degree of control, the ngala has no more rights or power over the land than the other members of the clan. In many important matters regarding the land, such as its sale or disposal in some other way, all the members of the clan have to be consulted and their consent sought. The ngala cannot make decisions about such matters by himself. In real terms, the clan owns the land and individual members at best only have rights to its usage.

Apart from the great concern with land for residence, cash cropping and other utilitarian purposes, there is also much concern with land as a source of clan identity. One of the things about Tolai dealings with land that is most intriguing to the outsider is people's concern with land which they are not using and have no intention of using in the near future.

This applies to any kind of land, but more particularly it applies to pia na madapai. This is borne out clearly in the court case between the two groups of IaLaita and IaKunai which was mentioned earlier.
IaKunai had sent her daughter to place the taboo sign on the land because she said it was madapai land. As she considered herself and her group to be members of Rakalkal clan, she did not want Carol, who was a member of another clan to live on the land. As IaLaita did not consult her before allowing Carol to purchase the land, she considered that her rights were being undermined. In this court case, there are three observable important points.

The first is that IaTavaran, the widow of a man of IaKunai's group, had been allowed by both IaKunai and IaLaita to live on a plot of land near where Carol wanted to build her house. She had lived there for almost twenty years after her husband’s death. During all this time she was left in peace. The second point is that the children of IaKunai had bought a stretch of land from their father in another district of Matupit. IaKunai lived there with her husband ToWulia, in a permanent house which was built by one of her sons. Whenever the three female children, who had moved to other villages through marriage came home, they came to this house. One of the sons, ToIrima, lived on a plot of land of Rakalkal, in another part of Kikila. It did not appear as if any of the other children wanted to move to the Raulai land. The third point is that, as mentioned earlier, apart from IaLaita and ToWakit, all of the members of Rakalkal clan lived at Talwat. But during the court hearing many of these people were present to support IaLaita. They gave this support knowing full well that there would not be very much space left at Raulai if
this house was built but this did not seem to bother them very much.

On IaKunai’s part, it was clear that she was not really concerned with the land as space which she or any of her group needed. Her concern was IaLaita’s attempt to dissociate her and her children from the land which they had considered as land of origin. The concern of the members of Rakalkal clan who came from Talwat was not space either. They were concerned about IaKunai’s attempt to disassociate their group from the land. They agreed to let Carol live there as long as it was known that the land was their madapai and they had authorized her to stay.

Other situations which manifest the Tolai concern with land as a source of identity are: burying their dead on the land and rama ra tabu (scattering of tabu) on land. These two acts are aimed at legitimating a clan’s claim on land in the face of disputes and arguments.

As has been mentioned earlier, burying of the dead was an important traditional means of establishing rights of ownership over land in the past. After the arrival of Europeans and the colonial administration, cemeteries were introduced and the burial of the dead anywhere outside of these cemeteries was prohibited. Except for many dead of the Second World War period, the above prohibition was widely observed in most Tolai villages. Only after the attainment of Independence has the practice being revived. In the village district of Kikila, since 1976 the practice has been done
on three areas of land. And in all three cases it was done to quell competing claims of land by other clans. I shall give one account here to illustrate this.

In 1972, ToPepelegi, the leader of Odaodo clan, dug up some remains of members of his clan and re-buried them near his house, which was on his clan land. The remains were of members of Odaodo clan who had been killed in a bombing raid during the war. These members were buried on a plot of land on the edge of ToKimut hamlet, where ToPepelegi and some of his kinsmen lived. Some time before the remains were dug up, two non-Odaodo men were levelling the area near the graves to build a house. ToPepelegi kept an eye on their activities and when the levelling got very close to the graves he told the two men that soon they would be digging up his land and the remains of his relatives. The two men replied that they knew what they were doing and that ToPepelegi’s relatives had been buried a few yards inside their land. They told ToPepelegi to dig up the remains and bury them somewhere else before they dug them up and threw them into the sea. At the same time as these events were taking place, fresh claims were being made by the leader of Rakar clan, ToUrupal, that the land of ToKimut did not belong to Odaodo clan. He said it belonged to his clan and that the ancestors of Odaodo clan who had settled there in the past had only done so under the auspices of his ancestors.

Facing the challenge and pressure from these two sources, ToPepelegi dug up the remains of his relatives and
re-buried them near his house. He built a tombstone over the grave and held a ceremony in which tabu was distributed as in *kutu tabu*. In June 1984, when ToPepelegi himself died, he was buried beside the tombstone and the question of ownership of ToKIMut hamlet seemed to be put to rest. But when I returned to Matupit in May 1990, I found that when ToUrapal had died in 1987, he was buried right alongside ToPepelegi, so that the two graves are less than two meters apart. A post was erected between the two graves with an inscription hung up on it which read: "These two men died still arguing about this land. Only one of them can lie here". At the end of 1990 the land of ToKIMut was under an embargo from the Land Dispute Committee, because the problem had still not been solved.

Apart from burying their dead on the land, the principal means by which clans establish and maintain their land claims is by performing ceremonies in which there are a lot of *kutu tabu* (tabu distribution). The actual cutting up of lengths of tabu and the distribution at ceremonies is known as *kutu tabu*, but another term with a much stronger meaning is *rama ra tabu*, which means to spill or scatter tabu. Tabu is said to be spilled or scattered because when it is prepared for ritual purposes it is in neat *loloi* (coils), or in *arip* (ten fathom units) packed in baskets. When it is distributed it is broken into small pieces, with some shells actually falling on the ground. The spilling or scattering of tabu on a particular stretch of land signifies and at the same time cement, a relationship between the person who owns the tabu and the land.
The relationship between *rama ra tabu* and ownership of land is not very clear. On the one hand, when people were asked about the matter, the explanation is always that the *tabu i wirua tanam ra pia* (*tabu* has fallen victim to that land). This is almost to say that the land had swallowed the *tabu*. The land needs the *tabu* as nourishment or for regeneration. A clan which does not nourish or regenerate land with *tabu* is not worthy of that land. At the same time, after an occasion of *rama ra tabu*, there is an aura of sanctity over the land which keeps other clans away from it and allows only the clan that had *rama ra tabu* on it. The *tabu* seems to activate some life or powers inherent in the land which protect it for the people who had *rama ra tabu* there. Where this sanctity comes from is not clear. On the other hand, no one wants to touch the shells which fall on the ground during the *kutu tabu*, even though they are still of good quality. Children who try to collect these shells, after the *kutu tabu*, to buy small items such as peanuts and bananas, are stopped by their parents. They are told that they could get sick if they picked up these shells and used them. In this sense *tabu* is a sacred object in itself with power to guard the land.

The seriousness of *rama ra tabu* can be seen clearly in a situation in 1980 which led to the split between two traditionally allied clans, Nanuk and ToMairaira. The series of events began with the death of a woman, IaKurai, of Nanuk clan.
At the time of her death, IaKurai was living on a plot of land she had bought from her father's clan at Raulaveo. On the day before the funeral, Romulus, the leader of Nanuk clan, called a meeting of the clan to discuss the funeral and mortuary arrangements. Senior members of ToMairaira clan were also present including the leader John Vuia. One of the issues discussed at this meeting was the minamai. On this issue Romulus began by saying that it was possible to have the ceremony on the land on which IaKurai had been living, since she had bought it. But he had his reservations about this. He said he doubted that IaKurai's father's clan would fully agree to such a ceremony being held on their land. Also, he did not think it was a good idea for tabu of his clan to be spilt on another clan land. This second point was quickly supported by others in the meeting, both ToMairaira and Nanuk clan members. Romulus turned to John Vuia and asked if it would be possible to have it at Vunamarita, a plot of land of ToMairaira clan. John Vuia replied, that it was alright, but then he added that he could not see any reason why the members of IaKurai's father's clan might object to the ceremony being held on the land IaKurai had bought, since she had bought it off them. John Vuia further added that there would not be much space for the ceremony at Vunamarita, whereas there was a lot of space at Raulaveo. The matter was discussed for some time and in the end it was decided that the ceremony was to be held at Raulaveo. The meeting closed and after some time everyone parted in what appeared to be good spirits.
Many months later, a complaint was filed with the Land Mediators Committee at Matupit by IaBeti, a maternal niece of Romulus, against ToBaiai of ToMairaira clan. IaBeti alleged that ToBaiai had been levelling a plot of land known as Marumlua at Talwat, which belonged to Nanuk clan. ToBaiai was levelling this land, but he had done so on the direction of his mother IaRodi, who was of the understanding that the land belonged to ToMairaira clan. When the members of the Land Mediators Committee considered the matter, they said that they could not preside on the matter because it was not a case of land dispute. They said that for a long time the two clans had always acted together but at that time they had developed differences which they should try to sort out. The Committee suggested that it would chair a meeting outside of the court in which the members of the two clans could sort out their differences. The meeting was fixed and the two clans attended.

The meeting opened with members of the Land Mediators Committee explaining that IaBeti’s complaint had put them in a very difficult position. They said that they had always considered the two clans to be supportive of each other and that to treat IaBeti’s complaint as a land dispute would only divide them rather than do any good. They encouraged Romulus, John Vuia and other senior members of the two groups to sort out their problems in an amicable way. After some time Romulus spoke. He named a number of ancestors of Nanuk clan who had gardens at Marumlua, concluding that the land belonged to his clan. He then
added that all the land in other areas that were being claimed by ToMairaira clan actually belonged to his clan. John Vuia also spoke, merely to name a number of ancestors of ToMairaira clan who had also made gardens at Marumlua. He did not go into any generalities as Romulus had done. The meeting was conducted in low voices, unlike the usual arguments over land which are often conducted by shouting. It was clear from what the two elders said that their ancestors had been working together at Marumlua as one group. From this it was also clear that it was difficult for the two clans to separate. The meeting broke up with nothing much resolved, but with a lot of encouragement from the Committee for the two clans to resolve their differences.

Some time later when I spoke to John Vuia, he told me that he was worried about the growing numbers of Nanuk clan and was disappointed with the lack of concern of a number of his matrilineal nephews about their land. This seemed to explain why he was hesitant to allow the tabu distribution of IaKurai to take place at Vunamarita. It was clear that he feared the effects of 'spilling' or 'scattering' of tabu on his land by the members of Nanuk clan. He gave an account of the relationship between the two clans. He said that it was true that the two clans had acted as one for more than six generations, but they had always been separate. He explained that it was his clan which had come to Matupit first and Romulus' clan had come later and stayed under his clan's wing. He concluded that in terms of land ownership, Nanuk clan did not have any land at Kikila
or on Matupit. In 1989 when IaBet's son Steven died, John Vuia was again approached for the minamai to be held at Vunamarita, but again he refused. In the last few years, the relationship between the two clans has become very cold.

While members of clans which own land on Matupit distribute tabu on land on the island to reinforce their links with it, those that have no land on the island have to do the same in villages where their clans have land. Every week, truck-loads of people armed with tabu leave the island with the express purpose of distributing tabu in the way described above. Many of the people who make these trips are more than three generation descendants of women who had married into the island from other villages. Despite this, they still make the trip. In the 119 households at Kikila, 58 contain women either as wives or living alone, whose clans have no land on the island. Of these, 38 came to the island directly from other villages as wives. In addition, another four came from other Provinces of the country, also as wives. Of the remaining 16, ten are first-generation children of women who had married into the island, two are second generation and four are more than four generation descendants. The four women last mentioned, are members of migrant clan segments which have alliances with clans on the island, but whose female ancestors originally came to the island as wives. Altogether, of the 58 women listed above as outsiders, 19 have acquired residential land in the district through purchase, as gift or through alliances. The 58 women and their descendants, listed here
as outsiders of the island (excluding the four from other Provinces of the country), are the ones who have to travel constantly to villages where their clans have land, in order to distribute tabu. In 1982, I recorded at least 22 occasions in which some of these people left the island to participate and distribute tabu in villages where their clans were based.

III

Land Pressure

As has been mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter, the Tolai are boxed into the Gazelle Peninsula and have one of the highest population growth rates in the world. The land pressure resulting from this situation has been recognized for some time. In the early 1950s, the then Local Government Council began Resettlement Schemes, in which tracts of land were acquired outside of Tolai territory, at Vudal and Warongoi, and families were encouraged to move there. In 1974 a Plantation Redistribution Scheme was introduced by the Australian Administration, in which plantations on alienated land were returned to the Tolai. More recently, many individual Tolai have been acquiring land from the hinterland Baining through private purchases. Some Tolai also left the Gazelle Peninsula in the mid-1960s to take up blocks in the Oil Palm area of West New Britain.

On Matupit, response to the above opportunities did not
make very much impression on the land shortage problem.

With regard to the Local Government Council's Resettlement Schemes, quite a number of Islanders applied in the beginning for blocks and got them. They worked these blocks for cocoa planting, but later a lot of them were abandoned for a number of reasons, including lack of funds. In the Kikila district of Matupit, by 1980 there were only four families which held blocks under this Scheme. These four were only a small percentage of the 121 families which were living in this district of the island at that time.

Furthermore, while the original intention of the Scheme was to resettle people into new areas, none of the above four families actually moved to their new properties. While all of them built houses on their blocks they only use them on short visits when they are working in their blocks. Otherwise they continue to live on the island.

With regard to the Plantation Redistribution Scheme, I only know of one woman at Kikila who was able to acquire some land through it in the Kokopo sub-district, otherwise Matupit did not feel any effect of this scheme at all.

Regarding the Oil Palm Resettlement blocks at West New Britain, only two families from the whole of Matupit moved down there in the beginning. But because of the poor price of palm oil, by 1980 both of them were back on the island. Beginning in the mid-1970s, at least ten families from Kikila have privately acquired land from the Baining and are currently planting it with cocoa. Again, like the L.G.C. Resettlement Scheme, these people have dwellings on their new properties, but they have not moved there.
permanently.

Of the above four sources of additional land, it was the L.G.C. Resettlement Scheme and the private acquisitions from the Bainings which were most beneficial to Matupit Islanders. Although they did not ease the pressure on residential land because none of the families moved permanently, they did ease the pressure on subsistence and cash-cropping land. But subsistence gardens on these two sources of land was only possible before the cocoa trees were planted and during their early years of growth. After they have grown it is no longer possible to plant food crops on the land because the cocoa trees take up all the space. As far as cash cropping is concerned, these two sources of land ease pressure but this only lasts as long as world prices for these crops are worth labouring for. When the prices go down and stay low it is no longer worth the time, expense and effort to go to these properties, which in most cases are at least forty kilometres away and require truck or car transportation which not everyone can afford. It is more rational to collect a few cocoa beans or a few coconuts on land nearby to the island. It is therefore clear that land on and around the island is still under very much pressure. On Matupit, this pressure is evident when we look at residential land.

In the village district of Kikila, 68 out of 119 households are on the land of clans to which no one in the households is linked by matriliny. All the residential land in this district is owned by 11 clans. The members of these clans
depend on the land at Kikila for all of their residence land requirements.

Residence by people on land other than that of their own clans is not a new phenomenon to the Tolai. In pre-contact days, for reasons such as those briefly mentioned above, it was quite common for people to reside on land other than that of their own clans. There was an element of choice in deciding where a person might live. For many people today, this decision is largely determined by land shortage. As an example I shall briefly discuss the case of Tekri’s decision to reside on his father’s clan land rather than on that of his own clan. Tekri belongs to ToLabit clan, which owns only one plot of residential land at Kikila, known as Vunabukubuk. Tekri was a teacher and had spent most of his time away from the island. When he retired in 1967, he decided to build a permanent building on this land. Two elder kinsmen, ToDapal and ToMangaia were already residing on it. Tekri put the posts up and was about to proceed with the rest of the building when trouble erupted between him and ToMangaia. The source of the trouble was ToMangaia’s irritation with Tekri for being drunk and noisy one night. From the argument that ensued on this occasion, it was clear that ToMangaia never wanted Tekri to build his house next to his own. He argued that there was not enough space on the land for another house, as Tekri’s was not more than ten yards away from ToMangaia’s. Tekri left his cement posts on this land (which are still there), and had to move elsewhere. As ToLabit clan had no other residential land in the district or on the island, Tekri had to go back to
living on his father's land, where he had been when he first got married. In addition to Tekri, there were another five ToLabit households on other clan's land in the district. Four of these were on a tract of land of Bitabubua clan. ToPaivu, a member of ToLabit clan purchased this tract of land through his father, ToGarama of Bitabutua. ToPaivu's was one of four ToLabit households on this land. Two of the other three households belong to ToPaivu's sister's sons, IaBakut. The other was that of another sister's daughter, who married a Papuan man. The other ToLabit household in the district which was not on this land, was that of ToGire. This household was on land of ToRovoi clan, and ToGire was living there uxorilocally. Clearly, more than 75% of ToLabit households were not on clan land.

Inter-Village Migration

Inter-village movement which causes apparent landlessness among the Tolai is mainly the result of marriage by women into localities in which their clans have no land. While in such situations it is expected that the male children return to their own clan land when they grow up or marry today it does not often happen. Many children in such situation continue to live in the villages in which they were 'fathered'. Again with reference to Kikila residential land, of the 68 households which are not linked matrilineally to the land, the heads of 34 of these have no land at all in the district. Of these, only five have land in the other two districts of the island. To live on the
Table IX. Residents on Clan Land - showing clan members and non-members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of clan</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Non-Members</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Torovoi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitabutua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>ToMairaira</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToLabit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raulataur</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakalkal</td>
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<td>14.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odaodo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vunakua</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanuk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35.29</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>64.70</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These are households which are on land which used to belong to the United Church. The Church sold this land to the people inblocks. When it was returned the traditional owners tried to reclaim it on a number of occasions, but without success. The 11households listed here are on Church land rather than clan land.
island and in the Kikila district, these 'landless' have to acquire land from other clans. This means that some clans have to give up some of their land to these people. In the numbers and percentages of the households whose heads are not linked matrilineally to the land. Among these are 45 households whose heads are not linked matrilineally to clans which have land in the district. These people acquire residential land through a number of means.

**Summary**

In the Tolai land tenure system, there are six occasions on which tabu becomes important. These occasions are presentations and payments which relate to the use and ownership of land as a utility object and also as a symbol of identity. These occasions are kunukul (purchase), kutu bat ra tabu (distribution of tabu at ceremonies), totokom (rental), tinabar (gift), kutu tabu (distributing tabu to maintain kini status) and rama ra tabu (scatter tabu). Some of these presentations and payments are initially between individuals or small groups (other than the clan), but because land is the property of the clan, in the long term these presentations and payments are really between clans. At the same time some presentations and payments are conducted directly between clans. Furthermore, some are made by groups (clans) or individuals to other groups (clans), through the medium of public ritual.
In kunukul tabu payments are made by individuals or small groups, such as a sibling group, to the bit na pia (land controller) of a clan. As land belongs to the clan, the 'land controller' receives the tabu directly as the property of his or her clan. On the other hand, the tabu that was paid belonged to the purchasing individual or small group and the land acquired belonged to them rather than being immediately property of the clan. But as shown above, over time the land becomes the property of the clan. In this respect while initially such exchanges are between individuals or small groups and clans, in the long term they are between clans. At one level, the exchange of tabu for land in kunukul is commercial but more importantly it is seen as maramarawut (assistance) and is done out of warmari (love / pity) for people who are landless. The exchange is a public declaration of the relationship between the two clans involved. It is a public statement of the bona warmaliurai (good relations) between the two clans, which can be interpreted in the public arena as indicative of political alliance. It is also a statement of the father's nginarao (concern / obligation), warmari (love / pity) and warmal (affection) for his children.

Totokom (rental) tabu payments are made by individuals or small groups to clans for the use of land. The land controller of a clan receives this tabu directly as property of the clan. Although rental of land is seen as being only short-term, it would not have been possible without some prior understanding or relationship between the individual and the land-owning clan. The exchange in
this situation is seen in diachronic terms and in this sense it is an exchange between the renters clan and the land-owning clan. When relations between two clans are good, renting of land between them is possible and when they are not, renting is not possible. Renting then is a public statement about the *bona warmaliurai* between the two clans. At the same time, by allowing a person or persons to rent their land, a clan is said to do so out of *warmari* for the person in need of land.

With land acquired as *tinabar* (gift), as the name suggests, is the exchange of counter-gifts as this usually takes place between a man and his children. The father receives a daughter’s *tabu na warkukul* (bride-price *tabu*) or a son’s *tabu na nidok* (nidok fees) from his children’s clan as gift. The father keeps his daughter’s bride-price *tabu* as his own property and the *nidok* fee of his son is kept together with the *tabu* of his (father) clan’s *tubuan*. The *tabu* is kept with the understanding that at the father’s death, his clan relatives will distribute this *tabu* at his mortuary ceremony. In return for this *tabu* his children are entitled to some land from their father’s clan. In the first instance the exchange is seen as being between a father and his children, but since land and the *tubuan* are owned by clans, the exchange is really between the children’s clan and their father’s clan. This exchange is only possible if the relationship between a father and his children good, thus it is a public statement about the *bona warmaliurai* between the father and his children. At the same time the exchange takes place out a of the father’s
nginarao (concern / obligation), warmari and warmal (affection) for his children, and vice-versa.

Kutu bat ra tabu is performed at ceremonies to acquire land and kutu tabu is also performed in the same ceremonies in order to secure kini status on land. In both situations, tabu is presented to a land-owning clan through kutu tabu in public ceremonies. Certain social relationships must exist between the persons wanting to acquire land or wanting to maintain kini position, and the land-owning clan, before the exchange can take place. The tabu presentation is then a public statement of the bona warmaliurai between the involved clans. At the same time the exchange can be expressive of the land-owners nginarao, warmari and warmal for landless people (especially when they are ‘children of the clan’).

While all of the above tabu exchanges to acquire or use land are based on social relations, palum tabu at paluka and balaguan are not based on social relations. Instead they manifest the social and political tensions between groups over ownership of land. These ceremonies are group exercises in the public display of wealth and power which are crucial to the contention for rightful ownership of land. They are done in the spirit of warpin (agonisticism) to wabilingiran (denigrate), wamalari (insult) and wawirwir (shame), rival clans. At the same time, the palum tabu are acts of rama ra tabu (scatter tabu) which link the clan to the land through spirits of the land.
Chapter VII

DEATH AND MORTUARY CEREMONIES

Introduction

To the Tolai, death is a phenomenon which disturbs and imbalances social life in a number of areas. Some of these areas are personal, social and political relations. To restore these imbalances requires public social action. To address these disturbances and imbalances, the Tolai perform a number of mortuary ceremonies. The ceremonies in a series, which I shall refer to here as the mortuary process. The kinds of ceremonies, from this series, to be performed at the death of a person depends on a number of factors: the person's tabu collection, the status of the person in life and the social and political gain to be made by the living kin (of the deceased) from the performance of these ceremonies. At the same time some of these ceremonies are obligatory while some are optional. The performance of these ceremonies involves the very heavy use of tabu, as tabu is basically collected during a person's life to be used in rituals during his mortuary ceremonies. Tabu is mainly used in public ritual presentations during the mortuary ceremonies. The public giving and receiving of tabu in the many facets of the mortuary process are done initially for the restoration of the disturbances and imbalances. At the same time these exchanges are public declarations and statements about social and political relations and also express many messages about emotions. In this chapter I shall discuss the ceremonies in the mortuary
process and to show the significances of the associated **tabu** presentations.

I

The Minamai

The *minamai* (tabu distribution) is the first of a series of ceremonies in Tolai mortuary rite. This is the ceremony in which **tabu** is distributed to all who have come for the occasion. The central part of this ceremony is the presentation of **tabu** in three rituals. These three rituals are the *kutu tabu* (**tabu** distribution), *tunur* (standing up) and *warap* (token reimbursement). *Minamai* is considered obligatory for every death and a person who is buried without this basic ceremony is said to have been **di pupunang na mao tana** (buried like bananas to ripen).\(^1\) It is considered very shameful a person to be buried without this ceremony. An important consideration in this ceremony is that all kin of the deceased be given all opportunity to participate.

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1 People bury green bananas in the ground, wrapped in grass, in order to ripen them faster and evenly. This is done in secret so that thieves do not know where the bananas are. To bury a person like bananas is to bury them in secret because there is no **tabu** to distribute at his/her *minamai*. 
Relatives of the dead

At the death of a person, the very first thing that happens is that all his or her matrilineal relatives are informed, particularly the elder ones. Whether these people are living, in the village in which the dead person lies, or elsewhere, all of them have to be told. All members of a clan must have the right to choose whether or not to be at the mortuary rituals of one of their fellow members, and this right is denied them if they are not notified. Failure to notify a clan member about a member’s death can cause problems later in the mortuary process or even much later. The presence or absence of a person at a relative’s death is in itself a statement about the relationship between the two. Presence at a relative’s death means that the relationship between the two persons is or was normal, which is a good sign. Absence is a statement of there having been something wrong between the two persons. As soon as this is noticed, people begin to raise questions about the reasons for a person’s absence. In this situation, a person wanting to say that he holds against or dislikes a deceased, simply absents himself from the deceased’s mortuary ceremonies. It is then up to others to interpret this behaviour.

The presence of members of the clan is also essential because the resources, essentially tabu, that will be expended in the ceremonials are held jointly by them. The presence of these people is important for the expending of this jointly held tabu in the mortuary ritual act known as
kutu tabu. The way in which the tabu is distributed is one of the important considerations to the Tolai and it has to be carefully sorted out. The selection of the persons to do the tabu distribution must be made carefully and correctly. Careless and wrong selections can lead to serious repercussions leading to strains and breaks in social relations which can be irreparable. The act of 'breaking tabu' itself in the minamai ceremony is one which may take less than half an hour to perform but it may have taken many years to prepare for it. It is a highly significant ritual act which implies honour, pride, the expression of social relations and warpin (agonistic behaviour). Thus to deprive anyone of these things by having the wrong people to 'distribute tabu' is an unforgivable mistake which will be brought up in arguments and discussions for many years to come.

The presence of the clan members is also essential for decision-making regarding the mortuary ceremonies and the place of burial. As will be shown in this chapter, mortuary ceremonies stretch out over very long periods and require a lot of resources. To make a commitment to stage these ceremonies needs the consensus of the clan. The decision about the place of burial is an important one. As has been made clear in Chapter VI, the place of burial has important implications for land ownership. Even when the majority of burials are in village cemeteries, which cemetery a person is buried in is still a very important question. By custom, a person should be buried in the cemetery of the village
where his or her clan has its madapai. To bury a person in any other place than that of the village of his or her madapai is done only after a lot of discussion, argument and even violent confrontation. This may happen at the death of a person who has been living outside of the village of his madapai for a long time. His or her clan relatives want the body to be buried in the village of their madapai because this has implications for the mortuary ceremonies which are to follow. The people among whom the person lived and died want his or her body buried in their village cemetery mainly for sentimental reasons. These different considerations create disagreements between people.

*The Leo*

After the relatives have arrived and the necessary decisions have been made, a date is set for the funeral. On the night before the funeral, some men and boys are sent out to cut bamboo and on the same night build a scaffolding in front of the deceased’s home or that of one of his kinsmen. This scaffolding is known as a leo. The structure consists of from four to six bamboo poles, about forty feet

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2 Madapai is the place where the a clan is believed to have originated. Before the arrival of Europeans it was important that all the dead members of the clan were buried on this land. Their bone remains became important evidence of the clan’s claim to the land.

3 The mortuary ceremonies have to be held in the village where the body was buried. To most people, to hold mortuary ceremonies and to distribute tabu in other places other than a clan’s village of madapai is seen as wasting a clan’s tabu resources on someone else’s land.
high, firmly planted in the ground about five feet apart, with further lengths of bamboo joining them horizontally. This structure is adorned with loloi (coils) of tabu, and other kinds of symbolic / decorative objects such as new shirts and laplats. When decorated with such paraphernalia, this structure is then set for the occasion of the next day which is known as the minamai. Sometimes the minamai does not take place on the day of funeral, so the leo is not built on the day before the funeral.

The loloi that are displayed on this structure do not necessarily belong to the deceased's or to that of his relatives; although some of it does and the rest is hired from other people for a fee of about one fathom per coil. After the occasion of the minamai, these borrowed coils are returned to their owners and none of them are cut up for distribution. It is other coils which belong to the deceased or his relatives which are cut up, but these were not displayed on the structure.

Today it is hard to ascertain the real significance of the leo but a brief description must be given here to give some idea of its significance. When this structure is built before the day of minamai, it is done in the middle of the night when everyone is asleep: i.e, it is done in secrecy. The loloi and other paraphernalia are added on the same night and also under secrecy. It is mainly the men of the deceased's clan who do this job, but women clan members can also be present. The observing of secrecy here is quite similar to that observed at the construction of poles and
other paraphernalia for the namata (emergence), associated with the pre-marriage seclusion, which is also done on the night before the namata, as discussed in Chapter IX. The only difference here is that the secrecy associated with namata relates to keeping the activities away from the sight of women. When asked about the meaning of the secrecy surrounding the construction of leo, most men try to explain it in terms of saving labour costs, because the men who perform this job are each paid a certain amount of tabu; thus the fewer the men the smaller the labour costs. But these men only volunteer this suggestion after admitting that they do not really know the reasoning behind the secrecy. Only two very old men gave some idea of how bamboo structures were made in the past and some clue to the meaning of the secrecy.

One afternoon I was talking to Daniel ToKaputin, an old man in his early eighties, and during our conversation I mentioned in passing that during the morning of that day I had met some people in town who had just bought a K250.00 coffin for a man of the village who had died the day before. ToKaputin gave a sigh of disbelief and said that this was an exorbitant amount of money for a coffin, but then he added that he knew that everyone was spending that kind of money on coffins. He went on to tell me that in the past the dead were buried in tabakau (mats woven from coconut fronds), kukuwai (rain protectors made from the leaves of pandanus) and pala oaga (chopped up parts of old canoes) and later in coffins made by village carpenters with planks bought from the town. He said he did not under-
stand why people spent such vast amounts of money on expensive coffins from the town while there were able carpenters in the village who could make cheaper ones. He pondered over his comment for a few minutes then asked me what the situation was in Australia, with regard to burials and coffins. After I had told him that in Australia the relatives of the deceased paid quite a lot of money to the funeral parlours, he ponderingly related it to the Matupit and Tolai situation, going into a discussion of Tolai conceptions of mortuary ceremonies, and in this he covered the ideas behind the construction of the leo.

He said that, the way European people spend a lot of money on ensuring that a relative gets a proper or prestigious funeral was the same as Tolai displaying and distributing tabu at the death of one of their relatives and that expensive coffins were probably part of this scheme. He went on to say that in the past no one wanted to be known as having buried his or relatives without any tabu, (i.e. no tabu display or distribution). To die without tabu caused great 'shame' for the living matrilineal relatives and was the basis for ridicule by others. Thus when a person died, the first question the relatives asked was whether this person had any tabu. If he had any tabu, then this was distributed in his minamai, and in later ceremonies in the mortuary cycle; if he did not have any, then it was the relatives who pooled some. It did not matter if the dead relative was known in life to be a very poor man, the relatives still pooled tabu in order to save themselves from shame and ridicule.
ToKaputin went on to say that on one level, people wanted to put on an accepted display of tabu, to tuba ra wawirwir (cover shame), and on another level it was a way of warpin (a concept which Epstein translates as agonisticism), with the main idea here being warlialia (outdoing each other). Thus, what better way was there to achieve either or both of the above goals than the display of the clan wealth. It was on the leo that the clan’s coils of tabu were displayed. The main idea behind the secrecy was to shock or surprise those who were curious about the tabu accumulation of the clan. They were the shock or surprise when they woke up the next morning to find this great display of wealth, referred to as minamar (decoration). Sometimes the clans did not have enough coils to make a desired minamar so they had to hire some from allied clans and this had to be done in secret, so they had to be obtained under the cover of darkness. Today some people openly transfer these hired coils to and from the leo because they do not realize the real significance of these displays. And because people do not realize the significance of the secrecy, they openly obtain as many coils as they can and we see vast amounts of tabu being displayed, whereas in the past we did not see so much tabu being displayed at any leo.

Apart from what ToKaputin said, as outlined above, I suspect that part of this secrecy could also be attributed to the general concept of secrecy which the Tolai have regarding the ownership of stocks of tabu. There is an ambivalence to be found among people who own stocks of
tabu. On the one hand, people feel proud to have a lot of tabu and would like other people to recognize them as being wealthy, but on the other hand, they do not want people to know how much tabu they have and are continuously modest about it. It appears that people accumulate tabu for recognition but when they have achieved it, they retreat into a state of modesty and secrecy. People want to feel proud about their tabu wealth when it is displayed on the leo for others to see but they do not want to openly show their feeling of pride. I discovered the basis for this kind of behaviour in a conversation with another old man, ToPepelegi. He said that in the past, because clans were constantly trying to outdo each other in tabu wealth, it was common practice to deplete a clan’s tabu wealth by sorcerizing some of its members who were known to hold large stocks. The death of these people meant that their tabu was distributed at their funeral, thus reducing the amount of tabu of their clan. Thus, it was not wise to openly show pride and reveal the amount of tabu that one had. I strongly suspect that ToPepelegi’s explanation is still true today and that most leo and minamar are done under the cover of darkness and in secrecy in order to avoid others knowing which coils belong to whom.

Tabu Presentations

Early in the morning of the day of the minamai, the very close relatives of the deceased can be seen involved in a bustle of work, cooking and making preparations for the
minamai later in the day. Towards midday, other relatives from nearby and distant places begin arriving. At about midday the order is given for someone to beat the garamut (slit drum), beating out the tune known as kapkap tarai (summoning people. This goes on for the next few hours, well into the afternoon until all those who were expected, have arrived. When everyone has arrived they find a place to sit, usually in front of the leo or somewhere near it, the men usually sitting in one area and the women in another.

Kutu tabu (tabu distribution)

As soon as everyone is seated, the drum stops beating the summoning tune and begins the beat announcing the warlapang (distribution of betel-nut). At this beat, all those people who have come with buai (betel-nut) stand up and distribute these with daka (mustard) to everyone around them. The people chew the betel-nut and mustard they have received. Those who brought the buai and daka are the same people who will be distributing tabu later. When all the betel-nut has been distributed, the beat on the drum changes to the beat announcing the kutu tabu, which is the first ritual of the minamai ceremony.

The tabu to be distributed in the kutu tabu is known as the

4 Usually these very close relatives will have slept at the house of the deceased on the night before.

5 This term is also used to refer to tabu presentations as that discussed in Chapter VII and IX, but here it refers to betel-nut distribution.
kubika or tabu na minat (tabu of the dead). By rule every Tolai is supposed to have tabu na minat ready by the time of their death. This tabu is supposed to have been accumulated for this purpose by the deceased during his lifetime. But in reality, not many people are able to accumulate enough tabu for this purpose. In such cases, the tabu has to be obtained from some other sources. During my two periods of fieldwork, seven deaths occurred in the district of Kikila at which tabu na minat were distributed. In four of these cases, the deceased had some tabu na minat of their own but they had to be augmented with tabu from other sources because the collections were insufficient. In one case the tabu na minat was put together by the deceased's clan members. In another case, the tabu used as tabu na minat came from the tabu of the tubuan. In the last case, tabu of the deceased's parents was used as tabu na minat.

When the tabu na minat, is brought out before the crowd, it is usually in coils or baskets. In full view of the on-looking crowd, this tabu is given to the people who are to do the distributing, in arip (units of ten fathoms) or more. After receiving some of the tabu na minat, these people head off to different locations among the crowd and

6 One got contributions from clan relatives, one received contributions from a son, one had contribution from a maternal nephew and the other got assistance from tabu of the tubuan.

7 Tabu of the tubuan is usually kept aside for only tubuan ceremonials only, but in emergency cases such as this it may be used, and even then it can only be used at the death of senior male members of the clan.
begin to distribute tabu to those around them. They break off pieces of tabu, between 60 centimetre and half a fathom, and give them to each person. The amount of tabu a person receives depends on his or her age and social status.

Who performs the kutu tabu ritual is determined by how the tabu na minat was amassed in the first place. If it was accumulated by the deceased himself and the members of his immediate nuclear family, then it is the surviving spouse and siblings who have the prerogative to distribute the tabu. Usually the deceased person (while still alive) determines how this tabu is to be distributed and may decide that some of it be distributed by some members of his lineage or clan. In many cases this is a very sore point because the spouse and siblings may decide not to give any to members of the deceased’s clan, particularly when there is tension between them.

By custom it is the members of the deceased’s clan who should distribute tabu na minat in the kutu tabu at his or her minamai ceremony. If the clan members do not distribute any of this tabu, it immediately becomes a matter for speculation by members of other clans. Conclusions might be drawn that the clan members were left out because they had no part in the amassing of the tabu na minat and that it was the deceased himself, his wife and children who had amassed this tabu. If this is the case then the relationship between the deceased and members of his clan must have been very weak. In turn, this can be read as a
manifestation of weakening of social solidarity within the clan, which in turn has implications for the clan's political position.

Another way in which tabu na minat is amassed is by the deceased himself with the assistance of members of his clan. There are many ways by which the matrilineal relatives of the deceased may have assisted in the accumulation of his tabu during his lifetime. On the part of the male relatives of a deceased male, they may have helped him in making and mending fish-nets (from which fish are sold for tabu), helping him in tubuan financing, or giving him tabu contributions in any other tabu raising enterprises that he may have undertaken during his lifetime. On the part of the matrilineal female relatives, they may have assisted by selling fish (for tabu) which he may have caught, selling eggs and imported goods (also for tabu) and giving him tabu contributions for any tabu enterprise which he may have undertaken. The tabu in this case is usually kept by the man himself, unless he is too young in which case it has to be kept by an older man or woman. All these matrilineal relatives who have assisted know that by assisting their kinsman in these ways, they are establishing a right to distribute any of his tabu during his minamai ceremony. By assisting their kinsman in these ways during their life they are ensuring that he does have some tabu at the time of his death, so that they do not have to take tabu from their own houses to distribute at the kutu tabu phase of his minamai (although they will still have to distribute some of their own tabu in a later
stage of this ceremony). In some cases people have kept record of the amounts they give in assistance and will want to distribute this same amount at each person’s death; but in other cases people are satisfied if their assistance is acknowledged by being given a few fathoms to distribute. It appears that what people want is some satisfactory acknowledgement that they had assisted the deceased in some way during his lifetime. Anyone whose assistance is not thus acknowledged can hassle those who cause it to be denied him until they pay him his equivalent amount in tabu.

A third source of tabu na minat is from the kiau na tubuan (egg of the tubuan). This is the tabu of the tubuan so it is only men who should handle this tabu. Usually it is the men of the deceased’s clan who distribute this tabu, but if (in the case of a deceased male) his children had helped in the financing of the tubuan from which the tabu is taken, then they are also given some of this tabu to distribute. In theory, because of the way this tabu is accumulated, the tabu of the tubuan is said to belong to a whole clan and is readily available for distribution at any member’s death, should the member have no tabu of his own. But in actual

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8 The tabu of the tubuan is known as an egg. The tubuan itself is sometimes referred to as a bird.

9 The kiau na tubuan is usually stored in loloi (coils). Before any of these coils are cut up, they have to be ritually cleansed of the spirit of the tubuan which is said to inhabit the tabu. The magic used in the cleansing ritual is known as a walaun (to keep alive / cleanse). The persons who distribute this tabu are also given protective magic which is known as a babat. The babat is for protection from any malevolent magic from persons in the crowd and also from the powers of the tubuan.
fact, preference is given to those members who are known to have assisted in the affairs of the tubuan during their life. Most tubuan finance controllers\textsuperscript{10} would like to see tabu of the tubuan used merely to supplement personal collections or savings as tabu na minat, rather than this tabu constituting the main stock in a kutu tabu. For instance, ToKaputin\textsuperscript{11}, mentioned earlier, expressed disgust over the fact that in the past, the main stock of the tabu na minat distributed at the minamai of two of his kinsmen, ToRumet and ToKi, were from that of the kiau na tubuan. ToKaputin was comparing these two kinsmen to Tiamuruka, another kinsmen who had died recently. He was pleased that he released only a small amount of tabu from the kiau na tubuan merely to supplement the tabu na minat of Tiamuruka. He said that although these three men were all known as bit na tubuan (base of origin of the tubuan)\textsuperscript{12}, but they should have prepared tabu for their own deaths and not relied on the tubuan to 'bury' them, because the members of their clan were many, which the tubuan had to kove (cover or look after). He added that if all the tabu of the tubuan went to the distribution at deaths of the senior members of the clan, the junior members would lose faith in the tubuan and would not make contributions towards it when required.

\textsuperscript{10} These are men (often bigmen) who control the affairs of the tubuan including tabu finance matters.

\textsuperscript{11} ToKaputin was the controller of the tubuan of ToRovoi vunatarai.

\textsuperscript{12} Most senior males of a clans are known as bit na tubuan and it is usually these people who are 'buried' by the tubuan.
Finally, *tabu na minat* may be amassed by members of the deceased’s clan. This is usually when the deceased himself or herself was not able to amass *tabu* of his or her own during his or her lifetime. People say that they have to pool *tabu* in this situation in order to *tuba ra wawirwir*. Members of one clan never want people of other clans to know that someone amongst them has died without having prepared any *tabu na minat*. They try their best to ‘cover shame’. An example of this is the case of ToRumet of Torovoi clan, who died in 1981. In the early part of his life, ToRumet was a man of great stature and wealth. But in his forties, he left Matupit and went to live on the Duke of York Islands. For most of the time, he cut himself off from his matrilineal relatives on Matupit. It was known that he participated fully in many *tabu* ceremonies there. No one knew how much *tabu* he had but most of his relatives on Matupit assumed that he was quite wealthy. In 1969, as far as his younger brother Tiamuruka could remember, ToRumet distributed quite a lot of *tabu* at the death of his matrilineal aunt IaTigal, and everyone thought that he was very wealthy. But at his death in 1980 at the age of seventy-eight, it was a great surprise to his Matupit kinsmen that he did not have any *tabu* at his house at the Duke of York Islands. In the end his elder brother’s elder son, Amo, whom he had looked after as a child, brought about 200 hundred fathoms from Raluana to distribute, which formed the main part of the *tabu na minamai*. Tiamuruka, his younger brother, put in one 100 of his own *tabu* and the clan leader, ToKaputin, gave 200 fathoms from the *tabu* of one of the clan *tubuan*, ToGigi. The *tabu* was pooled on the
day before the minamai ceremony and was given out to the contributors during the kutu tabu phase of the ceremony. Each person and their nominees distributed the same amount as they had contributed the day before.

Regardless of how tabu na minat was amassed, the kutu tabu is done under the directive of senior leaders who in some way are related to the deceased. These senior leaders are the ones who determine who are to distribute tabu in the kutu tabu. For many people amongst the crowd, the moments before the handing out of the tabu by the senior leaders are filled with uncertainty and anticipation. These are people who, for one reason or another, consider themselves to be in positions to be given some of the tabu na minat to distribute. The people in this position are members of the deceased’s clan, members of clans allied to the deceased’s clan, warwangala (children of the clan) and friends of the deceased. Their anticipation is derived from the assistance which they may have made to the amassing of the tabu na minat, and more importantly, it is based on their relationship to the deceased which facilitated the assistance in the first place. Whether they receive tabu na minat or not gives them some idea of what the clan leaders think of them. If they are given tabu then it is an acknowledgement of the relationship between them. For the warwangala and people of allied clans, while they take pride in having been asked to distribute tabu, to them the acknowledgement assures them of continuation of the relationship between them and the deceased’s people. It gives them some feeling of relief.
Some people disregard lack of acknowledgement by not being
given any tabu to distribute and they still go ahead and
distribute some of their own tabu which they have brought
with them. But for some people, lack of acknowledgement
is offensive. They try to ascertain why their assistance
and relationship to the deceased had not been acknowledged
and may openly ask the deceased's relatives about this, or
they quietly evaluate the relationship, its value and its
future. They consider the possibility that by not
acknowledging them, the relatives of the deceased are
telling them that they do not want to affirm that there is
any relationship between them at all. If the people
concerned are members of allied clans, the lack of
acknowledgement by the relatives of the deceased can easily
push them to break away from the alliance.

At the death of Tiamuruka of Torovoi clan in 1982, about
100 fathoms of tabu of the clan tubuan was released by
ToKaputin to supplement the deceased's own collection of
tabu na minat. At the kutu tabu this tabu was handed out to
some members of the clan, children of the clan and some
members of allied clans. ToMove was a senior man of

13 Because they are unsure whether they will be given some
of the tabu na minat, most people bring their own tabu to
distribute. If they are given tabu, they still also
distribute their own tabu which they have brought.

14 This may happen in some dramatic way such as an open
argument between people of the two groups but in most cases
the break happens very quietly. The concerned people's clan
simply stop supporting the deceased's clan from that day
on.

15 These are people who were fathered by men of the clan.
Ramarovot clan, which had been in alliance with Torovoi for a long time. ToMove and other members of his clan were not given any tabu from that of the clan tubuan to distribute. They distributed their own tabu which they had brought with them. After the kutu tabu, those who were not given any tabu, complained. Many complained about the sons\textsuperscript{16} of Tiamuruka and ToKaputin being given some of this tabu to distribute. The basis of the complaint was that the tabu of the tubuan was the property of the clan and should not have been given to the sons of these two men, as they were not members of the clan. ToMove and some of his kinsmen were among those who complained.

In the early evening after the minamai had been completed, word came that a senior female member of Ramarovot clan had died at Talwat, a neighbouring village to Matupit. ToMove waited for some move from the senior members of Torovoi clan to join him on a trip to Talwat, but this did not eventuate. His patience ran out and he openly harangued the Torovoi leaders for not responding to the death of his senior clanswoman as he and the members of his clan had responded to the death of Torovoi clansmen and clanswomen in the past. In his harangue he also raised the issue of his clansmen not being given any tabu of the tubuan to distribute during the kutu tabu. He openly complained that he was tired of supporting Torovoi clan and not getting anything in return. He later got in a truck with some of

\textsuperscript{16} As this was tabu of the tubuan, only the men could distribute this and not the daughters. The women were given Tiamuruka's tabu na minat to distribute.
his clansmen and went to Talwat. I understood later that at Talwat he harangued all of his clan members for having 'stupidly' supported Torovoi clan in the past.

The *kutu tabu* puts the members of the deceased's clan under the social limelight or at the centre of attention. From centre stage they have the chance to show everyone their *tabu* wealth, their strength in numbers, their popularity and political power. They display their *tabu* wealth by distributing as much *tabu* as possible to the crowd. They want everyone in the crowd to go away with the memory that the clan had a lot of *tabu*. They show their strength in numbers when all the members of the clan stand up amongst the sitting crowd, performing the *kutu tabu*. Their popularity and political power is manifested through the people and clans who come forward as allies to support them.

*Tunur (Standing)*

After the *tabu na minat*, has been distributed, the distributors retreat and it is announced that anyone who has brought any *tabu* to distribute for some reason or other, can now *tur* (stand up) and distribute *tabu* of their own. In this phase of the ceremony, many people stand up and distribute varying amounts of *tabu* ranging from two to ten fathoms depending on each person's reason for distributing. Many of the people who distribute *tabu* at this stage of the ceremony may be distantly related or not related at all to the deceased. These people have particular reasons for distributing their own *tabu*. 
A person of clan A may distribute tabu at the death of a person of clan B, because sometime in the past, someone of clan B had distributed tabu at the death of a member of clan A. By distributing at a death of clan B, the person of clan A is reciprocating an earlier action of a member of clan B. For instance, ToBurangat, a man in his mid-forties distributed about five fathoms at the death of ToRumet, who is not a member of his clan. When I asked him about his action, he said that he had distributed the five fathoms for two reasons. Firstly, ToRumet was a distant maku (brother in law) to him and secondly, he had seen ToRumet distribute some tabu at the death of his (ToBurangat’s) maternal uncle, ToIlot’s death some years earlier.

ToBurangat said that he could not remember exactly how much ToRumet had distributed at ToIlot’s death but his own action ensured that he was seen by ra tarai (the people) to be reciprocating that past action of ToRumet. At the same time he said that he was not the only one of his clan to make this reciprocal distribution but other members of his clan who had seen ToRumet distribute at ToIlot’s death had also distributed tabu. In the conversation I suggested that he and the other members may have distributed more than ToRumet had distributed at ToIlot’s death. To this he answered that it did not really matter because other members of ToRumet’s clan may have also distributed tabu at ToIlot’s death, unseen by him (ToBurangat). As to why ToRumet had distributed tabu at the death of ToIlot, ToBurangat said that he did not know exactly, but he thought that perhaps it was because their clans stood in
affinal exchange relationship to each other, or perhaps out of mere friendship as boys and as men, since they belonged to the same age-group.

A person may distribute tabu at the death of a member of another clan so that the action can be reciprocated sometime in the future. Here, the debt created is not necessarily intended to be reciprocated at the death of the distributor himself or herself, but it may be on the death of a fellow kinsman. Usually there is some established understanding between parties that this action will be reciprocated sometime in the future.

In relation to the above, ToKonia a young man in his late twenties, complained to me that two brothers, ToMailil and ToWuat, had not distributed any tabu at the death of IaBokoro, his maternal aunt; whereas he and his two elder brothers, ToKowa and ToLengangar, had distributed about twenty-five fathoms at IaTivut’s (ToMailil and ToWuat’s mother) death. Later I spoke to one of ToKonia’s elder brothers, ToLengangar, who said that his younger brother, ToKonia, was being naive and unscrupulous for talking as he did. He said that actions as theirs at Iativut’s death are not easily forgotten and that people can always be relied upon to reciprocate in the most appropriate way. In this case he believed that ToMailil and ToWuat had probably made up their minds to reciprocate at the death of IaMarna (ToKonia and ToLengangar’s mother), who is still alive: a possible decision which he agreed with and considered to be more appropriate. I wanted to talk to ToMailil and ToWuat
about this but ToLengangar told me not to because it may cause animosities between them. He was going to talk to his younger brother ToKonia later for being so unscrupulous in talking the way he did.

On the surface it may appear that ToKonia is young and naive whereas his brother ToLengangar is older, more mature, and has more understanding of such matters. But when this case is looked at more closely, it appears that the difference in opinion here between these two brothers stems from the uncertain basis from which the three brothers (ToKowa, ToLengangar and ToKonia) distributed tabu at the death of IaTivut in the first place. The clan of these three brothers and that of ToMailil and ToWuat were late-comers to the island of Matupit from the village of Walaur (on the mainland) across Blanche Bay. During the volcanic eruptions of 1937, most of the people and the village of Walaur were buried under what is now Mt. Vulcan, thus the Matupit fragments of the clans from there were stranded. Because they were small in numbers, they were ineffective in the Matupit political arena for quite some time. It is only in the last few years that these fragments of clans have begun to come together to form alliances in order to support each other. And this was then the understanding on which ToKowa, ToLengangar and ToKonia had distributed tabu at the death of IaTivut. On this understanding, ToKonia had expected ToMailil and ToWuat to distribute at the minamai of IaBokoro. From my conversation with ToLengangar, I gathered that he also saw the situation as ToKonia did, but when the two brothers did not
distribute at the death of IaBokoro he was prepared to think that the alliance that they were trying to build up was either weak or impossible and hoped that their action at the death of IaTivut would be reciprocated at the death of their mother IaMarna.

A third reason for non-relatives to distribute at a particular minamai is mere friendship or personal acquaintance with the deceased. Today people say that they distribute tabu at the minamai of their friends and acquaintances out of warmari (a term which the bible translates as love)\(^\text{17}\). Many old people say that today people are lucky because others distribute in large numbers in their mortuary ceremonies, out of the feeling of warmari. When I asked as to whether people in the past used to distribute out of mere friendship and personal acquaintance, the answer was affirmative but that it was not as much as it is seen today. Most of these people would attribute the change to the teaching of the churches about neighbourly love and the brotherhood of man, which I would dispute. Rather I would attribute this change to the general increase in the volume of tabu in Tolai society today, a fact which many of these old people also recognize. This increase in volume means that every Tolai is able to acquire tabu and thus participate in ceremonies when they want to. This is different to the past when only a few people, particularly the old and wealthy, had tabu.

\(^{17}\) I consider this translation to be inadequate. This term would be better translated as 'having pity' and 'feeling sorry'.
and the rest of the population either had very little or none at all. Another reason is the increase in population which leads to an increase in the number of social relations a particular individual may have, which in the past would have been limited. Judging by the great number of non-Matupit who come to distribute tabu at the mortuary ceremonies of their friends, easy mobility could also be seen as a reason for this change.

Apart from the above, a person may distribute tabu at a non-matrilineal relative’s minamai because, either he or she had received some property from the deceased and his relatives in the past or intends to acquire this property. These properties may be canoes, gardens or land. The distribution of tabu in this respect is kutu bat ra tabu (cutting tabu with interest in obtaining property). Usually, it is the matrilineal kin of the deceased who have the primordial right to inherit his properties. But when in a minamai ceremony someone has done kutu bat ra tabu for them, it is the distributors who get the properties. At the death of a person owning some property, the person wanting to acquire it goes to the deceased’s appropriate matrilineal relatives and tells them of his intentions saying that he would kutu bat ra tabu for it. If the matrilineal relatives agree, then he ‘stands up’ at the minamai ceremony and distributes an agreed amount of tabu which does not really relate to the value of the land. In most situations, there is already an established relationship between the person wanting to kutu bat ra tabu and the deceased, which makes it easy and reasonable for
the former to acquire the property. For instance, in the case of a garden, the deceased may have been gardening on totokom (rented) land belonging to the clan of the person wanting to kutu bat ra tabu. This person then establishes right of ownership of the produce of the garden, although he may have already have acquired automatic rights according to concepts of land ownership. In the case of a person wanting to kutu bat ra tabu for some land, the pre-existing relationship may be the same as above but in reverse order, with the deceased being the land owner and the intending distributor of tabu being the renter of garden land. At the same time there may be a further pre-existing relationship between the two persons which may have allowed the intending distributor to garden on the deceased’s matrilineal land in the first place. The two persons may have been friends or distantly related to each other. In many cases, where the intending distributor was not renting gardening land but was working on it for nothing, he was fathered by the deceased’s clan, which owned the land. Any land which is acquired by kutu bat ra tabu is recognized to rightfully belong to the person who acquired it thus as any land which he may have acquired through other rightful means such as first occupancy or purchase.

In this second phase of the minamai ceremony, where mainly non-matrilineal relatives distribute tabu for the various reasons that have been outlined above, some of the matrilineal relatives who had been involved in the distribution of the main stock of tabu can be seen to be
distributing more tabu. What they are distributing is their own personal tabu, if they had not already added it to the main stock. Those who decide to distribute their own tabu in the second phase do so because they have decided that there are particular individuals in the crowd to whom they would like to present some tabu, for one reason or other. They do this because in the first distribution they are not able to choose their recipients as the tabu distributed there is intended for the general crowd. It is because of the nature of distribution in the second phase that during any minamai ceremony, one can see people sitting in little groups or village groups. For instance a person from another village who has come to Matupit to distribute some tabu, will bring along with him or her a number of fellow villagers and will tell them to stay together so that he or she may distribute some of his or her own tabu to them in this second phase.

Warap (Token Reimbursement)

After the second phase in which non-relatives and relatives distribute some of their own tabu, it is time for the warwangala (children of the clan or the deceased: all people who were fathered by this clan), to ‘stand up’ and distribute small pieces of tabu to the remaining members of the deceased’s clan. This phase of the ceremony is known as warap (token reimbursement). A number of old people whom I approached about the significance of this distribution said that it was a way by which the ‘children’ (which also includes adults), reimburse the members of the deceased’s
clan who had gave them life and reared them. It is said that although these 'children' do not belong to the clans of their fathers, it is these clans which gave them sustenance in the way of food and care. It appears to me that the significance of this action goes further than just token compensation for the provision of sustenance, because it is repeated by the 'children' at the death of every member of their fathers' clan. It seems that by distributing tabu, the 'children' are resetting the relationship between them and their 'fathers', which has been temporarily broken by the death. It is a way of saying that in spite of the death of a 'father' (in the case of a male), who is the link between 'children' and his clan, the relationship between children and 'father' clan still continues for good social relations. For many people, the maintaining of good social relations through this means is important because they are residing or gardening on land which belongs to their fathers' clans.

After the warap by the warwangala, the minamai ceremony is finished and the crowd disperses, each person carrying a number of pieces of tabu. By the end of this ceremony, between six and ten mar (hundred) fathoms of tabu will have been distributed, although in some cases this total is more, especially in the case of very wealthy people. In an average size minamai, three to four hundred may be distributed in the first phase, two to three hundred in the second phase and one to two hundred in the warap. For instance, at the minamai of Tiamuruka in August 1982, approximately 800 fathoms were distributed: 400 in the first phase (200 being his own and another 200 from the
clan tubuan Tataur), approximately 250 in the second phase, and approximately 150 in the warap. Accurate figures can always be easily obtained of the amount distributed in the first phase because it is always displayed in public before distribution, but for the latter two phases it is usually difficult because there may be several hundred people standing up distributing varying amounts of tabu at the same time and thus they can only be approximated. At an average size minamai the crowd that gathers may range from between 1,500 and 2,000 and each person may go away with pieces of tabu which would total between a quarter of a fathom and three fathoms, depending on whether one is a child a or prominent man.

What has been said above happens in the case of a death. If a deceased had absolutely no tabu at all and the relatives do not even have enough tabu to have a minamai of some kind to tuba ra wawirwir, small pieces of tabu known as puak are silently sent out to the ngala of each vunatarai. This puak is said to kaman ra palangiai ra pap (fasten the teeth of dogs).

The minamai is the obligatory part in the mortuary process. A clan can decide that this will be the end of the mortuary sequence or they can decide to continue with the

18 This usually happens in the case of young people and destitute adults.

19 This statement means, to stop people from talking about the fact that no tabu was properly distributed at the persons death. Reference to dogs teeth here is with regard to what people can say, which can be as sharp and destructive as dogs' teeth.
other phases at later dates. If the deceased’s kinsmen decide that the rest of the mortuary process will not be performed, then they give orders for the leo to be rubatia (uprooted). If the leo is left standing at the end of the minamai, then it means that other phases of the mortuary process will be performed later. These later phases are known as paluka and balaquan, and they are optional. Clans are not obliged to perform these ceremonies but they can perform them if they want and can afford to do so.

II

Wa Palai and Gugu

By performing the minamai the clan has fulfilled its obligations to its dead. After this it can decide to discontinue the mortuary process or to continue with the rest of it. The decision to continue with other phases of the mortuary process initially depends on the capability of the deceased’s clan to fund further ceremonies. Also this decision depends on the status of the deceased. At the same time clan has to consider the possible gains it can make from staging other phases of the mortuary process. When the decision has been taken for the other phases of the mortuary process to be undertaken, then the women go into wa palai and gugu are organized to be performed at the deceased’s home.
After the minamai, and the leo has been left standing, some women begin to live at the deceased’s home. They are in mourning and are said to wa palai (sleeping as goanas). The connection between goanas and mourning is not clear, but it appears to have something to do with the way people sleep at the home of the deceased, i.e. on mats on the ground, rather like goanas sleeping on the ground when basking in the sun. During this period of wa palai, a lot of food is brought in by relatives and is eaten by mourners. During this time also, members of other lineages or clans (mainly the women) bring food to the home of the deceased to cook and share with the mourners. This action of the members of other clans or lineages will be reciprocated at a later time at the death of one of their own members. This period of wa palai continues until after the day of the paluka (mortuary feast) when it is ended by a small concluding ceremony known as a kutu palai (cutting off of palai). In the kutu palai the women receive some tabu and parcels of food from the relatives of the deceased, then go to their separate homes.

The women are not chosen and invited to wa palai at the deceased’s home. They come voluntarily, but they know that they will be welcome. Usually these women are known to the relatives of the deceased. These women see their role as keeping the deceased’s relatives company during the mourning period. The deceased’s relatives then acknowledge this by presenting them with tabu at the kutu palai.
During this period of *wa palai* and particularly towards the end, a number of performances are put on at the home of the deceased. These are organized and financed by the members of other clans or lineages and are known as *gugu* (comedy performances). From what I observed during the two periods of fieldwork, they come in three main forms: as a *bot*, as *gara* and as string band groups, although in some cases they come in a mixture of the three. For the *bot*, a number of men (as many as can be afforded by the organizing and financing clan or lineage) dress up in semi-traditional dress and appear on the scene to sing and dance for a number of hours, sometimes until the morning, as these *bot* are usually performed in the night. The songs sung here are in mixtures of Pidgin and Tolai and the dance is not altogether Tolai either. The men stand in flanks, hook themselves into each other’s arms and move backwards and forwards and in circles, singing as they go. The *gara* are performed mainly by women also at night. In this case the women sit on the ground and beat pieces of bamboo about a foot long, while they sing the *gara* songs. The songs sung here are also not Tolai in origin and the women say that they may have come from Namatanai in New Ireland Province. The women sing these for a number of hours then put on a number of humorous theatrical performances which usually have everyone rolling with laughter. In the string-bands, the men also dress up in traditional dress and play their guitars, ukuleles and other instruments while some of them
dress up as women and dance. The main purpose of these performances is to create humour which is usually achieved with great success.

At about ten o'clock on the night of a performance, the performers gather some distance away and begin to sing songs which are known as *taktak*. Then they begin to move slowly towards the scene of performance still singing. On reaching the scene of performance, they sit at a place which has been prepared for them. When they are seated, people of the clan which organized the performance come forward with *tabu* and distribute pieces to them (performers). Depending on the number of people distributing, between fifty and eighty fathoms of *tabu* may be distributed at one of these performances. After *tabu* had been distributed they start their performance. These nights of *gugu* continue up until the day of the *paluka* (mortuary feast).

Each performance may be organized by one person, but it is done in the name of his or her clan. The performers may be members of the organizers' clan but others usually also participate. Each performance is said to be either a *balbali* (reciprocation) or a *wawalua* (creating debt). *Balbali* performances are those organized by clan to reciprocate past performances which may have been done for their clan. *Wawalua* are performances which have to be reciprocated to the organizing clan later, when someone dies. In both categories of performances, it is the organizing clan which have to distribute *tabu* to the
performers at the end of a performance.

The performers are not invited individually or as a group. They respond voluntarily to open request by the organizers. For some, the receipt of tabu at the end of the performance may be an incentive for participation. For many, participation is a show of allegiance to the organizers. The payment of tabu at the end by the organizers is an acknowledgement of this allegiance.

III

Paluka and Balaguan

The paluka mentioned earlier takes place at the end of the wa palai period and it is staged in connection with an individual death. The balaguan, on the other hand, is a much larger version of the paluka and is staged in connection with a number of deaths. For these two kinds of ceremonies, the matrilineal relatives assisted by others prepare mainly bananas and pork for distribution, with the total cost as much as several hundred dollars, and sometimes even thousands. This is in addition to several hundred fathoms of tabu. For the Matupit, a lot of money has to be spent on the acquisition of bananas and pigs because they do not have enough land on which to garden or rear animals. In inland villages, where there is ample land for gardening, the same amount of bananas and pork may be brought in for such a ceremony, but the costs are much less because they can be obtained from nearby gardens.
Balaguan

In the district of Kikila, no paluka was staged during the period of fieldwork but there was one balaguan. This balaguan was preceded by a boro (the beating slit-drums for a number of weeks). This balaguan was held by the clan of Karavia 45, together with its allied clans Kabakada 39 and Matalau 47, and was headed and heavily financed by two people. These were, IaPaulin of Karavia 45 clan, a wealthy woman in her sixties, and ToPapat of Kabakada 39 clan, a wealthy young man in his early forties. This balaguan was held for three people of two of the above clans, Turagil (of Karavia 45), IaKabakada and ToBobe (both of Kabakada 39). These three people had died within a few months of each other and had separate minamai ceremony performed for them, but their three leo were still standing. Of the three deaths, it was ToBobe who died first, in April of 1981, then in the middle of the year, IaKabakada died, and in about August of the same year Turagil died. According to IaPaulin, it was originally intended that a paluka ceremony be held for ToBobe, following his minamai ceremony. But when IaKabakada died a few months later, preparations were put off in order to prepare one ceremony for the two deaths. Then when some

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20 IaPaulin was a very wealthy woman who ended up being known as a wawina na tadar (wealthy woman). Because of her wealth, she became the leader of her clan, even though she had a brother and other senior male relatives in the clan.

21 Turagil was a member of Karavia clan but he lived in the district of Kurapun, so he was not included in the list of deaths of Kikila.
months later Turagil died, preparations were put off yet again. It was IaPaulin who decided that rather than have a paluka, the three deaths warranted the staging of a balaguan.

Thus one afternoon in the first week of September 1981, a miniature thatched roofed house was erected at the home of IaPaulin and a number of garamut (slit-drum) were put into it. This miniature-house, decorated with all sorts of paraphernalia and with the garamut inside, is known as pal na bore (house of bore). Immediately after the garamut were placed inside the hut, a number of old men began to beat them. The sound of the garamut which started then, went on continuously for the next three weeks, every hour of the day night. This three-week period, is known as the period of bore. It is during this period that the nightly performances known as gugu become more frequent. In this case, at least twelve performance parties appeared during the three weeks that the garamut sounded at the house of IaPaulin.

According to ToPepelegi, the old man mentioned earlier, bore in the past were very expensive affairs which were seldom staged by individual clans, but by collections or alliances of these groups in order to share the burden of cost. He said that the last time he saw a bore being held on Matupit was between the two World Wars, and it was held jointly by all the clans of the village district of Kikila. In this case, the balaguan (which was preceded by the period of bore) was not connected to any particular death,
but was a joint mortuary ceremony for all the people who were buried in the village cemetery. Thus, all the living relatives of all the people who had been buried in the cemetery contributed to and participated in this boro and balaguan. Since he was talking about something which took place about fifty years ago, ToPepelegi could not give an estimate of the total expenditure then, but he said that there were many dancing groups and a lot of tabu, pork and bananas was distributed. At the same time, many other people from villages outside of Matupit came to the ceremony, either as contributors and participants because some of their relatives had been buried there, or merely as observers. It appears that in the past, balaguan (preceded by boro) used to be staged by individual clan for their dead who were buried on clan land. But with the arrival of Europeans and the churches, this old custom of burial on clan land was prohibited and replaced by village cemeteries. Thus in many Tolai communities today, boro and accompanying balaguan are found to be performed mainly in cemeteries, except in certain areas where some dead were recently buried on their own clan land, such as in some inland areas of the Gazelle Peninsula.

The balaguan staged by the clan of Karavia which was preceded by three weeks of boro, began in the morning with the final preparations of the tugutugu and watar. These are two bamboo structures, one conical in shape called tugutugu on which bunches of bananas are hung, and the other is just a watar (bamboo platform) on which the pigs and beef are put after they have been ritually prepared and cut up. At
this particular ceremony, there were altogether four tugutugu and four main watar. On each tugutugu there was about K300-350 worth of bananas and on the watar there was an average of two pigs, one having a cow in addition. The bananas, pigs and cattle had been bought by the members of particular lineages and clans which owned these bamboo structures. The lineages were of Karavia clan while the clans were those in alliance with Karavia. At the same time the lineages and clans were assisted in the purchasing of bananas and meat by other people such as people whom the lineages or clans had ‘fathered’. For instance, one of the tugutugu and a watar belonged to the clan of IaKabakada but contributions in bananas and cash for the pigs and cattle came from other people outside of this family. Among the main contributors to this clan’s tugutugu and watar were the children of two deceased brothers of IaKabakada, ToBobe and ToVia.

While the final preparations for the ceremony were underway, people from villages outside of Matupit began arriving in trucks, so that by the middle of the day, there was already a crowd near the scene of the ceremony. At about 3 o’clock in the afternoon, a dancing party of Matupit men made their appearance on the scene and put on a performance. This went on for about two hours, at the end of which the dancers were given pieces of tabu by members of the host clans. Initially it was IaPaulin and ToPapat, the organizers and financiers of the ceremony, who came forward with some tabu and began to distribute them to the dancers. When they had finished, other people from the
various lineages of the allied clans came forward with some of their own tabu and distributed to the dancers and the people who had beaten the kudu (hand drums).

**Palum tabu**

The presentations of tabu to the dance parties was the main ritual tabu presentation in the balaguan. The rehearsals for the dance took about two months. The dancers put in about two hours a day and six days a week to the rehearsals. In addition, they also have to find the materials for the dance costumes and make them. In these dances, the designs of the costumes and body decorations\(^{22}\) must belong to the dancers' own clans.\(^ {23}\) At the end of the dance, the dancers and the drummers each received between three and five fathoms of tabu.

When the distribution of tabu was coming to an end, the bunches of bananas, the pigs and cattle were taken down from the tugutuugo and watar. With the help of a few men who assisted in the carving up of the pork and beef, it was mainly the women (of the lineages which had contributed) who distributed the food, raw. To each man, woman or child they gave a hand of bananas with a piece of pork or beef.

\(^{22}\) Body decoration designs are usually around the face, arms and legs. These body designs must always go together with specific costumes.

\(^{23}\) Sometimes someone may tir pa (seek permission for) the costume design of a clan in order for all the dancers to use. At the end of the dance each dancer must give a piece of tabu to a nominated person from the clan which owned the design that was used. This tabu is seen as payment for the use of the design.
Only a few men received pieces of tabu, about a fathom, with larger amounts of bananas and meat. These were mainly elderly men, most of whom were ngala of clans. They did nothing special during the ceremony but they still received the pieces of tabu. The explanation I got for this was that these men were ngala and that this was normal practice. Some venture to say this special treatment was out of wariru (respect) for the ngala. It was further explained to me that in the past, when a ngala was given a whole head of a pig during these ceremonies, it signified a challenge. The 'givers' of the pig's head challenged the 'receiving' ngala and his clan to stage a similar ceremony. When all the bananas, pork and beef had been distributed it was the end of the ceremony and the crowd began to break up and go home.

The above balaguan was straightforward but there was something about its initial conceptualization which was unusual. As I explained above, the balaguan developed out of plans for a paluka for ToBobe. The fact that plans were being made for a paluka for ToBobe was unusual. Normally paluka was done for people of renown who were wealthy enough to have tabu left over from the minamai. ToBobe was neither renown nor was he wealthy in tabu. A brief discussion here of this unusual factor in the initial conceptualization of ToBobe's paluka will explain the significance of the balaguan and balaguan in general.

24 This explanation was supported by other informants later but I never actually saw this done in any ceremony.
ToBobe was a middle-aged man who had been suffering from tuberculosis for many years. He was an insignificant little man who was sick most of the time and could not do very much work. He could not even build his own house, so his maternal nephew (ToPapat) had to pay someone to build one for him. According to the household tabu survey which I conducted in 1980, ToBobe did not have any tabu at all. At his death I heard that an amount of 200 fathoms of tabu was to be distributed at his minamai. This surprised me because I had not known that he had come by any large amount of tabu between the period of my survey and his death. I learnt that this 200 fathoms actually belonged to his daughter and son-in-law who had raised it recently in a pinopoko na boroi (cutting of pig) ceremony. ToPapat (a maternal nephew) contributed about 100 fathoms and Topapat’s brother and sisters contributed a further 100 fathoms. After the minamai, the leo was left standing. I learnt later that a paluka was to be held in his honour. This was even more surprising. If he had no tabu even for his own minamai, where was the tabu to come from for the paluka? Why was it so important that ToBobe should have a paluka staged in his honour? When I followed up these two questions, I discovered that the answers lay in an argument over an area of land known as Wawardaula.

The land of Wawardaula was known by everyone to belong to Bitabutua clan. Only one member of Bitabutua, ToWarpiam, lived on this land while the other members lived elsewhere. The leader of Bitabutua clan, ToGarama, was a very old man who lived on a plot of land adjacent to Wawardaula.
Wawardaula was occupied by many members of Karavia 45, Kabakada 39 and Matalau 47, including IaPaulin and ToPapat. For many years Bitabutua and Karavia clans had been allies and it was on the basis of their alliance that the people of Karavia clan were allowed to reside on the land of Wardaula. In recent years none of the members of Bitabutua had bothered to return to Wardaula to join ToWarpiam there. In the meantime the number of members of Karavia 45 clan and its two allies, Kabakada 39 and Matalau 47, living there was increasing steadily. For some time the members of Bitabutua had been worrying about this state of affairs. Tensions slowly built up between the two clans. The tension surfaced one night in about late 1980, when ToWarpiam started an argument with IaPaulin over the bride-price payment for his daughter. A young man of Karavia clan had been found together with ToWarpiam’s daughter one night and he was forced to marry her. IaPaulin had promised to pay the bride-price but had not done so. ToWarpiam considered that he had waited long enough and raised the issue. In answer to ToWarpiam, IaPaulin had said that she was still in the process of accumulating tabu and that she was going to pay the bride-price when she was ready. ToWarpiam did not listen to what IaPaulin was saying and went on to say that IaPaulin and her kin should move out of Wardaula because the land belonged to his clan. A series of public arguments followed in the next few months, between IaPaulin again with some of her kinsmen and ToWarpiam; the topic of argument became concentrated on the right of ownership of the land. IaPaulin and her kinsmen were now arguing that Wardaula belonged to her clan and
not to Bitabutua. Clearly, at the time of ToBobe's death, IaPaulin was looking for some reason to *rama ra tabu* (scatter *tabu*)\(^{25}\) on the land of Wawardaula. Thus in 1981, Karavia 45 clan and its allies staged the *balaguan* at Wawardaula.

As has been said above, the *minamai* is obligatory, so every clan tries its best to perform this ceremony for their dead, although sometimes it is still very difficult for some of them to perform this basic ceremony. The *paluka* and *balaguan* are not obligatory and are optional for clans which can afford them. Thus, of the seven deaths that occurred at Kikila during my period of fieldwork, only two had *balaguan* performed for them, two had *minamai* and *leo* constructed, two had *minamai* without *leo* and one had *tabu* sent out as *puak* to the various heads of clans. According to what happened, these seven deaths can be classified into four groups, as shown in Table X.

*The Bases for Staging Paluka and Balaguan*

Whatever ceremony is performed beyond the *minamai* is determined by a number of factors, such as the amount of *tabu* the deceased or his relatives have, the status of the deceased, and the social and political benefits to be gained. I shall illustrate the importance of these three

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25 To scatter *tabu* is to distribute *tabu* in a ceremony. This is a very significant part of claiming and legitimating ownership to land. It is very difficult to dispute someone's claim of ownership to a portion of land when some of that person's *tabu* has been scattered on the land.
**Table X.** Deaths at Kikila with the kinds of mortuary rituals performed for them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Group A.** | Deaths where the full mortuary cycle was carried out. | 1. ToBobe  
2. IaKabakada |
| **Group B.** | Deaths where leo were constructed and minamai performed. | 1. ToRumet  
2. Tiamuruka |
| **Group C.** | Deaths where minamai were performed but without leo. | 1. Tipia  
2. IaPaep |
| **Group D.** | Deaths in which distribution of tabu was in the form of puak. | 1. ToKaume. |
factors in relation to the mortuary ceremonies of the deaths in Group A and Group B, in which leo were constructed at their minamai.

For the two deaths in Group B, leo were constructed for the minamai of the two brothers, ToRumet and Tiamuruka. ToKaputin, the leader of Torovoi clan, ordered the ‘uprooting’ of the leo from the minamai of these two men. ToRumet died first, and ToKaputin as leader of the clan, was directly responsible for organizing and managing his mortuary ceremonies.

ToRumet was the elder brother of Tiamuruka and first parallel cousin to ToKaputin. In his youth, when he lived at Matupit, ToRumet was a man of great stature and tabu. But in his forties, he left Matupit and went to live on the Duke of York Islands. In 1969, as far as his younger brother, Tiamuruka, could remember, he distributed a lot of tabu at the death of ToKaputin’s mother IaTigal, and everyone concluded from what they saw, that ToRumet was very wealthy in tabu. But at his death in 1980, it was a great surprise to his Matupit kinsmen that he did not have any in his house in the Duke of York Islands. In the end, members of his clan had to put together some tabu for his minamai, including some tabu of the clan tubuan ToGigi.

As I later gathered from ToKaputin, after the minamai he had left the leo standing because he had intended that there be a paluka or balaquau to follow the minamai. He said that he was going to scratch together some tabu for
this purpose, even using some which he had prepared for his own death, because he thought it was not proper for someone of the stature of ToRumet to be buried without paluka or balaquan. He was expecting to get a lot of support from the rest of his kinsmen, even though he knew that these kinsmen had also used up some of their own tabu in the minamai and it was not going to be easy for them.

About two weeks after the minamai ceremony, a junior kinsman by the name of ToRumet (namesake of the deceased) produced a recorded speech which was made by the deceased some time before his death. On his arrival on the Duke of York Islands from the mainland, ToRumet (the deceased) had bought a huge tract of land on which he lived and had planted coconuts and cocoa trees. A number of times during his lifetime, he had asked a number of his relatives from Matupit and Raluana to live and work with him on this land but had very little success. A few times some of his clansmen or their children came out to the islands to live with him, but it was usually only for very short periods, after which they returned to the mainland. About two years before his death he managed to get his namesake, ToRumet, a man in his early forties, with his family to live and work with him on the land. The recorded speech in the possession of the junior Rumet was a kind of will, which said that after his the senior Rumet’s death the land and everything that was on it was to go to the junior Rumet. But the recorded speech said more than this. It expressed the frustration which Rumet faced during the many years that he was developing the land and talked a great deal about the
lack of assistance which he had got from his matrilineal relatives at Matupit and Raluana. To top it off he said that his matrilineal relatives at Matupit and Raluana were lazy and that none of them should presume that they had any rights to his land or any of his property after he died.

I was present on a Sunday afternoon when this recorded speech was being played. Apart from realizing that I had actually recorded this speech myself, I realized that the two eldest kinsmen who were present, ToKaputin and Tiamuruka, did not like what they were hearing. They kept interjecting during the speech saying that the deceased was lying. They were clearly embarrassed because there were quite a number of their kinsmen and women present who were listening, and the deceased was clearly referring to them. Tiamuruka said angrily that he wished that this message had been played to him before ToRumet had died so that he would not have wasted his tabu, which he had distributed at ToRumet’s minamai. Both Tiamuruka and ToKaputin were angry that someone on whom they had spent their tabu should talk about them in this way. The next day ToKaputin ordered the leo to be taken down and the period of mourning be ended. To me it appeared that ToKaputin did not think he had enough tabu to continue with the rest of the mortuary process, and the recorded speech provided him with a good excuse for getting out of this obligation. His other kinsman, Tiamuruka, was in much the same situation although he did not mention it. Their household stocks of

26 I had recorded this speech in 1977 when I started on a biography of the old John Rumet.
**tabu** will give some idea of their financial situations at the time of my survey, as shown in Table XI.

The figures given here are from the household survey mentioned earlier, and was done only a few months before the death of ToRumet. It is clear from the tabu figures in these two households that neither ToKaputin nor Tiamuruka were in any good financial position to spare much **tabu** for anyone else's **minamai**, let alone financing a whole mortuary sequence. According to the figures here, Tiamuruka had 508 fathoms and none anywhere else. Of this amount he said he was going to give 100 fathoms to his wife and children, which left him with only 408 fathoms. At the **minamai** of ToRumet's death, he took 100 fathoms from this and put it in for distribution, leaving him with only 308 fathoms which is the average amount a person puts aside for his own death. At the time of ToRumet's death, Tiamuruka himself was suffering from a respiratory illness and knew that he would never again be well enough to make much more **tabu**. In fact about two weeks before his death, when a final attack of the illness had taken him and a number of men were making his **tabu** into a coil known as **loloi**~ he told me that he was lucky that ToKaputin had ordered the removal of ToRumet's **leo**, otherwise he would not have had any **tabu** left for his own death. Thus because of the fact that he did not have any **tabu** to spare and was not well enough to make any more, Tiamuruka was not interested in a full mortuary cycle for ToRumet.

In the household of ToKaputin, it is shown that ToKaputin
Table XI. Tabu holdings in the households of Daniel ToKaputin and Eliaser Tiamuruka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household No. 42 Daniel ToKaputin.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fathoms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 - ToKaputin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>465 - Tataur (clan tubuan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - ToGigi (clan tubuan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - IaKirara (wife)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 - Bride Prices of a number of clan females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170 - IaGuin (daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- IaKalamana (daughter) amount unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - additional bride price for a junior female.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,875 fathoms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Household No. 22 Eliaser Tiamuruka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fathoms</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90 - Edina (wife)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - Tiamuruka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388 - &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>498 fathoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
himself had 600 fathoms of tabu to his name, but that he also had control over a further 565 fathoms which is the tabu of the two clan tubuan, Tataur and ToGigi. With the rest of the tabu in his household, he may have had some right of say in how it was disposed of but had no real control over it. At the death of ToRumet, ToKaputin had taken 100 fathoms from the tabu of the clan tubuan ToGigi and 100 fathoms from the other tubuan Tataur. When he communicated this information to me, he said that 100 fathoms belonged to the tubuan ToGigi and the other 100 fathoms belonged to him, although at the same time he said that it came from the tabu of Tataur. There is no confusion here because what ToKaputin was saying is an expression of the amount of control which he has over the above mentioned two tubuan and their tabu. Although both tubuan are known to belong to the clan, ToGigi is one which was inherited from ancestors and was in the control of a number of men of the clan, both at Raluana and Matupit and to a certain extent at Vunamami, where members of the clan live. These men thus control the finances of the tubuan, ToGigi. On the other hand, the second tubuan Tataur, was of recent origin and was acquired for the clan by ToKaputin himself. He thus had more control over it and its tabu finances so could rightly say that its funds belonged to him.

By committing the 200 fathoms at the minamai of ToRumet, ToKaputin had only 965 fathoms left in his control, 600 fathoms of his own, and 365 of the tubuan Tataur. It may appear that 965 fathoms was more than enough for ToKaputin’s minamai but he said that this was not enough.
In an attempt to explain why he considered that he could not afford the rest of the mortuary process for ToRumet or anything else, ToKaputin mentioned the main considerations. Firstly he said that he needed an amount above average for his minamai because he was a person who was very widely known in the Tolai community; many people would be expected to turn up at his minamai so he had to have more tabu than the average person to satisfy the crowd. He considered that 600 fathoms was a sufficient amount for a person of his renown to have ready for his own death. At the same time, he had received many pieces of tabu from many other deaths during his lifetime, either by attending minamai ceremonies or having been sent to him because of his position as a 'bigman', and he therefore considered that it all had to be paid back at the time of his death. As to whether he wanted the rest of the mortuary process performed for him, after the minamai ceremony, he said that it was up to his matrilineal relatives who were to bury him, adding that he did not really care (although I did not believe this last remark). The second consideration which ToKaputin had in mind when allocating the tabu he had left in his control, was the need to leave some as kiau na tubuan (egg of the tubuan) in order to ensure the survival of the tubuan in the clan. It will be remembered here that the 100 fathoms of the tubuan ToGigi had been distributed at the minamai of ToRumet, and only 365 fathoms of the other tubuan Tataur was left. ToKaputin expressed great concern over the fact that the tubuan ToGigi had no tabu left and that it was in danger of not surviving as a clan tubuan. He was suggesting
to me that he would probably have to take 100 fathoms from the tabu of Tataur and make it into a kiau na tubuan of ToGigi in order to ensure its survival. The rest of the tabu of Tataur he was going to leave as kiau na tubuan, and it was going to be up to whoever got to manage the tubuan after him to do whatever he wanted with it. He could use it to attract other clan funds to finance a full mortuary cycle for ToKaputin (which I believe ToKaputin was hoping would happen) or, he may simply decide to keep it as kiau na tubuan so that he would have a sounder basis to start his future tubuan entrepreneurship (since the minimum a person needs to start with is at least 100 fathoms).

When Tiamuruka died in 1982, ToKaputin had no doubts about what was to happen after the minamai. He clearly stated that the death of ToRumet had depleted the clan of a lot of tabu and that it was unthinkable for him to contemplate having anything beyond minamai for the death of Tiamuruka. As soon as the minamai ended, he ordered the 'uprooting' of the leo.

Clearly, the clan of Torovoi could not afford to do anything beyond minamai for the deaths of their two kinsmen. Despite this, ToKaputin still felt that a paluka and balaguan were in order for one death, considering the status of ToRumet. Although ToRumet was a member of Torovoi clan, he spent most of his adult life in the Duke of York Islands, so it was not so incumbent for ToKaputin and his kinsmen to stage paluka or balaguan for him. Also there was no strong social or political incentive for the clan of
Torovoi to hold such ceremonies. Thus the mortuary sequence for both deaths was ended with minamai.

On the other hand, for the two deaths in group A, my survey of 1980 (shown in Table XII), showed that IaKabakada had 200 fathoms of tabu which was known to be hers personally. As I understood later, this 200 fathoms provided the main part of the stock of tabu which was distributed in her minamai ceremony, with another 200 fathoms being contributed by her son ToPapat.

Apart from the personal (or considered personal) collections of the two deceased persons in Group A, the households of the two people who organized and financed the later stages of the mortuary cycle had substantial amounts of tabu. According to the 1980 survey, Robin Papat (ToPapat) had two houses: one in the village and one in town. It was in the village where his parents lived that he kept his tabu collection, so his father Robert ToKapiaka was considered to be the head of that household. The various people who had tabu in the two households about to be listed here were relatives of one kind or another to the head of the household and would have been in a position to contribute to the mortuary ceremonies which were put on by the clan of these two households. It will be noted here that some of the tabu of some of the persons of the household of Robert ToKapiaka and one woman of Matalau 47 clan, were deposited in the household of the elder, Pauline IaKalamana. This is because it is normal practice for junior kinsmen and kinswomen to deposit their tabu with
Table XII. Tabu holdings in the households of Pauline IaKalamana and Robert ToKapiaka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household 11. - Pauline IaKalamana.</th>
<th>fathoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>600 - Robin Papat (of Kabakada 39 clan, of ToKapiaka’s household)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 - IaTitikan (a woman of Matalau 47 clan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1480 - Pauline IaKalamana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>440 - ToBurangat (Pauline’s husband)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - IaKivung (classificatory niece)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - IaNiligur (adopted daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - IaTingdai (ToBobe’s daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 - Tamuar (the clan tubuan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - IaLamin (brother’s daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3,170</strong> fathoms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household 17. - Robert ToKapiaka.</th>
<th>fathoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200 - Robert ToKapiaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - Michael (son)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170 - Tataat (daughter)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - Kabakada (wife)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 - Robin Papat (son)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>930</strong> fathoms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
senior kinsmen or kinswomen.

From the stocks of tabu in the above two households, it can be seen that the two people who financed and managed the Wawardaula balaguan had a considerable amount of tabu each. Robin Papat had 160 fathoms in the household of his father Robert ToKapiaka and 600 fathoms in the house of IaPaulin, amounting to a total of 760 fathoms altogether. IaPaulin had a total of 1,480 fathoms, all of which she had in her own household. Thus by looking at the stocks of tabu in these two houses, we can see why the clan of Karavia 45 and its allies were able to afford the full mortuary cycle for their dead, IaKabakada and ToBobe. From this it can be seen that the clans of Karavia 45 and Kabakada 39 were clearly in a position to be able to afford such a venture as the balaguan, even if one of the deceased, ToBobe, had no tabu at all. In addition to affordability, the clans were strongly motivated to perform the balaguan, by the question of the ownership of the land of Wawardaula.

Summary

Death among the Tolai leads to the mortuary process in which there are seven occasions of tabu presentation. Some of these presentations relate to creating balance in personal, social and political relationships which have been disturbed by the death. At the same time some of these presentations do not relate directly to the death itself but to other matters such as land-ownership and acquisition of property. The occasions of tabu presentations are kutu
tabu (tabu distribution), tunur (standing up) palum tabu (distributing tabu at paluka and balaguan), gugu (comedy performers payments), kutu palai (cutting off palai), warap (token reimbursement) and puak (token payments to clan leaders).

During the minamai (funerary ceremony), kutu tabu is performed out of obligation. This tabu is to repay all the tabu which the deceased had received from other clans in mortuary ceremonies during his lifetime. By kutu tabu the surviving members of the clan attend to the obligation. In the same act the clan as a group displays its tabu wealth. The kutu tabu is performed in a spirit of warpin (agonisticism) to wawirwir (shame), wamalari (insult) and wabilingiran (denigrate) rival clans. At the same time the act is one of rama ra tabu in order to link a clan to land through spirits, as discussed in Chapter VI. In addition the relatives distribute the tabu on this occasion with feelings of niligur (grief) and balamari (compassion) for the deceased.

In tunur persons distribute tabu for many different reasons. Initially persons say they distribute their own tabu out of grief or compassion for the deceased, as a friend or as a relative. As mentioned above, some people distribute tabu on this occasion as balbali (reciprocation) for tabu which may have been distributed at a relative’s mortuary ceremony in the past. Others distribute tabu as wawalua (creating debt). Others distribute tabu as kutu bat ra tabu, to acquire property as discussed in the preceding
After each *gugu* (comedy performance), the performers are presented pieces of *tabu* by persons or clans who commissioned the performance. The *tabu* is seen initially here as payment to each person for participation in the performance. At the same time it is a presentation from the commissioning clan to the clans of the performers. The *tabu* is also acknowledgement of the individual performers’ participation and of their clans support, by the commissioning clan. In this presentation, the commissioning clan is supported with *tabu* by members of other clans, such as allied and father’s clans. In this sense the presentations are statements on social and political relations. Furthermore persons from the commissioning clan may distribute *tabu* out of *balamari* and *niligur* for the deceased. Sometimes the presentation is seen as intended to alleviate the deceased’s relatives’ *niligur* (grief).

At *kutu palai* the *tabu* presentation is initially seen by the women and children as payment for having lived at the deceased’s home and for having kept his relatives company. But the presentation is also seen as an acknowledgement of the individuals’ and their clans’ support to the deceased’s clan. It is also seen as acknowledgement for the women and children’s *niligur* and *balamari* for the deceased and *warmari* (love / pity) and *warmal* (affection) for the surviving relatives, which is why many of them came to live at the deceased’s home in the first place.
The warap presentation is made by bul na warwangala (children fathered by a clan) to their ‘fathers’ who have lost a relative. The presentation is basically seen as token payment to the relatives of the deceased to reimburse them for the tabu they expend in the kutu tabu. At the same time ‘the children fathered by the clan’ state to their ‘fathers’ through warap that they share the grief of their ‘fathers’. Further, it is also a way of saying that despite the death, the relationship between them should still be normal.

Puak is a direct payment from one clan to another, through ngala (bigmen) of the clans. As it is done to tuba ra wawirwir (cover shame), it is done with modesty and humility. The act itself is a public statement of a clan’s weakness and also its poverty in tabu wealth.

The paluka and balaguan ceremonies are optional. The main tabu presentation in these two ceremonies is palum tabu. In this occasion tabu is presented to dancers who perform during the ceremonies and to the ngala of clans. Tabu presented to the dancers is initially seen as payment for their participation in the performance but at the same it is an acknowledgement of the individual and his clan’s support for the host clan of the ceremonies. The presentation to the ngala of clan is seen as being done out of wariru (respect) but at the same time it is seen as a debt which the ngala and his clan have to repay. Furthermore, as mentioned above, this presentation has an element of challenge to the ngala and his clan to stage a
similar ceremony. On the whole, the *palum tabu* in *paluka* and *balaguan*, is done with the intention of displaying wealth to establish or maintain social and political status. It is also done to stake claims to land or is done as *rama ra tabu* (scatter *tabu*) as discussed in Chapter VI. As women can be seen wailing and in grief when distributing *tabu*, the act is performed out of *warmal*, *warmari*, *balamari* and *niligur*, for the deceased.
Chapter VIII

THE TUBUAN AND TABU EXCHANGE

Introduction

The tubuan is a masked figure similar to other masked figures found in other parts of Melanesia, such as the hevehe of the Papuan Gulf and the tamate of the Banks Islands in Vanuatu. There are many of these masks, each with particular designs, and are owned by individual clans or lineages. This mask represents a fraternity which is known as the tarai na tubuan (men of the tubuan - but could be translated as 'The Tubuan Society'). This is a fraternity into which men and boys are initiated upon payment of a number of tabu initiation fees. Membership in the society is found in all villages of the mainland Gazelle Peninsula and the nearby islands of Watom and the Duke of Yorks. Only the initiated men and boys are allowed to associate with the tubuan while the women and uninitiated are strictly forbidden on punishment of death or very heavy tabu fines.

During the one hundred and twenty years of Western influence the tubuan came under tremendous pressure, which threatened its survival. For instance during the period of German Colonial rule, there was some attempt exerted by the administration to suppress the tubuan. Doctor Albert Hahl, who was Governor of the colony between 1896 and 1914, restricted tubuan ceremonies to only three months of the year. On one occasion he personally ordered some men to
take them off and he had them burnt (Hahl 1980:38). Apart from the Administrations, the churches also tried to suppress the tubuan and even tried to do away with them altogether. The Seventh-Day-Adventist Church did not have any specific policy regarding the tubuan, but it does prohibit its congregation from participation in cultural activities such as dances, ceremonials etc., deeming them to be heathen. This prohibition is still in effect today.

Between the two World Wars, many tubuan managers were excommunicated from the Catholic Church because of their involvement with the tubuan (Tading and ToTut, personal comm.). Only because of persistence by the managers to participate in tubuan matters, has the church relaxed its ruling on the matter.

Ever since literature about the Tolai started appearing, in the late 1880s, various interpretations have been put forward about the role of the tubuan and the Tubuan Society in Tolai society (Powell 1883, Parkinson 1907, Brown G. 1910, Epstein 1969, Salisbury 1970, Sack 1974, Errington 1974). In 1883, Powell, an early explorer around New Britain, described the tubuan as being "judge, policeman, and hangman all in one, as he (?)(1883:62) settles all disputes and punishes all offenders". In 1974, Sack agreed that the tubuan did have 'judicial functions' (Sack 1974). Parkinson, an early ethnologist

1 The seat of administration was at Kokopo and permission for a tubuan ceremony had to be obtained from Hahl there. As most of the Gazelle Peninsula was not easily accessible, the restriction was ineffective.
among the Tolai, had harsh things to say in 1907 about the fraternity.

In the course of years I have gradually come to the view that these societies lack any deep significance, and that they simply have for their object the quite material purpose of creating for their members a prestige in the eyes of the women and non-members. In addition, membership gives not only a certain social standing, but also material advantage in the shape of better food, opportunities to idle, unlicensed sexual intercourse and the chance to acquire property from non-members without cost (Parkinson 1907: 50).

It is not the aim of this chapter to discuss the position and role of the tubuan in Tolai society. Rather, I intend to discuss tabu exchanges which are associated with the tubuan. My aim is to discuss the social and political significances of these exchanges and how tabu impinges on these relations. At the same time I show how tabu is used in exchange to express desires and emotions. I also want to show the sacredness of tabu as it appears in its use in relation to the tubuan.

The Mask and the Tubuan Society

The term tubuan refers initially to the combination of mask and wearer and not just the mask alone. When the mask is
not being worn, it is separated into three pieces, the pala
lor (head-piece), the ivuna (feathers) and the lagulagu
strap-piece). The three separate parts are referred to by
these names, but if any of these pieces or parts of them
are donned by a persons or merely held in the hand, a
tubuan is formed as if the full mask is being worn. This is
usually done in the taraiu (tubuan sanctuary) when the
tubuan is quickly needed for some ritual or other purpose,
such as giving commands or rounding up the men to perform
some chore. This is because it is said that the tabarani ra
tubuan (spirit of the tubuan) permeates every part of the
mask. Outside of the sanctuary, the mask must be seen only
as a whole, in the form of tubuan.

Apart from reference to the mask, the term tubuan is also
used to refer to the men who manage the affairs of the
tubuan and who are more properly known as bit na tubuan
(tubuan managers). The use of the term to mean parts of the
mask being held by a person and the tubuan managers, are
only restricted to the taraiu. The word with these two
meanings is part of the sacred language of the Society.
Outside of the sanctuary, the term is used only to mean the
mask, both by the initiated men and boys and the women and
uninitiated. In general everyday speech though, the term is
used freely by everyone with two different meanings. It is
used by men to refer to their mothers in-law, because they
are forbidden from mentioning their names. Also, it is used
generally to refer to very old women.
The Mask

The mask itself is made of magaga (cane-leaves), kada (pieces of cane) and palakaur (strips of bamboo). Each mask is different from all other masks and these differences are determined by certain features of the masks such as the matana (face designs), the perapere (tuft of feathers at the top) and the pala lor (conical top). The information concerning these features of each mask is always closely guarded by initiated members of clans, lest other people copy them. This information is restricted knowledge and is passed down from one generation to the next, so that the identity of each tubuan remains the same. The knowledge of construction of each mask is also restricted to only one or two initiated members of the clan. The mask is in three parts, with their design and measurement specification always remaining the same everytime the tubuan is revived.

Pala lor (The Head Piece)

The pala lor (head-piece) is the top part of the mask, and is like an ice-cream cone placed upside down. This part of the mask is made of palakaur (strips of bamboo), which are made to form the sides of the cone. The bottom of the cone is made of a circular piece of cane known as a lok. Onto this circular piece of cane, one end of the strips of bamboo are tied, and evenly spaced apart. The other ends of the strips are tied together, thus forming a cone. In the event of a mask being destroyed at the end of a tubuan season, the lok is the only part which is saved, and is
passed down from generation to generation. This is an important part of the mask because its size determines the shape of the head-piece and consequently the shape of the whole mask. Over the strips of bamboo forming the side of the cone, sheets of transparent coconut fibre, known as nirut, are fixed. Today this coconut fibre material is being replaced more and more by imported cotton material such as sheets of mosquito netting. This covering is then painted in black (usually ground charcoal). Enough paint is applied so that when the head-piece is worn, the wearer can see from the inside quite clearly but he cannot be seen from outside. On one side of this black surface, the matana design of the tubuan is then made. Finally, at the top of the cone there is the perapere. These feathers are from chickens and other birds and it is important that they are passed from one generation to the next because they are important to the identity of each tubuan, as is the lok mentioned above.

**Iwuna (The Feathers)**

The iwuna is the middle part of the mask. This is made mainly of strips of cane, magaga (cane leaves) and string. One end of each cane leaf is sewn with a piece of string onto a flexible strip of cane. With the leaves sewn on, the strip of cane is then bent into a ring, with the leaves on the outer side of the ring. For each tubuan, between eight and twelve of these rings of leaves are needed. When worn, these rings are placed one on top of another. The leaves tend to dry very quickly so during periods of tubuan
ceremonials they have to be changed regularly to keep the
dkipm looking fresh. The rings are big enough for an adult
male’s head and upper half of the body to easily fit
tough through it. These rings are stopped from slipping right
down to the feet by a strapped piece which constitutes the
third part of the mask. When worn, these leaves cover the
wearer’s body between the neck and the thighs.

Lagulagu (The Strap)

The lagulagu (strap) is the third and bottom part of the
mask. This consists of about three or four rings of leaves
as those described above, tied together and fastened to two
straps. These straps are made of bark string and are long
enough to be hooked onto the shoulders when being worn.
When this piece is worn, the four rings of leaves hang
around about the thigh area. These four bottom rings are
what hold the ‘feathers’ up and they are designed in such a
way so that they are smaller than the rings above them but
can still allow free movement of the thighs when the wearer
walks. When wearing the mask, this strap piece is put on
first, then the rings of leaves and finally the head-piece.
When the rings of leaves are being slipped onto the body,
the arms are raised so that when the last ring is put on
they (arms) are still free but cannot be lowered to hang
naturally beside the body. When the head-piece is put on
top of the last ring, the arms are bent so that the elbows
stick outwards while the fingers grip together the conical
piece to the upper rings of leaves. When the mask is worn,
all of the wearer’s body is covered except for his thighs
down to his feet.

Varieties of Masks.

Although all the masks as described above are known as tubuan, they actually belong to three sub-categories, namely matatar (sometimes known as balilai), nialir and the matakorong. Each sub-category is distinguished from the others by variations in some general features of the masks as well as by rules regarding taboos and ritual associated with the mask.

Matatar

The matatar sub-category is found mainly in the southern end of the Gazelle Peninsula (See Map 1). In appearance, the shape of this mask is basically the same as the other two kinds. But it has a number of features which differentiate it from the other two sub-types. While the cones on the other two are tall, on the matatar they are short and stubby. At the top of the cone, instead of a tuft of feathers, the matatar has only a single white cockatoo feather. When the eye designs are made on one side of the cone, the central circle resembling the pupil is filled in with red-ochre while in the other two kinds they are left as white circles which are done in lime. For each eye, the matatar has only two concentric circles (with the inner one filled out in red-ochre) while in the other two types there are more than two concentric circles. Another feature of the matatar is a nose in the shape of a wide letter M
between and just below the eyes; the other two types never have noses. Apart from the differences in appearance, the matatar has a number of regulations regarding it which are different from those regarding the other two types. For instance, the matatar never dances but only struts to the beat of the garamut (slit-drum). This type of tubuan is not responsive to the beat of the kudu (hand-drum). The matatar cannot do the canoe dance known as kinawai in the sea. Also, matatar allow pork to be consumed in their sanctuaries while the other two types do not.

Nialir

The nialir sub-category is found mainly around the Blanche Bay area and the eastern tip of the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of York Islands and Watom Island. This type of mask has a tuft of chicken and bird feathers at the top of its cone. It has three concentric circles for each eye which are done in lime (white) on the black background. None of the concentric circles is filled in as in the matatar. Unlike the matatar, the nialir dances, particularly to a brand of tubuan music which is known as kabakawir. It is responsive to the beats of both the slit-drum and the hand-drum. It can perform the canoe dance known as the kinawai in the sea. The nialir does not allow the consumption of pork in its sanctuary or during its feasts.

Matakorong

The matakorong is found in the north-coast area of the
Gazelle Peninsula. Its conical top is slender and taller than those of the other two types. At the top of the cone, the chicken and bird feathers are black instead of a mixture of black and white. The transparent covering on the cone is in deeper black than it is in the other two types of masks. Each eye on the cone can have more than three concentric circles and none of them are filled in. The eye designs are done in lime (white). This mask dances to tubuan music and is responsive to both the beat of the slit-drum and the hand-drum. It does not perform the kinawai but it takes part in a war-dance known as the kanawo in the shallow areas of the beach.

Apart from the above differences between the three sub-categories of masks, there are other minor ones such as the way in which they conduct ceremonies. There is no clear explanation as to why there are such differences in appearances and some of the rules regarding them. To some extent these differences are related to the stories of origin of each tubuan sub-category. For instance, in the Blanche Bay area the myth of origin shows why the nialir sub-category is closely associated with the sea. One day in a village in the Blanche Bay area, an old woman named IaWuliman was left to look after the children while the rest of the villagers went to the gardens. She took the children into the water for a swim when the day was hot, and there she saw the first tubuan floating on four coconuts. She conversed with it and later it taught her how to dance and some kinds of magic. When the villagers returned from the gardens, IaWuliman told them. The men,
after hearing her story, ushered IaWuliman to a secluded area so she could teach them the dances and magic she had been taught by the tubuan. After she had taught them, the men sent her home and ever since then the tubuan has been exclusively a male affair. There are other versions of this legend. With the matatar, instead of the first tubuan being encountered on the beach, it was encountered by a woman who was collecting nuts in the forest. This seems to explain why it has very little association with the sea.

Traditionally there were some tubuan which did not correctly fit into any of the above three categories. These had characteristics from two or all three of the above categories and were known as tubuan na kapikapi (tubuan which appeared through the performance of magic). Today there are a few more of this kind of tubuan than there was in the past and they are known as ‘cowboys’ (loners - because they do not belong to any of the traditional sub-categories).

There is another masked figure which needs to be mentioned here although it is not a tubuan. This is the dukduk, which many people often confuse with the tubuan. In appearance, the dukduk is quite different from the tubuan. It is a slender and taller figure than the tubuan, reaching to a height of about twenty to twenty-five feet while the tubuan has an average height of about thirteen feet. The structure of the mask is the same as the tubuan, being in three pieces. There is a conical head-piece but it is greatly elongated with extra paraphernalia and very slender. There
are no eye designs on this mask. The *dukduk* is a child of a *tubuan* and has no real significance on its own apart from being merely an accompaniment to *tubuan*.

*The Identity of Tubuan*

Each *tubuan* has a name. It was suggested to me by some *tubuan* managers that those in the *matatar* sub-category should have male prefixes, those in the *nialir* should have female prefixes and those in the *matakorong* should have animal and plant names. The male prefixes To, as in ToLengangar and the female prefix is Ia, as in IaAlice (Alice, now a common Tolai female name). In some villages, what the managers suggested is true but in other villages it is not. For instance, on Matupit island, with 36 *tubuan* names, 31 had female names while five had male names. As Matupit Island is in *nialir* territory, the distribution of names seems to support the suggestion mentioned above. But of the five *tubuan* which had male names, two were *tubuan na kapikapi* while the other two were *nialir*. This Matupit sample is quite representative of the *tubuan* naming patterns in villages in *nialir* territory. The *matakorong* naming pattern also strongly supports the above suggestion, because about ninety percent of names in the samples I collected are of animals, plants and other natural phenomena such as landslides, lightning etc. The *matatar* case does not support the above suggestion because only about sixty to seventy percent of names are male.

The fact that *tubuan* have male or female names does not
Table XIII. List of Tubuan and the meaning of their names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tubuan name</th>
<th>Significance of name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tataur</td>
<td>name of a male clan ancestor who lived in the mid-nineteenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tatakila</td>
<td>name of a male clan ancestor who lived in the early part of the nineteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. IaWoro</td>
<td>name of a plot of land east of Matupit owned by the clan which owns this tubuan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. IaRorop</td>
<td>water-hole or well. The clan of IaRorop has a plot of land on which it is easy to dig water-holes and wells.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. IaLubang</td>
<td>growing well, proliferation, affluence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
have anything to do with their sex. All tubuan are female, regardless of whether they have a male or female name. Also, the naming of tubuan with names of plants, animals and natural phenomena does not have anything to do with totemism. Do the names have any particular significance? In answer to this question, I found that there were a number of ways by which tubuan were given their names. Some are named after ancestors (both male and female). In some cases tubuan are named after some plant, animal or land-mark which existed on a plot of land belonging to the clan which owns the tubuan; or even the name of the plot of land itself. In other cases, a name is given to a tubuan to indicate its character. In this third category, some tubuan retain names whose meanings are not known to anyone and are only referred to as iang papa mamaro (names from the past). For instance, in the Matupit sample of 36 names, six were those of ancestors, three had associations with land belonging to the owning clans and the rest were suggestive of the character of tubuan. I shall give six names from this sample to give some idea of names and their meanings (Table XIII).

The Tubuan Society

In each village there are areas of land some distance from the village, which are set aside as taraiu (tubuan sanctuary). Only those males who had been initiated into the fraternity can enter these sanctuaries. Each tubuan is supposed to have its own sanctuary. On Matupit Island, in the past tubuan used to have individual sanctuaries of
their own but today this has been made difficult by population pressure on land. Thus today, for the 36 known tubuan of the island, there are only four stretches of land which have been set aside as sanctuaries. These four areas are shared by all 36 tubuan; three of them are on the island itself while one is on the mainland.

All the Tolai males who have been initiated into the tubuan fraternity and who can enter the sanctuaries, are known as tarai na tubuan (men of the tubuan). They consider themselves to belong to one group, because they observe the same code, a minigui ra tubuan (the tubuan code). But there is no overall organizational body. For most of the time, the members in a particular village locality consider themselves to constitute a unit, but on many occasions they may find themselves being hosts to members from other village localities or they become guests in other villages. In villages as big as Matupit, the membership breaks up into a number of bodies. Thus on Matupit there are three bodies, which coincides with the division of the village into three districts.

Initiation

In theory membership in the tubuan fraternity is said to be voluntary but in fact young boys are enticed to join. Any male who has not been initiated into the fraternity is known as a maana. Literally this word means non-initiate but it also has derogatory overtones. It can also mean naivety, being uninformed, being stupid and simply being
classed as one of the women. This is enough to entice any thinking Tolai boy to want to join the fraternity. In addition to this, parents and matrilineal relatives always try to get boys initiated as soon as possible, in order to avoid having to pay large amounts of tabu fine for a boy's violation of some tubuan rule. There is the risk that an uninitiated boy may venture into the sanctuary, touch something a tubuan has touched, stand too close to a tubuan or simply hear something he was not supposed to hear. The fines for these violations is from ten fathoms upwards, while an initiation fee to avoid them is only one fathom of tabu. The payment of this fathom admits a person into the tubuan. He is then said to be itar olo (have entered) the Society.

Membership in the fraternity is graded and a person advances to each grade by undergoing appropriate initiations. There are three stages which every man or boy is encouraged to reach, warwolo (admission), rang dawai (second stage initiation) and nidok (third stage initiation). The first of these is the admission initiation which changes the status of a boy from being a maana (non-initiate) to a kalamana (initiate). This takes place at a very early age, between five and eight, although in some cases it takes place at a much later age. This initiation begins in the village in front of the uninitiated and women. On a chosen date the initiands are prepared somewhere in the village. They are dressed in red laplaps², babat (protective magic) is put on their

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² loincloth
foreheads, and each holds one fathom of tabu which is wound around a branch of particular plants. They are arranged in some open space, with the parents, relatives and other villagers standing some distance away. As the tubuan approach, each initiand stoops away from it and the tubuan taps him lightly on the back with a ram (club). A person who had accompanied the tubuan from the sanctuary into the village, collects each fathom of tabu from the initiands. The tubuan then accompanies the initiands away from the village for their first entry into the sanctuary.

At the entrance to the sanctuary, a number of initiated men and boys lie in wait for the approaching party, armed with clubs, sticks and spears. As the party reaches the entrance, the men and boys rush out of hiding, brandishing their weapons and making as much commotion as possible. They put on an act of being angry with the initiands for attempting to enter the sanctuary. They ask them why they had come to this taboo place. For most of the initiands, young as they are, this is a very frightening experience. For the older ones it is not so frightening but it is painful because they actually get beaten with the sticks and clubs (which is another reason why parents want their children to be initiated early). After the mock attack, the initiands’ party then enters the sanctuary. A short time later, it is revealed to them for the first time that the tubuan which they had been led to believe was a spirit, was actually a man in a mask. A small feast is put on for them in the sanctuary. Towards evening, the very young ones are returned to the village to their mothers, while the older
ones are allowed to stay overnight at the sanctuary. From then on, the newly initiated are known as kalamana. They can enter and leave the sanctuary whenever they wish, and are now part of the body of men known as tarai na tubuan (the men of tubuan). This means they are now members of the Society.

Although a person in the kalamana stage has been let into the secret of the mask and can go in and out of the sanctuary whenever he likes, there are still restrictions on what he can do, see, hear and know in the Society. For instance, he is not yet allowed to wear the mask. He is not allowed to enter secluded corners of the sanctuary where the masks are kept. In order to get beyond such restrictions, he has to move on to higher grades. The next stage that he has to reach is guboro, which is attained by the initiation known as rang dawai.

The rang dawai is a small affair between the candidates and a tubuan manager and is conducted within the confines of the sanctuary. It involves the performance of a number of sets of rituals and the payment of tabu fees by the candidates to the tubuan manager initiating them. In the past the fee for this initiation was between ten and thirty fathoms of tabu but today it is between three and ten fathoms.

After the attainment of guboro, some of the restrictions imposed on a person are lifted, but many still remain. Most of these are lifted at the attainment of the next stage,
which is known as melem. This stage is attained through an initiation which is known as nidok. The initiation takes place in the sanctuary and the bush, out of the sight of women. In the past, to undergo this initiation, young men had to stay in seclusion in the bush for at least three months but today this period has been reduced to two weeks. Of the three initiations discussed so far, nidok is the most important. The minimum amount required for the nidok fee today is fifty fathoms of tabu. Nidok is the last of the compulsory initiations and it is the watershed in membership in the Tubuan Society. From this point a few men proceed to another two levels, to become bit na tubuan (tubuan managers) and kabin na rakrak (pillars of the fraternity), while the rest remain ordinary members. A person becomes a bit na tubuan when he begins to manage the affairs of a tubuan. A person attains the title of kabin na rakrak after he has successfully staged a series of four tubuan ceremonies, including the nidok initiation.

II

Ownership / Acquisition / Symbol of Identity

In principle all tubuan are tubuan na vunatarai (tubuan of the clan) and are considered to be tubuan na waki (sacred tubuan passed down from the ancestors). Despite the above understanding, not many tubuan that exist at any one time, actually fit under this principle. In any village at any given time, while all tubuan may belong to clans, not all of them are tubuan na waki for some of them may be of
recent origin. People acquire these new tubuan for various reasons and there are a number of ways by which they can acquire them.

Ownership

One of the reasons for acquiring kalamana tubuan (new tubuan) is the dispersed nature of clan members throughout a number of villages. A clan localised in one village has one tubuan, but as members move to other villages and form local groups there, they also want their own tubuan to perform their own ritual ceremonies. This means that it is possible for a clan to have as many tubuan as the number of villages its members occupy. Thus, of the 18 tubuan which are often revived at Kikila, 15 strictly belong to the local groups while three are being shared with clan members from other villages.

Another reason for the acquisition of new tubuan is splits within the clan or local groups. When there is a split within the clan which makes it very difficult for the members to perform their ceremonies together, lineages consider it necessary to acquire their own tubuan. If the split is within local groups, then small segments acquire tubuan to be able to perform their own ceremonies. Thus sometimes clans and even local groups have more than one tubuan. The way the tubuan are owned as described here, reflects the cohesive or fragmentary nature of clans or local groups. If a clan is cohesive and there is no struggle for leadership within the local group, the group
Table XIV. List of Tubuan and Owning Clans at Kikila.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>No. of Tubuan</th>
<th>Tubuan</th>
<th>Manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bitabutua</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>IaUbia</td>
<td>ToGarama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IaRigoi I</td>
<td>ToWarpiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vunaolagamata</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>IaRigoi II</td>
<td>ToWetuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ToNgapipi</td>
<td>ToNiolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raturpit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>IaWakum</td>
<td>ToKutu &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IaLupen</td>
<td>ToLipirin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IaLubang</td>
<td>ToPupun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torovoi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tataur</td>
<td>ToKaputin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ToGigi +</td>
<td>ToKaputin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odaodo</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaKeake</td>
<td>ToPepelegi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IaWoro</td>
<td>ToPepelegi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tatakila</td>
<td>ToUrapal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToLabit</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaTovon</td>
<td>ToPaivu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakalkal</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaWalwal3+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabagia *</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaWarwul</td>
<td>ToDokta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vunakua</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaUlamata</td>
<td>ToNebuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railil * &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaIlailam</td>
<td>ToKowa &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabokoro *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ToWarpulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karavia 45 * &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaTamuar +</td>
<td>Turagil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabakada 39 *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ToPapat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunanba 64 *</td>
<td></td>
<td>IaRorop</td>
<td>ToDimain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Local groups not from Kikila.
+ Tubuan which have to be shared with clan members in other villages.

3This tubuan is shared with clan members in other villages and still makes appearances at Kikila, but it has been without a manager for a long time, since its last manager, Tipaul, died in the early 1960s.
has only one tubuan (although it may have inherited others which are currently dormant). But those local groups that are large in numbers and have a number of ambitious men vying for the leadership of the group are ones most likely to have more than one tubuan. Of the 19 tubuan that belong to Kikila, six local groups own one each, four own two each, one owns three and four groups share two tubuan (two groups per tubuan), as listed in Table XIV. Of the four local groups that own two tubuan each, two groups’ pairs of tubuan strictly belong to the district while in the other two groups one tubuan in each belongs locally and the other two are shared with members of the clans in other villages. In the case of the one local clan group that has three tubuan, each is owned by lineages within the local group and are managed by men of these groups.

An important factor in the acquisition of these new tubuan is the willingness of someone in the group to take the responsibility and be ambitious enough to lead the group. In most cases the responsibility is assumed by men who have interests in leadership roles and they are usually the ones who acquire the tubuan on behalf of the group. To show this I shall discuss the nature of fragmentation within two of the clans that have two tubuan each and the one that has three.

The first of the local groups with two tubuan each was Bitabutua group, which manifested clearly the struggle for eminence and leadership. This struggle was unusual because it was not between men of the same clan. It was a case of a
man, ToWarpiam, who wanted to fill the leadership position in his local group but he was being blocked by the son of the previous leader of the clan, ToGarama, who was very old and no longer active in tubuan matters. In the past ToGarama had shared the leadership of Bitabutua clan with Tiale, a clan member but of another lineage. When Tiale was still alive, the tubuan of the clan was IaRigoi and Tiale was its manager. After Tiale died, ToGarama, who was an ambitious man in the tubuan arena, acquired the new tubuan IaUibia. During the periods of my fieldwork, ToGarama was still manager of this tubuan but he was frail and senile so the actual day-to-day management of the affairs of the tubuan were handled by his son ToPaivu. ToPaivu was a tubuan manager himself, of his local group tubuan IaTovon, which he acquired from his father. Clearly, ToWarpiam was angry with ToPaivu’s continued involvement in the affairs of his clan.

In most cases, a son who has acquired a tubuan from his father, like ToPaivu, concentrates on managing it and leaves his father and his matrilineal kinsmen to manage their own clan tubuan. But ToPaivu had not done this. He continued to put a lot of effort, time and tabu into the management of his father’s clan tubuan and in so doing he won the support of his father’s clan. ToPaivu was mainly interested in maintaining his father ToGarama as leader of the local group. He claimed to be working on advice from his father but ToWarpiam doubted this because ToGarama had become old and senile.
Whether ToPaivu was acting on his father's advice was not clear, but it was obvious that he had other interests. His interest in his father's continued prominence in the local group was related to land which he had purchased from his father's clan. In the late 1960s ToPaivu had acquired this large tract of residential land through ToGarama, as his local group did not have much land on the island. He invited his two sisters and their children, who now live on this land.\textsuperscript{4} ToPaivu knew that as long as his father was leader of Bitabutua clan, his rights in the purchased land were secure. When ToGarama died in 1987, ToPaivu insisted that he be buried in front of his (ToPaivu's) house, on the land that he had bought, and he later erected a monument over his grave. In 1988 ToPaivu staged a big matamamatam (tubuan ceremony) in honour of his father, on the land that he bought, and in which a lot of tabu was distributed.

ToWarpiam was the son of Tiale's mother's sister's daughter. During the early part of his life, ToWarpiam lived at Raluana, but when Tiale was getting old and frail, he moved to Matupit to live with him. At the time of his death, Tiale had no other surviving member of his lineage on Matupit apart from ToWarpiam. At the old man's death, ToWarpiam assumed authority over the properties of Tiale's lineage, including the tubuan IaRigoi. It was ToGarama who introduced ToWarpiam to the managership of the tubuan IaRigoi I. In that kind of situation it was expected that

\textsuperscript{4} ToPaivu now owns a very lucrative business in the town of Rabaul and lives there although he still has a house and trade-store on the above-mentioned land.
as ToGarama got older, he and the tubuan IaUbia would gradually fade from the scene. In their place, ToWarpam and the tubuan IaRigoi I would gradually come into prominence. But because of the involvement of ToPaivu, as described above, this succession was not possible. When I left Matupit in 1984, ToWarpam was complaining bitterly about the displacement of IaRigoi I by IaUbia in the tubuan arena. ToPaivu had also established his cross-cousin (ToGarama’s sister’s son), Ereman, as the new manager of IaUbia.

The two tubuan in Vunaolagamata clan are owned by two lineages within the clan. The fact that there are two tubuan was not caused by the kinds of conflict of interest to be found in the two cases discussed so far. All the Matupit members of Vunaolagamata local group recognize that their clan tubuan is IaRigoi II, without there being any ill feelings towards the lineage that owns the other tubuan. The fact that there is ToNgapipi in addition to IaRigoi is the result of two conditions. Firstly ToNgapipi’s manager, ToNiolo, was the son of ToKaputin, a very prominent tubuan manager at Matupit. As any other tubuan manager in his position would do for his sons, ToKaputin wanted to give his sons a headstart in the tubuan arena. In addition to his father’s concern, ToNiolo himself had some ambition to be a tubuan manager. Thus for these two reasons, arrangements were made to acquire ToNgapipi. This tubuan was acquired from ToLaku, an elder of Vunaolagamata local group who lived at Baai.
Genealogy II of Raturpit vunatarai, showing lineage ownership of tubman.
The three tubuan in Raturpit clan is a manifestation of the uncertainty of whether the three groups that own the three tubuan actually belong to the same clan. According to the genealogy of this clan (Genealogy II), two of these groups had clear matrilineal links and the third was uncertain. Despite this uncertainty, since before World War I and up to the 1960s, the members of Raturpit had always considered themselves to belong to the same clan. In the 1960s a number of land disputes arose within the local group and the uncertainty about one of the groups as being linked to the clan, was raised. At this time, the clan group was headed by two men, ToPidik and Turpui (C 5), who were the leaders of two of the groups in the clan. In these disputes, the group of ToPidik rejected Turpui’s group as not being part of Raturpit. During this time, Raturpit had one tubuan, IaLupen, which was managed by ToKaminiel (D 17), a man of ToPidik’s group. At the same time, the clan had another tubuan, IaWakum, which it had inherited from the past, but it was dormant. ToKutu (D 5), a man of the third group within the clan, knew the design and babat (protective magic) of this tubuan. ToKutu was the senior person in this group, but he allowed his group to be under the auspices of Turpui.

As a result of the land disputes mentioned above, there occurred a rift within the clan. ToPidik took his half while Turpui took the rest. Turpui also took ToKutu’s group

5 ToPidik does not even appear in Raturpit Genealogy.
6 Dormant tubuan are those that do not get revived for a long time.
with him. The tubuan IaLupen went with its manager, ToKaminiel, into ToPidik’s half of the clan. In the early 1970s, ToKutu and his younger brother, ToLipirin (D 1), revived the dormant tubuan, IaWakum, for Turpui’s half of the clan. Beginning in 1980, there was a further rift in the clan, this time between the groups of Turpui, which was headed by two of his descendants, ToPupun (D 16) and ToPitap (D 14), and ToKutu. This time, there was some doubt about the group of ToKutu as belonging to Raturpit clan. The group of ToPitap and ToPupun rejected the group of ToKutu, despite there being clear links between them in the clan genealogy. In 1981, while they still managed the tubuan IaWakum, ToKutu and his younger brother ToLipirin helped their sister’s son, Tionatana (El), to acquire a new tubuan. This tubuan, IaLubang, is therefore the third in the clan.

I have said here that apart from those tubuan which have to be shared by clan members in a number of villages, each tubuan belongs to the local group members in a village. But the fact that a tubuan is associated with a particular locality does not mean that it is limited in its activities to that locality. It can go to other villages in order to collect lukara from clan members who are living in those villages. A tubuan can also go to other villages in order

7 Tionatana was only in his mid-twenties when he assumed managership of this tubuan.

8 Lukara is a kind of tribute payment in food and tabu by members of the clan to which the tubuan belongs. This will be discussed further later in this chapter.
to begin the warwolo of some young boys of the clan.⁹ Thirdly, a tubuan may go to another village in order to ritually bury a prominent member of the clan.¹⁰ Also, a tubuan can go into another village in order to deliver a new tubuan which may have recently been acquired by local group in that village.¹¹ In all of these four situations, the tubuan is revived in its local village and goes to the other villages, for only a few hours. Apart from such short visits, a tubuan can be revived in another village locality other than the one it belongs to. This happens when a tubuan appears in another village in order to assist a co-clan tubuan in a major clan ceremony.¹²

Acquisition of Tubuan

There are two main ways of acquiring new tubuan: kunukul

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⁹ The first part of this initiation takes place in the village being visited but the rest of the initiation takes place at the sanctuary of the tubuan, which is in the village where the tubuan came from.

¹⁰ This can still happen despite the fact that the deceased’s local descent group has a tubuan. It happens for reasons of convenience and also prestige. Sometimes a person dies when his clan relatives are staging tubuan ceremonies in another village. Thus instead of reviving the local tubuan to bury the dead person, the tubuan which has been revived in the other village can be invited to perform this function. Also, it is prestigious if an old established tubuan (tubuan na waki) buries a person. An old established tubuan of a clan is one which has been passed down through the generations, and usually comes from the village locality to which the clan traces its origin (gunan na madapai).

¹¹ In this case the new tubuan is a co-clan tubuan of the one doing the delivering or it is of a different clan.

¹² The tubuan can be revived by someone from the host village or the person who usually revives it in its home village can follow it in order to revive it.
(purchase) and warwakokon (blessing / gift). A purchase is
done by a lineage or sub-group which wants to have a new
tubuan for reasons mentioned above. This purchase is done
in accordance with very strict procedures.

Men of the tubuan believe that the environment is teeming
with potential tubuan spirits which can be kapi (trapped)
and made to materialize in the form of tubuan. There are
men who can see and trap these spirits in their barovon
(supernatural vision).13 The spirits appear to these men in
the form of tubuan, complete with wabobo (facial designs),
perapere (tuft of feathers) and measurement specifications.
The tena barovon remembers the design and then reproduces
it in model form. These models represent kalamana tubuan
(new tubuan) and they are displayed at nidok initiations
for inspection and purchase by any interested persons. Only
those who have gone through the nidok initiation and
reached the melem stage, can purchase one of these new
tubuan.14

When a tubuan is sold, it comes in a package, consisting of
the wabobo15, palawat (base magic from which the tubuan
draws its power), babat (protective magic for the tubuan),

13 Barovon is like a dream, but it is different in that
the person does not really go to sleep to be able to see
the spirits. Persons who are known to do this have been
through a special school and have been given some kind of
magic which enhances their ability to barovon.

14 The standard price for a new tubuan at Matupit in the
1978 nidok was 100 fathoms of tabu. This amount is roughly
the same in other Tolai villages.

15 As mentioned above, care must be taken so that the
design does not resemble any other tubuan.
walaun (curing magic for anyone who is harmed in any way by the tubuan) and dokadoko (magic for symbolically killing the tubuan).

Palawat is either a rock slightly larger than a football, or a length of hardwood, in which the power and strength of the tubuan is embedded. Babat is ritual knowledge with accompanying incantations. This kind of magic is important because all tubuan are subject to jealousies or tests of strength by managers of other tubuan and other men in general. The malevolent magic used by these men is known as kuara. Walaun is used to cure any person who has been harmed by the tubuan. This harm is inflicted either intentionally or unintentionally. It is considered very

16 If the mother tubuan had a palawat of rock, then the child's palawat also has to be of rock and if it was of wood, then the child's must also be of wood. The concept of the palawat is related to some plants which regenerate through the root system, such as ginger, banana, and other kinds of root crops. To cultivate any of these plants, part of the root system has to be obtained. In Kuanua there is a verb for the act of breaking off part of a root system of a plant, kabal. In the tubuan, the verb kabal is also used to refer to the acquiring of a palawat from another tubuan. The palawat is thought of as being alive, just like the root systems of one of the plants mentioned above. When part of it is broken off and transplanted in another place, it is expected to be of the same nature as the one it originated from. The new palawat is not actually physically broken off the original. It is a different rock or piece of wood, but as long as it is the same type as the original. Ritual magic is performed over it in order to give it the required potency.

17 This malevolent magic is aimed at the person wearing the mask. It is intended to stun or daze the person so that he either collapses with the mask or loses his grip of it and drops the head-piece. Most tabaran (wearers of masks) are very careful never to fall with or drop the mask in public the spirit of the tubuan harshly punishes anyone who does so. Attempts with this malevolent magic are made when the tubuan is performing in public, either in ritual or dance.
dangerous for the general public to have a tubuan running around without walaun.\(^\text{18}\) Dokadoko is the knowledge of the ritual of symbolically killing a tubuan with accompanying protective magic for the person doing the killing. It is important to have this in order for tubuan to be killed properly because it is not safe to have wounded tubuan spirits in the environment.\(^\text{19}\) All of the things listed above are important to the tubuan and a tubuan without them is known as a pobono (an empty one); its status among other tubuan will always be open to question.

Warwakokon (blessing / gift), the second way of acquiring new tubuan is a more private affair between men and their fathers (who are usually bit na tubuan). In this case the father’s tubuan is merely said to have kawa (given birth to) a new tubuan, which is then given over to his son(s) to maintain as their own and then to pass it down their lineage or clan. This is not really a case of gift because the sons still have to pay a certain amount of tabu since the tubuan they acquire actually belonged to the father’s group and not his own property. Naturally, the senior

\(^\text{18}\) While babat are interchangeable between tubuan, walaun are not. A walaun of one tubuan cannot be borrowed, for any reason whatsoever, by another tubuan. This is why a tubuan without, walaun is dangerous.

\(^\text{19}\) The symbolic killing of the tubuan is actually separate the spirit from the mask. After this has been done, the spirit is free and the mask is nothing but a pile of leaves, bits of cane, and bits of bamboo. As to where the spirit goes is never clear. Most people say that they walk along the beaches and finally return to the island of Siar, in the South of the Gazelle Peninsula, where they had originally been called up from. They stay at Siar until they are called up for another revival. But sometimes it is said that these spirits merely remain within the sanctuary and that is why it stays sacred.
members of the father’s group must also agree to the transfer of the tubuan. Of course, this tubuan as blessing / gift, also comes in a package complete with palawat, babat, walaun and dokadoko.

**Tubuan as Symbol**

What is the tubuan? In answer to this question, the Tolai can give up to seven answers. These relate to what the tubuan is (or is believed to be) and what it does. In some situations, the tubuan is clearly seen as one of these things but at other times it is all of these things simultaneously. For the Tolai there is no confusion or inconsistency about the tubuan being different things in other situations and being all things in some situations. I shall list these seven answers here and the way they are presented in Kuanua.

1. **A tubuan a bartubuna (A tubuan is a grandmother).**

As was mentioned above, the word tubuan also means ‘old woman’. This is not a lexical coincidence. Tubuan as an old woman has its root in the idea that the figure represents a grandmother. It is grandmother at two levels: for the clan and for the Tolai population as a whole. Every tubuan is seen by the members of two groups as their grandmother. Firstly there are those, both male and female, who belong to the clan that owns the tubuan. Secondly, there are those people who, both male and female, were ‘fathered’ by the clan that owns that particular tubuan. On the Tolai level,
clan that owns that particular tubuan. On the Tolai level, tubuan are equated with an ancestress from whom all Tolai clans and their descendants sprang.

2. A tubuan a kaia (The tubuan is a deity).

Kaia are spirits which live in particular territories and protect the people in those territories. They have names and are known to the people who live in them. In the case of tubuan, these kaia come from far-off Siar Island and cannot be identified. The immense power that tubuan have is attributed to the idea that they are kaia.

3. A tubuan a tena warkurai (The tubuan is the judge).

The Kuanua term for a person who hears court cases is a tena warkurai. The description of the tubuan as such relates to its role in declaring taboos, its role in social control, and its role in collecting fines from offenders. If a definition of the ways it carried out its judicial functions was made, however, it would be clear that it does not operate only as a judge or magistrate. For this reason it has been described as "judge, policeman and hangman all in one ".

20 See Chapter IV, on World View.

4. A tubuan i wawauwiana ra tarai (*The tubuan makes people rich*).

Despite the fact that the tubuan is recognized to have very important social, political and religious roles, at the same time it is seen as an asset. The above phrase means the tubuan make clans wealthy.

5. A tubuan i punapunang ra vunavunatarai (*Tubuan can bury the members of clans*).

In Kuanua, the term for 'bury' is punang. Punapunang is the past continuous tense of this verb. To physically bury something, is to punang it. To physically bury a corpse is to punang ra minat. But in some contexts when this verb is used in relation to the dead, it does not have anything to do with physical burial. It refers to the necessary burial rites and mortuary ceremonies which are accorded to the dead. It is an insult and a humiliation for anyone to be told that he did not bury his mother (despite the fact that this person did pick up a spade and covered his mother's grave and perhaps built a monument over her). What is meant here is that the person did not perform the required rites and stage the appropriate ceremonies.

It is not uncommon for clans to fail to give their dead the appropriate rituals and ceremonies. This is because they are too costly, both in terms of *tabu* and cash. In some cases, only certain rituals and ceremonies in the cycle are performed and the rest are abandoned. When no rituals are
performed over these dead for a long time, it is said that a moi i lubang taun ra umana minati diat (moss grows high over their graves) which is a statement of humiliation for clans of the dead. This humiliation can only be avoided by either staging a balaguan as discussed above or matamatam (tubuan ceremony), in which tubuan are revived as described below. The ritual known as takin, which the tubuan perform on the graves, is done in order to 'remove the moss'. One tubuan can perform this ritual on any number of graves, thus saving the clan from shame and humiliation.

6. A tubuan i watawatakodo ra vunavunatarai (The tubuan maintains the orderliness of the clan and moiety systems).

The above statement is usually made by speakers (usually male) during public gatherings, when highlighting the importance of the tubuan to society. It relates to the important role the tubuan has in showing people who their kinsmen are, who their social allies are and who their political allies are. The tubuan does this mainly through ritual. To every Tolai, the tubuan symbolizes the clan so that every action of a tubuan are actions of the clan. Thus every move that the tubuan makes in public is symbolic action and is watched very closely by people. Some of the messages in these symbolic actions are about contemporary social, economic and political relations but most of them are about modes of social behaviour which are believed to have been handed down from the ancestors. In this sense then, the tubuan in the ceremonies are reiterating the messages from the ancestors.
Ceremonies and Tabu Payments

There are a number of occasions in which tubuan make appearances in the village. These occasions have specific names but they are known by the general term tinut na tubuan (tubuan revival). Each time a tubuan is revived, it laun (lives) for a particular period before it is di doka (symbolically killed) in the sanctuary, in a ceremony which is known as a pulpulung. As I shall show, periods of revival range from a few hours to three months. Tubuan are revived for a limited number of ritual occasions. These are: pupuak-rikai (establishing of a new tubuan), lukara (being host to other tubuan), matamatam (commemoration of dead ancestors), nidok, and tinut na pupunang (to bury a dead person). The first four of these occasions must take place in the order I have presented them, because they represent rungs in the tubuan manager’s career ladder. Revival for burial can take place any time there is a death

22 In this ritual the mask is destroyed by a person who knows the ritual killing and magic of the tubuan. Each tubuan is ritually ‘killed’ in a particular way and there is accompanying magic for the ritual. This symbolic killing is performed on the head-piece. After this the head-piece and the rest of the mask is burnt.

23 There was a case at Matupit in 1974 where the tubuan IaMaka stayed ‘alive’ for more than one year. This was a very unusual case and it was embarrassing for all concerned. The reason for this unusual situation was that, no one knew its killing ritual and associated magic, but I also knew then that after it had been revived, there was some conflict within the clan that owned it. I suspected that the persons who had raised this tubuan, simply refused to come together to organize a pulpulung.
within the clan worthy of a tubuan burial.

Pupuak-rikai.

Literally, the term pupuak rikai means 'carriage upwards'. In Kuanua, to carry anything in general is to tang, but to carry a baby is puak. Pupuak as used in the above sense comes from this verb. The word rikai is translated as "upwards" but in this sense it means 'out into the open'. The term 'open' in this phrase refers to both the general body of the tubuan fraternity and the wider world of women and the uninitiated. When a tubuan is brought 'out into the open', its mask is made for the first time and is seen by everyone. Thus the pupuak rikai is seen as a mother tubuan carrying a child tubuan, into the world. 24 This is the first major step in a tubuan manager's career.

When the design and associated items have been received, the new manager now prepares for the pupuak rikai. Even though this aspiring manager has just spent about 100 fathoms of tabu on acquiring the new tubuan, he will need more to stage the pupuak rikai. The amount of tabu spent on this ceremony depends basically on how many tubuan are invited to participate. 25 This is because each tubuan will

24 Since all tubuan are female, this child is a daughter in this ceremony. Later when this tubuan is properly established, instead of being a daughter it becomes a sister to the tubuan that gave birth to it.

25 This invitation is done in a small ritual ceremony which is known as ginigit na buai (picking of betel-nuts). This is done in the sanctuary during a previous revival. In this ceremony, the manager of the tubuan intending to stage a revival gives a betel-nut each to a number of tubuan managers. He is thus inviting the tubuan of these managers
be paid a certain amount of tabu for its participation. Between 1975 and 1983, the amount of tabu paid to each tubuan for their part in such ceremonies was thirty fathoms. During this period I was able to see three such ceremonies. In addition to the host tubuan, the first had seven others, the second had nine and the third had eleven. In order to give some idea of this ceremony, I shall describe one of the above-mentioned three revivals. This is the pupuak rikai of the new tubuan, IaTovon, of ToLabit clan. This tubuan was received by ToPaivu from his father ToGarama as warwakokon.

Notification about the ceremony was made at least one year earlier. This was done at the pulpulung (ritual killing) of another tubuan. On this occasion ToPaivu performed tinatar na buai (ritual giving of betel-nut), to a number of tubuan managers. These betel-nuts signified an invitation to the pupuak rikai which was to be staged by ToPaivu and his local group of ToLabit.

Actual preparations began about three months before the day of the ceremony. In this early stage, the sanctuaries were cleared of bush and houses were built. Although ToPaivu was staging the ceremony and most of the activities were to appear in his revival. If a manager accepts the betel-nut he is given, it means he accepts the invitation but if he returns it, then he does not accept the invitation and is expected to explain why.

26 Between 1975 and 1977 I did some research work on the tubuan, with the Institute of P.N.G. Studies.

27 Others did happen during my absence from Matupit.
concentrated at his tubuan sanctuary, the managers of the other tubuan which had been invited the year before also made preparations in their own tubuan sanctuaries. Then about three weeks before the ceremony, the sanctuary of the tubuan IaUbia was cleared. The construction of the masks and the clearing of the sanctuary were done in secret. Only those men and boys who were in the melem category were allowed to do any of these jobs.

The first sign of the impending revival appeared in the village only three days before the bung na punuongo (day of first emergence of the tubuan). An area was cleared near ToPaivu's house and a tugutugu (bamboo structure) was constructed near this clearing. On the morning of the day of first emergence, several hundred bunches of bananas were placed on the bamboo structure. The village scene was thus set for the revival.

The actual revival period began in the afternoon, at about four o'clock. It began with the punuongo (explosion). This took place in the sanctuary of the tubuan IaUbia, but it could be heard in the village. In this 'explosion' the men and boys in the sanctuary beat drums and shouted as much as possible. This was the sign to all that the tubuan diatar laun (the tubuan had come to life). A few minutes after this announcement, the new tubuan IaTovon made its first appearance in the village, an occasion which is known as we

28 This structure was conical in shape. It reached a height of about thirty feet and the base had a radius of about ten feet. It was built around a coconut palm, which held it up.
kua (showing of the head-feathers). It was accompanied by two other tubuan, IaUbia and IaRigoi I. The two accompanying tubuan belonged to Bitabutua clan and were currently under the managership of ToPaivu's father, ToGarama. These two tubuan had the role of 'carrying' the new one 'out into the open'.

When the tubuan entered the village, they merely walked around, giving everyone a chance to have a look at them. This first appearance was brief but the tubuan managed to perform warwolo on a number of young boys, at the place which had been prepared a few days before. At the same time, the five others which had been revived on invitations also made their maiden appearances in other parts of the village. After this all the tubuan disappeared back into the sanctuary.

Later that night, a number of men and young boys entered the village carrying a rock, a number of plants and saplings for fencing. They took these things to the place where the bamboo structure was. Only a few metres from the structure, the men and boys built a circular garden bed in a very small area about one and a half metres in diameter. The rock was partly buried in the middle of this area and the plants were planted beside it. This rock was the palawat and it had thus been kalie (established).

At dawn the next day, the sound of drums could be heard from the southern end of the island. The hand drums were being beaten by men who were in canoes. Onboard these
canoes were a number of tubuan, dancing. From around 5 am to 10.30 am, the tubuan performed the canoe dance known as a kinawai. During this dance, the flotilla of canoes was slowly moving towards a particular beach-landing. On reaching this point, the canoe dance ended and the tubuan came ashore. Accompanied by the men, the tubuan went to where the bamboo structure was built, was just beside ToPaivu’s house. When they got there, all the other tubuan watched while the two tubuan, IaUbia and IaRigoi, performed the ritual of rurua na palawat (giving strength to the palawat). In this ritual, each of the two tubuan put their right foot on the stone which had been planted the night before. When these two had finished, the new tubuan, IaTovon, also put its right foot on the stone in order to draw strength from the palawat for the first time. The palawat was then very powerful, sacred and dangerous, and a fence was erected around it a few days later.

After the transfer of power to the palawat, the men, boys and the tubuan retired into the sanctuary. Half an hour later they appeared again in front of the bamboo structure.

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29 This kinawai dance is often performed by tubuan in the nialir sub-category. It resembles war parties approaching each other in the water in canoes. For this purpose, the men, boys and tubuan split into two groups and the tubuan display as much aggression as possible in the dance while the parties approach each other.

30 The palawat mentioned here is one of two. The other one was in the sanctuary. Each time a tubuan leaves the sanctuary, it has to gather strength from its palawat there, and each time it enters the village it also has to first gather strength from the village palawat. Because these two palawat will have been fenced, within a few days after their construction, the tubuan does not put its foot on it but it merely circles it once.
for the ritual payment known as the *tutupar*. In this ritual payment, the invited *tubuan* were paid in *tabu*, for their participation in the revival. All the *tubuan* knelt down in front of the bamboo structure in a row. Two baskets full of *tabu* were brought forward and ToGire, a matrilineal kinsman of ToPaivu, began to throw this *tabu* in units of ten fathoms at each *tubuan*, quite hard. Each *tubuan* received thirty fathoms. After ToGire had finished, the manager of each *tubuan* came forward with a basket of *tabu* and also began to throw this *tabu* at their own *tubuan*. When this was over, all the *tabu* received by each *tubuan* was packed into a basket and the *tubuan* carried it into the sanctuary.

In a little while the *tubuan* came back again. This time it was for the ritual payment known as *warlapang* (which is a kind of tribute payment). For this the *tubuan* knelt down again in a row in front of the bamboo structure. The crowd which gathered on that morning came forward with pieces of *tabu*, between twenty centimetres and one fathom. Some people had more than one piece while others only had one. Each piece of *tabu* was then dropped in front of one of the kneeling *tubuan*. In this ritual, everyone is supposed to throw *tabu* only in front of their own clan *tubuan*, but in this particular ceremony, about three quarters of the people gave to more than one *tubuan*. When this was over, all the *tabu* in front of each *tubuan* was again put into a basket and the *tubuan* took it away into the sanctuary. A

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31 Ten fathoms of *tabu* could easily weigh a kilogram. Before being thrown, it is folded into a tight bundle. It is actually hurled at the *tubuan* but the impact is cushioned by the thick cane leaves.
short time later, the **tubuan** returned and pulled down the bananas from the bamboo structure and took them into the sanctuary.

The important part of the revival had now been completed, and the crowd dispersed. At about 3.30 pm, the men, boys and the **tubuan** reappeared at the site of the ceremony. The men beat hand-drums while the **tubuan** danced. It went on until dusk, when the **tubuan** returned to the sanctuary. For the next month, the **tubuan** was in revival. There were no further ceremonials during this month. The **tubuan** did not do very much more apart from dancing in front of the bamboo structure every afternoon, collecting **wanga** (tabu fines) which had been imposed on people for various reasons and collecting tribute gifts of food and tabu known as **lukara** from certain people. What has been described so far is what happens during a **pupuak rikai** revival.

**Lukara**

Another occasion in which the **tubuan** are revived is the **lukara**. This is the next step in a **tubuan** manager's career, after the **pupuak rikai**. It is the occasion in which a new **tubuan** (via the manager) hosts a new **tubuan** by itself. This revival is very much the same as the **pupuak rikai** described above, but it is different in a few respects. The main difference is that those parts that had anything to do with

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32 Most of the fines are imposed for breaches of **tubuan** rules but there are others which are imposed for mere disturbance of the peace.
the palawat are not repeated in the lukara revival. Another major difference is that the lukara is of a much larger scale: there is more food and tabu expended. Otherwise, from the 'explosion' to the daily dance performances on the dancing ground, the events are the same as pupuak rikai.

Matamatam

After the lukara, a tubuan manager has to stage a tubuan revival in order to commemorate ancestors who may have died since the last commemoration ceremony was held by the clan. This revival is known as a matamatam. Again, the sequence of events in this revival is the same as in the pupuak rikai but there are some areas of variations. This revival also starts with the 'explosion', followed by the canoe dance, but it does not have the events associated with the palawat. When the men, boys and tubuan come ashore after the canoe dance, they perform what is known as a kanawo dance. In this dance, the older men of the fraternity lock their arms around each other and do swaying motions; some of them carry tree branches, brandishing them like spears. As they dance, the men move towards the remnants of a bamboo structure which was originally the leo. This remnant of the leo is called a butur (stump).

When the kanawo dance party reaches the butur, the men move off to the side, while the tubuan perform three rituals, tak midamidai (destroying remaining property of the dead), takin (visiting the graves of the dead) and rubat ra butur (uprooting the butur). For the first of these two rituals,
the tubuan leave the crowd which has gathered in front of the butur and move through the village and the graveyards. In the tak midamidai the tubuan pull down houses, cut down trees or destroy other plants which may have belonged to the dead in whose honour the matamatam revival is being held. In the takin the tubuan visit the graves of the dead in whose honour the matamatam is being held. When they get to the graves, the tubuan stamp all over them. After the takin, the tubuan return to the butur to perform the ritual of pulling it out. In all of these three rituals, it is tubuan hosting the matamatam that takes the leading roles, while the others that have been invited merely assist. At the end of the rubat ra butur the tubuan retire for a little while into the sanctuary and then reappear for the tutupar and then the warlapang. These two forms of ritual payments are performed in the same way as were described for the pupuak rikai.

For the next two or three months the tubuan do nothing much else apart from dancing in front of the place from which the butur was removed, collecting tabu fines and collecting tributes of food and tabu. Only towards the end of the revival period, do the tubuan participate in a balaguan, which is the last phase of the mortuary cycle. At the very end of this ceremony, the tubuan dance and symbolically sweep the dancing ground to signify that the entire mortuary cycle is completed and that the dead have been properly honoured. Within a few days the tubuan are

33 Today some monuments are built over graves so the tubuan merely unveil them or put their feet on them.
ritually killed in the taraju, in the ceremony known as the pulpulung.

Nidok

The other occasion in which tubuan are revived is the nidok initiations. At this event the tubuan do not do very much in the village apart from collecting the candidates on the first day and then escorting them back at the end. On the morning of a fixed date, the candidates assemble in a chosen area. Each one has a spear, a basket and a branch of the cordyline plant; attached to the spear is fifty fathoms of tabu, known as tabu na nidok (tabu for nidok). In the basket there is a further six to eight fathoms; attached to the cordyline branch, are two fathoms. How these three lots of tabu are used will be discussed below.

When the tubuan arrives, it receives warlapang payments from those who have gathered. Then, without much ceremony, it escorts the candidates into the sanctuary and the surrounding bush for the two week seclusion. It pushes and shoves them as they go while the women cry and wail for their sons and husbands. For most of the initiation period, the tubuan stays in the sanctuary with the candidates but it occasionally makes appearances in the village. Only at the end of the initiation period do the tubuan make an appearance, in the emergence ceremony known as mama rikai.

34 Some pay more, about 100 fathoms.

35 Sometimes this amount is more if initiation is staged by more than one tubuan.
After this it goes back into the sanctuary and 'lives' for a further few days, then it is ritually destroyed in a pulpulung.

_Tinut na Pupunang (Revival to Bury a Dead Person)._ 

The revival of _tubuan_ for a funeral is very short indeed. On the morning of the day of the funeral, the _tubuan_ 'comes to life' in the sanctuary. Within a few minutes it appears in the village to pay its last respects to the body, which is in a coffin under a _palturup_ (little hut). It sits next to the coffin and rubs its 'feathers' (cane leaves) on it. After this it may symbolically cut down a tree or pull down the house-cook of the deceased. Then it kneels down somewhere for the _warlapang_, after which it disappears back into the sanctuary. In the afternoon 36 after the grave has been covered, it appears and stamps all over it. After this it disappears altogether until it is revived at another time.

_Pulpulung_

At the end of each revival, there is the _pulpulung_ (symbolic killing) ritual, which I shall describe here. In the morning of a particular date, the women in the village cook a lot of _taro_ and _bananas_ while the men in the sanctuary scrape coconuts for the sauce known as _ku_ 37 and

36 Tolai funerals are usually in the afternoon.

37 A creamy sauce made from coconut cream. One type belongs to the men (the one being made in the sanctuary) and one to the women.
bake a lot of fish or chicken. The women work separately in clan groups, each group cooking the staple foods of taro and bananas for its own tubuan. In the sanctuary, men belonging to different clans work together as one unit. At about midday, the tubuan enter the village one after the another to collect fish and taro, which they take back into the sanctuary. After they have deposited the taro and bananas, the tubuan go for alu (walks) in the village. As they walk they stumble and fall every few yards and put on an appearance of being very weak. This is to show that they are gradually losing their strength and will die in a few hours time. In the sanctuary, the men prepare a trough laid with banana leaves, in which the taro, bananas, fish or chicken and ku are put together. The trough is about twenty feet long and four feet wide, and the food in it is known as a palom. The meat or fish in a palom is called aula nian (topping - protein in the food), and each tubuan always has the same kind of 'topping', whether it is pork, fish, chicken or, as in some cases, bully-beef. The palom is ready at about three o'clock and by this time the tubuan will have returned from their 'walk'. While some of the men stay in the sanctuary to look after the palom, the tubuan and the rest of the men leave for the village to perform

38 There are usually a few basket-full of these, so they are carried by young boys who follow the tubuan and not the tubuan themselves.

39 In the cases I have seen, bully-beef is used only as a supplement to either fish or chicken. Because of the association of port with the Iniat Society it is not eaten by the tubuan. It is used in areas of Matakorong to be cut up and distributed at tubuan ceremonies. In other areas it is not used in tubuan ceremonies.
the last dance. Each tubuan carries its kiau na tubuan (egg of the tubuan) and deposits it at its manager’s house. On the afternoons during the revival when the tubuan danced, a small crowd usually gathers to watch but on this last performance, a bigger crowd gathers. Still stumbling and falling over, the tubuan do their last performance. Towards the end, the tubuan can hardly walk and are almost crawling. On seeing this, the women and some of the men begin to cry and even wail as if some human-beings were dying. At dusk the dancing stops and the tubuan stumble back into the sanctuary, followed by the men and boys.

The pulpulung is an affair which attracts quite big crowds, both from within a village district and from abroad. For instance, at the pulpulung at the end of the lukara revival of IaTovon in 1980, at least 1,500 men and boys attended, about one quarter of them from outside of Matupit Island. This is an important occasion because it is one in which many speeches are made concerning tubuan affairs and also laying down the rules.

When all the men have entered the sanctuary, they are asked to sit down. While the dancing was under way in the village, those who stayed behind in the sanctuary had put the finishing touches on the palom. Young coconuts are put on the side of the palom for drinking and other kinds of paraphernalia are also added. Most importantly, the head-piece of the tubuan which hosted the revival is put on top of the palom (which had been covered with banana leaves). The head-pieces of the other tubuan are put on one
side of the palom. In a little while the manager of the host tubuan comes forward and performs a small ritual on the pala lor (head-piece) of his tubuan and the palom underneath it. As soon as he moves away from the palom, another person rushes in from some place out of sight, and performs the wardodoko (ritual killing). Then other men also come forward and perform the symbolic killing of the other head-pieces. All these men are smeared in lime or red-ochre and they perform a different symbolic killing for each tubuan. Once this is done, the order is given for the palom to be distributed. A number of men and older boys are chosen and they step forward to distribute the food.

The men and boys who perform the distribution are in pairs. One of these persons is known as a bit na tubuan and the other is known as a bartubuna. The bit na tubuan is one who belongs to the clan of the tubuan which hosted the revival; the bartubuna is a person who was 'fathered' by this clan. Each pair of men or boys work together as a team during the distribution of the food. The bit na tubuan takes the food from the palom and puts it on a sheet of banana leaf while the bartubuna takes it to someone in the crowd. But before the ordinary members receive any of this food, gifts of food and tabu are made by the manager of the host tubuan to other managers who have attended. The food comes from the palom and the tabu is about half a fathom each. The first managers to be served are those whose tubuan participated in the revival that has just ended. Following these are those managers of the local village district, and finally there are those managers from outside the village district.
When all the managers have received this gift, the rest is then distributed to the crowd, in the way described above. When everyone has received some of the food, a kaunga (signal) is given that the sanctuary is closed to further entry because the tubuan are eating. The pairs of men and boys who did the serving sit around the trough and eat whatever remains. Silence is strictly maintained during this eating part of the ceremony. Anyone who makes any noise above a whisper is said to wakongo (choke) the tubuan, and faces a very stiff fine. This also applies to anyone who enters the sanctuary after the signal had been given. The silence is maintained until the host tubuan manager gets up after he has eaten, throws a piece of taro or banana into the bush and then claps his hands very hard. The silence is broken, but everyone is allowed to continue eating. Those who were stranded outside of the sanctuary can now come in and also get some food. After everyone has eaten, it is time for the speeches. Managers talk particularly about the tubuan code, inculcating them to the younger men and the boys. In recent years, a lot of these speeches have dealt with the threat that modernization imposes on this code, and more particularly with the use of alcohol during revival periods.

40 The signal is a shrill scream done twice. Any persons who may be still heading for the sanctuary have to wait somewhere on the way until the next signal is given.

41 Although the tubuan have 'died', it is possible to impose a fine on anyone in the sanctuary. This is done by merely taking one of the tubuan spears (rumu) and planting it in front of the offender.
From what I have said so far, it is clear that tabu is an important element of the tubuan institution. It is a vital consideration in all of the rituals. What is its role or significance in these events? Here I am going to discuss some of the major payments and exchanges in tabu, in order to give some idea of its significance. To do this I will place these payments and exchanges into three categories; fees, inter-group payments and tributes. Fees are those transactions associated with initiations. Inter-group payments are those tabu transactions associated with the receiving of goods and services, such as the purchases of new tubuan and the tutupar (payments for participation in ceremonies). Tributes are those payments which are made to the tubuan, such as the warlapang.

Fees

I have shown that membership in the tubuan fraternity is graded. These grades, kalamana, guboro and melem, are attained through initiations: warwolo, rang dawai and nidok respectively. Each of these initiations are performed only after the payment of tabu. Among other things, the amounts and the way tabu are paid in these initiations are different. But underlying these differences, there are a number of principles along which initiation fees are made. There are three main principles which will be discussed here.
Principle 1. At any grade, it is important that a boy or young man be initiated by the tubuan of his clan.

This principle is important because it ensures that the tabu fees remain within the clan. The tabu received as fees are added to the kiau na tubuan (egg of the tubuan) which to a large extent is the property of the clan, despite the fact that the manager has a lot more control over it than other clan members. While the fees are seen as payments for the initiations received, in another way they are seen as deposits being made with the tubuan manager. The persons making these fee payments do not entirely part with the tabu they pay for they still retain some rights to it. The kind of rights they retain varies with the amounts of tabu paid.

The admission, rang dawai and nidok fees go straight into the kiau na tubuan. These amounts are small, ranging between one and ten fathoms. As mentioned above, the amounts are: warwolo (one fathom), rang dawai (one to ten fathoms) and nidok (six to ten fathoms). Because of the fact that these amounts are small, the exact figure is not important. What is important is the fact that these persons had made some contribution to the kiau na tubuan, which is classed as part of the wuwuwung kai ra vunatarai (clan common fund). The fact that these people consider themselves to have made contributions to the fund gives

42 These are small payments which a person has to make in order to discover various secrets during the nidok initiation. The amount paid each time is small but there are many payments to be made.
them the right to use common fund tabu in three main ways. Firstly, they can look for and expect tabu support from their tubuan manager whenever they need it, though the amount of tabu support expected does not depend on the amount of tabu paid. Secondly, payment of fees gives a person the right to borrow tabu from the common fund. Thirdly and more importantly, the person who pays initiation fees expects to be given some of the tabu from the kiau na tubuan when it is cut up for distribution at a mortuary ceremony. It must be pointed out here that, in the first two of these three expectations, the tabu expected as support or as loan is not from the kiau na tubuan because the tubuan spirit is already i o wai tana (in control of) this tabu. Instead, the tabu expected will have to come from some other part of the common fund. A person demands these rights by the threat of withdrawing his support from the common fund.

The rights maintained by a person in the three initiation fee payments are limited and do not amount to total ownership of the tabu paid. But in the case of the tabu na nidok (nidok fees), unless some other arrangement had been made (which will be discussed below), the person retains full ownership of his tabu, despite the fact that it is in the manager’s house. This tabu is either kept separately in a loloi (coil) or tied together with the coil of the tubuan. This tabu is kept for the ultimate purpose of being distributed at mortuary ceremonies. It can be used for

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43 Tabu for the common fund can come from many sources; fish-nets, fish-traps, gardens, land etc.
other purposes, but only after the walaun (purification ritual) has been performed on it. The owner (the person who paid it as fees) is the only one who has the ultimate right to decide how this tabu is to be used. Usually this person distributes tabu in a minamai, in which this tabu as part of tabu na tubuan, is distributed.

What happens when a person does not pay his fees to his clan tubuan but to some other clan’s tubuan?

The answer to this question is that, unless some arrangement had been made to make it acceptable, the person risks his membership within the clan. This simply means that the person’s commitment to the clan is questioned by other members. If this commitment is clearly seen to be placed elsewhere, then the person is ostracized by the other clan members. The only way to avoid being ostracized for paying initiation fees to another clan is by abiding by principle 2.

**Principle 2.** Apart from his clan tubuan, a person can only be initiated by the tubuan of his father’s clan or that of an ally clan.

Despite the strength of the sanctions protecting Principle No.1, many boys and men do pay their initiation fees to other tubuan than those of their own clans. There are many reasons for this. One is that a boy has reached the right age for admission during a particular revival in which his clan tubuan is not participating. His sponsors therefore
decide that he should be initiated by another *tubuan*. They have to inform the clan *tubuan* manager and other senior clan members of the decision. If the decision is acceptable to them, it does not mean that the boy will be initiated by the first available *tubuan*. The sponsors are restricted to only two possibilities and these will be suggested by the clan’s *tubuan* manager and senior clan members. The boy can be initiated only by the *tubuan* of his father’s clan or that of an ally clan, which may be in revival. If the boy is initiated by *tubuan* of any other clan, the members of the above-mentioned clans will be alarmed. They question the continuity of relationship between them.

*Principle 3.* If a person pays his *tabu na nidok* to a *tubuan* other than that of his clan, it is because he intends to receive some kind of property from the recipient clan.

It has been mentioned above that if a person pays his *tabu na nidok* to his own clan *tubuan*, the *tabu* becomes the property of his clan and he retains ownership of it. But if he pays this fee to another *tubuan*, the *tabu* becomes the property of that clan, although he may retain some rights in it. There are two reasons why a person pays his fees in this way. Firstly, a person does it because originally he was a *wartabar* (gift) to someone in the recipient clan, so when he gets older he pays his *tabu na nidok* to this person’s clan *tubuan*. This mainly happens between father and son. In this case, there is a general understanding (which is never mentioned at the payment of the *tabu*) that the son will later receive some kind of property,
particularly land from the father’s clan. This is discussed in some detail in Chapter VI, in relation to acquisition of land. One case of land dispute which has its origins in the payment of tabu na tubuan is examined in that chapter. The other reason for paying tabu na nidok to another clan’s tubuan is because there is some interest in creating an alliance between two clans. For instance, in the 1978 nidok at Matupit, the tubuan Iailailam, received tabu na nidok from at least fifteen men who were not members of its clan. For the sponsors of these men, these payments were important because they were aimed at strengthening the ties between them and Iailailam’s clan. Their alliances to the clan of Iailailam were important because through the leadership of ToKowa (who was Iailailam’s manager and big-man of the clan), these clans had gained rights to some blocks of land in an area which had been under dispute for some time. The acquisition of these blocks of land were important to these clans because they (including Iailailam) had arrived late during the settling of Matupit and were almost landless. Thus the alliances they created were vital.

Except for the situations mentioned in Principles 2 and 3, initiation fees are internal matters of the clan. Between clans there are a number of payments which are made by tubuan or in connection with them. I shall refer to these as ‘inter-clan payments’.
Inter-clan Payments.

Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned three kinds of tabu payments which are made between clans. These are the pinapa na tubuan (purchasing of new tubuan), payment to tubuan managers attending a pulpulung (symbolic killing) and tutupar (payments made by a host tubuan during a revival). On one level the purchase of a new tubuan by a manager is a major tabu investment in the tubuan enterprise. But when we look at the pattern of sales and purchases of tubuan we find that the system is not a market one. The sales and purchases are mainly made in accordance with social and political relations. For instance, out of a total of twelve tubuan which were purchased by Matupit men between 1975 and 1983, only two were from clans with whom the new managers had very few or no relations prior to the purchase. Of the other ten, eight were acquired from the new manager’s fathers while two were from other clan members in other villages. As the figures suggest here, many men acquire their tubuan by purchase from their own fathers or fathering clans. Payment of tabu is made but the transfer of tabu is not regarded as pinapa na tubuan (purchase). The father is said to wakokon (give as gift) the tubuan to his son or sons. The amount of tabu paid by the son or sons is greatly reduced, by at least forty percent. The two tubuan which were transferred within the clans were also acquired at reduced cost. One of these was acquired by a man named ToMong from his classificatory brother at Matalau, and the other was acquired by ToNiolo from his classificatory maternal uncle at Baai.
The payment each tubuan manager receives during a pulpulung is like delayed reciprocity. As said earlier, the host tubuan gives out pieces of tabu and food, first to those tubuan that had participated in its ceremony and then to any others. What the host tubuan is doing here is repaying the tabu and food it had received from other tubuan during past pulpulung. A tubuan which receives food and tabu from other tubuan during pulpulung is known as a konom (greedy swimmer).

Tutupar is the payment made to tubuan for their participation in revivals and again this is like delayed reciprocity. Because only a number of tubuan are invited by the host tubuan, only these tubuan are paid during the tutupar. Invitations are not made by host tubuan in a haphazard way but are very carefully calculated. Which tubuan are invited and which are not can have very serious political and social ramifications. This decision can either be beneficial or detrimental to social and political relations.

To a certain extent this payment is seen by the recipient tubuan as being payment for appearing with the host tubuan. But for the most part, this is a secondary consideration. What is more important is the fact that they have been invited, which gives them some idea of their social and political standing. Not to be invited when the contrary is expected, can be a serious insult to a tubuan, its manager and the clan. Failure to invite a tubuan can happen by
oversight or by design. To show the seriousness of this, I shall discuss the dispute between ToPaivu, the manager of IaTovon, and ToKowa, the manager of IaIlailam, which occurred in 1981.

In 1976, ToPaivu had his pupuak rikai revival, and in 1980 he had his lukara revival. In the pupuak rikai, he invited IaIlailam, but in the lukara he did not. In the lukara revival, IaTovon was housed at its new sanctuary, which was about one kilometre from the sanctuary of IaIlailam. Since IaTovon was the host in this revival, all activities were centred at its sanctuary. ToKowa reacted to his exclusion by never going to the sanctuary of IaTovon. Instead he spent most of his time at his own tubuan sanctuary. He managed to attract many young men to his tubuan sanctuary although everyone was supposed to be at IaTovon's. To ToPaivu and a number of senior men, it was clear that ToKowa was conducting a boycott. In at least one speech, ToPaivu tried to explain why he did not invite IaIlailam to his revival. He said that it was not good for the fraternity for the same tubuan to be invited again and again while others were always left out. As a principle what ToPaivu said was correct, but everyone knew that this was not the reason for not inviting IaIlailam, because he had invited a number of other tubuan which had been frequently invited in the past. It was obvious that the real reason stemmed from some long standing conflict.

44 This means that all the ceremonials and rituals which took place away from the uninitiated and women, took place here. The men also spent most of their time here.
between these two men, in the wider village arena.

The clans of ToPaivu and ToKowa were late-comers in the settling of people on Matupit. Both clans had hardly any claims to any land on the island. ToPaivu, as mentioned earlier, had bought huge tracts of land from his father ToGarama, in order to meet the land demand in his clan. ToKowa had, almost by force, settled on a huge tract of land which had been under dispute for some time. Some of this land was said to be owned by the United Church.

ToPaivu was a strong supporter of the church and did not want the land to be taken. He opposed ToKowa's move. Apart from this specific source of conflict, there was a more general struggle for leadership in the village between these two men. ToKowa was in his mid-fifties and had been setting himself up to gain the leadership from the current leaders who were in their seventies. He never failed to make it known to everyone that the current leaders had placed a lot of trust in him. He cherished a cassette tape recording, in which the most prominent leader of the village, Daniel ToKaputin, had expressed trust in him. I heard him play this cassette in the village on a number of occasions before gatherings of various sizes. He had become quite an authority on village matters.

ToPaivu was a relatively young man who was fast becoming a wealthy businessman, and prominent in village politics. He organized a number of fund-raising ventures for both the village and the church, which were very successful. For
instance, in 1979, he organized the villagers to raise funds for a big water tank to be built in the village. Having raised this money, he approached the government for assistance, which he got and the tank was built. In 1981 he successfully organized the purchase for the church, of a petrol station in the town.

ToPaivu’s popularity and prominence threatened ToKowa. He took every possible chance he was given to try and discredit ToPaivu: making accusations of misappropriation of church and village funds. ToPaivu did not take very much notice of this, but whenever he could he showed that he did not appreciate what ToKowa was doing. His oversight in inviting IaIlailam to his revival was one such occasion.

Summary

In tubuan ceremonies there are nine occasions in which tabu is exchanged between groups, through the tubuan. These are, warwolo, rang dawai and nidok (initiations fee payments), tutupar (payment to tubuan for participation in ceremonies), warlapang (contributions), lukara (donations), wanga (fines), kinakap na kalamana (acquiring of new tubuan) and warwakokon (gift / blessing). Some of these exchanges initially involve tabu presentation, or payments by individuals to other individuals through the tubuan. Some are presentations by individuals to groups and some are presentations by groups to other groups, also through the tubuan. But since all tubuan are tubuan kai na vunatarai (tubuan of clans), the exchanges are identified
with groups rather than with individuals.

Warwolo, rang dawai and nidok fees are paid by young boys to either their own clan tubuan or to their father's tubuan. If the tabu is paid to the boy's clan tubuan, it becomes the property of his clan and if it is to the father's clan, then it becomes the property of the father's clan. In the first instance, the tabu is seen as payment for the 'service' of initiating a boy, yet at the same time the tabu does not cease to be the property of the boy. Instead, payment of the tabu to a tubuan gives the boy rights in the tabu of that tubuan. In some situations such as the distribution of kiau na tubuan (egg of the tubuan) at mortuary ceremonies, the boy has the right to distribute some of this tabu, whether it is of his own clan's tubuan or his father's tubuan. In nidok, as the fee is a larger amount, the tabu entitles the boy to receive some property from his father's clan, as discussed in Chapter VI. When the fee is paid to the father's clan (through the clan tubuan), it is said to be expressive of the bona warmaliurai (good relations) between children and their father and also expressive of the children's warmari (love / pity) and warmal (affection) for their father.

The tutupar is presentation by a host bit na tubuan (tubuan manager) to tubuan (representatives of clans) which had participated in his ceremony. In the ceremonies it is the tubuan (representative of the clan) of the host tubuan manager which is said to be the host and not the manager himself. In this sense then, the tutupar is presentation
from one clan to another. As discussed above, which *tubuan* are invited to ceremonies and consequently receive *tabu* at *tutupar* is determined by the social and political relations in society, i.e., it manifests the social / political alliances and tensions.

In principle *warlapang* (contribution) is supposed to be a presentation by members of a clan to their *tubuan* (representing the clan), but as mentioned above, many people make presentations to *tubuan* which do not belong to their clan. The contributions by members of a clan are public statements of their commitment to the clan, which can be called into question if they are seen to abstain from these contributions. Abstention is also a public statement in itself, indicative of dissatisfaction with the clan or its leaders. On the other hand non-clan members make contributions to a *tubuan* either because it belongs to their fathers' clan or because it belongs to an allied clan. The contributions by people to their fathers' clan *tubuan* is a public statement of the *bona warmaliurai* between them and their father and also expressive of their *warmari* and *warmal* for their father. The contribution also gives them rights to the *kiau na tubuan* of their fathers' clan *tubuan*. Contributions by people to allied clans' *tubuan* are public declarations / statements about the alliance relationship and at the same time the contributions establish rights for them in the ally clan *tubuan*.

*Lukara* is initially an occasion on which *tubuan* collect
food for the taraiu. But at the same time the tabu component of this presentation has much the same significance as the initiation fees and the contributions discussed above. But the only difference is that it is done specifically to confirm a small group’s membership in the clan. This small group may be a lineage or a sub-lineage whose membership in the clan may be under some doubt. Because at the warlapang, crowds come forward to make their contributions and it is difficult to identify people clearly, in lukara the clan tubuan is invited by groups or individuals to their homes in order that their contributions can be seen clearly by everyone. It is also a public statement of reconciliation between lineages and sub-lineages which may have split in the past.

Tabu collected from wanga (fine) goes to the clan tubuan of the person fined (culprit). If it is the culprit’s clan tubuan that collects the fine, the tabu goes directly into its kiau na tubuan but if it is another tubuan, a commission is collected and the rest of the tabu goes to the culprit’s clan tubuan. This tabu fine establishes rights for the culprit in the kiau na tubuan of his clan tubuan. As a consequence, some people actually take pride in their clan tubuan collecting fines from their homes because it is a public statement / confirmation of their membership in the clan and it gives them rights to the kiau na tubuan of the clan tubuan.

Kinakap na kalamana (purchasing of new tubuan) tabu presentation is made by a new tubuan manager to purchase a
tubuan from another clan. Again, as all tubuan belong to clans, the presentation is from one clan to another. In warwakokon the tabu presentation is initially seen as from a son to his father, in return for the tubuan, but as tubuan are properties of clans, this is a presentation from one clan to another. At the same time the reduction in the tabu cost of the tubuan is a statement about the bona warmaliurai between the son and his father and also the warmari and warmal of the father for his son.
Chapter IX

TABU AND MARRIAGE

Introduction

Tinaulai (marriages) among the Tolai today are still conducted very much in accordance with traditional principles. An important principle in traditional Tolai marriage and which is still intact in contemporary marriage, is that, the process is a matter between social groups rather than between individuals. The social groups are involved in the amassing of tabu for the bride-price and then later they are involved in many of the rituals that follow. In this sense, marriage does not only involve relations between the bride and the groom, rather it involves relations between other individuals and also between social groups. An important consideration in marriages is the addressing of personal and social relations, such as creating them, rearranging them or maintaining them, which are done through presentations. These presentations are made between individuals or groups at different phases of the marriage sequence, and are mostly in the form of tabu. In this chapter I intend to discuss the use of tabu in presentations in marriage, in order to show its significance in personal and social relations. At the same time I show how tabu is used in exchange situations to communicate messages and also to express emotional feelings.
Collecting the Bride/rice

When a young man is in his early twenties, his parents or matrilineal relatives begin to think about obtaining a wife for him.¹ If there is tabu available, then it is taken and used as bride-price to obtain a bride for the young man. If there is no tabu available, then the parents or matrilineal relatives organize a we warwaba (going into pre-marriage seclusion) which is followed by a paraparau (pre-marriage seclusion) and then a namata (emergence), through which tabu is earned in order to use as bride-price. I shall discuss here the case of one young man, ToUvia, to illustrate these activities.

We Warwaba

Early in the evening of a fixed date, the relatives and friends of ToUvia and his family, gathered at his parents house. There were no more than fifty people in the gathering. Some food was distributed for eating and then later some betel-nut. ToUvia’s father ToMaku, and his mother IaBaluai, and his maternal aunt IaMaduk, distributed pieces of tabu to all those who had gathered, mainly to the men and the young boys. The men received about a fathom each and the young boys received about half a fathom and less. A total of fifty fathoms of tabu was distributed by

¹ Many young men today find girls on their own and when the parents and relatives find out they merely go along with their choice, if they do not strongly disagree with the choice.
ToMaku, IaBalui and IaMaduk. ToUvia was present on this occasion.

After the distribution of tabu, the young boys accompanied ToUvia to a secluded part of the island, where the taraiu (tubuan sanctuaries) are located. The short ceremony was the formal we warwaba. ToUvia was in seclusion in the bush with only the men and the boys, for the next week. He was never to enter the village and was never to be seen by the women for the duration of the seclusion period.

Later in the evening, about midnight, the young boys went around the village collecting young woiwoi (pandanus) leaves. After collecting these leaves, they followed all the roads, and foot-tracks in the district. They hung and tied a leaf onto every branch, fence paling, or posts along the roads in conspicuous places. These pandanus leaves were to inform all those who woke up the next morning that the paraparau was already underway.

Paraparau

For the next week, ToUvia remained in the bush. His only companions during this period were the men and the young boys who had accompanied him out of the village. They lived in a hut in the taraiu of the tubuan Iailailam. The men and young boys were allowed to go back and forth from the

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2 Normally pre-marriage seclusion are to be undergone in other parts of the bush away from the tubuan sanctuary but today because there is not much bush-land left on the island, the sanctuary is often used.
village whenever they wanted to, and could be seen by the women. Only ToUvia was not allowed to enter the village or be seen by the women.

During the week of seclusion, ToUvia was not totally confined to the tubuan sanctuary. He was allowed to leave this place and go wherever he wanted to go, as long as he stayed out of the sight of women. On a number of occasions he left the place of seclusion with the boys and some men and went to the egg-lands at Raulawat. On these occasions ToUvia and the boys left the place of seclusion very early in the morning, under the cover of darkness and returned after dark. This was because they had to travel by canoe and the canoe route to Raulawat was within the gaze of the women on the island. On two other occasions ToUvia left the place of seclusion with some boys and men, to go to Rabuana and Ralokor on the east of the island. On both occasions the trucks drove through the village in the early hours of the morning and returning at night.

In principle, during the week of seclusion, ToUvia and his companions were supposed to be self-sufficient in the bush. They were to fend for themselves and did not have to expect anything to come from the village. ToUvia and his companions were self-sufficient to some extent. They went to the gardening areas to collect food and cooked themselves in tinutun na tarai (cooking as men) fashion.  

3 When men cook everyone cooks and eats and no one should expect to be served. When women cook the men wait to be served.
While they were encouraged to be self-sufficient, there was another provision which made it possible for food prepared by the women in the village, to be taken into the place of seclusion. This practice is known as providing a iap (fire) for the person in seclusion.

The preparation of iap was done in the village by men and women. When the food was prepared, word was sent into the place of seclusion for the food to be collected by some men or young boys. The people who prepared these iap did so with certain motives, which could be put in three categories. In the first category were those people who were related to ToUvia, both matrilineal and paternal relatives. These people prepared food mainly as ways of showing support for ToUvia and his parents. In the second category were those people who prepared food with balbali (reciprocation) in mind. In these cases ToUvia's parents had prepared iap in the past for these people's sons or relatives during their seclusion periods. The third category were those people who had prepared iap with wawalu (creating debt) in mind. These people were in the process of arranging or thinking about a paraparau of a son or relative in the near future and wanted their assistance now to be reciprocated by ToUvia's parents in the future. Through these iap, ToUvia and his companions got local food such as fish, chicken, taro., bananas, and imported foods such as rice, meat, bread, sugar, biscuits and even bottles of whiskey.
During the week of seclusion, the men and the boys accompanying ToUvia spent part of their time preparing for the day of namata (emergence), which was on a Saturday afternoon. On the Thursday before the day of namata, there was a frenzy of activity among the men and the boys. A number of important matters had to be attended to. The most important of these were the making of a number of items. These were the pal na mamarikai (roof model), tulu (decorated bamboo poles), and balau (decorated saplings). The pal na mamarikai was a rectangular model of a roof, made of small saplings, bamboo and ferns and elaborately decorated. It was about two meters in length and one meter wide. Four decorated bamboo posts also had to be made, for the roof to sit on the next day. The tulu were of two different kinds, although both kinds were made of bamboo. One kind had all the branches of the bamboo removed, leaving only the main trunk. A number of these pieces of bamboo were joined together making a length of about 100 feet. These were well decorated with ferns and chicken feathers. Only one of this kind of tulu was made. The second kind of tulu was one with all its branches still intact. This bamboo trunk was also decorated with ferns and decorated with other items such as the shells of young coconuts and egg-shells. Two of this kind of tulu were made, and they were only about forty feet in length. Balau were saplings which had some of their bark removed in scroll shape. With the rest of the bark still remaining, the sapling was smoked over a fire. When later the rest of the bark was removed, the sapling had black and white scroll designs.
Work on the *pal na mamarikai* started on Wednesday, as this took the longest time to make. It was made in the place of seclusion and was completed on the night before the *namata*. The bamboo for the longer *tulu* was cut on the Thursday and brought to the place of seclusion. The ferns for decorations were also collected on the same day. On Friday morning some young boys started decorating the pieces of 20 feet bamboo with ferns and by afternoon it was completed. Since the leaves on the other two *tulu* had to be appear fresh when they appeared the next day, work on these only started after midday on Friday. These were made at the garden lands of Rabuana and were brought to the place of seclusion on the island later in the evening by truck. The 25 *balau* were made on the Friday afternoon. By 10:00 pm on Friday, the three *tulu* had been completed, the *balau* and the bamboo posts for the model roof had also been completed.

At about 10:00 pm on the Friday night, the men and the boys gathered at the place of seclusion and put some of the finishing touches on some of the items. This was the time for some of these items to be brought into the village to have them in place for the next day. At about 1:00 am, some of the men and the young boys took the three *tulu*, the 25 *balau* and the four posts for the model roof, into the village. They entered the village with the accompaniment of the *konga* (bull-roarer). The two shorter *tulu* were erected on two separate locations on the beach, one marking the places where the place where ToUvia as a man should have
his bath and the other marking the place where his wife should have her bath. The longer tulu was taken to the place where the namata ceremony took place the next day. The 20 feet lengths of bamboo were joined together and then the whole length was planted in the ground, near ToUvia’s parents house. Some of the balau were planted around the base of this tulu. The four bamboo posts for the model roof were also planted in place, making sure that the correct measurements had been taken, so that there would be no problems when it came to fitting the roof on, during the ‘emergence’ on the next day. The rest of the balau were planted around the four posts.

Namata

At about 3:00 pm on the Saturday, a small crowd gathered near where the tall tulu and the balau had been put up the night before. At about the same time the sound of the konga could be heard coming from the place of seclusion. This heralded the departure of the men and the boys from the taraiu and their progression towards the village. Although it is not too far between the place of seclusion and the venue for the namata it took the men and the boys a very long time to enter the village because they moved very slowly. When they emerged from the bush and entered the village, the men and boys clustered together around the pal na mamarikai, which was carried by four men over their

4 This is because men and women have separate bathing places on the beach. The women’s bathing places are close to the residential areas while the men’s are some distance away.
heads. ToUvia was with the four men underneath the 'model roof'. Most of the men and the boys carried branches of trees to conceal ToUvia from the sight of the women.

When the party arrived at the ceremonial ground, the pal na mamarikai was immediately fixed onto the four posts which had been planted in place on the night before. As soon as the roof had been fitted on the posts, the men and the boys put the branches away and sat down around the pal na mamarikai, revealing ToUvia under it.

After a few minutes the first warlapang (distribution of betel-nuts and mustard) was conducted, which was mainly done by the matrilineal relatives of ToUvia. Betel-nuts and mustard were given out to everyone in the gathering, to chew. After the warlapang there was a short speech from the Master of Ceremonies, who welcomed everyone to the ceremony and also briefly touched on the merits of paraparau and namata.

Tabu for the Wamong

At the end of the speech he announced that it was now time for ToUvia’s parents to make the payment for the design on the pal na mamarikai. ToMaku, ToUvia’s father took thirty fathoms of tabu and placed it in front of ToPaivu, the man to whose clan the design belonged. This payment was followed by another payment of ten fathoms of tabu to ToWarpiam for having actually constructed the pal na mamarikai.
In principle all clans are supposed to have their own wamong (designs) for pal na mamarikai. At namata, it is desired that the design of the father’s clan or that of the young man’s is used, depending on who is financing the activity. At Touvia’s namata, it was his own clan who had provided the tabu finance, so the design of ToVuvuila clan (ToUvia’s clan) should have been used. But ToVuvuila clan is not from Kikila (or Matupit). This clan is from Baai, on the other side of the Mount Mother. The father’s clan’s design could not be used either because his clan was also not from Matupit but from Malakuna, on the northern shores of Blanche Bay. The design that was used instead belonged to ToLabit clan, the clan under which the first members of ToVuvuila to arrive Kikila had ki navavai pirai (staying under the auspices of). The first ancestor was IaPore (A 1), as shown in Genealogy III. She came to Matupit to marry ToKaputin Teterek (A 2) of ToLabit clan. ToKaputin and IaPore lived all their lives at Kikila, on ToLabit territory. Their children all grew up in Kikila and later they all married men and women from Kikila. Only ToDapal (B 3), later brought his Matupit wife, IaKiki back to ToVuvuila territory in Baai, to live there. At this time of writing, ToDapal still lives at Baai with his children, although his wife died in 1988. ToDapal’s two brothers, ToWoa (B 4) and ToWil (B 1), both died in their old age at Kikila and were buried there. His sister, IaWawina (B 2), also died in her old age at Kikila and was also buried there.
Genealogy III  ToVuvuila vunatarai, showing relationship between ToVuvuila and ToLabit clans.
In the next generation, the children of IaWawina also spent all of their childhood years at Kikila and reached adulthood there. The two females, IaBaluai (C 2) and IaMaduk (C 3) married men of Kikila, although ToMaku (IaBaluai's husband) belongs to clan of Malakuna. Only their brother ToKaputin (C 1), married a woman from Baai and returned there to live on ToVuvuila territory. IaBaluai and IaMaduk and their children are now the only members of ToVuvuila clan currently living at Kikila.

In many ritual and ceremonial occasions, the members of ToVuvuila clan often support ToLabit clan and also often look for support and assistance from that direction. The use of the wamong of ToLabit at the namata of ToUvia (D 5) was based on and is consistent with the relationship that existed between the two clans.

Tabu for the Iap

Following the payment for the wamong, the Master of Ceremonies then announced the payment by ToUvia's parents to those who had provided iap during the period of seclusion. ToMaku and IaBaluai produced a number of liliman (strings of tabu) while ToUvia left his party of men and boys and joined his parents. The names of the persons who had prepared iap had been recorded in a small notebook, which were read out loud one after the other, by the master of ceremonies. As each name was read out ToMaku and IaBaluai broke one fathom off from the strings they had, and gave it to ToUvia. ToUvia then took this fathom of tabu
to the person whose name was read out, or to a close relative if he was not present.

The provision of **iap** was important to those people who provided them. The majority of the people who provided these **iap** were related to ToUvia or his parents, in some way. While the motives listed earlier were important to the provision of these **iap**, in this ritual situation they became unimportant. What was important here was the public announcement that they had been of assistance to ToUvia and his clan or his father. The payment of **tabu** by ToUvia's was a public acknowledgement of these people's assistance. It should be mentioned here that there was no relative value established between the value of the **iap** provided and the amount of **tabu** paid by ToUvia's parents. Everyone received the same amount of **tabu**, irrespective of the value of the food which was provided.

**Tabu na Watang Boina**

On completion of the payments for the **iap**, the master of ceremonies announced that ToMaku and IaBaluai were to **watang boina** (show acknowledgement) to the men and boys who had accompanied ToUvia in the bush during his week long seclusion. ToUvia's parents, his mother's sister IaMaduk and her brother ToKaputin, approached the men and boys and began to distribute pieces of **tabu** to them. The men received between half and one fathom each while the boys received between a quarter and half a fathom each. After ToMaku, IaBaluai, IaMaduk and ToKaputin had finished, other
people stood up and also distributed pieces of tabu, which they had brought themselves, to the men and the boys. Many of these people were relatives and friends of ToUvia and his family. In the end, each man in ToUvia's party received a total of about four fathoms of tabu each, while the boys received about two fathoms each. During this payment, the Councillor and United Church Pastor who attended were also given one fathom of tabu each.

Again, a closer look at the men and the boys revealed that most of them were matrilineal relatives of ToUvia, his father's relatives and his own friends. The payments of these pieces of tabu are supposed to be for the men and boys for having spent the week of seclusion with ToUvia and for also having done things for him during this period. But it was clear from the men and the boys that tabu was not an important consideration. No one complained about the amount of tabu they received for their time and effort during the last week. It was clear that many of the men and boys took a lot of pride in having participated in the paraparau and the namata.

After the distribution of tabu to watang boina, it was time for the warlapang (tabu contribution) which was the central part of the ceremony. This involved the contribution of pieces of tabu by everyone in attendance, to ToUvia's family. For this ritual, a mat was placed in front of the

5 I have here translated warlapang as present. This ritual is found in many of the other ceremonies which will be discussed in the following chapters. Warlapang is the term given to the presentation of both betel-nut and tabu.
pal na mamarikai and ToUvia sat beside it. ToUvia’s mother IaBalua and her sister IaMaduk, first came forward with sixty fathoms of tabu and pale (laid down) on the mat. They were followed by their brother, ToKaputin, who later laid down a further twenty fathoms on the mat. Then the announcement was made for everyone to come forward and make warlapang to ToUvia. The crowd responded and came forward with pieces of tabu, between 60 shells and half a fathom, and threw these on the mat. The amounts contributed by each person varied. Again there was no specified amount that each person was required to contribute. But it was clear that those who were closely related to ToUvia contributed larger amounts of tabu than others.

There are two overt reasons for the performance of we warwaba, paraparau and namata. In the first instance they are performed in order to collect tabu for a young man’s bride-price. Also some parents and young man’s relatives see it as a way of making some extra tabu. This second reason is a strong incentive for the performance of the above sequence because in the warlapang more tabu than that required for the bride-price is contributed by everyone. This surplus then becomes the property of those who staged the sequence.

Bride-price among the Tolai over the last thirty years had been standardized to 100 fathoms. Considering the amount of tabu that ToUvia’s parents had to pay out during the namata, it would have been easier for them to have kept this tabu and merely used it for the bride-price. Certainly
one incentive is that they were able to make an extra 250 fathoms from the contributions. It was clear that while the immediate purpose of the namata were to pool tabu for bride-price, at the same time certain parts of the ceremonies provided occasions for individuals and groups to make public presentations to each other, addressing specific relationships between them.

II

Bride-price Payment and the Koro

When tabu has been collected and the decision has been taken that a young man is to be married, the parents or relatives start looking around for a bride for him. Through intermediaries, the parents or relatives of the young man approach the parents or relatives of young women, with enquiries. According to Tolai rules of marriage, the young woman has to be of the opposite moiety to the one of the young man’s. At the same time preference is made for women from particular clans, with which marriage arrangements have been made before in the past. Marriages today are continuation of these established marriage relations between groups.

Tabu na Wuwung Warbat

When a young woman has been found, then a payment of tabu na wuwung warbat (part-payment) is paid by the young man’s people to the girl’s people. This is an amount of ten
fathoms, to confirm the young man’s people’s intention to pay the bride-price at a later date. The payment of this tabu is a small and private affair which only involved the young man’s parents with one or two close relatives bringing the tabu to the girl’s people’s house. At the time of deposit of this tabu, the date for the payment of the bride-price is also fixed.

Tabu Na Warwai

Upon receipt of the tabu na wuwung warbat, the girl’s parents or relatives keep it pending advice of definite dates from the young man’s parents about the bride-price payment. When the young man’s people have decided on a date, they advise the girl’s parents. On receipt of this advice, the girl’s people send out pieces of tabu na warwai (tabu to inform) to their own relatives. This tabu is to inform the relatives about the coming bride-price payment.

The tabu na warwai is an important payment to the relatives and it is to inform them about the coming event. Nothing is expected of them, apart from their attendance. A relative or anyone else who felt that they should have been informed with tabu na warwai but was not, felt insulted. They either show their anger by not attending the bride-payment occasion and some people even openly confront those responsible for leaving them out of the list of people who were sent tabu na warwai. Bitter arguments often erupt between people over this simple oversight.
On the other hand those who sent out the tabu na warwai remember the persons they were sent to. On the day of the bride-price payment, if these people do not turn up, the people who sent the tabu feel that something is wrong. Again this could be the basis for bitter arguments between people.

Warkukul

On the afternoon of a fixed date, the young man’s people go to the house of the girl’s parents or relatives, for the warkukul (bride-price payment). The girl’s family and relatives await the man’s party at her parent’s home or other arranged venue. When the young man’s party arrive, they sit on one side, separate from the girl’s people. To describe the warkukul, I shall here discuss the bride-price payment for IaWasita, as wife to my younger brother ToNamur, in which I was involved. My great uncle John Vuia, and I provided the tabu for this bride-price.

We arrived at IaWasita’s father’s home at about 4:30 pm. After a short warlapang of betel-nut and short speeches by village officials, ToWarpiam, from IaWasita’s people come forward with an amount of tabu and laid it out on a mat in the centre of the gathering. This tabu was known as tabu na kubika and it represented ten percent of the total amount of tabu IaWasita’s people were asking as the bride-price. ToLipirin, one of my cousin brothers, went forward and inspected the tabu on the mat. He returned after a few minutes to report to us
that there were ten fathoms of tabu on the mat which meant that we were required to pay 100 fathoms as bride-price.

Tabu na Warkukul

Having got the information about the amount we were required to pay, we opened the basket of tabu which we had brought with us. My father’s cousin, IaKaina and ToLipirin brought the basket of tabu to the centre near the mat. They then took out the tabu and arranged them in ten fathom units on the mat. They put down a total of 100 fathoms. When they had finished, they put the tabu na kubika (which had been put down earlier by IaWasita’s people) into the empty basket and returned to our side.

A short while later, ToWarpiam and another man came from IaWasita’s side and approached the mat in the centre with the tabu on it. One of them started to pick up the strings of tabu and began to measure them across his chest. As he finished with one lot, he put it down on the mat and picked up another lot. The lots that he was satisfied with, he put on one side of the mat and the lots that he was not satisfied with, he put on another side. After the first measurement, three arip (ten fathom units) did not meet the measurement requirement while seven did. A second measurement was done, with ToLipirin from our side being involved in the middle. There was clearly some disagreement between the three men in the centre during the measuring of the tabu, which caused some concern and anxiety amongst us who were paying the bride-price. After some time the second
count was completed, in which nine arip passed and only one did not. ToLipirin came back to tell me that the tenth arip was simply too short and we had to replace it. IaKaina told him to bring us the short arip and she gave him another arip which he then brought to the centre to be measured again. This unit satisfied the measurement of ToWarpiam.

Later one fathom of tabu each were given to the Village Councillor and the United Church Pastor who were in attendance.

Tabu na Wargil

When the tabu na warkukul had been sorted out, everyone sat down and tried to be in a jovial and joking mood. In a short while ToWarpiam appeared from the other side with one fathom of tabu, half of which was dragging on the grass. Dragging this, he advanced towards the mat in the centre. From our side ToLipirin also appeared with another fathom of tabu in very much the same way as ToWarpiam and approached the mat in the centre. On their way to the centre the two men became comical and made everybody laugh thus making everyone quickly forget the disagreements earlier over the tabu na warkukul. When they met in the centre, on either side of the mat, they exchanged the two fathoms of tabu, again in very comical fashion which made everyone laugh even more. ToWarpiam took ToLipirin’s fathom of tabu and ToLipirin took his, then they held each others hands for a short while. The tabu exchanged here is known as tabu na wargil (reciprocation tabu). The two men then
returned to their respective sides. When everyone settled
down to another warlapang of betel-nut, I was surprised by
another distribution of tabu by a number of men and women
from within our group, to myself and other senior members
of my clan. To me this was a new development, which I had
never seen during my childhood years. I noticed that most
of these people were bul na warwangala (people fathered by
my clan), bartamana (my fathers relatives) and people from
clans which were in alliance with my clan, ToMairaira. The
distributions were of short pieces of tabu and were done in
very good humour. I also noticed that a number of women
came over from IaWasita’s side and distributed pieces of
tabu to my great uncle, John Vuia, and myself.

When I asked John Vuia about this small distribution, he
told me that these people had given tabu to us because they
were not able to help us with the bride-price tabu, which
the two of us had put together. What they were doing was in
a small way to reimburse us for the huge amount of tabu
that we had spent on the bride-price. From this small
distribution I received a total amount of five fathoms.

Tabu na Wila Warpa

After the above procedures had been completed, IaKaina and
IaWanmelet went over to IaWasita’s
father’s house with one fathom of tabu. When they got to
the house they knocked at the door and after a few minutes
the door opened and they went inside. After another few
minutes they came out of the house leading IaWasita by the
hand and minus the fathom of tabu. They walked across the
centre of the gathering and as they did the two women
cracked jokes about making IaWasita work like a slave,
which the crowd enjoyed. Only IaWasita was clearly
embarrassed about being led through the middle of the
gathering. This was known as the wila warpa (accompany
from) and the one fathom of tabu the two women took and
left in the house is known as the tabu na wila warpa.

On the morning of the day of the warkukul, IaWasita’s
people had prepared some food which had been wrapped up in
a huge parcel. When IaKaina and IaWanmelet returned with
IaWasita to our group, we all got ready to go back to my
father’s house. As we left we took the huge parcel of food
with us. One fathom of tabu had been placed on the parcel
of food by IaWasita’s people, which we also took with us.
When we arrived at my father’s house, the parcel of food
was shared before everyone departed for their homes.

On our part, my family and relatives spent a total of 104
fathoms: 100 fathoms as bride-price, 1 fathom for the tabu
na wargil, two fathoms to the Village Councillor and the
Pastor, and one fathom as tabu na wila warpa. In return we
received 11 fathoms: 10 fathoms as tabu na kubika, and one
fathom as tabu na wargil. On the other hand Ia-Wasita’s
people paid out a total of fourteen fathoms of tabu: 10
fathoms as tabu na kubika, one fathom as tabu na wargil,
two fathoms for the Village Councillor and the Pastor, and
one fathom went with the parcel of food. In return they
received a total of 102 fathoms: 100 from the bride-price,
one fathom as tabu na wargil and one fathom as tabu na wila warpa.

Apart from the tabu paid or received by the two parties, there was also the tabu which were distributed by certain people within the two parties. In our party, about 20 people distributed between two and three fathoms each. Altogether they distributed about 50 fathoms to us. The figure was almost the same on IaWasita’s side.

Tunulai or Koro

About two to three months after a warkukul, the parents of the groom prepare another ceremonial occasion related to the marriage. This is the tunulai (accompanying away), which is a relatively new practice to Matupit but which has been widely accepted. In the tunulai, the kin of the groom prepare a large amount of goods, mainly trade-store goods for the bride’s kin to purchase with tabu on a fixed date. Each item has a certain price in tabu. It was explained to me that the main idea behind this new form of tunulai was that the occasion gave the groom’s people the chance to recoup from the bride’s people, some of the tabu which they had paid as bride-price. The total cash cost of the goods which are displayed during these occasions ranged between K600.00 and K800.00. As this amount is quite difficult for many ordinary villagers to afford, it is mostly those families with high incomes who were able to afford such an activity. In many cases young men are forced by their parents to save money over long periods in order for the
money to be used for tunulai. Norman a motor-mechanic, was placed in such a situation by his parents for over a year. The bride-price for his wife, IaPipe, had been paid and his mother delayed the church wedding until after the tunulai, a year later. In the meantime Norman had to heed his mother’s insistence on saving money for the tunulai, which he did.

Pinapa

In the morning of the day of tunulai, Norman’s kin began to make preparations. They brought in the trade-store goods and displayed them on tables, as in a fete. Some larger items such as firewood and oven stones, had been brought in on the previous day. These preparations were in an open space near to Norman’s parents house. Towards the afternoon, people began arriving on the scene. Although the goods were already on display, no one was allowed to purchase anything yet. The crowd had to wait rather a long time because two maternal uncles of IaPipe, Tekri and ToPaivu, were late in arriving. IaPipe’s mother, IaRedi, was impatient and was threatening to start things without the two men.

Eventually Tekri and ToPaivu arrived, and IaRedi swung into action. IaPipe was seated on a mat in the middle of the crowd. She was wearing a number of blouses, one on top of another, and a number of laplaps. Beside her on the mat, there were also other items such as towels and other women’s clothing. The blouses, the laplaps and the items on
the mat were the things that Norman had bought for IaPipe since she moved to his parents' house after the warkukul.

Armed with about twenty fathoms of tabu each, IaRedi and the two men approached IaPipe in the centre of the gathering. When they reached her, IaRedi immediately started removing some of the blouses and laplaps that her daughter was wearing. She threw these one after another onto the mat. For each garment IaRedi removed and threw down on the mat, one of the men broke off a fathom of tabu and threw it down on the mat. When IaRedi had finished with the garments that IaPipe was wearing, she went onto the pile of goods that were on the mat. She picked them up one after another and then put them down with the blouses and laplaps. Again for every item she put down, one of the men broke off one fathom of tabu and threw down on the mat. At the end of this ritual, IaRedi and the two men paid out a total of 45 fathoms of tabu for the clothing and the goods on IaPipe.

As to how much each laplap, blouse or other item were supposed to cost in tabu, did not seem to be an issue. It appeared that IaRedi was paying for the items as generously as possible. She demonstrated this very clearly when she paid for a number of items with more tabu than other people would normally pay for these items. It seemed that what she was saying was that whatever her daughter's husband's people asked her to pay, she would pay. This was very clear from the minute she and her two kinsmen approached IaPipe on the mat, because they performed their task with some
aggression. The fact that they brought with them such a
large amount of tabu into the centre of the gathering, was
deliberately to show that they could meet any demands made
upon them by their in-laws and still have tabu to spare at
the end.

There was clearly an air of tension between the kin of
IaPipe and that of Norman. This was obvious in the
behaviour of IaRedi and her two kinsmen, as they performed
the above-described ritual in the middle of the gathering.
Everyone knew that there was reason for some degree of
tension between the two groups. In fact before the koro,
when Norman’s people kept delaying the church wedding with
IaPipe, her people began to worry, thinking that they may
have been thinking of cancelling the marriage. They feared
this because of a sequence of events relating to marriages
involving people related to the two groups, in the recent
past.

Norman belonged to Vunalagir clan, which is from Kurapun.
IaPipe belonged to ToLabit, a Kikila based clan. Norman’s
father, ToNebuka, belonged to Vunakua clan, a Kikila clan.
ToNebuka had a sister, IaKaludia, who had a son and a
daughter, ToKubura and IaNelep. Tekri (IaPipe’s matrilineal
uncle) had a daughter, IaPal. ToMangaia (Tekri’s
matrilineal uncle) had a son, ToKision. In the early 1970s,
ToNebuka and his sister IaKaludia, had paid bride-price for
IaPal to be ToKubura’s wife. Shortly after this, ToMangaia
paid bride-price for IaNelep, to be ToKision’s wife. The
parties involved were happy with this arrangement because
it was almost a *ki warballi* (sister exchange marriage). While ToKubura and IaNelep were brother and sister, ToKision and IaPal were almost brother and sister also because they were fathered by the same clan.

Sometime after the two bride-prices were paid, an incident occurred which soured the relations between Vunakua and ToLabit clans. One night, about midnight, the village was woken by IaPal crying at the top of her voice and pleading for mercy. Her father, Tekri was giving her a very severe beating and was threatening to kill her with an axe. It was understood later that IaPal had come in late that night after she had been on the beach with a lover (not ToKubura). Her father was angry and embarrassed about this because he had already accepted the bride-price for her. When ToNebuka and his sister IaKaludia heard about this incident, they immediately asked for the return of the bride-price from Tekri which they had paid for IaPal. Tekri tried to resist this, but in the end he returned the tabu and the marriage was cancelled.

Shortly after Tekri’s return of the bride-price, ToMangaia made representations to ToNebuka and his sister IaKaludia, to return the bride-price which he had paid for IaNelep. ToNebuka and IaKaludia did not expect this and they resisted it, arguing that they did not see any reasons for the return of this bride-price. They knew very well that ToMangaia’s decision was related to the return of the bride-price by Tekri, but they argued that they were totally justified in reclaiming IaPal’s bride-price because
she had done wrong, whereas IaNelep had done no wrong. ToMangaia persisted and ToNebuka and IaKaludia continued to refuse to return the *tabu*. The matter came before the village court on a number of occasion. In the end the court ruled that only 60 fathoms of the *tabu* be returned because IaNelep had spent some time living with ToKision's parents. For this period of residence, she was compensated the total of 40 fathoms of *tabu*. The marriage was cancelled.

*Tinatak na koro*

After IaRedi had finished paying for the garments on IaPipe, she and her kinsmen returned to their people. In a short while, she reappeared, armed again with *tabu*. She was followed by many of her kinsmen and women, who also carried a lot of *tabu*. They all approached the tables and the platforms where the goods were being displayed and began to inspect them and buy. In principle it was the people of ToLabit clan who were supposed to buy the goods, but this was not altogether the case. Within a few minutes, other people from the crowd joined the people of ToLabit at the tables and the stalls, also carrying their own *tabu* and also purchasing goods. Among these people who joined the people of ToLabit were people who had been fathered by the clan, members of allied clans of ToLabit and friends.

The *tabu* prices of the goods that were on display were the same as those sold in other situations in the village. While IaRedi and her clan members knew these prices, they did not pay these prices. Instead they paid larger amounts
of tabu for these goods. The buying of goods by the members of ToLabit clan was done with a lot of joviality and joking.

When the members of ToLabit clan and their supporters had been at the stalls for about twenty minutes, the rest of the crowd were invited to come forward and buy anything they wanted. The people then rose with lengths of tabu and bought goods from the tables and the platforms. I estimated that at the end of the day Norman’s people had made about 480 fathoms of tabu from the tunulai.

While tunulai is part of the marriage process, not all marriages in the Kikila district necessarily go through this phase. Due to the high cost of this activity, both in cash and tabu, only those who can afford them do stage them. Apart from being able to afford the goods, on the part of the groom’s kin, they also have to determine the capability of the bride’s kin to pay in tabu, for the activity to be worth the effort. But being able to afford the goods, was not the only determining factor.

In the case of Norman, he was a mere motor-mechanic and could not afford a venture such as the tunulai. Clearly his parents who were only subsistence farmers, could not afford such a venture either, at least not the cash component. Norman had two elder brothers who were in wage employment. These two brothers had to help in providing the cash that was required for the purchase of the goods.
When I spoke to ToNebuka and his wife, IaDoris, on two different occasions before the tunulai, both admitted that they could not really afford such a venture. Although I had not gone to them to talk about the tunulai, they kept steering our conversations to it and commenting on the enormous costs involved in this exercise. IaDoris was worried about whether she and her sons would be able to provide enough goods to match the amount of tabu that IaPipe's people would bring to the tunulai. She felt that they could be put in a position of great shame if they were not able to provide enough goods to match the tabu of IaPipe's people.

ToNebuka was a little more reserved than his wife about the matter. While he was concerned about the same matters as his wife, I sensed that he still felt very strongly about the cancelled marriages involving his sister's children, discussed above. He felt that while he and his family could not afford the venture, he was determined that they go through with it. While he tried to give the impression that this was a matter for wife's clan, it was obvious that he had a personal interest in the successful outcome of the matter. He could not let the members of ToLabit think that he was not able to match their tabu wealth.

6 At this time IaPipe's clan, ToLabit, was very powerful due to the wealth of one of its members, Melly ToPaivu. Thus IaDoris feared that they may be shamed if they could not match the wealth of this wealthy clan.
III

The Wedding

For the contemporary Tolai, a warbean (church wedding) is the final step in the marriage process. As most Tolai belong to Christian churches, most of these weddings are very much like European weddings, but with slight variations and additions. There are two major Christian churches on the Gazelle Peninsula, to which most of the Tolai belong. These are the Roman Catholic and the United Church. In these two churches, the formal Christian weddings are followed by traditional activities which are generally known as lukara na warbean (wedding feast). On Matupit Island there are three churches: The Roman Catholic, United Church and Seventh Day Adventist. The former two of these three churches have lukara na warbean after formal Christian weddings but the latter banned its congregation from doing the same.7

For the Catholic and United church, the Christian weddings take place inside the church building. The brides wear wedding dresses with veils and the men wear three-piece black suits with ties. There are bridesmaids, best-men and flower girls. A priest or pastor conducts the wedding ceremony.

7 This ban not only relates to wedding feasts but also all other kinds of traditional cultural activities. They consider these activities to be heathen.
Lukara na Warbean

After a United Church wedding, everyone goes to a function building which is owned by the church, about half a kilometre away from the church building. There is an open field in front of this building, on which the traditional dances and other activities associated with the weddings are performed. On wedding occasions this is the scene of a mixture of traditional and introduced Western rituals relating to marriage. It is here, in the building, that the groom and the bride cut their wedding cake. Outside of the building, the bride and groom receive their presents from their friends and relatives and also shake hands with them. It is also at this place that traditional foods such as taro and bananas are distributed according to Tolai ceremonial tradition. Dances are performed here and tabu presentations are also made on this setting.

The main features of the ceremonies outside the church are, lukara (distribution of food), malagene (dances) and the makmaku (tabu presentation). These three items all featured in the wedding of ToKonia and IaPidak, who were wedded at the Matupit United Church, which I shall describe here. This was a double wedding but I shall here only concentrate on that of IaPidak and ToKonia.

The church rituals ended at about 3:00 pm, after which most people moved off to the ceremonial area referred to above, while some people went to their homes to change from their church clothes into their ceremonial clothes. In the
meantime, the newly wedded couple were taken for a ride in a car into the town. When they returned, many people had gathered at the place of ceremony. ToKonia and IaPidak and the other couple were asked to sit on chairs, with two mats spread out in front of them. An announcement was made for the performance of the makmaku ritual.

Makmaku

The makmaku is a presentation of tabu by relatives and friends to the newly wedded couple. In this presentation people file past the couple and put down pieces or strings of tabu on the mat in front of them. The groom’s people go first and then they are followed by the bride’s people. These presentations are supposed to be made jointly to the couple, but it never turns out this way. The tabu on the mat always ends up being in two piles because relatives and friends of the groom always place their tabu directly in front of him while those of the bride always place their tabu in front of her.

The makmaku presentation to ToKonia and IaPidak was led off by ToKonia’s mother, IaMarna. She was closely followed by her sons, ToKowa and ToLengangar, and her daughter IaWole. They were followed by IaMarna’s brother, ToWarpulu. He was followed by IaMarna’s sister, IaBokoro, and her two daughters. IaMarna herself carried 20 fathoms of tabu, ToKowa and ToLengangar 10 fathoms each, IaWole 10 fathoms, ToWarpulu 10 fathoms, IaBokoro 10 fathoms and her two daughters 5 fathoms each. This total of 80 fathoms of tabu
was placed directly in front of ToKonia. The above-mentioned leading party was followed by other relatives and friends of ToKonia and his family, who came with smaller amounts of tabu. After ToKonia's people had finished, IaPidak's people also made their makmaku presentation. The leading party was led by IaPidak's maternal uncle, ToMalom. He was closely followed by his sister, IaKoni (IaPidak's mother) and her two daughters IaTauwi and IaSera. They were followed by IaKoni's sister, IaMalangat. This party laid down a total of 55 fathoms of tabu in front of IaPidak. They were later followed by other relatives and friends.

After the presentations, the two lots of tabu on the mat were put together in one basket and taken away by ToWarpulu. When the mat was cleared of the tabu, presents (store-goods) were then presented to the couple by relatives and friends. These were put in one pile in front of the couple, rather than two piles.

The manner of presentation in the makmaku is one which many leaders and village officials have complained about on many occasions in the past. They say that when making tabu presentations, relatives and friends should not make any distinction between the bride and the groom. Instead they should make their presentations jointly to the couple. These leaders and officials admit that the makmaku is a traditional ritual which has been incorporated into the wedding, but they point out that the wedding is a Christian institution and it should be conducted in the spirit of warmaram (reconciliation / peace). It should be devoid of
the rivalries which are often part of traditional rituals and ceremonies. They say that no one should be shamed on wedding days because he/she does not have much tabu. These complaints are raised because the makmaku is always performed with a high degree of rivalries, between the bride’s people and the groom’s people. Despite repeated requests and directives form the leaders and officials, no one takes any notice.

Malagene and Lukara

After the makmaku, the bride and the groom go into the building to entertain their invited guests in a more Western type of reception. There are sandwiches, salads, beer and wine. The groom and the bride cut a wedding cake. The bride and the groom spend the rest of the afternoon in the building with the invited guests.

While the Western reception is taking place in the building, the malagene and lukara are taking place outside and this is where the majority of the people are. The women distribute raw bananas, pork, beef, rice, and tins of fish and meat, which had been prepared in the morning. This food is distributed to everyone who attends the festivities. This food is mainly received by the women who sit in groups on the open field.

8 Only the people who have received invitation cards are allowed to participate in this part of the festivities.
While the women are distributing the food, traditional dancing parties are performing.\(^9\) About three quarter of the way through each dance performance, women appear with bunches of bananas, and place them in front of the dancers. These women are immediately followed by a man or woman who put about ten fathoms of tabu on top of the bananas. The person who brings the tabu is the one who had oro (requisitioned) the dance for the festivity. The tabu and bananas are for the person from whom the dance was requisitioned.

When the dance ends, the person who requisitioned the dance approaches the dance party again with some tabu. This time he breaks the tabu into pieces and distributes them to both the tarai na kudu (drum players) and the tarai na malagene (dancers). This person presents about one fathom of tabu to each drum player and dancer. When this person has finished, some of his kinsmen and women produce some of their own tabu and also make presentation to the drummers and dancers. These kinsmen and women presented smaller amounts of tabu. They were later joined by other people who were not necessarily kinsmen and women of the person who requisitioned the dance. At the end of the distributions, each drummer and dancer receives between four and six fathoms of tabu.

\(^9\) Tolai dances are strictly segregated and the performers are always in pairs.
Discussion

In the Tolai marriage sequence there are 19 *tabu* payments, presentations and exchanges. Some of these have significance for marriage but others relate to other aspects of Tolai cultural life. These can be divided into three categories. (1) Presentations by individuals and groups to individuals and groups. (2) Presentations by individuals and groups to groups. (3) Presentations by groups to individuals. The presentations are, *we warwaba* (going into pre-marriage seclusion), *wapuak* (payment to the maker of the *pal na mamarikai*), *watang boina* (acknowledgement), *iap* (payment for the provision of 'fire'), *warlapang* (contributions), *tabu na wung warbat* (bride-price part-payment), *kubika* (bride-price solicitation), *warkukul* (bride-price payment), *warap* (token reimbursement), *wila warpa* (accompanying from), *pinapa* (reimbursement for goods bought for a bride), *makmaku* (contributions to bride and groom), *palum tabu* (payment to dancers), *kubika na pal na mamarikai* (payment for the design of the *pal na mamarikai*), payments at *tinatak na koro* (payment for goods at the *koro*), *wargil* (reciprocation), *tunulai* (accompanying away), *tabu* for the Councillor and pastor and *tabu na warwai* (tabu to inform).

The *we warwaba, kubika na pal na mamarikai, watang boina, iap, warlapang, tabu na wung warbat, kubika, tabu na warkukul, warap, tabu na wila warpa, pinapa, makmaku* and *palum tabu* to dancers, are presentations made by individuals and groups, to other individuals and groups. In
these situations individuals or small groups (smaller than the clan) conduct exchanges between themselves. But in broader terms, because the tabu exchanged is directed at the clan rather than individuals, the exchange is then seen as being conducted between clans. In the we warwaba (going into pre-marriage seclusion) ceremony, the pieces of tabu received by the men and boys are initially seen as pre-payment for accompanying a young man in seclusion. As many of the men and the boys have come to the small ceremony because they are relatives or friends of the young man going into seclusion, to them the tabu presentation is an acknowledgement and confirmation of those relationships. Some of the boys attend the ceremony (particularly those of the same age-group as the person going into seclusion) out of affection for the young man (their friend), and the tabu is seen as acknowledgement of this affection. The tabu presented to the person who constructs the pal na mamarikai is initially seen as payment for the job, but more importantly it is an acknowledgement of the person’s assistance to the clan which commissioned the design. By accepting the tabu the person accepts the acknowledgement of the commissioning clan.

As was briefly mentioned above, tabu na watang boina (acknowledgement tabu) is initially seen as payment to the men and boys for having accompanied the young man during seclusion. This payment is also seen as acknowledgement of the relationships or bond between each person and the young man. Beyond the individual men and boys, the payments are also seen as acknowledgement of the assistance of their
clans (as these individuals represent their clans). And as many of the boys and some of the men accompanied the young man during seclusion out of affection for him, the payment is seen as acknowledgement and appreciation of this affection. At the same time the people who come forward with their own tabu to distribute in support of the young man’s parents or relatives do so to state publicly their relationship to the parents or the relatives. Their actions are directed at the parents or relatives rather than at the men and boys, even though they may distribute tabu to them. Iap (fire) tabu payments are initially for the food provided to a young man and his companions. The two motives behind the preparation of this food, wawalua (creating debt) and balbali (reciprocation) have been mentioned above. But apart from this, people prepare this food because of some prior relationship between them and the young man or his parents. The tabu is seen as public statement about the nature and acknowledgement of this relationship.

The warlapang (tabu contributions) are made by individuals to the young man, but at the same time it is a presentation to his parents and or his clan. The contributions are public statements about the relationships between the individuals and the young man’s parents and his clan. Tabu na wung warbat (part-payment) is an undertaking on the part of a young man’s people that they will pay bride-price at a later date. The tabu presented here is also a statement of courtesy towards the young woman’s people and in this sense it is a statement of the worthiness of the young woman and
her clan. At the same time the tabu is a statement of honour and trustworthiness of the young man's people. Merely to tell a young woman's people about intentions to pay bride-price for her without tabu is to belittle her and her clan and is also a statement of power and agonisticism on the part of the young man's clan.

Kubika is initially stating the amount of bride-price tabu the bride's people are asking. This is a courteous way of stating the amount being asked for and at the same time it states the groom's people's appreciation of the large amount of bride-price tabu to be paid by the groom's people. In the situation of ongoing marriage relations between clans over long periods, this tabu is part of reciprocal exchanges between the clans. Tabu na warkukul (bride-price tabu) is initially seen as payment for the bride. In the long term this is part of the exchange between clans which have established marriage relations. Although the tabu is received by the bride's parents or close clan relatives, this tabu actually belongs to her clan, thus the payment here is from one clan to another. For the groom's people, the tabu is also a statement of their (clan) wealth and power. On the bride's people's part the tabu is a statement of the worthiness of their daughter or clanswoman and also their clan. A woman is not considered worthy if no tabu is paid for her and this also reflects on the worthiness of her people and clan.

The warap (token reimbursement) presentation is identical to the warap payment discussed in Chapter VII. In this case
the people who make the payments state to the recipients that despite the recent re-ordering of social relations caused by the marriage, their established relationships remain the same. *Tabu na wila warpa* (*tabu* to accompany from) is seen as a statement of courtesy by both the bride’s people and the groom’s people. It is also a statement about the respectability of the bride and also of her parents and her clan, in that she has to be fetched from the house with further *tabu*.

*Pinapa* is initially seen as payment for the clothing and goods that have been bought for the bride by the groom. While the *tabu* paid here is seen to belong to the groom (who bought the goods), the payment is directed towards his clan. The person making the payment is doing so as the groom’s parent or relative but at the same he or she is doing it as a member of a clan. In this sense the payment is by the individual (parent or relative) and his or her clan to an individual (groom) and his clan. As shown above, this can also manifest the nature of the relationship between the bride’s clan and the groom’s clan. It can also make statements about the two clans in this relationship and the payments are also conducted with some degree of *warpin* (agonisticism).

The *makmaku* payment is supposed to be made to the newly married couple but in actual fact people make the payments to them separately, manifesting again the agonisticism between clans. The *tabu* is made to the individual (bride or groom), as statement of the relationship or bond of
friendship between the presenter and the individual. At the same time this is seen as payment to the bride’s or groom’s clan. In this sense this payment is from an individual to an individual and his clan. As mentioned above, this is a traditional ritual which has been adapted to modern Christian wedding, and its underlying ideas remain the same despite many attempts by Village Officials to change them. The tabu payment to dancers at the lukara na warbean is the same as the palum tabu discussed in connection with the mortuary ceremonies discussed in Chapter VII and it has the same significance.

Tabu payments for the pal na mamarikai, tinatak na koro, tabu na wargil, tabu na tunulai and tabu for the Councillor and Pastor are made by individuals or groups to groups. The tabu in these instances is initially directed at the group, even though in some cases it is received by individuals. The significance of the pal na mamarikai in social relations has been discussed above. Tinatak na koro is initially payment for the goods but also presentation from the ‘purchasing’ clan to the ‘selling’ clan. There is also some degree of agonisticism involved in this presentation. In the same act, the persons who come with their own tabu to support the ‘purchasing’ clan do so as statements of their relationships to the clan. Tabu na wargil (reciprocation tabu) is direct reciprocal payment between the two clans, to signify equal relations between them despite the preceding events. Tabu na tunulai (tabu to accompany away) is a courteous presentation to the groom’s people, accompanying the food because it is not courteous
to give food without tabu. The tabu presentations to the Councillor and the Pastor are initially made out of courtesy but at the same time the two men represent two entities, the Council and the Church, which are also seen as groups.

The tabu na warwai (tabu to inform) is the only presentation made between a group and an individual. The tabu (seen as the property of the clan) is given to the individual member to inform him or her of the coming bride-price payment. As mentioned above, a person who is not given any of this tabu can get upset. The presentation or non-presentation of this tabu to a person is a statement about the person's position in the clan.
Chapter X

CONCLUSION

Despite over one hundred and twenty years of contact with the outside world, tabu still occupies a very important position in the life of the modern Tolai. Unlike other areas of the world where the importation of shells eroded the value of traditional exchange shell valuables (Dubbledam 1964, Brown 1970, Strathern 1971b, Chowning 1972), the importation of large stocks of tabu into the Gazelle Peninsula did not result in any devaluation of tabu. Rather the discoveries of new shell sources and the admittance of slightly different species of shells into the tabu system suggests that there has been and still is an excess demand for tabu. This continued demand for tabu is evidence that it has an important role in modern-day Tolai society. These facts led me to pose the question stated in the introduction of this thesis. "Why has tabu persisted in modern-day Tolai society despite over one hundred and twenty years of contact with the outside world?"

In my examination of this question, I have described and analysed the two major roles tabu plays in modern day Tolai society: the monetary and the ritual / symbolic.

I have shown that tabu has played and continues to play a monetary role in Tolai society. It was an important store of value and medium of exchange before the arrival of Europeans on the Gazelle Peninsula. The traditional Tolai were a commercial people who conducted their trade in a
number of markets which were situated at various locations on the Gazelle Peninsula. The main medium of exchange in these markets was tabu. As it had many of the characteristics of money such as being easy to carry and was divisible - it served this function very well. Today tabu still serves the function of 'money', but not on the same scale as it did before the introduction of cash to the Tolai.

However, notwithstanding this monetary role, the primary function of tabu is ritual / symbolic, and I have tried to demonstrate this in the preceding chapters.

I have shown that there are 41 occasions of tabu ritual transactions among the Tolai today, most of which have different names. Some of these are conducted in public ceremonial occasions, and others in less ceremonial and even private occasions. At the same time, there are a number of ritual transactions which recur in different ceremonies and situations, such as the warlapang which appears in marriage and the tubuan ceremonies. Despite the difference in names and nature of these ritual / symbolic transactions, they are all underlaid by three central themes: kinship, identity and clan property.

To the Tolai today social groups are still very important and the vunatarai (clan) is most important. The clan gives a sense of security in the way of support and assistance to its members. Within the clan, members stand in defined relationships to each other which imply benefits and
responsibilities of members, to the clan and to each other. One of the main responsibilities of a member to other members is to provide support and assistance whenever required. In principle, the only way to accrue any benefits from a clan is through being a member, which is established matrilineally through birth.

Yet despite the clan membership requirement, non-members can in some situations, gain access to the above benefits and resources. This is possible through other kinds of arranged relationships and is often required when people are living in villages where they do not have any clan relatives. As illustrated by the case at Kikila, today there are many Tolai living away from villages where their clans belong and also where most of their kinsmen live. In this situation, maintenance of these relationships and other arrangements become very important. And a most important element in the maintenance of these relationships is the regular presentation of tabu between the parties concerned, in rituals.

Each clan has a history, which links the clan very strongly to ancestors in the past. This history is very important for the group and the individual identity of the member. This identity gives people a sense of belonging. It is very shameful for a Tolai to be told that he or she is a alir pukai (floating spirit of the sea) or a pap na kete (children of the bush vine - kete). The only way by which a person can have identity is to be a member of a clan.
The scatterdness of clans through villages creates two main problems for the Tolai. First, a large number of 'immigrant clan segments' become threats to the identity and survival of local clans in a village. In the face of this threat, the local clans must constantly assert their identity, which they achieve by periodic ritual performances, using tabu. Second, many of these 'immigrant clan segments' have been away from their villages of origin for long periods and have to maintain their identities wherever they are. As demonstrated in the Kikila situation, these 'immigrant clan segments' try to usurp the identities of local clans by challenging them for important symbols of identity such as land, in public rituals involving the use of tabu. Some of these 'clan segments' choose to maintain their identities by merely 'sitting under the auspices of' local clans or forming alliances with them, which also requires periodic exchanges of tabu.

The clan owns property such as land, rites and esoteric knowledge. These different forms of clan property are important both as symbols of clan identity and also as resource for clan members. Membership in the group through matrilineal links is the general principle through 'usufructuary rights' to property is obtained. Despite this principle, many non-members of clans are still able to use these properties both as resources and also as symbols of identity through relationships such as the bartamana (father / child) and kini navavai (staying under the auspices of). For example, a person can get access to residential land, gardening land and ritual designs, such
as *pal na mama rikai* (model house roof), through these relationships. Also, through the *bartamana* relationships persons can receive *tinabar* (gift) of land. Furthermore, through *bartamana* relationships, persons can even buy land from a clan. The presentation of *tabu* is important in the maintenance of these relationships.

Property, both as resource and as symbol of identity, can also be acquired through public contention over the status of ownership. Success in these disputes depends a great deal on the political strength of a group and groups form alliances with other groups to stake their claim on disputed. Land disputes are staged in public rituals such as *minamai* (funerary), *paluka* (mortuary) and *balaguan* (mortuary), in which people *rama ra tabu* (scatter *tabu*) in order to establish their claims. The creation and maintenance of these alliances require constant transactions of *tabu* between the groups involved. Furthermore the actual performances of the above-mentioned ritual involve use of large amounts of *tabu*.

I have grouped all of the ritual transactions under the headings of "kinship", "identity" and "property" for expository purposes. The reality is obviously not as clear cut as this. As I have shown in many parts of the thesis, many of these ritual transactions have multiple meanings. Some of these rituals have meanings which relate to two or even all three of the above main themes. For instance, while a *kutu bat ra tabu* (distributing *tabu* to secure property) at a *minamai* (funerary) ceremony is intended to
secure rights of ownership to land, in the long term this ritual act is seen as another exchange in the ongoing process of maintaining social relations between the person distributing tabu and the land-owning clan. Furthermore, it is not always clear what category a particular ritual belongs to. For example, the payment of a tubuan initiation fee can be seen in the narrow sense as a commercial transaction but, in the broader sense, this payment goes towards maintaining a person’s membership within the clan because in the end this tabu goes into the wuwuwung kai ra vunatarai (collection of the clan).

As my analysis of the role of tabu in Tolai society has not been to close a debate but rather to suggest new lines of inquiry, I will conclude with a few speculations about possible future directions for research.

In the past the question of tabu has revolved around the debate about ‘tabu as money’, within the framework of economic anthropology. This debate, while it has produced some fruitful results needs, I believe, to be transcended and the debate relocated in the field of symbolic anthropology.

Tabu fits the description of what Turner calls a "dominant symbol".

Such symbols come in the process of time to absorb into their meaning-content most of the major aspects of human social life, so that, in a sense, they come
to represent "human society" itself. In each ritual they assert the situational primacy of a single aspect of a few aspects only, but by their mere presence they suffuse those aspects with the awe that can only be inspired by the human total. All the contradictions of human social life, between norms and drives, between different drives and between different norms, between society and individual and between groups, are condensed and unified in a single representation, the dominant symbols (Turner 1964:47-8).

Tabu as shells are objects and often remain so after they have been produced into tabu. But there are certain situations in which tabu manifests some degree of sacredness. This sacredness is linked to spirits, which in some situations, are embedded in tabu itself; they guard it closely and are activated in ritual situations. The nature or identity of these spirits is not very clear. This is consistent with the Tolai conception of the spirit world as full of vaguely identified spirits. The role of these spirits in tabu is also vague, but again this is consistent with Tolai beliefs about the supernatural. The only apparent function of spirits in tabu is to protect tabu from misuse, abuse and even misappropriation. These spirits create a sacredness in and around tabu. The lack of clarity as to the nature and identity of spirits does not constitute a problem for the Tolai because what is important to them is that these spirits are present in tabu whenever they want them to be. These spirits represent the people's desires and ideals. The fluidity of the nature and
identity of these spirits means that they can be moved around from one situation to another and whenever people want.

Tabu then, is associated with the desires and ideals and constitute what Turner would consider as 'a positive force in an activity field'.

From this stand-point the ritual symbol becomes a factor in social action, a positive force in an activity field. The symbol becomes associated with human interests, purposes, ends, and means, whether these are explicitly formulated or have to be inferred from the observed behaviour (Turner 1964: 21).

Tabu is a 'systematised programme' with a range of optional uses as means and with a set of achievable ritual messages. These messages relate to certain ends. These means and ends are understood by all Tolai. In this sense tabu is a medium of communication which the Tolai cannot do without. This kind of symbol was recognized by Weiner from her observations of yams in Trobriand ritual exchange.

I argue that the 'fetishism' or symbolic value that attaches itself to the production and distribution of yams may be discerned by peeling back layers of meaning that relate to use, function, motives, politics, economics and social relations. An aggregate of such meanings, as perceived by Trobrianders gives value to a yam when it is presented to someone else. A
yam, therefore, becomes a visual statement, signifying words too powerful and dangerous to be publicly uttered (Weiner 1978: 177).

Tabu is used in ritual and ceremonial exchanges by individuals and groups to make public statements to each other about personal, social, economic, and political relations. Many of these exchanges create, confirm and maintain, personal, social, economic and political relationships. But at the same time, these exchange acts transmit messages about intents, desires and personal-interests. Many of these messages are too embarrassing, socially undesirable, disruptive, destructive, and even dangerous because they relate to the spirit world. For these reasons these messages cannot be expressed publicly by word of mouth. In many of these exchange acts the messages are multiple. They may be about, personal, social, economic and political relations all in one. Tabu is the medium through which the Tolai communicate with and to each other, in and about matters of cultural importance. This is the nature of tabu exchanges and it is an important reason for its persistence today.
GLOSSARY

Words

aibika - spinach
alu - tubuan 'walks' around the village
apik - hand of bananas
arip - (1) a unit of ten kewa of eggs (40 eggs) (2) a unit of ten fathoms of tabu
babat - protective magic against malignant magic and supernatural powers
balaguan - mortuary ceremony
balamari - compassion
balamarit - beauty magic
balau - saplings used as stakes in the namata
balbali - reciprocal
balilai - another term for matatar
barkakuna - ego - mother's mother's brother relationship
barmaku - affinal relationship
barmatuana - (1) ego - mother's brother relationship (2) ego - mother's mother's brother's sons relationship
barnana - mother - child relationship
barnauwana - cross-cousin relationship
barnavudu - banana plant
barniuruna - clan relationship
barovon - vision as in dream
bartaina - brother or sister relationship (opposite sex)
bartalaina - friendship
bartamana - paternal relationship
bartanawawina - sister relationship (both females)
bartubuna - ego - grandparent relationship
barturana - brother relationship (both males)
barwiwina - ego - father's sister relationship
babat - protective magic
bilingiran  - destitute
binabar   - breaking of the whorl at the back of tabu shell
bor       - to harangue
bot       - a kind of song accompanied by men dancing, which is sung during gugu periods
buai      - betel-nut
butur     - remains of leo after the funerary ceremony
daka      - mustard
dewarra   - Duke of York word for 'tabu'
dokadoko  - killing magic of the tubuan
dukduk    - another masked figure sometimes said to be child of the tubuan
ebar      - a black spirit which lives near human settlements mainly because it feeds on human faeces
gara      - a dance performed by women during gugu periods
garamut   - slit-drum
gomogomo  - formal introduction of a new-born child into his father's parent's house
guboro    - second stage initiate in the Tubuan Society
gugu      - comedy
gunan     - place of human habitation / village
hevehe    - masked figure of the Gulf of Papua
iap       - fire
ingal     - spirits which are mostly visible in the form of small birds
iniat     - voluntary secret organization in which members are believed to have the power to change themselves into animals for particular reasons
iwuna     - feathers - middle part of the tubuan
kabakavir - variety of tubuan dance music of the nialir category
kabang    - lime
kada - cane
kaia - diety
kakaang - sub-lineage
kakugu - my mother’s mother’s brother
kalamana - (1) first stage initiate in the Tubuan Society
(2) new
kalawuar - animal figures carved out of limestone which are used by iniat men in their rituals
kalie - to plant in the ground
kamara - warfare
kanawo - mock fight dance performed by men during tubuan ceremonies
kapakapal - ritualized acknowledgement / confirmation a boys first participation in dance
kapi - to trap
kauling - being unfamiliar with European ways
kaunga - signal given in the taraiu when the men start eating during the pulpulung
kewa - a unit of four eggs
kinawai - tubuan canoe dance
kini - sitting
komkom - redressing magic through which the culprit responsible for the death of another person is sought and killed by spirits
konga - bull-roarer
konon - greedy swallower
koro - an occasion in the marriage process in which mainly imported goods openly sold for tabu
ku - a cream made from coconut milk
kuara - malignant magic
kudu - hand-drum
kukuwai - rain protectors made from pandanus leaves
kunukul - purchase
lagulagu - strap of the tubuan
laun - alive
leo - bamboo scaffolding erected for minamai
liliman - strings of tabu
ling - orphan spirits
lok - circular piece of cane at the base of the top of the tubuan
loloi - tabu coil
lotu - religion / church
lualua - leader
lukara - (1) feast / food for feast (2) a tubuan ceremony
luluai - Village Official under German Colonial rule
maana - uninitiated person
madapai - place of origin
magaga - cane leaves which form the feathers of the feathers of the tubuan
makadao - coconut of the green variety
makmaku - tabu presentation in a number of ceremonmoies
maku - affine
malagene - dance
malira - love magic
mangana - magic
maramarawut - assistance
marovot - iniat sanctuary
matakorong - category of tubuan from the North Coast of the Gazelle Peninsula
matalawar - spirit underworld
matamatam - tubuan ceremony to commemorate all the members of a clan
matana - eye (design of the tubuan)
mattatar - category of tubuan from the South of the Gazelle Peninsula
matuagu - (1) my mother’s brother
           (2) my mother’s mother’s brother’s son(s)
melem - (1) experienced egg-digger (2) third-stage initiate in the Tubuan Society
          (2) third stage initiate in the Tubuan Society
minamai - funerary ceremony
minamar - decoration
moko - strands of grass symbolizing taboo
motonoi - beach landing
nagu - my mother
namata - emergence after pre-marriage seclusion
natugu - my child
nauwagu - my cross-cousin (either sex)
ngala - big-man
ngenge - coconut of the brown variety
nialir - category of tubuan from the Blanche Bay area
nidok - third stage initiation into the Tubuan Society
niligur - grief / sorrow
nirut - coconut fibre
niuk - stringing of shells onto rattan strips
ogogabut - self-aggrandizement
oro - to requisition
pala lor - head-piece of the tubuan mask
palatabu - an individual tabu shell
palawat - rock or piece of hardwood representing the ‘base’ or ‘power’ of the tubuan
pale - to lay down
palom - food prepared for the feast of pulpulung
palturup - makeshift shelter made of coconut fronds coffins are put during mortuary ceremonies
paluka - mortuary feast
papar - (side) to mean moiety
paraparau - pre-marriage seclusion
pele - shell discs used as valuable used in the Nakanai area
perapere - tuft of feathers at conical top of tubuan
pinapa - removing of tabu shells from rattan strips, for re-stringing
pobono - empty
pokono - one fathom of tabu
puak - small pieces of tabu sent out to the ngala of each clan at the death of a person when his or her kinsmen cannot afford a proper funerary ceremony
pulpulung - symbolic killing of tubuan
punang - to bury
punuongo - explosion
punupur - taro baked with meat or fish in coconut cream
pupulu - parcel
puta - part of the human body, such as hair, fingernails, faeces or food scraps, which attracts malignant spirits to a person
ram - club (weapon)
rat - basket
ravu - inexperienced egg-digger
rikai - upwards
rubatia - to uproot
rurua - joining of short pieces of tabu into arip units
tabakau - mat made from coconut fronds
tabaran - spirit
tabu - shell-money
taigu - my brother / sister (opposite sex)
takin - a tubuan visiting the graves of the members of a clan
taktak - a kind of song sung by women during the gugu periods
tamaqu - my father
tamate - masked figure of the Banks Islands in Vanuatu	tambu - Pidgin term for 'tabu'
tanawawigu - my sister (both females)
tang - to lift
tapsoka - shell valuable of New Ireland which was also used in the West New Britain area
taraiu - tubuan sanctuary	tawatawai - first clearing and occupation of land
tinabar - gift
tinata - incantations accompanying ritual in magic
tinatak - egg-levy
tinaulai - marriage
tinut - tubuan revival	tip - unit of monetary tabu
tirip - young coconut	tokom - to rent
totogor - parcel of food often sold at the market by women for cash
totokom - rental	tubuan - masked figure representing the Tubuan Society
tubugu - my grand-parent	tugutugu - conical bamboo structure which are decked with bunches of bananas during ceremonies
tukal - magic to ward off malignant spirits	tultul - assistant to the luluai
tulu - bamboo pole erected during emergence after pre-marriage seclusion	tulungen - spirit of the dead
tunulai - accompanying away
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tunur</td>
<td>standing in ceremonies to distribute tabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tur</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turagu</td>
<td>my brother (both males)</td>
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<tr>
<td>turangan</td>
<td>spirits which spend most of their time around in the air and can be harnessed for their magical powers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutubai</td>
<td>and aibika baked with taro or cassava, in coconut cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutupar</td>
<td>payment to each tubuan for participation in a ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urur</td>
<td>Village groupings mainly used for Church administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vunapaina</td>
<td>place of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vunatarai</td>
<td>clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wablingiran</td>
<td>insult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabobo</td>
<td>design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakokon</td>
<td>bless / give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakongo</td>
<td>choke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| walaun          | (1) curative magic against attacks by supernatural powers and human malignant magic  
|                 | (2) purification ritual performed on 'tabu of the tubuan'              |
| Waluwal         | grated cassava baked with coconut cream and nuts                        |
| Wamalarli       | to shame                                                                 |
| Wamong          | design                                                                   |
| Wanga           | collection of tabu fines by tubuan                                       |
| Wangala         | made big / procreate                                                    |
| Wangan          | sand catchment                                                          |
| Wapuak          | wage                                                                     |
| Warap           | token reimbursements                                                    |
| Warbat          | ritual of making love magic                                             |
| Warbean         | wedding                                                                  |
| Wardodoko       | symbolic killing of the tubuan                                          |
wariru - respect
warkukul - bride-price payment
warlapang - (1) distribution of betel-nut and mustard during ceremonies (2) tabu contributions made during a ceremony
warlialia - outdoing others
warmal - affection
warmaram - reconciliation
warmari - love / pity
warpin - agonisticism
wartabar - gift
wartuk - tabu monetary unit of 40 shells
warwadoan - blessing
warwakokon - blessing / gift of tubuan from a father to his children
warwaliju - ritualized familiarization tour of the village with a new-born baby
watar - bamboo platforms on which meat is stacked during ceremonies
watut - to revive
watutia - to revive a tubuan
wawalu - creating debt
wawineai - female spirit of the forest with glowing vagina
wawirwir - shame
wiwigu - my father's sister
woiwoi - pandanus
woroworo - ban on egg-digging
wowolo - first stage initiation into the Tubuan Society
wuwuai - (1) 60 centimeter length of tabu (2) eggs whipped in coconut cream and steamed in banana leaf wrapping
Phrases

a bul
a child of the clan

a mani ure ra nian
cash (money) is for food

a moi i lubang ta ra umana minati diat
moss flourishes on the graves of their dead

a pia kai ra vunatarai
land belongs to the clan

a tabu ure ra kini
tabu is for life

a tabu ure ra minat
tabu is for death

a u
ritual term used to refer to a person who provides sustenance to another person, in this case a clan member to a 'child of the clan'

alir pukai
spirits which live on driftwood

apik tarai
lineage

bit na pia
owner / controller of land

bit na tubuan
tubuan manager

bona mangamangana
good form (behaviour)

bona warmaliurai
amicable relations

buai na kodakodop
learning magic

buai na liu
song composition magic

buai na malagene
dance magic

buai na malira
love magic

bul na warwangala
children fathered by the clan
bul tultul
errand boy

bung na punuongo
day of explosion

dawai na walaun
curative potion

di doka
it is symbolically killed

di pupunang na mao tana
burying a deceased like burying bananas to ripen

e na kiau
egg season

Gunan na Tabaran
Land of the Spirits

i owai tana
is in control of it

iang papa mamaro
names from the past

kabin na rakrak
pillar of the Tubuan Society

kalamana tubuan
new tubuan

kaman ra palangiai ra pap
distribute tabu to stop talk

kapkap tarai
calling people

kaugu 'misis'
my 'missus'

kawai irop
coming ashore from a kinawai dance

ki navavai pirai
staying under the auspices of

ki ur na gunan
hamlet

ki warbali
sister exchange marriage

kiau na ngiok
megapode egg

kiau na tubuan
egg (tabu) of the tubuan
kinakap na kalamana
acquiring new tubuan

kini na bartamana
sitting under the paternal relationship

kukutu pa
adopt a child

kutu bat ra tabu
distributing tabu at a mortuary ceremony with the
intention of acquiring some property of a deceased or of
his clan

kutu palai
ending a period of wa palai

kutu tabu
tabu distribution

lukara na warbean
wedding feast

tenā niuk
tabu-shell stringer

mama rikai
re-emergence after nidok seclusion

mata pit
midway hole

maulana palatabu
old tabu shells

miniguī ra tubuan
tubuan code

pakana pia
plot of land

pal na boro
house of boro

pal na mamarikai
house-roof model which appears in the namata

pala kaur
bamboo strips

pala lor
head-piece of the tubuan

pala oaga
boards from disused canoes

parau na rumu
hidden spear
peke vue diat
defaecated them

pia kai ra tarai
people’s land

pia na kaia
land of deity

pia na madapai
land of origin

pia na vunatarai
land of the clan

pia na waki
land passed down from the ancestors

pia tabu
sacred land

pia wakuku
ownerless land

pinapa na tubuan
purchasing of new tubuan

pinopoko na boroi
cutting of pig

pulu ra wawirwir
cover shame

pun ra tinata
avoid talk

punang ra minat
bury the dead

pupuak rikai
ceremony to introduce a new tubuan

ra tarai
the people

rama ra tabu
scatter tabu

rang dawai
second stage initiation in the Tubuan Society

rubat ra butur
uproot the remains of leo (bamboo scaffolding)

rurua na palawat
establishing of the palawat

tabaran marut
spirit of the deep forest which lives in trees
tabarani ra tubuan
spirit if the tubuan

tabu i konomia
tabu swallowed him or her

tabu itar virua tanam ra pia
tabu has fallen victim to that land

tabu na konomia
tabu will swallow him or her

tabu na minamai
tabu for the funerary ceremony

tabu na minat
tabu of a deceased

tabu na nidok
nidok tabu fees

tabu na tubuan
tabu of the tubuan

tabu na waki
tabu passed down from previous generations

tabu na wargil
reciprocation tabu

tabu na warkukul
bride-price tabu

tabu na warkukul
bride-price tabu

tabu na warwai
tabu to inform

tabu na wila warpa
tabu to fetch

tabu ure ra warwakai
tabu is for ceremony

tak midamidai
tubuan symbolically destroying property of a deceased.

tarai na kudu
drum-players

tarai na malagene
dancers

tarai na tubuan
the Tubuan Society

tavula kinakal
egg-digging grounds
tavula papalum
working land

tenə barovon
person who can see tubuan in vision

tenə iniat
member of the iniat fraternity

tenə maramaravut
assistant

tenə walagar
healer

tenə warkurai
judge

tinatak na koro
buying goods at the koro ceremony

tinatar na buai
handing out of betel-nut as invitation to a tubuan ceremony

tinut na pupunang
tubuan revival for a funeral

tinut na tubuan
tubuan revival

tinutun na tarai
cooking as men

tip na arip
tabu monetary unit of 20 shells

tip na laptikai
tabu monetary unit of 12 shells

tir pa
seek permission

tuba ra wawirwir
cover shame

tubuan diatar laun
tubuan are in revival

tubuan na kapikapi
tubuan of mixed identity

tubuan na vunatarai
tubuan of the clan

tubuan na waki
tubuan from the ancestors

tulue ra balana lima
extending the palm of the hand
tulue ra balana limai dir
extending the palms of their hands

tung kake
isolated egg-holes

tur kapa
stand in the clear - to independently distribute tabu in ceremonies

tutana wurawurakit
overgrown spirit

ubene na nial
fish-nets which are placed in an arch and tied to two poles on the beach. When fish are trapped inside it they are pulled in, onto the beach

ubene na wawatur
gill-net

ula nian
protein in a tubuan feast

vuna barnayudu
cluster of banana trees

wa palai
sleeping like goanas

wakaina ra tabu
spoil the tabu

wara qunan
human-beings

warwadoan pire ra tarai
blessing for the people

watang boina
acknowledgement

wawina na tadar
rich woman

wawina tabatabaran
spirit woman who lives near human settlement in order to copulate with human males in order to reproduce her kind

we kua
showing of feathers

we-warwaba
going into pre-marriage seclusion

wila warpa
accompanying from
wuwung warbat
part payment

wuwuwung kai ra vunatarai
clan common fund
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