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SPHERES OF EXCHANGE IN A NORTHERN NEW HEBRIDEAN SOCIETY

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By

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ABSTRACT

Dure, the ritual slaughter of pigs by an unmarried female, is part of a cycle of ceremonial events performed on the island of Aoba in the northern New Hebrides. Using data collected on Aoba in 1970-71, an examination of production, distribution, and exchange demonstrates that dure provides a regular border crossing between two otherwise autonomous spheres of ceremonial exchange. Conversions between mats and pigs occur only in the asymmetrically balanced exchanges of the dure cycle.

Analysis of dure suggests several conclusions of general applicability to the concept of spheres of exchange in economic anthropology. Indigenous ratios of equivalence concerning the worth of media of exchange in different spheres are shown to be independent of the criterion of exchangeability. The thesis provides ethnographic evidence to indicate that spheres of exchange need not represent a hierarchy of value. Instead of expressing principles of moral ranking, barriers to conversion on Aoba serve to keep separate goods that are viewed as equally valuable. Finally, the thesis describes a mechanism that has not been documented previously in the literature on spheres of exchange: the dure cycle effects an integration of

different transactional circuits that does not lead to an amalgamation of spheres of exchange.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In anthropological literature devoted to spheres of exchange, the cultural space between the boundaries of discrete transactional circuits has been viewed as a no man's land that is traversed only by anomalous individuals or under extreme conditions. This thesis will suggest a new interpretation of boundaries between spheres of exchange. I shall argue that conversions between spheres need not require the skills of an entrepreneur (Barth 1967), nor must each transaction across a boundary "excite moral judgments" (Bohannan and Dalton 1962:6). Instead, exchanges that bridge two distinct economic spheres may occur at what I shall term a 'border crossing.' Crossing such a border will be shown to express and reaffirm the relationship between two bounded economic circuits and between the individuals whose choices guide the circulation of value within a society. Rather than effecting an amalgamation of different spheres, exchanges across the borders can minimize hierarchical ordering and preserve the autonomy of the circuits.

The primary ethnographic focus of the thesis will

be dure, a ritual cycle performed on the island of Aoba in the northern New Hebrides (see Figure 1). The exchanges of pigs and mats that are part of dure will be viewed as a routine link between two otherwise autonomous spheres of ceremonial exchange. The border crossing of dure is the only way in which males can gain access to and then repay large quantities of mats that are the product of female labour and the property of women. Only through dure can the mats needed by a man to acquire a bride be compensated with the pigs associated with male activities in the graded society.

Dure is more than a nexus for material conversions between spheres of exchange. I shall demonstrate that dure is a process that contributes in a variety of ways to the maintenance of Aoban cultural categories. First, dure will be viewed as a mechanism through which filial and sibling solidarity can be expressed while simultaneously reasserting social distance between brother and sister. Second, I will demonstrate that the separate but equal status of male-controlled units of wealth (pigs) and valuables produced exclusively by women (mats) is affirmed through the dure cycle. Third, dure will be shown to influence the distribution of status and prestige among both men and women on Aoba by channeling valuables across the borders between spheres in the prestige sector of the

Torres
Islands

Banks Islands

Espiritu
Santo

AOBA

Maevo

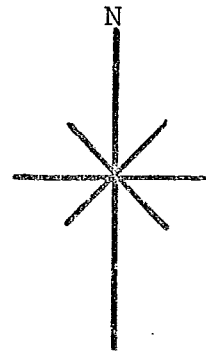
Pentecost

Malekula

Ambrym

Epi

Shepherd Islands



0 20 40 60 80 100miles

Efate

Erromango

Tanna

Aneityum

FIGURE 1.

MAP OF THE NEW HEBRIDES

economy. Finally, analysis of dure will suggest a partial explanation for the persistence of traditional valuables in ceremonial circuits on Aoba in the face of increasing monetization of other spheres of exchange in the local economy.

The remainder of this introduction will be divided into three parts. In the initial section, the theoretical orientation to be followed will be described. Finally a brief summary of the remaining chapters will be presented.

The Concept of Spheres of Exchange

The phrase 'spheres of exchange' has been used by anthropologists since the 1930s to describe a pattern that is generated, in part, by culturally imposed restrictions on the circulation of value in a multicentric economy (Thurnwald 1969(1932); Firth 1939; Herskovits 1940). The pattern is one of seemingly discrete transactional circuits or spheres. The goods within any single sphere can be exchanged freely, but transactions involving goods in different spheres are viewed as impossible or as morally loaded. Many economic anthropologists believe that moral restrictions on the movement of goods between spheres must express a hierarchy of values; consequently, in any society where circuits of exchange occur, these spheres are morally ranked. Conversions from a lower to a higher sphere are

regarded by members of the society as 'good', while conversions in a downward direction are viewed as 'bad' (Bohannan and Dalton 1962; Bohannan and Bohannan 1968).

I shall question the validity of the assertion that spheres of exchange always form a ranked hierarchy. In addition, I shall argue that values relating to exchange are not a sufficient criterion for the definition of a sphere; this position is supported by other anthropologists (cf. Bohannan and Bohannan 1968), but only Barth (1967) and Joy (1967) have emphasized such factors as environmental restrictions and constraints on production in the demarcation of economic spheres. Aside from questioning the assumptions of a necessary hierarchy of spheres and of the sufficiency of moral limitations in explaining the flow of goods, I shall use 'spheres of exchange' in the usual anthropological sense. The theoretical argument concentrates on the barriers between spheres of an exchange system, barriers that are defined by the nature of the circuits themselves and by the juxtaposition of different spheres. To understand how spheres of exchange articulate in a society, one needs to clarify the assumptions contained in the notion of spheres of exchange. Consequently, in this section I shall examine assumptions concerning (1) contextualization of the economy, (2) multicentricity, and (3) discrepancies of evaluation that have been part of the

development of the concept. In particular, I shall relate these assumptions to the treatment in economic anthropology of boundaries surrounding transactional circuits.

(1) Contextualization

Beginning with the earliest use of the concept of spheres of exchange, anthropologists have acknowledged the interdependence of economic transactions and societal values relating to exchange (Thurnwald 1932:12 and 105; Firth 1929:395). Some anthropologists recognized the link between exchange and social values without explicitly viewing the connection as being expressed in spheres of exchange (Malinowski 1922). Others, notably Raymond Firth, employed a concept of spheres of exchange to describe the interplay between "different types of goods (used in exchange) and the native ideas about them" (1939:338). Firth suggested that Tikopian transactions occurred in three separate spheres or "series" of exchange, since the goods in any one series were "not completely convertible into those of the other series" (1939:340; see also Firth 1967:19). Firth was one of the first to assert that the boundaries of spheres of exchange are defined by the criterion of exchangeability which, in turn, is an expression of indigenous values. Exchangeability has remained a major factor in delimiting the boundaries of

of spheres of exchange.

Over time, the emphasis on the contextualization of economic events that was expressed in the early uses of spheres of exchange has been broadened and refined. During the substantivist-formalist debate, Polanyi and his adherents stressed the importance of the social context of economic events to justify their denial of the universal applicability of a scarcity postulate (Polanyi 1957; Dalton 1961; for argument supporting the scarcity postulate see Robbins 1968(1932):96). The substantivists argued that "the human economy is embedded and enmeshed in institutions, economic and non-economic" (Polanyi 1957:248).

Until recently, economic anthropologists have tended to concentrate on exchange as the process central to any economic system (cf. Belshaw 1965; Boulding 1966; Salisbury 1962 and 1968). In contrast to the mainstream of economic anthropology, but in keeping with studies in sociology (Parsons and Smelser 1956) and Marxist economics (cf. Marx 1911; Terray 1972), Scott Cook has advocated investigation of production as the cornerstone of economic activity. Cook believes that an emphasis on production may provide a methodology for analytically linking economics with man's physical and social environments (Cook 1973a and 1973b).

Barth has applied an approach similar to Cook's

in his analysis of spheres of exchange in Darfur (1967). In Barth's study, social context is important in two ways. First, by considering the role of the environment and aspects of the economic process other than exchange, he clarifies the relationship between items within each sphere. Factors such as the production process, freedom of allocation, and demand, as well as moral prohibitions, channel the flow of goods into discrete spheres. Second, the social values expressed in the restriction of specific goods to a particular sphere of exchange represent a related dimension of Barth's emphasis on contextualization. These values contribute to the segregation of different circuits of exchange by preventing the expression of goods in separate spheres in terms of each other. The moral context that influences the flow of goods prohibits not only the exchange of certain items, but even prevents comparison of the value of the different goods by creating barriers between the spheres.

(2) Multicentricity

Where discrepancies of evaluation exist because of barriers between circuits, two or more media of exchange coexist without reference to a common standard of value (Bohannon 1967:128). In other words, goods that can be exchanged in one sphere may not be used in another. Thus is "exchange ... the objectification of human interaction"

(Simmel 1950:388), for the flow of objects through which transactions are expressed reveals certain social relationships and values underlying any sphere of exchange.

The argument that particular media of exchange are confined to different circuits reflects an assumption that spheres of exchange occur only in multicentric economies. In a multicentric economy, a common standard of values does not exist to integrate all exchanges (cf. Firth 1939:6; Bohannan and Bohannan 1968:250-1). The media of exchange in a multicentric economy, then, are a kind of "special purpose" money (Polanyi 1957) that performs only some of the functions of Western currency (Belshaw 1954; Dalton 1967; Douglas 1967b). The highly specific uses of various goods in exchange have fueled efforts to catalogue every object that has been used as a kind of money in non-Western societies (Einzig 1966(1949); Quiggin 1949). However, the conclusions reached in studies such as Einzig's are "post-hoc plausible rather than logico-deductively demonstrable" (Nash 1970:383). In the thesis, I shall not attempt to show that pigs and mats are a kind of money on Aoba; that these valued objects are media of exchange should be evident from the data.

(3) Discrepancies of Evaluation

Some anthropologists have argued that the lack of exchange across the barriers between spheres of exchange

prohibits valued goods from being compared with one another (Barth 1966:17). According to Barth, discrepancies between spheres can be exploited by entrepreneurs to make a profit. When transactions across a border begin to occur, because of entrepreneurial activity or for other reasons, values relating to the media of exchange may be re-evaluated. Reappraisal of the values of goods can lead to greater commensurability of the items used in exchange. In Barth's argument, comparability of values is contingent on exchangeability, although elsewhere Barth claims that the criterion of exchangeability does not adequately define spheres of exchange (1967:15).

The Bohannans agree that barriers prohibit free exchange of goods between different spheres; but, in contrast to Barth, they claim that some spheres are linked by "equivalence ratios" created "by ritual or prestige rules" (1968:251). These rules constitute a system of moral ranking that places a positive value on certain conversions between spheres while establishing a negative value on other conversions.

Based on data relating to dure, I believe that comparability of the values that define different spheres of exchange need not be contingent upon either the criterion of exchangeability of goods or upon a system of ranked values. I shall attempt to show that dure minimizes discrepancies of evaluation between circuits by inter-relating

the media of exchange in two spheres through a highly specific sequence of transactions. The delayed but balanced reciprocal exchanges of dure make two media (pigs and mats) commensurate without directly connecting them in any single transaction.

Dure is a series of events that bridges but does not merge two spheres of exchange. Unlike the bridging transactions effected by Barth's entrepreneurs, the conversions that occur at a border crossing like dure do not result in increased integration of previously isolated spheres of exchange. On Aoba, the fact that pigs can be converted into mats through dure does not appear to have led to the development of additional mechanisms for effecting the same conversion.

The dure exchanges express the commensurability of two media of exchange and of the values guiding the circulation of these items. However, I disagree with Bohannan's argument that equivalence ratios must be ranked. In Aoban culture, dure gives expression to the value assigned to pigs and mats in their respective spheres without ranking the two items. Dure exchanges reaffirm both the separateness of spheres and the equal weight that Aobans give to transactions in pigs and mats. The goods that are exchanged through dure usually are confined to separate circuits. The fact that transactions can be made

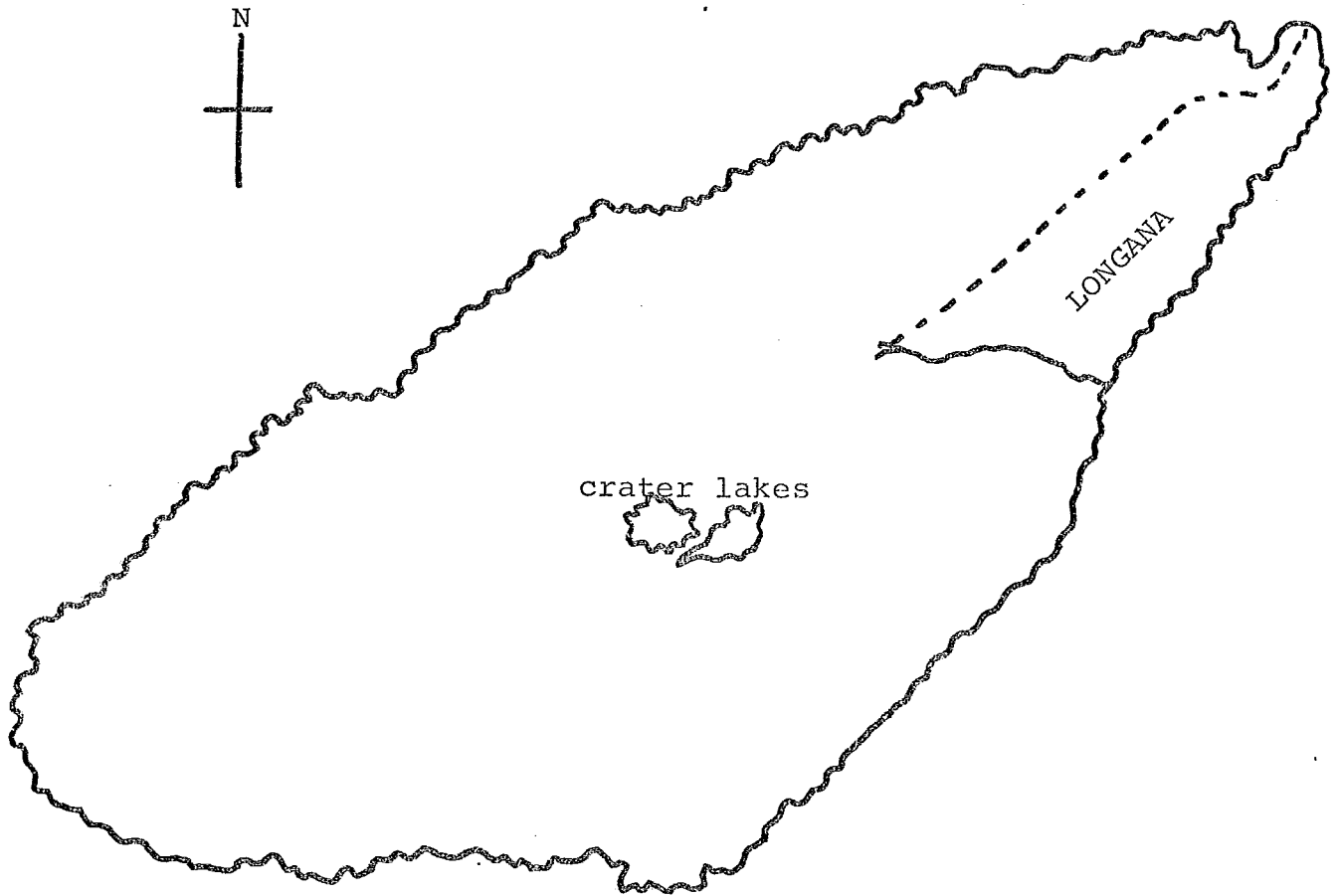
with pigs and mats through the border crossing of dure illustrates the comparability of the value of the media of exchange while maintaining the separate identity of the respective spheres.

The Dure Cycle

Between 1969 and 1971, I collected data relating to dure in the district of Longana on the southeast coast of Aoba (see Figure 2). During fourteen months of fieldwork, I witnessed eleven dure ceremonies. Extensive notes were made during each ceremony, and photographs were taken as a supplement to written accounts. In addition, tape recorded interviews with Longanans were conducted in order to clarify the procedural dimensions of dure and to gain insight into indigenous perceptions of the position of dure in Aoban social life.¹

The term "dure" is used by Aobans to designate any ritual event in which a female kills pigs. A dure ceremony may involve the slaughter of a single tusked boar or the killing of approximately ten untusked pigs. Dure ceremonies that combine the death of a tusker with the destruction of tuskless pigs shed the greatest renown on protagonists.

¹Research in Longana was conducted as an assistant to William L. Rodman under United States Public Health Services Training Grant #1T01 MHL2217-01.



Scale: one inch = three miles

FIGURE 2.
MAP OF AOBA

The killing of a tusked boar marks a young woman's entrance into a low rank of the graded society, a predominantly male ranking institution that will be described in Chapter Two. On Aoba, the assumption of rank is an option, and some girls never enter the graded society. However, every female is expected to use untusked pigs in the performance of dure on two occasions in her lifetime--once as a child and again on the eve of her wedding. Pigs killed at dure ceremonies are distributed as part of a series of exchanges linked with bridewealth transactions.

From the point of view of an individual Aoban, the distribution of pigs at any dure ceremony marks a specific point in a cycle of prestations involving exchanges of pigs and mats. For a female, the cycle starts with her first dure ceremony and ends on her wedding day. For a male, participation in the dure cycle begins with his first contribution of a pig to a woman's dure, and ends when his daughter marries. After marriage, females act as recipients of pigs in the dure cycles of other young persons. Similarly, older men continue to contribute pigs to dure events on behalf of their sons or to honour their sisters.

The obligations created by the acceptance of a dead pig vary with the circumstances in which dure is performed. The cycles of exchange initiated and completed with the distribution of dure pigs are complex; the flow of goods in these cycles will be examined at length in later chapters.

In brief, carcasses of pigs received at dure must be repaid with mats when the donor marries. If the contributor of pork already is married, the dure gift is offered as repayment for valuable mats contributed by sisters at the man's wedding.

All dure ceremonies follow similar patterns of organization and procedure. The father of the girl who will kill the pigs makes known his intention to sponsor a dure ceremony for his daughter. Other men, many of whom are brothers of the sponsor, offer to donate a pig to the young girl's dure. The father provides the remainder of the tuskless sows, boars, and castrated pigs that will be killed in the ceremony.

On the day of the ceremony, the pigs that have been contributed are tied to a row of stakes at the edge of a ceremonial clearing near the father's hamlet. If the girl is to assume rank in the graded society, one tusked boar is tied to a special stake adorned with cordeline leaves. After receiving the insignia of rank from her father, the child moves along the row of pigs, killing each animal in turn. Often a father or older sister aids in the slaughter of pigs, for some girls are too small to kill the pigs without assistance.

Following the killing of the pigs, the father distributes each carcass to a sister or other woman who

will butcher and cook the animal. Usually, a man who contributes a pig to dure will tell the sponsor which woman he wishes to receive the carcass. Each woman shares the pork with close kinswomen of her own selection.

In the ceremony of dure, little girls are the instruments through which exchanges between adult brothers and sisters are effected. The norm of sister avoidance prevents a man from preparing food for his sisters; but he may feed his female siblings with gifts of pigs that his own child has killed. Men control the flow of pigs in Aoban society, while women produce and affect the distribution of pandanus mats. A man can repay the mats needed for bride-wealth exchanges only by providing his sisters with pork, and to do so he must use a young girl as an intermediary.

As I will demonstrate, each ritual slaughter of pigs by a female child marks both the end and the beginning of contiguous phases in an ongoing process of exchange. At each stage in the cycle, members of one generation and sex create or repay debts to younger or older kinsmen of the opposite sex. For the little girl who kills her father's pigs for the first time, dure is the beginning of a process that culminates years later in the exchange of pandanus mats at her own wedding. For a father, a daughter's wedding yields compensation for three different gifts of dure pigs. For a sister, the ritual of receiving the bodies of pigs killed at her brother's daughter's second dure marks the

final stage in a series of exchanges that have spanned approximately twenty years.

Chapter Summary

The next chapter examines the production process in the district of Longana. The value placed by Longanans on cooperative individualism in the production process is viewed as a principle integrating potentially conflicting emphases on social equivalence and on personal achievement.

In Chapter Three, the patterns generated by the distribution and exchange of products in Longana are presented. A model of the Longana economy is discussed and constraints on the flow of goods are enumerated.

Chapter Four describes the circulation of value in ceremonial spheres of exchange. Cultural prescriptions and individual options regarding the organization of ceremonies will be shown to affect the cost, volume and outcome of exchange events.

In Chapter Five, the material dimension of ceremonial exchanges will be analyzed. I will demonstrate that the asymmetrical balance of dure transactions effects a conversion between mat and pig spheres of exchange.

The social context of Longanan ceremonial exchange is examined in Chapter Six. Relationships between siblings and between a father's sister and brother's child are viewed

as bonds that provide an emic rationale for the performance of the dure cycle. The association between dure and the achievement of rank in the graded society is described. Mats and pigs in ceremonial exchange are interpreted as "coupons" controlling access to status positions in Longanan life.

The last segment of the thesis integrates the themes of the preceding chapters. Several conclusions are presented that suggest refinements in the concept of spheres of exchange. Finally, reasons are offered for the persistence of dure and of ceremonial spheres despite increasing monetization of the Longana economy.

CHAPTER TWO

PATTERNS OF PRODUCTION

In Longana, marriage, death, and the achievement of rank in the graded society provide opportunities for the demonstration of individual economic prowess and for the material expression of bonds of social cooperation. An emphasis on cooperative individualism characterizes processes of production as well as ceremonial patterns of exchange in East Aoban economic life. This chapter will examine production in terms of control by individual Longanans over resources, products, and over other persons. The interplay between an individual's command over material goods and a social orientation toward equivalence will be investigated. A brief description of the graded society (hungwe) will be presented to illustrate the balance between personal pre-eminence and self-effacement that must be maintained by those who seek to control both material wealth and political authority in Longana.

Control of Land

Longanans regard their district as a cultural and geographical entity, linked with, but distinct from, other sectors of East Aoba. A ridge of volcanic peaks and a

precipitous ravine define the northern and western borders of Longana. The district is located on the windward southeastern coast of the island (see Figure 2). During the season of tradewinds, from May to October, Longana is virtually inaccessible from the sea, for the district possesses no harbours or sheltered landings. Overland travel between Longana and neighbouring districts is possible only in dry weather, but contact with residents of other parts of Aoba is facilitated by the presence of a hospital and several schools at the Melanesian Mission headquarters near the northeastern border of the district. Minor dialectal differences, variations in ceremonial detail, and a marked preference for district endogamy have contributed to Longanans' continuing sense of cultural distinctness from their northern and western neighbours.

Longana is roughly triangular in shape, measuring approximately eight miles from northeast to southwest and four miles from southwest to southeast at the triangle's base. The district comprises a land area of approximately sixteen square miles; but no statistics exist to indicate what percentage of the total area is arable land or cultivated acreage. Native owned coconut plantations occupy the coastal plain that runs the length of the district. Reaching nearly to Longana's inland border in the north, the plain narrows to a width of only a few hundred yards in the more mountainous southern portion of the district.

Scattered hamlets are located on the coast as well as in the southern foothills that rise toward the volcanic crater lakes (altitude 4862 feet) at the centre of the island.

All Longanans identify themselves with one of three Christian missions, and residence is based in part on religious affiliation. The 461 adherents of the Anglican (Melanesian Mission) faith constitute a majority of the population and occupy all but the southwestern hills of the district, where the 280 members of the Churches of Christ reside. The 34 Seventh Day Adventists live in two hamlets in the midst of the Anglican sector. Following conversion in the early twentieth century, religious beliefs have prevented members of the Churches of Christ and the Seventh Day Adventist Mission from participating in graded society activities. Consequently, I shall deal primarily with the Longanan Anglican communities in discussing patterns of exchange associated with dure.

Tropical rainforest covers the hills of Longana above an altitude of about two thousand feet; but on the lower slopes and on the coastal plain, little evidence of the dense primary growth remains. In the 1930s, an Australian trader built a road along the Longana coast and encouraged native residents to produce copra for export. Longanans began to clear the land and to start small coconut plantations near the road. Today, copra

sales provide the major source of cash income for Longanans. With the exception of small clearings occupied by hamlets, all the land on the seacoast has been planted in coconuts.

Traditionally, rights of access to land in Longana were vested in matriclans, corporate groups that no longer function in the district. Inheritance was matrilineal, a man's property passing at death to his brothers, mother's brothers, and sisters' sons. Only use of land in the form of perquisites of cultivation, grazing pigs, or gathering wild produce were transmitted between individuals; consequently, land never was divided among heirs in any permanent fashion. Barak Sope's comments in a pamphlet on New Hebridean land and politics apply to Longanan land tenure practices:

'Within the landholding groups the intensity of individual rights would vary at different levels. For instance, an individual may have rights to four or five pieces of land in his vicinity and elsewhere, but the intensity of his rights would differ from one piece of land to another. The person's right to use a piece of land would depend upon his position within a particular group, the location of the land, and the group's connection with that piece of land' (1975:7).

Since the 1930s, the Condominium Government and the missions have encouraged the incorporation of patrilineal descendants into traditional matrilineal land tenure and

inheritance patterns. Today, each parcel of land is administered by one male heir who acts as "head of the land" (qwatu vanue). Persons who claim matrilineal or patrilineal rights of access to acreage must secure the assent of the head of the land before harvesting perennial crops or planting new gardens. In this way, the head of the land can monitor the number of individuals cultivating a particular area and attempt to avert disputes between claimants.

A new head of the land often is unable to resolve the proliferation of disputes that accompany the transmission of rights to property. In Longana, conflicts between matrilineal heirs and sons anxious to assert rights to their father's land usually follow the death of any prominent man. Because of the preference of government law for settling exclusively in favour of sons, older men in the district have encouraged internal resolution of land disputes. Public hearings, led by men who hold high rank in the graded society, provide a local forum for resolving arguments about land tenure. In such meetings, a compromise usually is effected between matrilineal and patrilineal contenders. By sharing usufruct rights among heirs, Longanans have prevented permanent partition of land among matrilineal and patrilineal inheritors (see Rodman 1976b).

In contrast to other parts of the New Hebrides,

Europeans have acquired little land in East Aoba. Although acreage controlled by the Melanesian Mission borders Longana, no Europeans claim any land within the boundaries of the district. With the exception of a few parcels of plantation and "bush" land owned by Pentecost Islanders, all Longanan land is claimed by natives of the district.

Between 1969 and 1971, no land was sold in Longana. Informants indicated that the sale of land always has been rare and that Longanans regard the sale of district land as morally irresponsible. At least three reasons underly the de facto prohibition on the exchange of titles to land for money. First, no single individual has rights of disposal concerning land. In order to sell a portion of the land that he administers, a head of the land must secure the consent of each individual who claims usufruct rights to any segment of the property.

Second, Longanans regard land as a resource that must be preserved for future generations. In Western societies, a common pattern of inheritance allows first generation heirs to receive the interest on a trust fund while preserving the principal for heirs in later generations. For Longanans, land is like the principal in a perpetual trust fund. Heirs in one generation may cultivate the land for subsistence or personal gain; but to sell the land would deprive heirs in the next generation of what is rightfully theirs to use.

Third, sale of land is not encouraged by a desire to acquire cash. In Longana, money can be obtained by using land to produce copra. Preservation of a tract of land planted in coconuts ensures that both existing and future heirs will have a continuing source of cash. In contrast, sale of land yields a single payment that is consumed only by the current generation of individuals who have rights to the plot of land.

During a dispute with a head of the land, one local resident summarized that sentiments that mitigate against the sale of land in Longana:

'The land belongs to you (head of the land), but I am your father's brother and I'm still alive. If you sell that land, where will your children work when they grow up? The land belongs to you, but it is not yours alone. I am thinking about the children. If you sell the land, they will have to find a place to work. Suppose you sell the land for pigs or money? You eat the pig or spend the money, but the land is still there. It is no good to sell the land for these things, because the land stays forever.'

Control of Labour and Products

Cultivation of coconuts and gardens are the productive tasks that occupy the bulk of an adult Longanan's time. Men also build houses and assist in the raising

of pigs, but these are intermittent activities. Hunting is rare. No large animals or birds exist on the island; flying fox and small birds add variety to the diet but are not major sources of protein. Occasionally, men dive for shellfish, but no deepwater fishing occurs. ^{Not yet} The small reef-dwelling fish are caught by boys and men for sport, but seldom are eaten. With good reason, Longanans fear fish poisoning, a potentially fatal illness that seems to be caused by eating fish that have fed on particular micro-organisms on the reef.

Like men, Longanan women devote most of each day to horticulture or copra production. In addition, women are responsible for gathering firewood, assisting in house-building, feeding any pigs kept near the house, and weaving mats. Food preparation is shared by men and women, although women spend more time than men at this activity.

The basic productive unit in Longana is the household which coincides with the nuclear family. A man, his wife and their unmarried children eat, sleep and work together. This pattern, introduced by the Anglican

→ Mission, has replaced the traditional emphasis on segregation of the sexes. Married men and their adolescent sons used to eat and sleep in men's houses. In 1970, most hamlets still had a men's house, but women could enter these buildings and adult males seldom slept there.

Gardens are located inland from the coconut plantations. Every household cultivates several small swiddens, and each household is expected to provide for its own subsistence. Husbands and wives often work together in the family garden. Men do all of the clearing and burning of plots, but planting, cultivation, and harvesting can be done by either sex. When husbands are engaged in other activities, women work together in the gardens. Usually, production teams of this sort are composed of the wives of brothers. The women work adjoining plots or cooperate in tending sequentially to each of the brothers' gardens.

Production in Longana almost never is an individual activity. Women work with women, men work with men, or husbands and wives work together. The process of production, as noted earlier, is characterized by cooperative individualism. The units that consume garden produce usually are the units that claim land rights to that particular garden. Land tenure determines consumption of agricultural products. Rights of consumption imply rights of disposal, and it is on this basis that food products may be shared informally. Cooperative labour among, for example, brothers' wives yields not a communally-owned product, but several separate bundles of products that correspond to the number of different plots worked by the women.

Cooperative labour in food production seems to be pursued in Longana for two reasons: first, because it is efficient, and, second, because it is pleasant. Certain activities, such as clearing land for a new swidden, would be unfeasible tasks for a single individual. Cooperation by a group of men ensures that the job can be done quickly, and that the new garden will be ready for planting at the proper time. Other tasks, such as weeding, can be done by single individuals, but are felt by Longanans to be more pleasant and less tedious if conversation accompanies the performance of the chore.

The pattern of cooperative individualism described for gardening applies in a restricted form to weaving. The efficiency of production is improved by cooperative preparation of pandanus leaves. The weaving process itself is made more pleasant by working near and talking with other women. Like garden produce, mats are individually owned. Only young girls receive assistance in the actual weaving of a mat. Women will work in each others' gardens, but they do not contribute labour to the weaving of another woman's mats. As will be shown, mats have an exchange value that garden produce lacks.^{no} This intrinsic and storeable value may account for the emphasis on individual production in a cooperative setting that accompanies mat production.

Cooperation in the raising of pigs is still more restricted than cooperation in the weaving of mats. With a single exception,¹ only members of a particular household contribute labour to pig husbandry. Longanan pigs are allowed to forage in the rainforest for most of their lives. Only a few sows with piglets, and boars at certain stages of tusk development are kept near the houses and fed. Like the residents of the Small Islands near Malekula (Layard 1928:144), Longanans routinely remove the upper incisors of male piglets to allow the corresponding lower tooth to grow into a full-circle tusk. After the operation, and again years later when the tusk begins to re-enter the jawbone, pigs must be coaxed to eat specially prepared mashes of taro and coconut. Husbands perform the tooth pulling, while wives are responsible for feeding the pigs. Both try to ensure that boars with well-developed tusks do not injure their teeth, for a broken tusk greatly reduces the pig's value in ceremonial exchange.

The value of pigs to Longanans is linked closely to the use of boars as 'capital' in the graded society. Pigs as items invested by an individual in other men's rank-taking ceremonies are "resources capable of yielding

¹Groups of men are required for rounding up pigs in the rainforest in preparation for a ceremony. On such occasions, the man who organizes the round-up rewards his assistants with food and drink. The assistants gain no rights to the pigs by contributing labour of this sort.

goods and services in a future period" and thus conform to Firth's definition of capital (Firth 1964:18). The use of pigs in graded society investments to generate personal control of larger and/or more valuable stocks of boars is described in Chapter Five.

Pigs belong exclusively to the individual or individuals who raise them. If a teenage boy raises a fine tusker, even his own father cannot dispose of that pig without explicit permission from the boy. Like mats, pigs have substantial value in exchange. In fact, because of the crucial role of boars in graded society rank-taking, pigs are regarded by Longanans as potentially the most valuable item available. The data suggest an inverse relationship between the use of cooperative labour teams and the value of the finished product. As the value of the product increases, reliance on cooperative labour declines.

Copra production provides a somewhat anomalous case, for labour almost always is cooperatively organized although the value of the finished product is relatively great. Coconuts are cut, husked, and smoke-dried by groups of individuals. Often the productive unit is the household, but frequently larger groups of individuals, including non-kinsmen, prepare coconuts for export as copra. No effort is made to establish individual ownership of particular bags of the finished product. Instead, the total

number of bags produced is recorded. This lack of concern for individual ownership is related to the mode of exchange in which copra is used. All copra is sold for cash. Since money is recognized by Longanans as being easily divisible, a cash payment can be returned to each producer. The proceeds from the sale of cooperatively-produced copra simply are divided equally among the labour units, a process that would be impossible with traditional units of exchange such as pigs or mats.

Although cash is becoming increasingly acceptable as a mode of payment and means of exchange between Longanans, the use of money still is restricted largely to exchanges with Europeans. School fees, Local Council taxes, and consumer goods acquired at the cooperatives stores must be paid for with money. Australian dollars and New Hebridean francs are used interchangeably as legal tender.

Coconut palms provide Longanans with a ready source of cash. Anyone can earn needed money by producing copra for export. An individual who does not have usufruct rights to sufficient palms can share-crop a neighbour's coconuts. In such cases, the owners of the trees receive a portion of the cash return from the copra sale.

In 1970, a few Longanans earned a gross income of two or three thousand dollars a year from copra. At that time, the prices for smoke-dried "rubbish" copra averaged

\$A 60 per ton, a price substantially higher than that available on the current (1976) market. Each Longanan who earned an annual income of several thousand dollars controlled rights to a large plantation. In addition, each of these individuals was powerful enough to restrict access to the plantation, thereby reserving for himself almost all of the coconuts. By denying kinsmen the right to make copra, and by paying cash for labour, these Longanans violated norms that usually govern relations of production and behaviour between kin. The economic success of the ventures was recognized by most Longanans, who also criticized the modus operandi of the wealthier men. However, the men who earned a large cash income were generous with their money. They made frequent gifts to kinsmen and friends of such "store bought" items as rice and tinned fish. They were willing to make small loans to persons who could not receive financing at banks in Santo. They could be counted upon for generous contributions of cash at bridewealth and funeral ceremonies. In addition, these men were able to make capital investments that indirectly benefited other district residents. Land Rovers and boats owned by the wealthier men were rented by less affluent Longanans, who also shopped at the richer men's stores.

In Longana, unusual personal wealth can detract from a man's chances of becoming a political leader. Men

of influence (ratahigis) must control sufficient wealth to establish a reputation for generosity. However, as among the Tolai, a man "need not have great riches in order to 'behave wealthy'" (Salisbury 1966:125). In fact, the exceptional wealth possessed by a few Longanans was a sign that, despite their apparent generosity, these men withheld more wealth than they distributed.

A large monetary income, in contrast to wealth measured in traditional valuables, is of limited worth in establishing a man's political career. However, some of the men who earned large cash incomes also held high rank in the graded society. The skills required to attain progressively more difficult ranks ensure that only the most talented investors in Longana achieve the two highest ranks in the graded society. The networks of long and short-term investments, concepts of profit, and the necessity of risk-taking that are required for success in graded society endeavours are very similar to the acumen needed to succeed in cash-cropping ventures (cf. Epstein 1968; Finney 1973).

The Graded Society

The achievement of high rank in the graded society is both a prerequisite for political leadership and a mark of extraordinary economic skill. The graded society in the

northern New Hebrides has been defined as "an institution composed of culturally postulated ranks through which a man may advance by means of payments and the performance of ritual involving the slaughter or exchange of pigs" (Rodman 1971:1). In Longana, the graded society consists of two parallel subsystems: five mate grades in which rank is achieved through the slaughter of pigs, and five vavahegi grades in which rank is acquired by the ceremonial exchange of live pigs. In addition, three minor mate grades and one vavahegi rank are taken by young boys. Females participating in the graded society seldom rise beyond the rank of vire (see Figure 3). None of the ranks is corporate. There is no evidence that men who have achieved the same rank in the graded society view themselves as a solidary group by virtue of their rank. ~

Although political leadership is linked to economic skill in Longana, high rank in the graded society does not endow a man with political authority (see Rodman 1973). In order to be accepted as a man of influence, he must exhibit other personal leadership qualities. Most of the traits that Longanans demand in ratahigis are common to 'big man' types of leadership in Melanesia (Oliver 1955; Read 1965; Sahlins 1963). To emerge as a leader, a Longanan must be able to make profits in economic exchanges without appearing to seek personal wealth. He must achieve rank without

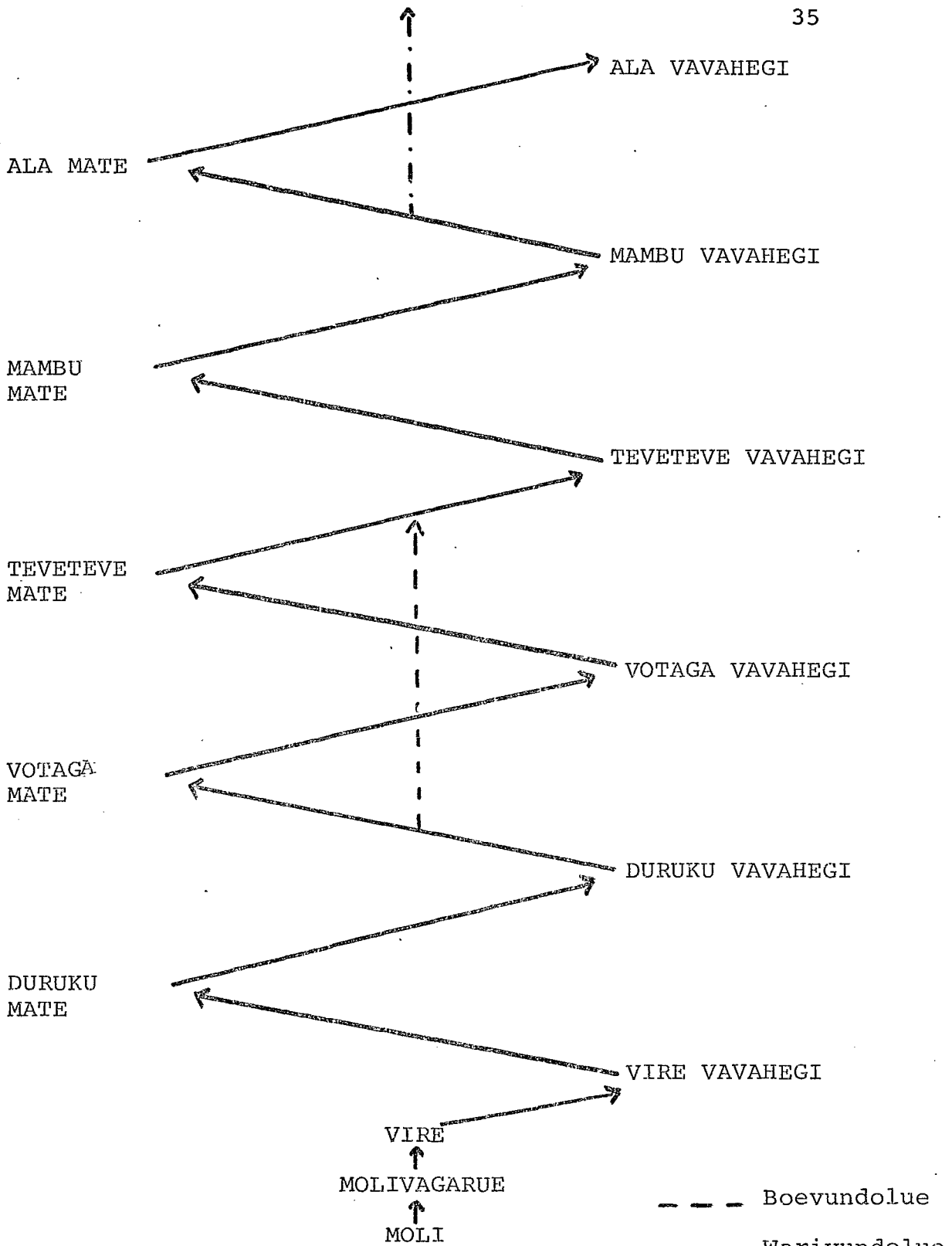


FIGURE 3.

STRUCTURE OF HUNGWE RANKS

seeming to seek elevation above ordinary men. He must be able to make decisions for the group while appearing to reflect consensus. In short, he must walk a tightrope between individual success and social cooperation.

The wealthiest men in Longana were not the most prominent leaders in the district in 1970^e. In exchanges with other Longanans, the wealthy men were creditors far more often than they were debtors. Political leaders in Longana are not "tribal bankers" like Trobriand chiefs (Malinowski 1921:12). Successful leaders must be bound to other men by ties of material obligation as well as credit; they must take loans as well as make loans. In Longana, as elsewhere, "to give and receive gifts is to involve oneself in a network of mutual indebtedness and so to increase mutual cohesion and solidarity" (Beattie 1964:201). Debts to constituents are more of a political asset than an economic liability for an aspiring or established Longanan leader. As Gouldner noted in discussing the norm of reciprocity, "these outstanding obligations, no less than those already given compliance, contribute substantially to the stability of social systems" (1960:175). The men who made several thousand dollars a year from copra sales were not the most influential leaders because they were too successful economically to participate fully in the transactions of mutual indebtedness that express social cooperation in Longana.

CHAPTER THREE
CIRCULATION OF VALUE

The distribution and exchange of food, mats and pigs in Longana is linked both to the production process that yields these valued items and to the intricate social relationships that are created, reinforced and severed through material transactions. In this chapter, the patterns generated by the circulation of pigs, mats, food and other items of value in Longana will be described. Figure 4 presents a simplified model of the Longana economy. In examining the constituent parts of Figure 4, I emphasize the constraints affecting the circulation of goods in Longana.

Figure 4 includes six types of activity that yield eight categories of products. Adults of either sex may participate in most of the productive activities enumerated in Figure 4. However, only males engage in wage labour within Longana, on other New Hebridean islands or in New Caledonia. Mat weaving also is restricted by sex. Women produce all the mats used and exchanged in Longana. The goods produced or acquired through labour can be used to gain five other material or social benefits that form the

third column in Figure 4. Most items in column II also can be exchanged for identical items over time. For example, a gift of vegetable food may be reciprocated with a return gift of produce at a later date. Similarly, pigs and dried skulls can be exchanged for other pigs and skulls within graded society activities. Gifts of mats, kava, and cash also circulate in conformity with this pattern. Many of the products of labour in column II are consumed or converted into other goods (column III) for consumption purposes. Consumption generates potential energy that can be reintroduced into the economy in the form of labour.¹

(a) Vegetable Produce

Vegetable produce is used in Figure 4 to include garden products, chicken, game, and coconuts that are consumed rather than made into copra. Essentially, vegetable produce is ordinary food that is used for daily meals. Tradestore food can be obtained for money, but native produce is sold rarely and usually only to non-residents. Longanans do not offer labour in exchange for produce, but

¹I am indebted to Matthew Cooper for the organization of Figure 4. The design of the figure closely resembles the format of Cooper's model of Langalanga economy (1971:266).

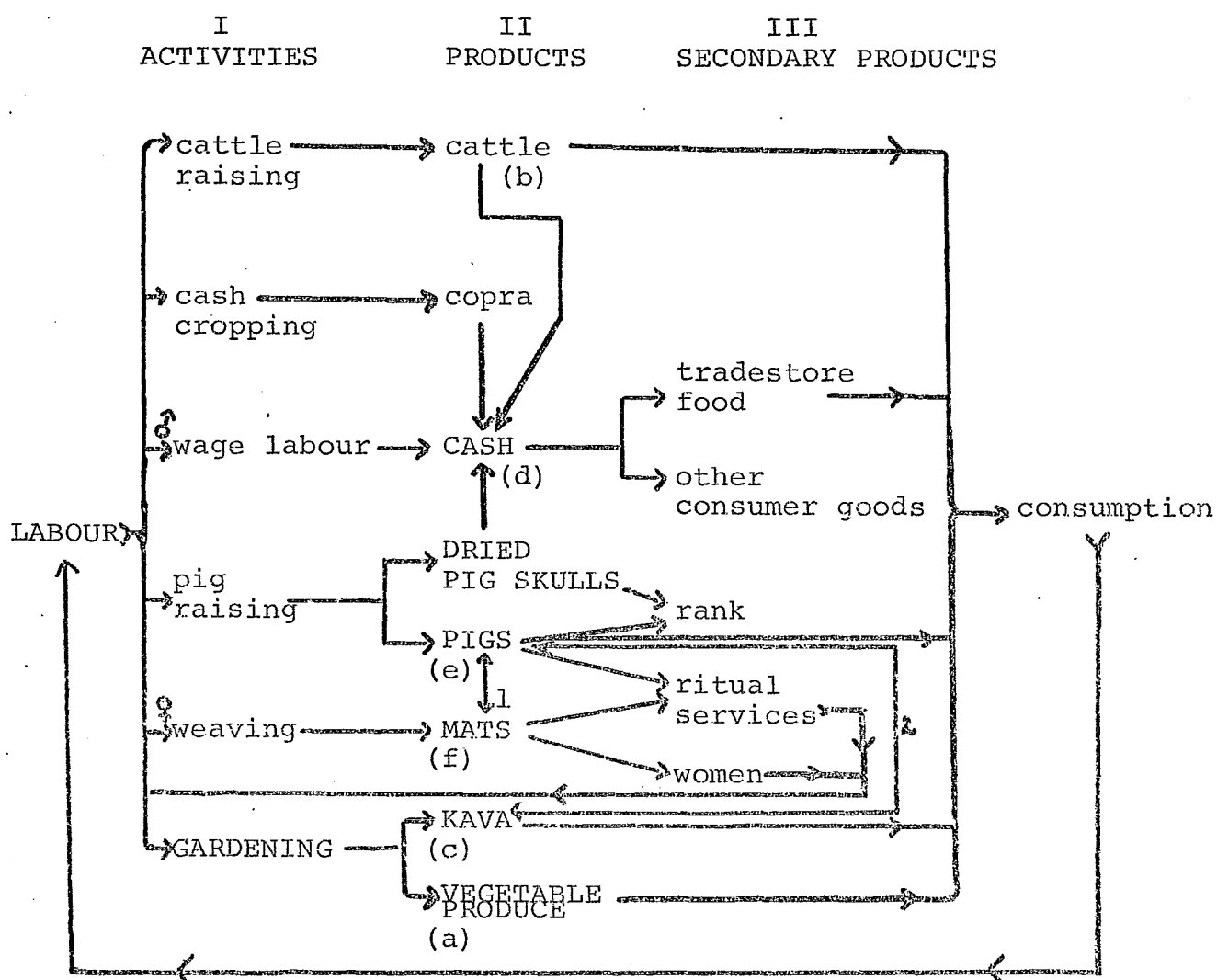


FIGURE 4.

MODEL OF THE LONGANA ECONOMY

1 = dure exchanges only2 = boevundolue exchanges only

♂:♀ = activities restricted to one sex

Capital letters indicate items and activities that can be exchanged within a single category. For example, PIGS means that pigs can be exchanged for pigs as well as for other items.

prestations of produce are made to labourers on many occasions. Men who work copra for money receive meals, as well as wages, from their employer. Persons who contribute labour to preparations for a feast, housebuilding, or a pig round-up must be fed. As Sahlins has noted, food distribution tends to follow a pattern of generalized → reciprocity (1965:170-174). Produce is not given in exchange for labour in Longana; instead, gifts of food for which no repayment is anticipated are an integral part of social relations. Gifts of produce are as much a mark of hospitality as a reward for services.

Social norms require that food be given to certain kin and affines upon request or when an apparent need exists. A person's parents, siblings of the same sex, a spouse's siblings or parents, and anyone called "my child" (netungu) must be given food. Eventually, the recipient usually offers a counter prestation of food, but reciprocity is not necessarily balanced. Neither the kind nor amount of food that should be returned is socially specified, and the gift may be made at any time. Aged parents and other recipients of frequent contributions of food may never fully reciprocate these prestations. However, the absence of repayment does not diminish the obligation of the giver to go on giving (Sahlins 1965:147).

Food also must be given without expectation of a

return prestation on certain occasions. Hamlet leaders must ensure that visitors receive gifts of food. Raw foods, such as coconuts and bananas, are offered to transient visitors, and a leader should share his food with any non-resident who is present in the hamlet at meal time. Although some teenage boys gain notoriety by habitually arriving for a visit at suppertime, food always is provided. Refusal to offer food to a visitor would be considered a serious breach of propriety by other Longanans.

Gifts of food also must be provided in conjunction with ritual or ceremonial activity. These occasions may be private observances or public events. Attendance at private rituals is restricted to the participants in the event and their close kinsmen. Exchanges associated with a betrothal, for example, always are a private affair. Prestations of mats by the boy's family and balanced exchanges of food affirm verbal agreements to the betrothal. If the planned marriage does not eventuate, the girl's family must return all the mats received from the boy's kin; gifts of food need not be repaid. The amount of food exchanged at private rituals, such as betrothals, is commensurate with the size of the participating groups. Usually, enough food is contributed by each side to provide the households of the future bride and groom with one large meal.

Public ceremonies require much larger and more elaborate food prestations than are necessary at private rituals. A betrothal may be celebrated with the exchange of a few cooked fowl and garden produce. In contrast, any feast involving more than two households obligates the sponsor to provide tinned food and rice, or a cow, or a pig for consumption by those who attend the event. Spectators as well as protagonists in a public ceremony must share in the feast.

The mandatory sharing of food at public events can be seen as an extension of the social requirement to feed visitors to a hamlet. However, unlike casual meals shared with visitors, food at a feast seldom is eaten communally. Prior to a feast, men and women in the sponsoring group weave a coarse palm leaf basket for each expected guest. Food placed in the basket is carried by the recipient to his or her house and is consumed in the privacy of the domestic group. Only at feasts marking Saint's Days and other church holidays do large numbers of Longanans eat together. At church-related feasts, food is arranged on long rows of banana leaves placed on the ground. While small children make futile attempts to keep flies away from the food, adults sit down to eat as a group. Despite encouragement of communal meals by the church, Longanans have retained a preference for carrying food home

from feasts for private consumption; they cite sanitary considerations as a partial explanation for the tenacity of this particular custom; certainly, food shared in the traditional manner is far less contaminated by flies and dogs than is food consumed at the more "modern" church feasts.

Traditional occasions for large public feasts include weddings, funerals, and rank-taking ceremonies. Slightly smaller feasts are held to mark the one hundred and one thousand days following a person's death, and the departure or return to the district of prominent individuals. Each of these feasts is accompanied by prestations of mats and/or pigs to individuals or small groups of people. As was noted earlier regarding both private rituals and wage labourers, food at public ceremonies is supplementary to exchanges of other material items. These items would be considered insufficient without the concomitant sharing of food; similarly, only at church celebrations can a feast be considered complete without mat or pig exchanges.

Finally, prestations of produce are an integral part of the father's sister-brother's child relationship. For Longanans, the father's sister-brother's child bond is part of the fundamental obligation to provide food for certain kinsmen in need or upon request. But exchanges between father's sister and brother's child are far more formal and regularized than other exchange relationships

between close kin. The network of exchanges between a father's sister and a brother's child will be described at length in Chapter Six, and the connection between the father's sister-brother's child relationship and dure exchanges will be analyzed.

(b) Cattle

Cattle play a relatively minor role in the total pattern of circulation of value in Longana. Cattle were introduced to the island by Europeans who encouraged Longanans to graze the animals in coconut plantations. In the New Hebrides, coconut production and cattle raising enjoy a symbiotic relationship. The broken shade provided by the palms encourages the growth of grasses; cattle, protected from the heat by the shade of the trees, keep the grass short enough for men to find fallen coconuts.

The cattle kept by Longanans are only semi-domesticated. They are not milked and are slaughtered only for feasts or when severely injured. Local Council rules require that the animals be fenced, and most of the fifty or sixty cattle in the district are confined to plantations. A few cattle roam at will in the bush and graze on the small Longana airstrip, despite complaints from pilots about dung fouling the propellers of the planes.

Cattle are regarded as a European-style commodity and consequently, are almost always acquired by cash payment.

Like other European consumer goods and capital, cattle are individually owned. Only a few men in the district possess cattle and, while the owners occasionally give one of their animals for a feast, cash usually is required to obtain a cow.

Although beef can be used as a supplement to or a replacement for pork at any feast, cattle seldom are consumed at the feasts accompanying a rank-taking because of the large amount of pork that is produced by killing the requisite ten pigs. However, beef frequently feeds guests at weddings, church celebrations and farewell feasts. Cattle perform the same function as produce in the compensation of labour, if a large amount of food is necessary. A cow seldom is slaughtered to provide food at private rituals simply because the amount of meat would exceed the needs of the small number of participants in the event. Refrigerators still are extremely rare in the district and other means of preserving meat are unknown.

(c) Kava


Longanans make kava by grinding the roots of the piper methysticum plant. An infusion is made from the resultant pulp. Drinking kava in quantity produces a marked numbness of the extremities, a mild intoxication, and a sense of relaxation or sleepiness. Longanans believe

that prophetic dreams can occur under the influence of kava. Spells to influence the outcome of future events are recited over a coconut shell filled with kava. According to Aoban legend, by drinking kava the cleverest warriors could transform themselves into birds or fish and launch surprise attacks on their enemies.

Despite the link between kava consumption and tradition on Aoba, today the roots needed to make the drink often are acquired, like cattle, in exchange for cash. Like produce, gifts of kava must be made to certain relatives upon request, to some visitors, and to those who attend private and public ceremonies. Kava, as well as food, often is offered to labourers. However, kava as an item of exchange differs from food or cattle in several respects.

First, kava may be consumed only by adult males. In contrast to islands in the southern New Hebrides, women neither assist in the preparation of kava nor drink it. Kava is brewed by young, low ranking men who serve first their superiors and then themselves. Kava drinking takes place outside the men's house, and women approach the area only to bring food to the men after the kava has been consumed.

Second, unlike cattle, the production of kava is not restricted to those men who control plantations. Most men in the district grow at least a small quantity of kava. Gifts of kava are common and follow a pattern of generalized

reciprocity similar to produce exchanges. Eventually, the recipient of a contribution of kava will repay the gift in kind. However, an individual who plans to hold a feast does not rely on voluntary prestations of kava. To ensure an adequate supply of roots, the host usually purchases kava from fellow Longanans. Although the supply of kava is far more abundant than the supply of cattle, and the commodity is produced generally, rather than restricted to a few individuals, the demand for kava is consistent and high. Longanan males drink kava at least once a week; they eat beef perhaps once in two months. The high demand for kava partially accounts for the trend toward cash purchase of the commodity. In addition, kava is amenable to monetary transactions because the value of the good is easily classified by the size of the bundle and the age of the roots. Every adult Longanan male knows how much kava two dollars will buy. 

Third, kava may be used specifically to acquire pigs for use in the graded society, but produce and cattle never can be directly exchanged for pigs. Boe vundolue is a supplementary grade in the hungwe, an achievement that adds to a man's renown but that is not required for the acquisition of subsequent ranks. In preparation for boe vundolue, a rank aspirant distributes the roots of two-year-old kava plants to each of one hundred individuals.

At a time of the rank-taker's choosing, each recipient of kava must return a shoat to his benefactor. The one hundred pigs are killed in a single afternoon, and all who attend the ceremony share in the abundance of pork.

(d) Cash

In Chapter Two, the introduction to Longana of cash-cropping in coconuts was discussed. Copra sales provide Longanans with a source of Western money: cash, in turn, is used to acquire a variety of European-produced goods ranging from tins of mackerel to building materials and Land Rovers. There are few opportunities for Longanans to invest their earnings in modern businesses; consequently, money earned by Longanans tends to be used to purchase capital equipment, such as boats, or, more frequently, to be channeled back into the local exchange economy. A man who controls a plantation may pay labourers to produce copra with money earned from previous copra sales. Money ✓ may be lent to another Longanan with the expectation of future repayment. Kava and cattle can be acquired with cash.

(e) Pigs

In 1970, the spheres of ceremonial exchange in Longana remained fairly well insulated from the cash

economy. Although pigs can be bought with money, the practice is rare. Most men maintain a breeding stock of pigs, and tusked boars usually are acquired through loans and repayments of pigs. No one may purchase a tusker for slaughter in his own rank-taking ceremony; other contributors will pay cash only after having exhausted traditional channels for obtaining the animals.

In only one type of transaction is cash payment for pigs the rule rather than the exception. Dried skulls of tusked boars (qwatungoro) normally are monetary purchases. The use of qwatungoro in the hungwe is a relatively recent innovation in Longana, although the skulls traditionally were part of graded society activity in nearby North Pentecost. A high ranking political leader from another district in East Aoba is credited with the introduction of qwatungoro to the island in the 1950s. Today, a dried skull with tusks appropriate to the rank being achieved may be broken with an ax during a graded society ceremony. The function of the skull in the acquisition of rank is identical to that of a live boar with equivalent tusk development. However, each qwatungoro must be accompanied by a live pig that is killed to "give breath to the skull".

The possibility of using qwatungoro to acquire rank ensures that the value of the tusker may be preserved should the pig die of natural causes before being used in

the hungwe. The acceptability of qwatungoro in the graded society, and the fact that skulls can be procured with cash, have contributed to a renaissance of rank-taking activity χ on Aoba. However, the rigorous economic requirements of the higher ranks continue to limit the number of men who enter the higher echelons of the graded society.

The exact state of a live pig's tusk development can be determined only after the animal has been slaughtered and the tusks have been cut out of the jawbone. Consequently, the value of any live pig is subject to debate and negotiation. The worth of a qwatungoro, unlike its live counterpart, is incontrovertible; the size and shape of the tusks are readily apparent to any observer. For this reason, and because of the prevalence of cash payment for the skulls, prices for qwatungoro follow a fixed scale in Longana, ranging from \$A 20 for a skull with low grade teeth to \$A 60 for a superior (ala) set of tusks. As a means of acquiring either live tusked boars or qwatungoro, use of cash provides the only mundane alternative to the raising and investment of pigs. Pigs cannot be obtained by payment of mats or food except through the ritualized, long-term exchange cycles of dure or boe vundolue.

(f) Mats

During the fifteen months of our fieldwork in Longana,

we did not record a single instance in which mats were exchanged for money. Unlike pigs, mats are not invested for profit in non-ceremonial dyadic exchanges. In addition, mats never are exchanged for money in ritual cycles or in informal exchanges.

Although mats cannot be bought with cash, money is a supplement to the use of mats at bridewealth exchanges. At some weddings, as much as \$A 40 may be placed on top of the largest pile of mats presented to the bride's family. While the use of cash might be interpreted as a substitute for additional mats, I believe that the monetary payment is supplementary to the mat prestations. The Aoba Local Council has decreed that bridewealth should be fixed at \$A 40, a rule that was not followed in any of the five marriages that occurred in the Anglican sector between December, 1969, and February, 1971. At weddings where cash was used, gifts of money were made in addition to a full complement of mats. Similarly, tea kettles, bags of rice, and other tradestore items often are added to, but do not replace, mats presented as bridewealth. Only blankets and fathoms of cloth have become acceptable as items that regularly can replace or be exchanged with some of the less valuable grades of mats at Longanan weddings.

Like pigs, mats usually are exchanged for other mats in a ceremonial context. However, mats also may be a reward

for a dance leader or for the head of a gang of copra workers. Mats may be used to indemnify a local fine; the gift of a mat can restore good relations with an offended kinsman or neighbour. Some mats may be slept on, others are ritually sacred and can cause sickness if touched by a child. New mats accompany a bride on her wedding day. The oldest mats, blackened with smoke and age, are buried with the dead. Mat exchanges accompany every major event in a Longanan's life and are connected with many minor incidents in daily activity. In the next chapter, the intricate rules associated with mat and pig exchanges will be examined. These rules, at once specific and diffuse, guide the circulation of the most valued items in the ceremonial life of the district.

CHAPTER FOUR

CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE EVENTS

The conversion of pigs to mats that occurs through dure integrates two types of ceremonial events as well as bridging two spheres of ceremonial exchange. This chapter will examine the processes that govern the flow of goods within Longanan ceremonial exchange. The volume and value of the goods that circulate in each sphere of exchange are linked to the organization of ceremonial events. As Figure 5 shows, pigs are the primary item of exchange in the hungwe, while mats predominate in bridewealth transactions.

In Longana, exchanges at hungwes, weddings, and dure provide opportunities for individual choice within the boundaries of cultural prescriptions regarding ceremonial preparation, timing, and participation. In this chapter, I will examine ceremonial exchange from the perspective of the individual who chooses to stage a rank-taking, dure, or wedding. I will compare preparation requirements for each type of activity, considerations affecting the timing of the event, and criteria for participation in different ceremonies. Personal options that are part of the process of organizing a dure, hungwe, or bridewealth ceremony will be shown to affect the cost,

volume, and outcome of an exchange event.

Preparation Requirements

The volume of goods transferred in Aoban ceremonial exchanges is not a valid indicator of the economic cost accruing to participants in the events. On Aoba, as in rural Fiji (Rutz 1975), ceremonial prestations tend to be balanced by reciprocal payments; consequently, any economic burden results more from the expenditures required to stage the event than from the ceremonial exchanges themselves. This cost is not shared by all participants in a ceremony, but is borne almost entirely by the households of one or two individuals who are the principal organizers of the ceremony.

The preparations required to stage a dure ceremony are less demanding of an individual's time, labour and material wealth than are the arrangements that precede a wedding or rank-taking ceremony. As for all ceremonies, the principal organizer must provide root vegetables, kava for male guests, and firewood. However, dure attracts fewer spectators than a hungwe or wedding. As indicated in Chapter One, approximately ten pigs are killed at dure; the audience at dure usually consists only of the households of the persons who are contributing or receiving a pig. The father provides a few of the pigs that his daughter will

kill and allows his brothers and other males in his moiety to contribute the remainder of the pigs. Construction of cooking pits is the responsibility of the women who will receive dead pigs at the close of the ceremony.

If a girl is to enter a rank in the graded society as part of dure, members of the child's household must fulfill a few additional preparation requirements. The father must provide several piglets to purchase regalia appropriate to the low rank that the girl will assume. The child's mother must prepare a few mats to present as a sign of affection (tambe) to her husband and daughter during the ceremony.

Weddings and male rank-takings never are combined into a single event, but dure often occurs in conjunction with other ceremonies. When dure is performed as an adjunct to another ceremony, the only special preparations required are the acquisition of a sufficient number of pigs for the child to kill. Frequently, a man will arrange for his daughter to perform dure on the same afternoon as he assumes a new rank in the graded society. The dual ceremony adds ✓ to the organizer's renown. In addition, pork from the dure pigs allows the rank-taker's sisters to share in the feast, for these women cannot eat animals killed by their brother. Dure occurs also on the eve of a girl's wedding, a time when many participants in the impending bridewealth exchanges

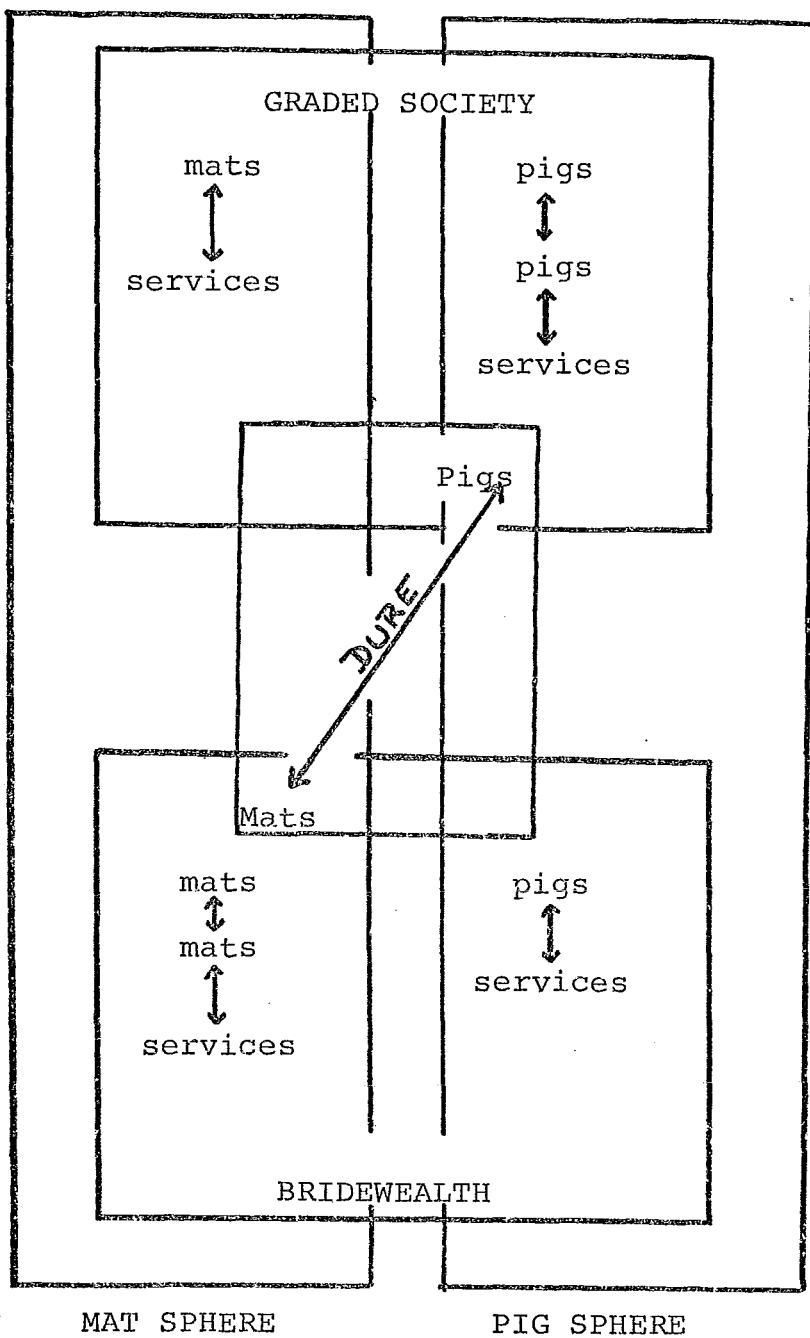


FIGURE 5.

CEREMONIAL EVENTS AND SPHERES OF EXCHANGE

already have assembled. The pigs killed at dure provide a special meal for the wedding guests.

In contrast to dure, preparations for a graded society ceremony are lengthy and complex. The responsibility for planning a hungwe ceremony belongs in part to the rank-taker; however, a man of the rank that the aspirant intends to enter always acts in the role of sponsor and shares in the arrangements for a graded society ceremony. The sponsor's skill in advising the rank-taker can be instrumental to the success or failure of a hungwe ceremony. Each rank in the graded society is progressively more difficult to achieve, for each level requires the use of increasingly valuable grades of tusked boars and the purchase of more expensive regalia. As a man rises through the grades, inadequate preparation has an increasingly negative effect on the outcome of an attempt to assume rank. Nevertheless, preparations for entrance into each rank follow a uniform pattern.

In brief, preparations for all adult rank-taking ceremonies include several specific tasks. The rank-taker must acquire a sponsor. The aspirant must ensure that on the day of the hungwe he will have ten boars to kill during the ceremony. The boars must have tusks appropriate in size to the rank being assumed. Some of the animals may have been raised by the rank-taker and kept in his

possession until the ceremony. However, most of the boars will be contributed on the day of the ceremony by men who wish to repay a debt to the rank-taker or create a new obligation. The debts repaid at a hungwe may represent years of preparation on the part of a rank-taker, who has contributed to other men's hungwes in anticipation of the eventual return of his investment with profit. The rules of the hungwe dictate that ten boars of a specified quality must be acquired for the ceremony; the rank-taker's personal skill determines his success in manipulating his economic position in networks of investment while meeting the preparation requirements for a particular event.

In addition to arranging for contributions of boars, a rank-taker must ensure that his wife begins weaving mats to present to his sponsor during the ceremony. A valuable boar and several lesser pigs need to be acquired to give the sponsor. Pigs also must be available for the purchase of regalia and other ritual payments. Finally, the rank-taker must enlist the labour of young men to round up pigs in the rainforest, build cooking pits, clear the area that will be used for the ceremony, harvest taro or yams, and dig up kava roots. The labourers should be provided with food by the rank-taker's household. If an individual's garden resources are insufficient, he must call upon relatives and friends to provide gifts of food for the

feast that will follow the hungwe.

Ascertaining that sufficient pigs will appear on the day of the ceremony is the most complicated and least controllable element in the rank-taker's preparations for a hungwe. Similarly, ensuring that an appropriate number and variety of mats will be exchanged is a major concern for protagonists preparing for a wedding. Unlike the rank-taker who manipulates dyadic debt relationships for personal prestige and profit, the principal organizers of a wedding seek to control a massive flow of goods and to effect a balance that will be tipped carefully to favour the bride's kinsmen. As in hungwe and dure preparations, consideration must be given to providing food and kava for the guests and to the logistics of staging the ceremony; but evaluation of potential contributions, and negotiations regarding impending exchanges of mats are of primary importance to both the bride's and groom's households.

Like the girl's father at dure, the bride's father at a wedding is the primary person responsible for organizing the ceremony. Most fathers of the bride speak directly to the groom's parents, indicating the number of mats that the groom can expect to receive on the wedding day. The groom's father then states approximately how many mats will be given to the bride's group of kinsmen.

The groom is obligated to return more mats than he receives, and no mat donated by the bride's kin can be included in the groom's counter prestation. Occasionally, an angry father of the bride will refuse to negotiate with the groom's family concerning bridewealth; the resources of a groom's kinsmen can be strained severely if they must accept and repay an unexpectedly large 'gift' of mats.

Along with determining the size of the bridewealth exchange and arranging for the wedding feast, the bride's parents must provide a dowry of new mats that will belong permanently to the newlyweds. The groom's family must build a house for the young couple, who usually will live in or near the groom's father's hamlet. Arrangements for a wedding, like plans for a hungwe, may take months to complete, and the timing of the event is linked to the progress of the preparations.

Timing

The timing of a girl's first dure is highly variable. Informants report that, ideally, a female child's first dure should occur when she is strong enough to kill the pigs without assistance. However, of the seven girls whose first pig-killing ceremonies I witnessed in 1970-71, three were toddlers who were unable to strike a blow at the animals assembled in their honour. Even

brides often require help in slaughtering the largest pigs.

Frequently, dure ceremonies are linked to male hungwe activities or other adult celebrations. Consequently, the timing of dure may be dependent upon plans for another ceremonial event. The scheduling of dure also is affected by the size of the local pig population (cf. Rappaport 1967). The Aoba Local Council encourages Longanans to reduce the number of pigs wandering unfenced in the district. The variable number of animals that may be killed at dure, and the option of performing a girl's first pig-killing at any time during her childhood allow Longanans to use dure as a device that helps to control the size of pig herds. By killing sows and young boars, the breeding population of pigs can be reduced without affecting the supply of tusked boars needed for hungwe ceremonies.

In contrast to dure, plans for a graded society ceremony tend to affect rather than be affected by the size of the pig population. As Pospisil has noted regarding Kapauku ceremonies, "the plan to have a mass slaughter frequently comes first, and then the natives arrange to increase their herds to meet the requirements" (1963:208). For example, although Longanans in 1976 are claiming a "shortage of pigs", plans have been announced for an imminent wari vundolue ceremony (see Figure 3), an optional grade involving the slaughter of one hundred pigs (Lovell,

personal communication). If sufficient pigs are available for the ceremony, success will result from the earmarking of animals for the event as part of a process of careful, long-term planning.

The timing of a rank-taking in the graded society is subject to even fewer cultural restrictions than dure. The decision to take a new rank is a matter of personal preference, and the scheduling of a ceremony depends on an evaluation by both aspirant and sponsor of the most propitious time for the event. Ideally, a rank-taker gives several month's notice that he intends to hold a hungwe. He and his sponsor attempt to send word to potential contributors in other districts or islands. Should the aspirant or sponsor doubt that sufficient pigs will be on hand by the appointed day, the ceremony may be delayed. Failure to adequately publicize a future hungwe can be disastrous. In 1970, one attempt to assume two ranks simultaneously failed because, due to mistiming of the event, insufficient numbers of pigs were presented.

Weddings are scheduled in accordance with two requirements, each of which can be manipulated by protagonists prior to the ceremony. First, Longanans believe that bridewealth transactions must precede the cohabitation of a man and woman. Second, adequate preparations must be made for wedding exchanges, so that both the bride's and

groom's families will have mats woven and collected by the day of the ceremony. Intergenerational conflict regarding marriage plans was common in Longana in 1970-71. Parents who opposed their child's choice of marriage partner frequently delayed the wedding by claiming to be "poor in mats". Young women who wished to marry despite parental opposition often became pregnant, forcing parents to accept the match and proceed with the bridewealth exchange.

Participation

In all Aoban ceremonies, specific categories of kin perform special roles in exchanges of mats and pigs. The closest relatives of a bridal couple, rank aspirant, or female pig-killer must fulfill certain obligations to contribute specified goods and services. However, in graded society activities the vast majority of exchanges are not predicated upon kinship categories; similarly, the > * large volume of mats involved in bridewealth is amassed by the prestations of many distant kinsmen. Only in dure is every exchange that occurs during the ceremony a transaction between close relatives.

All dure ceremonies are sponsored by a father on behalf of his daughter. However, not all female pig-killers are the biological daughters of their dure sponsors. Single Longanans, as well as married couples,

frequently adopt (halo) children from close relatives. The father of an adopted child must perform dure on her behalf; in return, he receives the girl's brideprice when she marries. The flow of goods in the dure cycle is exactly the same for adoptive fathers and daughters as for biological parents and children.

Occasionally, a ceremony that is identical to dure in organization and patterns of exchange is performed by male children. The ceremony, called woro, "wedding pudding", was held only once during 1970-71. The event was staged by a prominent leader in conjunction with his own entrance into ala status, the highest major rank in the graded society. The rank-taker had two daughters by a previous marriage, but one girl was married and the other already had performed her first dure. The leader had remarried and fathered only sons. He had not performed dure since acquiring his second wife. Rather than adopt a daughter who could kill pigs at dure, the rank-taker chose to have one of his sons perform woro. The fact that woro is a very rare event added to the leader's reputation as a man skilled in the details of Longana custom. In addition, performance of woro signified the father's great esteem for his sisters and his gratitude for their help at his second wedding. Unlike the pigs given at dure, the value of the animals contributed

to a son's woro cannot be offset by mats received later at the child's marriage (see Figures 7 and 8).

In addition to kin-based criteria for contributions at dure, the nature of the exchange process that occurs in the women's pig-killing cycle differentiates participation in dure from involvement in other ceremonies. In all Longanan ceremonies, the flow of goods passes through each major protagonist at the event. In weddings and, to a lesser extent, at rank-taking ceremonies, the principal organizer performs a redistributive role, accumulating and then reallocating items of exchange. Only in dure is the flow of goods among individual participants determined by each contributor to the ceremony. Dure is a collection of dyadic exchanges between participants, in which the principal organizer's role is only superficially redistributive. The father of the girl calls out the names of the women who are to receive dead pigs, but each contributor of an animal determines in advance who will be given the body of that particular pig. Except for the fact that the father guides the distribution of the pigs that he personally has contributed, the father's role in dure exchanges is no different from that of the girl who kills the pigs or that of the bride and groom in wedding transactions; each is a conduit that allows for the transmission of wealth without redirecting the flow of material goods. ✓

CHAPTER FIVE

SPHERES OF CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE

In this chapter, I will concentrate on the material dimension of Longanan ceremonial activity represented in terms of spheres of exchange. Pigs and mats will be examined as valued goods that circulate in separate transactional spheres, and that can be exchanged for each other only through dure. I shall demonstrate that pigs produced for use in the hungwe can be converted, through consumption at dure, into mats exchanged at weddings. Finally, I shall show that, in alternate generations, the exchanges at dure create an asymmetrical balance that offsets the temporary inequality of bridewealth exchanges.

Although conversions between pigs and mats are restricted to dure, each valuable may be exchanged for services relating to ceremonial activity (see Figure 5). The nature of the service usually determines the minimum amount and kind of compensation that must be offered. Sponsorship of a rank-taker is the single instance in which the most valuable grade of mats may be exchanged for the services of an individual. Similarly, an ala pig (see Appendix A) may be given by a rank-taker in gratitude

for a sponsor's aid, or by a groom as compensation to the parents of a bride for the loss of their daughter's labour. A boar of highest quality can be exchanged for no other services at a wedding or hungwe.

Persons who perform ceremonial tasks, such as cutting a bride's hair or leading a dance in a rank-taker's honour, are remunerated with lower grades of mats or pigs; on some occasions a combination of mats and pigs may be presented. Certain services performed in connection with a ceremony involve the production of material items or the transmission of rights to particular objects. For example, the special pudding prepared for a wedding or the privilege of wearing an insignia of rank must be reciprocated with mats and pigs.

In Longana, latitude exists for individual variation in the amount and kind of repayment given for most services. Lavish gifts to a sponsor add to a rank-taker's renown; alternatively, a small offering to a sister for her help at a wedding demeans a man in the eyes of spectators. However, the kind of labour for which mats and pigs may be given in ceremonial exchange is highly specific. Kinship roles and the organizational requirements of rank-takings and weddings structure both the services that may be remunerated with mats and pigs and the category of persons who may perform each task.

Although variable combinations of pigs and mats can be used as payment for some tasks performed at ceremonies, provision of services is not a means for conversion between two spheres of ceremonial exchange in Longana. Ceremonial occasions provide an opportunity for obtaining mats and pigs in return for labour; but, once acquired, a valued item must be used within its respective sphere of exchange. A mat or pig received for a service provided at a wedding may be subsequently used in another kind of ceremonial event, but not in another sphere of ceremonial exchange.

The Pig Sphere of Exchange

Most transactions of pigs occur in association with the graded society. Pigs are used in transactions at other kinds of ceremonies in Longana, but the animals that change hands in the acquisition of rank far exceed the number and value of pigs exchanged at other ceremonies. The norms of reciprocity that govern dealings within the pig sphere vary according to the type of transaction in which pigs are exchanged. When repayment of the gift of a pig employs the same medium of exchange as the initial prestation, the transaction may effect a balance between two individuals. However, many Longanan exchanges of pigs contradict Thurnwald's assertion that "the characteristic

feature of primitive economics is the absence of any desire to make profits from production or exchange" (1932: XIII). In fact, pigs exchanged in the graded society may represent an explicit quest for profit by men who seek to rise through the ranks of the hungwe.

Fathers and brothers of a rank-taker may contribute a boar without expectation of return. All other men who offer pigs at a graded society ceremony must receive repayment in the form of pigs equal to the value of the initial contribution. Usually, donors at a hungwe are rewarded with pigs of greater value than the original gift. Firth recorded a similar "coexistence in ... one institution of these two antagonistic principles of strict equivalence and liberality" (1929:417), and noted that "generosity in such matters becomes the passport to social success" (Ibid.:423). Firth's conclusion is supported by the actions of men in the graded society who ensure a continuing flow of pigs at future rank-takings by exhibiting generosity in the repayment of current contributors.

The time period in which repayment must be made is unspecified, and, in the past, young men often inherited their fathers' hungwe debts. However, to ensure continued support by contributors, an individual must repay most of the boars received at his last rank-taking before attempting to enter a higher grade. In addition, persons to whom a

man owes pigs can request repayment at any time, if a boar is needed for another ceremony.

Although Longanans place no particular time limit on the repayment of pigs contributed to a hungwe ceremony, time is a factor affecting the size and value of a counter prestation. Unlike interest among such "primitive capitalists" as the Tolai (Epstein 1968:25), the value of a Longanan return gift must reflect the amount of time separating receipt and repayment of a pig. Some pigs are repaid during the same ceremony in which they are contributed; in such cases, the rank-taker must offer a counter prestation that is only slightly more valuable than the pig he received earlier in the day. Should months or years elapse between acceptance of the gift of a pig and compensation, the return offering should exceed substantially the value of the initial prestation. In Longana, no explicit formula dictates the exact amount that must be repaid for a debt of a certain length. As in most Longanan exchanges, dealings in pigs allow scope for an individual to express generosity, to favour his allies, and to snub his enemies. Yet the idea that the passage of time is a variable affecting the value of an item used in exchange expresses a concept of interest. Over time, pigs grow and men take rank; in the space of a year, a skillful man can use the pig he acquired as a gift to

gain control of more and better pigs. Awareness of the usefulness of pigs as a kind of investment capital is expressed in the Longanan requirement that long term loans necessitate a higher rate of return than short term loans.

In the use of a concept of interest, Longanan ceremonial exchange is similar to the shell currency transactions of Rossel Island documented by Armstrong (1924) and reinterpreted by Barić (1964) and by Dalton (1967:269-76). Like Longanans, Rossel Islanders seem to have a clear idea of a "relationship between use over time and interest" (Barić 1964:46). Barić states that Malekula, a former destination for Longanan pig-trading expeditions, possesses a "currency system" with a concept of interest parallel to that of Rossel Island. The Malekulan "currency", like units of exchange in the Longanan hungwe, consists of grades of tusked boars. In Longanan pig transactions, as in Rossel Island shell currency exchanges, "there is no way of discovering the extent of intervals between ranks except vaguely, in terms of the two variables of interest and time" (Ibid.:47). Consequently, Barić's objection to the use of the term value in reference to Rossel Island and Malekulan exchange systems also should be considered in a Longanan context.

I agree with Barić's claim that ratios of interest

cannot be quantified for societies like Longana and Rossel. However, I believe that Longanan patterns of pig and mat exchange express indigenous ratios of equivalence that legitimately can be stated in algebraic form. The ratios of equivalence presented in Figures 6, 7, and 8 differ markedly in construction and intent from those formulated by Armstrong. Perhaps because Armstrong conducted only two months research on Rossel Island, he did not record "any individual's transactions as debtor and creditor" (Ibid.:45). In contrast, my husband and I observed the flow of approximately four hundred pigs and an even greater number of mats in ceremonial prestations. The Longanan ratios of equivalence are based on these instances of observed exchange, whereas Armstrong's analysis dealt entirely with ideal categories of value. The ratios of equivalence used in this thesis represent an emic value structure. Intervals of value and increments of profit purposely remain imprecise in my analysis because, for Longanans, these elements of exchange are subject to individual negotiation, planning, interpretation, and luck. Instead, I have attempted simply to summarize in schematic form the categories of goods and ratios of equivalence that Longanans express, both in what they do at ceremonial exchanges and in what they say about ideal transactional patterns.

Figure 6 illustrates the potential for personal capital accumulation that investment of pigs in the hungwe provides for Longanans. The diagram charts the exchanges that occur when a man contributes a single pig (X), over time, to a number of other individuals' rank-takings. For the sake of simplicity, certain assumptions were made in the construction of the diagram. First, the variable of interest, accruing in proportion to the passage of time, has been eliminated in calculating the return in Figure 6. Second, no increase in the value of a pig through physical maturation is assumed to occur. Similarly, the possibility of damage to tusks that would reduce the worth of a boar has been discounted. Of course, factors of interest and changes in tusk development do affect the investment of pigs in Longana, but these are complex variables whose quantitative impact on rates of return cannot be predicted. Third, in keeping with Longanan norms of reciprocity concerning hungwe exchanges, the repayment of a gift of a pig is assumed to be greater in value than the initial prestation. Likewise, repayment is assumed to be less than double the value of the original contribution, a constraint based on observation of the volume of exchanges at twelve hungwe ceremonies. Finally, each repayment offered for a single pig is assumed to involve two animals, one of equivalent value to the pig received by a rank-taker plus one of less value than the initial gift. This assumption

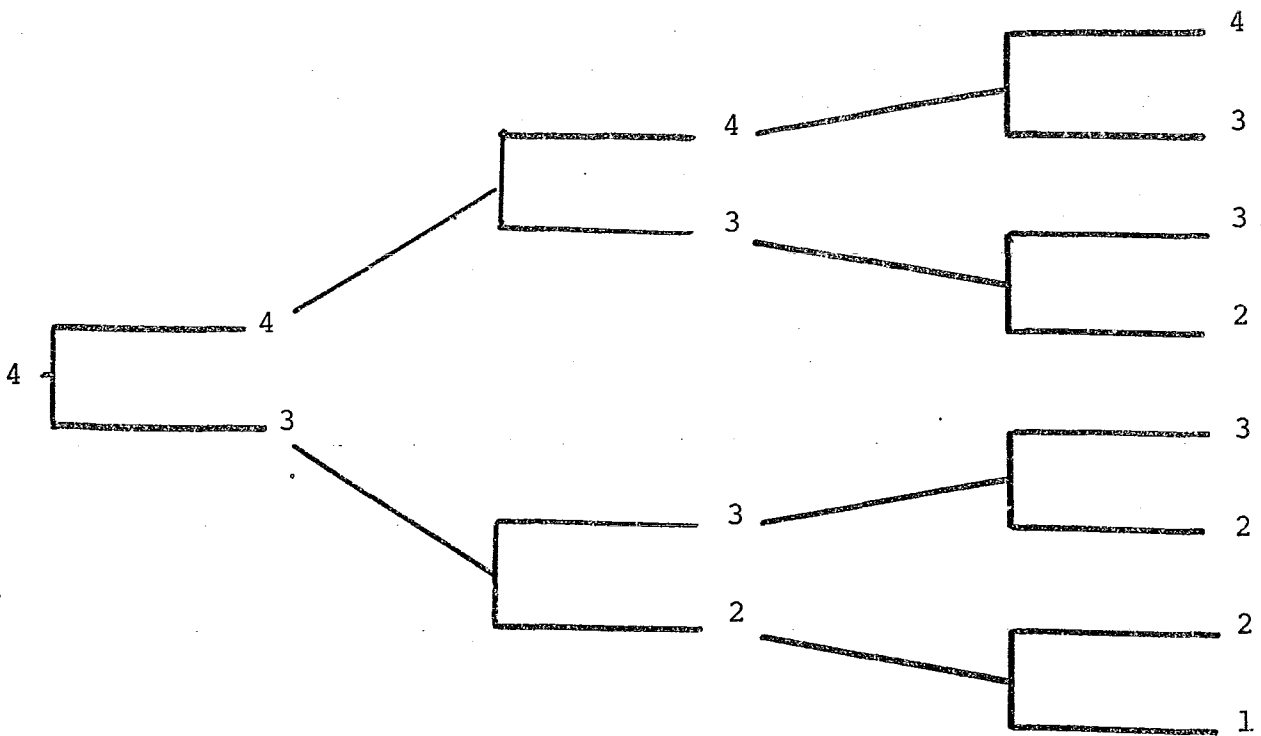
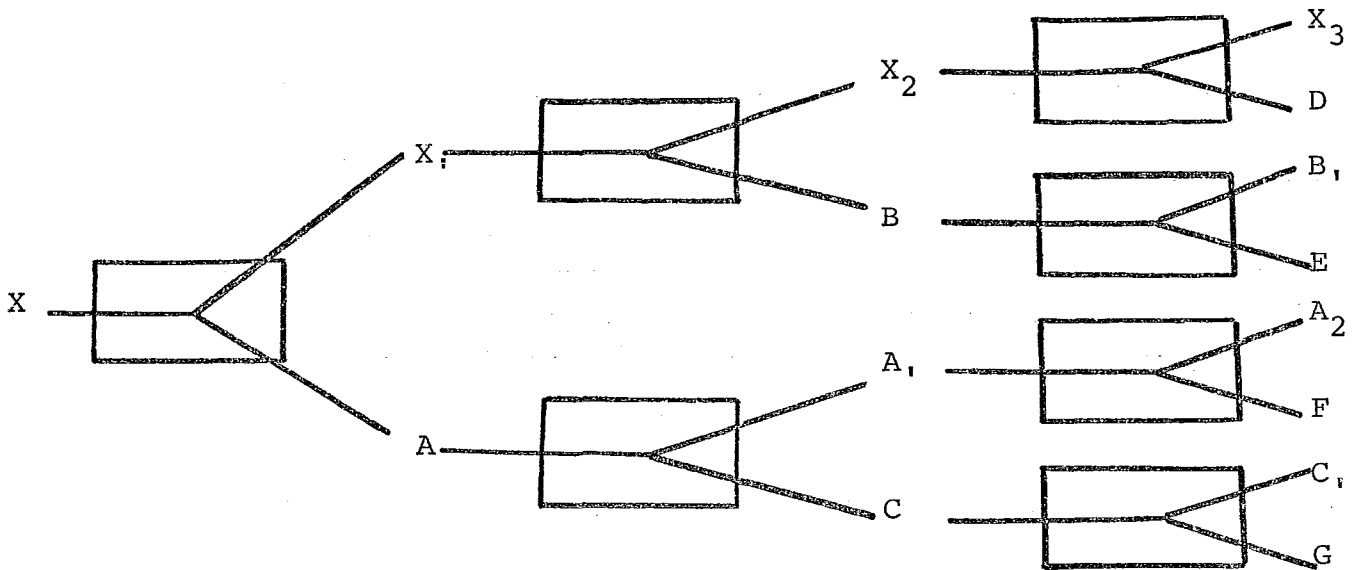


FIGURE 6.

POTENTIAL FOR PROFIT THROUGH
 INVESTMENT OF PIGS IN THE HUNGWE

Assumptions:

- (1) Value of pigs unaffected by physical growth or damage.
- (2) Equal time elapses between each gift and repayment.
- (3) Each repayment is greater in value than each initial gift but less than twice the value of each initial gift.
- (4) Each repayment involves two pigs: one equal to the value of the initial gift and one of less value than the initial gift.

X = one pig of any value contributed to a hungwe ceremony

X → A → C → G

X = (X₁ = X₂ = X₃)

A = (A₁ = A₂ = B = B₁ = D)

C = (C₁ = E = F)

If: X = 4

A = 3

C = 2

G = 1

Then: (1) After a single exchange

X → X₁ + A

X → X + A

4 → 4 + 3

4 → 7

(2) After three exchanges

X → X₂ + B + A₁ + C

X → X² + 2A + C

4 → 4 + 2(3) + 2

4 → 4 + 6 + 2

4 → 12

(3) After seven exchanges

X → X₃ + D + B + E + A₂ +
F + C₁ + G.

X → X + 3A + 3C + G

4 → 4 + 3(3) + 3(2) + 1

4 → 4 + 9 + 6 + 1

4 → 20

FIGURE 6. (CONT.)

POTENTIAL FOR PROFIT THROUGH
INVESTMENT OF PIGS IN THE HUNGWE

reflects the Longanan division of each hungwe repayment into an obligatory balanced exchange plus a less-mandatory profit for the contributor. Often, counter prestations take the form of one pig of greater value than the pig given to the rank-taker. This option has not been included in Figure 6, but repayment in the form of a single pig could be accommodated in the diagram simply by adding the values of constituent elements in a particular exchange. For example, 'A' could be eliminated and the value of 'X', increased to seven in the first exchange.

Essentially, Figure 6 represents a flow of incremental additions of value that could be expressed in increasing numbers of pigs and/or in increasing value of a fixed number of animals. I have chosen to represent the process of growth in terms of numbers of pigs because I believe that this approach makes the diagram and calculations easier to understand. Similarly, the numerical values assigned to 'X', 'A', 'C', and 'G' are arbitrary, and any set of numbers could be substituted that satisfied the approximate ratios between the values of the items exchanged.

Larger profits in pigs are available for participants in the graded society who are willing to take risks greater than those involved in the exchange of a solitary pig. Large scale transactions of pigs occur in vavahegi,

a hierarchy of dyadic exchanges associated with the achievement of rank in the graded society. Successful completion of a vavahegi exchange is marked by a ceremony admitting a man to a new rank in the graded society. Vavahegi ranks must be achieved in alternation with mate grades that involve the slaughter as well as the exchange of pigs (see Figure 3). Like the mate ceremonies, grades based on vavahegi exchanges require the use of pigs of increasing value as a participant rises through the ranks.

The material dimension of a vavahegi exchange involves a transaction between a sponsor and a rank-taker in which the sponsor contributes five pigs and is repaid by the rank-taker with ten pigs. The quality of the pigs donated by a sponsor is determined by the level of the rank being sought; each of the pigs repaid to a sponsor must be equivalent in value to the animals received in the initial prestation. If a sponsor donates five mambu boars, he can be compensated only with ten mambu animals.

A skillful rank-taker uses the five animals received from his sponsor to gain more pigs by participating in the hungwes of other men. Ideally, each contribution of a pig at a graded society ceremony yields a return that exceeds the original investment, and five pigs invested carefully can yield five times the profit described in Figure 6. Slowly, the vavahegi rank-taker gains control of more pigs than he received from his sponsor.

Most players in vavahegi exchanges can acquire the ten boars needed to repay a sponsor and enter a new grade. Some men succeed in parlaying the initial five pigs into more than the requisite ten animals. A rank-taker keeps all profits, in excess of five pigs, acquired through use of a sponsor's vavahegi loan. With the hope of achieving the next mate rank, clever recipients of an initial vavahegi prestation use the exchange to increase substantially the number of pigs they control, as well as to repay a sponsor. Early in their graded society careers, such individuals exhibit a talent for profitably investing pigs, and they become increasingly skilled in the "way of the pigs" (matahalanboe) as they progress through the ranks of the hungwe. In the upper grades, the stakes involved in vavahegi are high, and the boars required are far scarcer than are pigs of lower quality. Only men who have mastered matahalanboe can perform the vavahegi exchanges required to enter the most elevated ranks in the graded society.

The Mat Sphere of Exchange

In Longana, some individuals rarely contribute pigs at graded society ceremonies, and never ascend beyond the lowest ranks of the hungwe. However, all men and women participate frequently in transactions in the mat sphere

of exchange. Weddings and funerals provide the major occasions for the exchange of large numbers of mats and for prestations including navuhangavulu, the most valuable grade of Aoban mats (see Appendix A). In 1970-71, I observed six traditional weddings that ranged from large transactions, by Longanan standards, to unbalanced exchanges in which the groom failed to provide an adequate brideprice. Details of the goods exchanged at three of the Longanan weddings are provided in Appendix B.

Every Longanan bridewealth exchange involves two phases of mat display. On the morning of the wedding, mats are spread on the ground in the bride's hamlet. Her father's sisters are paid with mats and pigs for services performed for the bride. The mats and other items that will be given to the groom's family are unrolled and presented to the bride by her father. Only the closest tamai (F, FB) of a girl provide the navuhangavulu which are the foundation for the piles of mats displayed and the most valuable units of bridewealth. Ratahine (M, MZ) and sisters (Z, MZD, FBD) contribute numerous qiriqiri mats and other items of lower value.

Later on the wedding day, kinsmen of the bride, laden with mats, escort the girl to her new husband's hamlet. In the second phase of a bridewealth exchange, the groom's fathers display the navuhangavulu and pigs

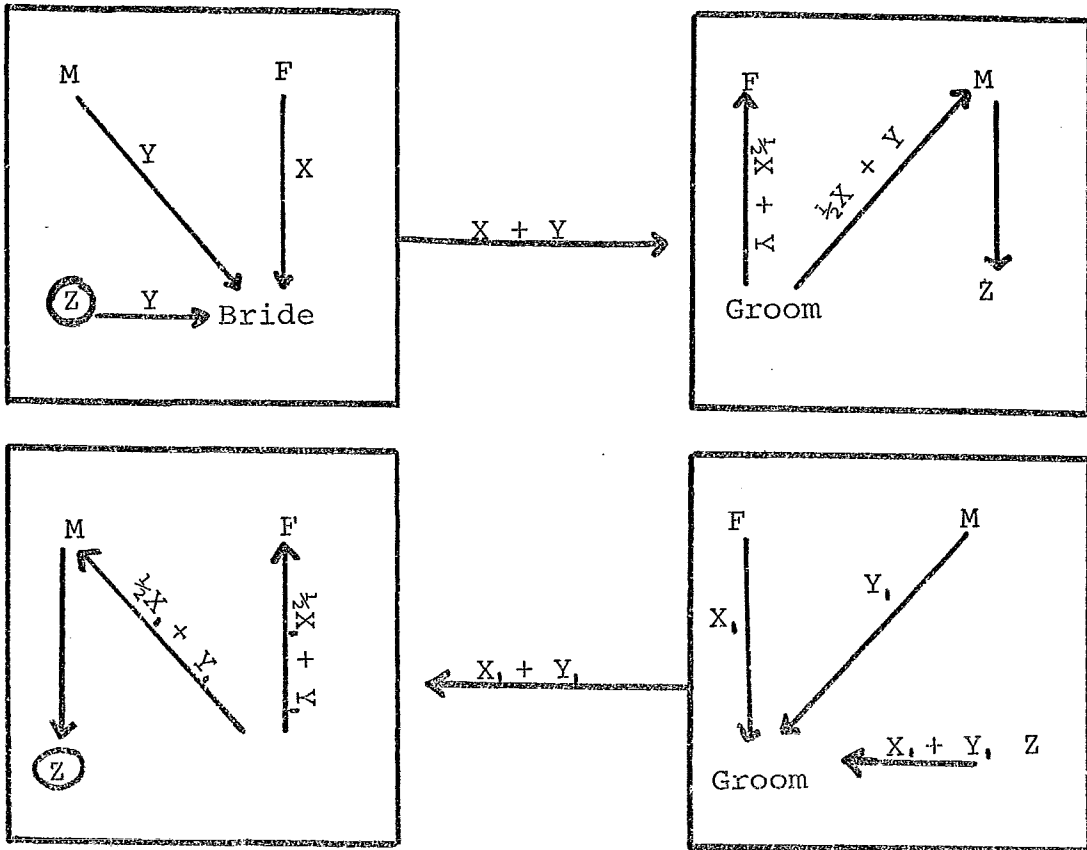
that they will give to the bride's family. Likewise, the groom's ratahine and sisters present their offerings of mats and other goods. Some of the sisters of a groom provide piles of mats that are distinct from other collections of valuables. Each sister who received a pig at the bride's dure ceremony on the previous night is obligated to present a minimum of one navuhangavulu as well as other mats on the groom's wedding day. Each counter prestation of mats is donated explicitly to the father of the bride who contributed a particular animal at dure.

In each phase of the wedding, careful accounts are kept both by the bride's and by the groom's parents. The basic requirement of all Longanan weddings is that the number of navuhangavulu presented by the groom's family must exceed those that accompany a bride. Although the fathers of the betrothed couple nominally present and receive the mats exchanged at bridewealth, redistribution immediately follows the wedding. Ideally, every mat contributed on behalf of the bride is reciprocated with profit to the donor. The navuhangavulu and other mats offered in excess of the bride's prestation are an expense that is borne in part by the groom's biological parents and their siblings. However, these individuals regard the exchange as balanced by the acquisition of the bride who will provide the groom's parents with labour and grand- → children. More distant kinsmen who contributed lesser

numbers of mats to the groom's segment of the bridewealth are repaid with an equivalent gift from the stock of items provided by the bride's family.

However, reciprocity is unbalanced in one major element of bridewealth exchange. Because the groom's family receives fewer mats than are given to the bride, sisters of the groom cannot be compensated fully for their valuable contributions to the wedding (see Figure 7). Unlike the groom's parents, these women are not perceived to benefit directly from the acquisition of the bride by the group. Married sisters almost always reside in a different hamlet from their co-resident, parents and brothers, so the wife of a male sibling does not add materially to the labour resources available to a woman.

The major role played by a groom's sisters in the acquisition of his wife is linked to dure, and it is through dure that reciprocity, however delayed, ultimately is achieved. The process of which a sister's offering of mats and a brother's gift of dure pigs are part is mediated by consumption. In the context of ceremonial spheres of exchange, consumption of a pig or mat usually indicates that the item no longer has value as an object of exchange. Dure provides an exception to this rule.



$$X_1 + Y_1 > X + Y$$

For Z : value of $(X + Y)$ received < value of $X_1 + Y_1$ given.

For \textcircled{Z} : value of $(X_1 + Y_1)$ received $\frac{1}{2}$ value of Y given

FIGURE 7.

FLOW OF MATS IN BRIDEWEALTH EXCHANGES

F = F, FB
 M = M, MZ
 Z = Z, MZD, FBD

X = navuhangavulu mats
 Y = lesser mats

Dure: A Border Crossing Between Spheres of Exchange

Many of the pigs and mats used in a ceremonial transaction continue to circulate in subsequent exchanges. As one Longanan noted in a speech at a dure ceremony:

"When you kill pigs you must think about them, because the business (of dure) does not end with the killing of the pigs." Exchanges of mats and pigs that occur in the course of a ceremony are not isolated or bounded events, but, instead, are part of a continual process of giving and receiving that links Longanans in relationships of debt, credit and balanced reciprocity. However, in terms of the flow of material goods themselves, some exchanges are final. Individual pigs and mats do exit from their respective spheres of exchange through regular acts of consumption as well as through loss or damage. Many old but valuable mats go out of circulation at funerals, when a corpse is wrapped in mats that form a shroud several times the diameter of the dead body. Pigs killed in graded society ceremonies are used for feasting. Consumption of pork at a hungwe feast does not require repayment; the body of a valuable tusker is no different from ordinary food. ¶

The pigs killed at dure, like those slaughtered in the graded society, pass out of a sphere of exchange and become food; but, in contrast to pork at a rank-taker's feast, eating the flesh of a dure pig is part of an act of

exchange as well as consumption. At dure, pork marks a series of stages in the delayed reciprocal transactions that create a border crossing between two spheres of exchange.

In transactions that link mat and pig spheres of exchange, the sequence of ceremonial events does not alter the eventual balance forged by the exchanges; but the order of prestations of pigs and mats does affect the marking function performed by dure pork. When dure pigs are given by an unmarried male in anticipation of the mats his sisters will provide at his wedding, the pork serves as a marker of credit. The distribution and consumption of pigs at dure provides a means of storing animate tokens of wealth in the form of a collection of smaller units of credit in mats. A gift of a dure pig by an unmarried man to his sister is an investment designed to offset the obligation inherent in the supply of mats that will be donated by his sisters at his eventual wedding. The investment is conservative, for the value of the dead dure pig neither increases nor declines over time. A pig killed at dure cannot be used to make a profit in the hungwe, but the gift of a dure pig does yield a fixed return in an alternative unit of value. Following a dure ceremony, each recipient of a pig divides the cooked meat among close kinswomen in her moiety. Acceptance of a portion of food obligates a woman to contri-

bute a few mats to the nominal recipient of the dure pig. The recipient, in turn, offers a prestation of mats when the donor of the dure pig marries. By sharing the pork with her relatives, a woman distributes the burden of repayment and minimizes the number of mats that she personally must have ready for her brother's wedding. ✓

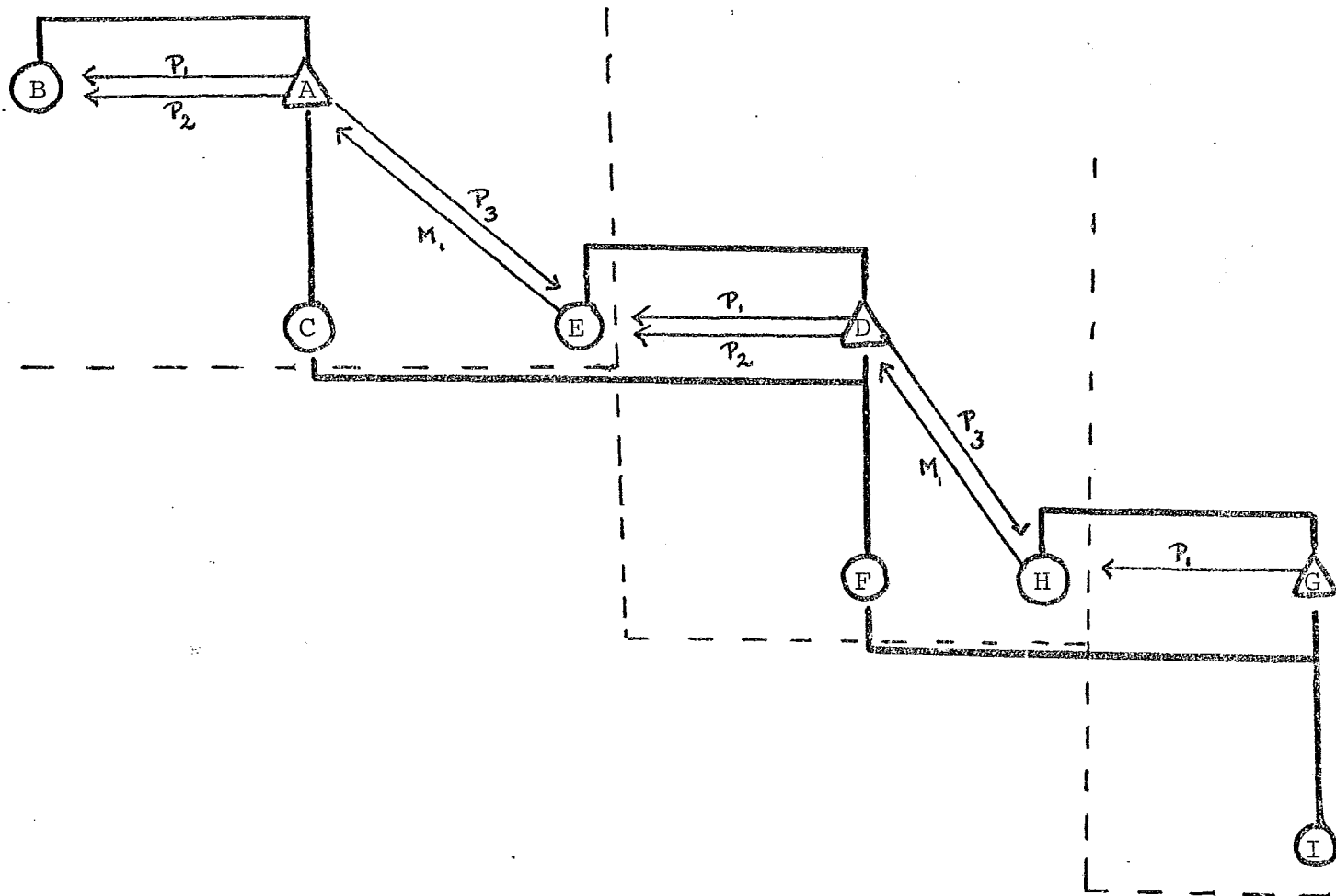
Although dure pigs may be used by unmarried men to establish a temporary credit balance with their sisters, pork consumed at dure more frequently serves as a token of repayment in sister-brother exchanges. The majority of the sisters' mats given to acquire a brother's wife are repaid with dure prestations during a twenty year period that begins with a man's wedding.

Figure 8 describes the exchanges of mats and pigs that occur as a result of dure ceremonies held after a man's marriage. The diagram includes three brother-sister pairs: A-B, D-E, G-H. Each brother has one daughter, so that A is the father of C, D is the father of F, and G is the father of I. Figure 8 illustrates that gifts of pigs at dure (P_1, P_2, P_3) offset the value of mats (M_1) presented to a man's father-in-law when he marries. The balance occurs incrementally during a twenty year period. Thus exchanges involving G and H in Figure 8 will be balanced only after I performs her second dure and marries. For A-C and D-E, the dure cycle has been completed and a

balanced exchange has been effected.

Figure 8 simplifies the exchanges in several ways. First, contributions by unmarried males to the dures of other men's daughters have been excluded; the net effect of premarital gifts of dure pigs is the same as P_1 in the diagram, but the sequence of prestations is reversed. Second, the donors and recipients of mats and pigs have been restricted to a single brother-sister pair in each generation. In reality, individuals must conduct the exchanges described in Figure 8 with many biological and classificatory brothers and sisters, and each gift of mats or pigs is shared with a number of secondary recipients. Finally, each prestation in the diagram appears to pass directly from the donor to the recipient. Actually, at dure ceremonies, live pigs first are presented to the young girl in whose honour the ceremony is held; subsequently, the dead animals are transferred in her name to the ultimate recipients of the items. Similarly, the transmission of mats from a groom's sisters to his father-in-law is mediated by the new husband's father who presents the mats on his son's behalf.

As indicated in Figure 8, three separate gifts of pigs to two groups of women are required to balance the value of the mats provided by a groom's sisters. Except for dure pigs contributed prior to a man's marriage,



--- Encloses exchanges bounded by the dure experience of one girl

P = Pig prestation
M = Mat prestation

FIGURE 8.

INTERGENERATIONAL CONVERSION
OF PIGS TO MATS THROUGH DURE

each set of three prestations of pigs that creates parity with the value of M_1 in the diagram is bounded by the dure experience of one individual's daughter. For example, man D is indebted to sister E for her gift of mats to father-in-law A at D's wedding. When D has a daughter (F) who is old enough to perform dure, he contributes pigs (P_1) to sister E. Later, at daughter F's second dure just before her wedding, D returns more pigs (P_2) to E, thereby balancing the value of the mats that E donated approximately twenty years earlier at D's own wedding.

By themselves, the pigs (P_1 and P_2) that D gives his sister are not equal in value to the mats that pass from E to A in M_1 . But M_1 is offered, in part, as a counter gift for pigs (P_3) received by E from A on the eve of D's wedding. The value of M_1 is felt by Longanans to exceed that of P_3 by approximately the value of P_1 plus P_2 . The balance achieved can be represented algebraically as:

$$M_1 = P_1 + P_2 + P_3$$

or

$$P_1 + P_2 = M_1 - P_3$$

Thus the usual sequence of prestations, $P_3 \rightarrow M_1 \rightarrow P_1 \rightarrow P_2$, means that full repayment is achieved with the gift of P_2 .

Just as sister E must receive pigs from A and D to compensate for her gift of M_1 , so D must receive mats at his daughter F's wedding to balance the value of the pigs (P_1 , P_2 and P_3) that he contributed to E and to H at his offspring's dure ceremonies. D benefits from the gift of M_1 to his father-in-law by gaining a wife, but he does not receive any value from M_1 in terms of material units of exchange. For D, the mats given by a sister to acquire a wife are a debt that must be repaid, and, in contrast to debts of pigs in the hungwe, D cannot use the items that established his debt to facilitate repayment. Consequently, the pigs donated in his daughter's dure ceremonies represent a loss of wealth, from D's point of view. During the period between his own and his daughter's weddings, D must contribute pigs to women without receiving any material compensation for his gifts. For D, as for E, balanced reciprocity finally occurs in the context of F's wedding. For E, full compensation takes place at F's final dure ceremony while, for D, a balance is struck the following day. The nuptial offering of mats from H equals the total value of all the pigs that D has provided over the years at his daughter's dures.

The balance of items that is obtained within the confines of one girl's dure and wedding ceremonies often is accompanied by the conversion of one medium of exchange

into another unit of wealth. A man who expends valuable pigs that he has removed from potential circulation in the pig sphere of exchange is compensated with new wealth in mats. Alternatively, a woman who donates mats to her brother's father-in-law is rewarded with increments of pigs.

The conversion of pigs and mats described in Figure 8 is balanced in terms of Longanan ratios of equivalence concerning the value of media in separate spheres of exchange. For a pig of any quality contributed in P_3 , at least one navuhangavulu and some lesser mats must be given in M_1 . The value of the particular pig is irrelevant to the worth of the counter-prestation for two reasons. First, the mats are not viewed as balancing the value of P_3 ; instead, as indicated in the diagram, the value of M_1 must exceed P_3 by at least a factor of two. Second, a pig used to take rank at dure never is given to a sister, but instead is offered to a brother for consumption. Consequently, all the dure pigs donated to sisters are sows and tuskless boars. Although the value of boars is ranked in terms of tusk development, tuskless animals used in dure form a single class of value for Longanans. Therefore the size or condition of a particular pig does not affect the value anticipated in a counter prestation.

The conversion of pigs to mats is accompanied by equivalent exchanges of value. However, an incomplete

balance exists in terms of the utility of the goods transmitted in the conversion. Mats acquired in M_1 prestations are shared by the recipient with his brothers as compensation for the labour and pigs contributed to the recipient's daughter's dure ceremonies. These mats subsequently may be used in other transactions within the mat sphere of exchange. In contrast, the pigs received by a woman at dure are dead and can only be consumed. The animals never can circulate further in the pig sphere of exchange. However, a woman can imbue an act of consumption with an element of exchange by distributing the cooked pork from a single carcass among her relatives. In a final transaction, she uses the pig she received as a reward for a gift of mats to secure a promise of more mats for the future.

Paradoxically, gifts of mats mark a conversion between spheres and balance one cycle of dure exchanges while simultaneously initiating a new set of obligations for members of the next descending generation. Each segment in the chain of debt and repayment that links dure with weddings and mats with pigs also integrates two generations of affinal and consanguineal kinsmen through exchange relationships. In addition, each stage in each series of gift exchanges involves the transmission of goods between senior and junior generations, or between members

of a single generation through the agency of a child. Continuity in the flow of goods through dure transactions is contingent upon human relationships capable of withstanding imbalances in exchange that span decades and generations. In the next chapter, the social dimension of exchange is examined as a key to understanding the temporal asymmetry of the reciprocity achieved in dure.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND SPHERES OF EXCHANGE

Bonds of kinship between dure participants sustain the process of conversion between spheres of exchange. In giving, receiving or killing a dure pig, Longanans act in accordance with social norms governing the behaviour of brothers, sisters, and brothers' children. The triadic relationship between a man, his sister and his child provides an emic rationale for the perpetuation of the dure cycle.

In this chapter, I will describe patterns of social interaction and exchange between Longanan relatives that affect the circulation of valuables in dure. Prohibitions associated with a norm of sister avoidance influence transactions between siblings of different sexes and contribute to the persistence of dure. The father's sister-brother's child relationship provides Longanans with an additional reason for performing dure. Pigs at dure are a gift from a brother's child to her father's sister, as well as a prestation from a brother to a sister. Smaller donations of food from brother's children to father's sisters outside of dure contribute to the maintenance of tranquil relations between siblings during the twenty year period between a

sister's gift of mats and the achievement of balanced reciprocity.

In the second part of the chapter, I will demonstrate that dure incorporates mechanisms for controlling the distribution of statuses in Longana. Failure to perform dure damages a father's and daughter's standing in the community. In contrast, by presenting a tusked boar at his daughter's dure ceremony, a father allows his child to enter the graded society. The achievement by a female of a low rank in the hungwe adds to both a father's and a daughter's renown. For Longanan males, performance of dure is a necessary consequence of acquiring a bride and achieving full adult status.

Finally, I will show that the ratios of equivalence formulated in Chapter Five are linked to indigenous perceptions of the equivalence of pigs and mats in contexts other than the dure cycle. Local residents view mats and pigs as comparably ranked and equally valuable media of exchange. Longanan assertions that ceremonial events associated with different media of exchange also are equivalent will be shown to apply only to the persistence of the social order, rather than to the experiences of individuals.

Longanan kinship terminology distinguishes between siblings of the same sex as ego and siblings of the opposite sex (see Figure 9). The distinction in nomen-

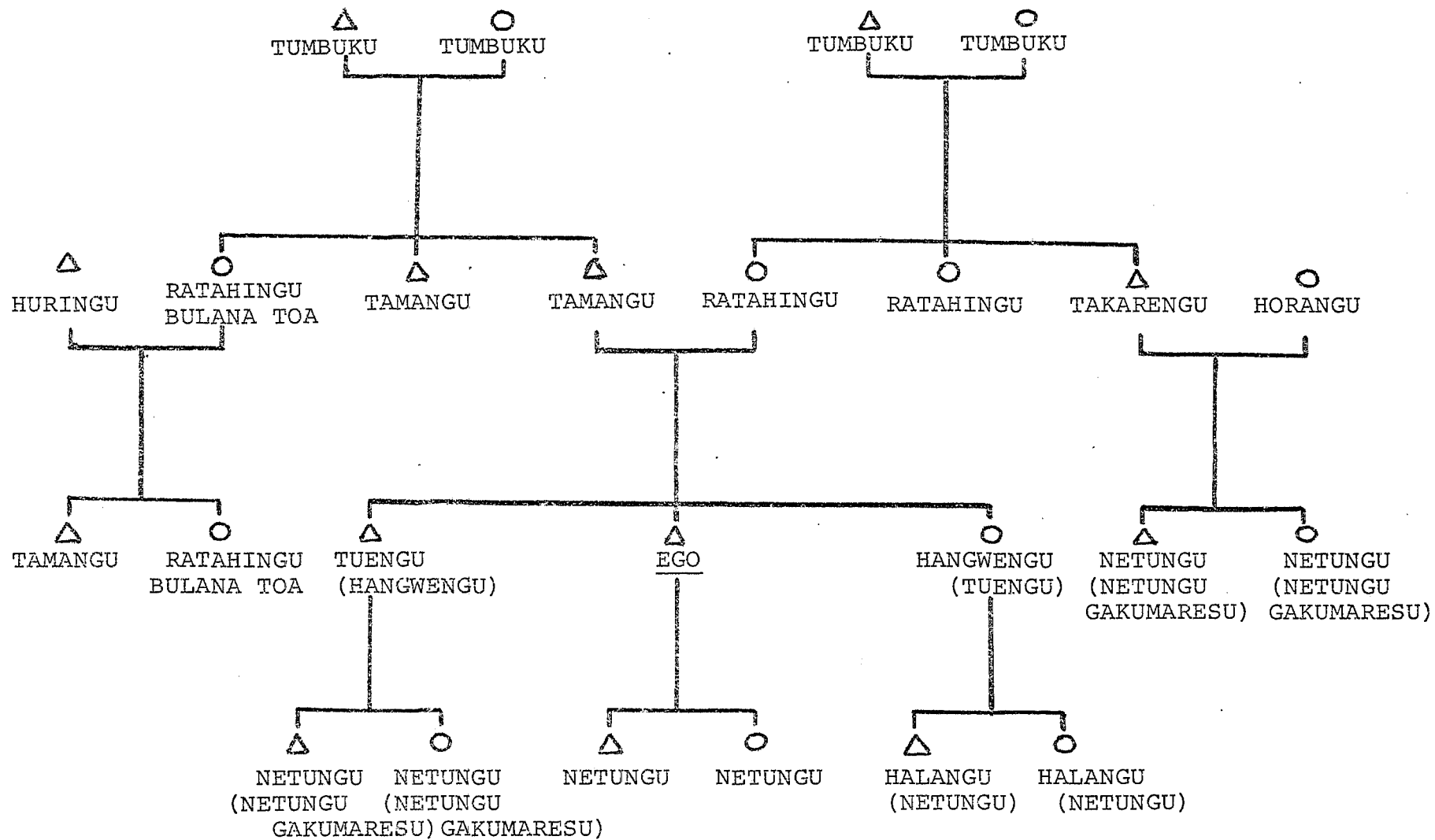


FIGURE 9.

LONGANAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

NOTE: Terms are those used by male ego. Where different terms are used by a female ego, these are enclosed in parentheses.

clature is accompanied by different norms of behaviour governing a man's relationship with his brothers and his sisters. In daily life, generalized reciprocity obtains in dealings between brothers. Food, labour and access to such productive resources as coconut palms are given by a man to his male siblings without expectation of repayment. In ceremonial activity, gifts of pigs offered by one brother to another at a hungwe or wedding usually are reciprocated with a prestation of equivalent value. However, brothers may present a pig at a hungwe with the stipulation that the gift is bete, a free gift to honour the rank-taker that requires no material compensation.

Labour and food contributed by a man to the preparations for a brother's hungwe or wedding are viewed by Longanans as part of the requirement that "brothers should help each other," an assumption of generalized reciprocity that underlies many ceremonial interactions between male siblings. In contrast to donations of food at other ceremonies, all gifts of pigs and vegetables received from brothers at a daughter's dure must be repaid. However, repayment of brothers is delayed and does not involve an expenditure of personal resources by the father of the dure protagonist. One Longanan summarized the obligation between brothers inherent in dure:

'If some of my brothers help me with dure, I don't have to repay them. I wait until my daughter marries. Then, when I get the mats from her husband's moiety, I will remember the brothers who helped me. I will say, 'You helped me when my daughter killed dure. Here is your mat.'

Brothers of a bride's father share in the profits received at a girl's bridewealth exchange. Brothers also must be willing to bear part of the deficit incurred in the marriage of a male child. Biological brothers of the groom's father usually give mats without expecting balanced compensation at a wedding. If the father of a groom underestimates the number of mats given by a bride's kinsmen, even distantly related "brothers" may fail to receive repayment for gifts of mats. Similarly, brothers always are last on a rank-taker's mental list of contributors who must be repaid following a hungwe ceremony.

Many interactions between brothers and sisters, like dealings between siblings of the same sex, are based on a principle of generalized reciprocity. Sisters are entitled to request a brother's food, his labour, or use of his land without compensation. In ceremonial activity, sisters do not contribute pigs to a man's hungwe, nor do they offer gifts at the dures of their brothers' children. Some sisters provide a few mats when a brother assumes a new rank, but these mats are a free gift (bete)

to honour a male sibling. Only when a man marries do sisters contribute large quantities of valuables on behalf of their brother; and only at a brother's wedding are the gifts of a sister labelled tore, a contribution requiring balanced payment.

The use of a child to kill pigs to repay a man's sisters is linked to the Longanan practice of sister avoidance. Many of the behavioural prohibitions associated with sister avoidance have been opposed successfully by Anglican missionaries in Longana. In 1970, brothers and sisters no longer assumed separate residences at adolescence. Many young men and women ignored the traditional requirements that brothers and sisters must not speak directly to each other and that sisters should turn their backs to a brother if they should meet accidentally. However, the rule that sisters cannot eat food prepared by a brother or consume pigs that a male sibling has killed continues to function in Longana. Consequently, brothers who seek to repay their sisters' donation of mats with counter prestations of food are faced with the problem of effecting the gift without personally providing the food. In dure, the problem is solved by using a female child as an intermediary between adult brothers and sisters. Through his child, a brother's live pigs are transformed into pork for his sisters without violating the food

prohibitions of sister avoidance. The practice of channeling repayment from a brother to a sister through the brother's child accounts in part for the long delay in reciprocity between siblings of opposite sexes. Repayment of a sister can begin only when the brother has a child who is old enough to kill pigs.

The role of a female child in dure also is part of the relationship between a father's sister and a brother's child. The pigs killed by a girl are a personal gift to her father's sisters as well as part of an exchange between brothers and sisters. During the period in which a sister awaits repayment for her gift of mats to a brother's wedding, she becomes a father's sister, ratahingu bulana toa, or 'my mother of the fowls' to her brother's children. A woman calls her brother's child netungu gaku maresu, a phrase that Longanans translate as 'child who is mine to eat'. Beginning in infancy, these children provide their father's sisters with gifts of food. The sequence of small prestations to a ratahingu bulana toa is intended to counterbalance the assistance that a father's sister provides in raising her brother's child. For both male and female children, a father's sister performs the roles of instructor and disciplinarian. Longanan parents are affectionate and indulgent in their treatment of small children. In contrast, a father's sister is an authority

figure who trains children to behave correctly and reprimands them for breaches of proper conduct. Like brothers, a man's sisters anticipate the needs of his children without awaiting a request for aid. They offer food to their brother's children if parents' supplies are low, and they may provide instruction or punishment without parental invitation. In particular, father's sisters are responsible for the sex education of their brother's children. All Longanan boys and girls are taught proper sexual and marital behaviour by their father's sisters.

The gifts of food that pass from a brother's child to a father's sister are an implicit promise of a brother's eventual repayment of his sister's mats. Chickens, produce, and puddings given by a brother's child to a father's sister are separate from the debt between the child's father and his father's sister. However, the gifts offered by a brother's son or daughter occur at the instigation of the child's father. Consequently, the father's sister-brother's child relationship provides a father with a way of showing continuing concern and support for his sister through his children. During the period of imbalance initiated by a man's wedding, gifts from brothers' children reassure a sister that the debt owed by her brother has not been ignored or forgotten.

The gifts offered to a father's sister illustrate

one way in which prestations may indicate, in material form, the tenor of an existing relationship (cf. Brown 1970:113). As demonstrated in Chapter Five, valuable units of exchange, such as pigs consumed at dure, also may operate as markers that signify degrees of balance in an exchange relationship. In addition to signalling attitudes toward kin and stages of debit and credit, media of exchange in Longana also may serve what Mary Douglas has called a "coupon function" (1967b:120). Following an analogy coined by Levi-Strauss (1969:32), Douglas views certain types of exchange as systems of rationing in which a specific type of valuable serves as a "coupon or ticket for acquiring or amending status" (Douglas 1967b:130; see also Hoyt 1968 (1926):109-112; Gluckman 1965:65).

Valuable mats and pigs in ceremonial exchange control access to status positions in Longanan social life. Achievement of rank in the hungwe is contingent upon amassing a prescribed number of a specified kind of "coupons." A rank-taker can acquire the necessary pigs only with the tacit support of many individuals, a requirement that allows Longanans to monitor and restrict the graded society careers of other men. In particular, by withholding material support from a rank aspirant, men of high rank can prevent upward movement by occupants of lower grades.

In bridewealth exchanges, as well as in the graded society, senior Longanans can control the distribution of marital status because they can control the flow of coupons needed to effect the change in status. Without navuhangavulu mats from a father and assistance from other relatives, no man or woman could stage a Longanan wedding.¹

The role of mats and pigs as coupons regulating the distribution of statuses involves positive prescriptions as well as constraints. For example, a man should use some of the pigs that he controls to initiate a son's graded society career. Similarly, a mother should provide two new navuhangavulu and a collection of other new mats for her daughter's personal use when a girl marries.

In hungwes and weddings, the use of pigs and mats as coupons is restricted by distinctions based on sex as well as by the attitudes of individuals. Mats are made by women and Longanans regard mats as valuables pertaining to females. Only as the result of an exchange of mats can a woman be acquired as a wife. Men control rights to the disposal of pigs. Beyond the lowest ranks, the hungwe is entirely a male domain. Access to high rank, which is a prerequisite for political leadership, is commensurate with

¹In 1970, one Longanan girl married a boy from an island where mat exchanges at weddings are minimal by Longanan standards. The groom was assigned a Longanan father to provide the navuhangavulu and other mats needed for a satisfactory wedding.

the use of increasingly valuable denominations of coupons in the form of tusked boars. Conversion of pigs to mats at dure is accompanied by an inversion in the sexual distinctions that guide flows of valuables and changes of status in other Longanan ceremonies; for, in dure, young women may kill pigs and take rank.

In the dure cycle, filial and sibling solidarity is manifested in the use of pigs and mats as coupons that regulate increments of prestige and the distribution of status. In addition to providing food for a child's father's sisters and offering compensation to sisters for nuptial gifts of mats, contributing pigs for a girl to kill shows a father's esteem for his daughter. Enabling a child to perform dure is one aspect of tambe, the desire to love, honour and raise a child to adulthood. Because all fathers are expected to conduct dure for young daughters, the ceremony does not add significantly to a man's prestige in his community. However, failure to perform dure for a little girl indicates stinginess and egotism and is viewed by Longanans as implicit evidence of a man's lack of concern for his female child.

At least once in their lifetimes, most Longanan girls kill a tusked boar and take a new name as a sign that they have achieved moli, the lowest echelon in the graded society. Performance of dure without taking rank is common.

A girl kills pigs at dure twice in her lifetime and only daughters of high-ranking men enter a third grade by achieving vire. Longanans view the rank-taking element of dure as optional but desirable: "if she doesn't kill a pig with tusks, we still call it dure, but it would be better if she killed one with tusks. A girl who kills only tuskless pigs is not as high as a girl who has killed a pig with tusks."

Although the role of women in the Aoban hungwe never has been analyzed, participation by women in other New Hebridean ranking institutions has been documented. On Malekula (Layard 1942:728-730; Deacon 1970 (1934): 488-491) and in the Banks Islands (Rivers 1968(1914):131) women are credited with taking rank, although the actual rank-taking activity may be performed by male relatives on the women's behalf. According to Layard, females in southwest Malekula and south Pentecost acquire rank in their own right only within women's institutions; in activities associated with male graded societies, women are eligible for rank only in the sense that they may receive an honorary title in connection with a male kinsman's rank-taking (Layard 1942:728).

The practice of dure contrasts with Layard's data, for no women's rank institution exists on Aoba and participation by females in the initial grades of the hungwe is

identical to the activity of young men achieving the same ranks. Both males and females are regarded by Longanans as taking rank in their own right, although boys and girls are dependent entirely upon their fathers' support for the achievement of the lowest hungwe grades. The status conferred upon a young Longanan by entrance into the moli and vire grades is the same for both sexes. Likewise, the performance of the ceremonies that signal an individual's achievement of rank does not vary with the sex of the protagonist.

Longanans state that, in theory, participation by females in the hungwe is restricted only by the limits of a father's generosity. However, women cannot participate in the investments needed to finance their own rank-taking activity; elevation of a woman into the higher ranks of the hungwe requires that a father have a surplus of pigs beyond those needed for his own and his son's hungwe careers. Entrance by a woman into a major grade signifies a father's extraordinary wealth and largess. No Aoban father has raised his daughter beyond vire since the early twentieth century when one exceptional leader sponsored his daughter through the rank of votaga.

The prestige accruing to a young rank-taker is slightly greater for females than for males. In practice, if not in theory, vire is the pinnacle of a woman's rank-

taking career, whereas, for males, vire is only a minor rank, a stepping stone to the beginning of adult participation in the hungwe. Consequently, the achievement of vire has a greater impact on a woman's prestige than on a man's. In addition, the difference in prestige between girls who have performed moli and those who have achieved vire is much greater than the difference between male occupants of the same two ranks. The few females who perform vire gain renown throughout the district. In contrast, boys achieving vire receive little more acclaim than those who have entered the rank of moli. Both the total amount of prestige and the increment of prestige associated with the acquisition of a second rank are greater for Longanan women than for their male counterparts.

Although young males and females are regarded as the protagonists in the achievement of minor ranks, performance of a ceremony is contingent on a father's generosity. The esteem gained by a father through sponsoring moli and vire ceremonies for his offspring, like the prestige accruing to a young rank-taker, varies according to the sex of the child. Bestowing a tusker on a son is a father's duty, for a boy must be given the opportunity to begin a hungwe career. In contrast, the gift of an ala pig for a daughter to kill is regarded by Longanans as an act of love and generosity. The gift of such a boar by a father represents foregone opportunities to invest the pig

for profit and to advance his own or another man's position in the graded society. Donation of tuskless dure pigs is a sign of tambe, but donation of a tusker is an even greater token of a father's willingness to honour and assist his daughter.

To return to Mary Douglas' analogy, by contributing an ala or mambu boar to his child, a father uses coupons, that are measures of wealth, as tickets for entrance of his offspring into a new status. When coupons in the form of boars effect an elevation of a son's status in the hungwe, a father can view the achievement of rank as a prelude to his son's future advancement. A son's hungwe career continues to add to his father's prestige and, because fathers act as sponsors or contributors at their male children's later hungwes, the promotion of a son through the minor ranks promises an eventual return for a father's investment of boars. Use of coupons to raise the status of a daughter yields little or no material benefit to a father. The parents of a girl who has performed vire may demand a high brideprice for their daughter; but, because men who elevate their daughters to vire tend to be higher ranking and more influential than most Longanans, the size of the brideprice cannot be attributed solely to a daughter's rank. Increased personal prestige is the ⁹ greatest benefit derived by a father from providing a

daughter with pigs that elevate her status.

Tuskless pigs killed at dure perform a different kind of coupon function from the boars used to take rank. Prestations of pork to a sister affirm and legitimize a man's status as a married adult. Although mats are the coupons through which marital status is acquired, gifts of dure pigs are a sign that a man is fulfilling responsibilities to his sisters and daughters that are incumbent on an occupant of the status.

The coupon function of mats and pigs is related to the ratios of equivalent value described in Chapter Five. Because pigs and mats are exchanged only rarely for money > and because transactions in which pigs are given as repay- ^ ment for mats are confined to dure the validity of ratios of equivalence between traditional valuables rests upon > indigenous perceptions that the exchanges in the dure cycle are balanced. As I have demonstrated in Chapter Five, Longanans believe that equivalence, in terms of the total value of items exchanged, occurs in dure. In addition, statements by Longanans indicate that mats and pigs are of comparable value outside of the dure transactions. For Longanans, mats, pigs, and money are the major items of exchange, units of value, and indicators of wealth in the society. As one angry elder said to the young men of his community during a hungwe speech: "You don't have money.

You don't have pigs. You don't have mats. You have nothing that anyone ever thought was worth anything!"

Longanans express a belief in the equivalent value of mats and pigs that is independent of the use of traditional valuables in exchange. The highest positions in the separate hierarchies of grades of pigs and types of mats are occupied by ala pigs and navuhangavulu mats. The most valuable mats and pigs cannot be substituted for one another in any Longanan ceremony. Yet, in talking to outsiders about the worth of traditional units of exchange, Longanans can explain the value of the finest mats by equating them with the value of the finest pigs:

'A pig has tusks that come out and grow until they become mambu or ala. The navuhangavulu is like a pig--unless it has a sinogi (see Appendix A) inside, the navuhangavulu does not have any tusks. If you have some pigs but they are all outside your house and I come to you and say, 'I want one of the ala you keep inside your house'--when I say this you know that I want one of your navuhangavulu with a sinogi.'

Longanans regard the explicit equality of value in non-exchange of ala pigs and navuhangavulu mats as a sign of an implicit equivalence of the coupon functions performed by the two items and of the ceremonial events in which mats and pigs predominate:

'You see, men kill pigs--women kill pigs too, but it doesn't mean much. Men get big names from pigs, but women get big names from mats. There are no real ranks, but mat weaving is the hungwe of the women.'

Although Longanans view the hungwe and bridewealth as events of parallel significance, mats and pigs provide tickets of entrance to statuses that differentially affect the position of an individual in a community. Achievement of high rank is the act of an exceptional man, while marriage is an expected event in the life of almost all Longanan men and women. By equating mats and pigs as status coupons Longanans assert the equal importance of hungwe activities and marriages to the persistence of the social order, rather than to individuals within the society. Weddings ensure reproduction of the group and create bonds between individuals and communities. The hungwe produces a pool of potential leaders. Paradoxically, in order to maintain their influence, Longanan leaders must try to draw attention away from the elevated status that entitles them to seek political authority. Similarly, by claiming that the statuses controlled by pigs and mats, and thus by men and women, are equivalent, Longanans express an egalitarian ethos that contrasts with and counterbalances hierarchies of rank and separation of the sexes in mundane and ceremonial activity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Examination of production, distribution and exchange has demonstrated that the dure cycle provides a regular border crossing between two Longanan spheres of exchange. Conversions between mats and pigs occur only in the asymmetrically balanced exchanges of the dure cycle. In daily life and in ceremonial activities other than dure, pigs and mats are valuables confined to separate transactional circuits. ✓

Analysis of the dure cycle suggests several conclusions of general applicability to the concept of spheres of exchange in economic anthropology. First, the Longanan data indicate that the existence of spheres of exchange need not prevent comparative evaluation of the valuables ✓ in different circuits. In addition, the material presented in this thesis provides ethnographic evidence for Barth's (1967:156-157) claim that spheres of exchange need not depict a hierarchy of value. Finally, dure illustrates a mechanism that has not been documented previously in the literature on spheres of exchange: the dure cycle effects

an integration of different transactional circuits that does not lead to an amalgamation of spheres of exchange.

Comparative Evaluation and Spheres of Exchange

In discussing spheres of exchange, Sahlins has noted that, "since the values put on things depend specifically on barriers to their interchange ... ours is a theory of value in non-exchange, or of non-exchange value" (1972:277). Although the factors that create barriers between spheres remain to be fully defined in economic anthropology, there is general agreement that these barriers allow discrepancies of evaluation to exist regarding goods in different spheres (Barth 1967:149). Boundaries between spheres are regarded as barriers that inhibit comparison of the media of exchange in separate transactional circuits. However, in Chapters Five and Six I have argued that indigenous ratios of equivalence may be independent of barriers to the exchange of goods. I have shown that Longanans equate the value of the highest grades of mats and pigs, despite effective barriers to the reciprocal exchange of these items except through dure.

Discrepancies of evaluation concerning spheres of exchange do exist in Longana. However, these discrepancies arise from inequalities of personal status and not from inconsistencies in the value of the coupons used for

entrance into the statuses. In Longana, the situation is as if tickets for two events were printed in two currencies. The decision to buy one ticket rather than the other is restricted by the purchaser's sex and circumstances. Preoccupation with comparing the prices of the tickets may distract purchasers from considering the relative value of participation in each event. In fact, one event may enhance the reputation of the participant far more than the other, although the prices of the tickets may be perceived to be equal in the two currencies. ✓

In both Western and Longanan economics, tickets of equal price do not necessarily allow entrance to events of comparable value. Similarly, even if the two tickets cannot be exchanged for each other and the two events yield different statuses, purchasers can and will compare the price of the tickets. Therefore, no inherent contradiction exists in the fact that Longanans persist in equating the value of pigs and mats, despite restriction of the items to different spheres of exchange and despite the discrepant worth of mats and pigs as status coupons. ✓

The explicit equivalence of Longanan traditional valuables both masks and ameliorates the potentially stratifying effects of different kinds of changes in status. If navuhangavulu mats and ala pigs are viewed as equally valuable, marriage and rank-taking, and, by extension, men and women become separate categories of equal importance.

Attention is diverted from the status distance between men of high rank and the women whose productive assistance Longanan males require.

Hierarchies and Spheres of Exchange

Barth (1967) and others (cf. Douglas 1967b) have argued that spheres of exchange are not always ordered hierarchically. This position appears to conflict with the Bohannans' assertion that internal conversion, based on transactions between morally ranked spheres, often is the "working economic principle" in non-market exchange systems (Bohannan and Bohannan 1968:251). However, the Longanan data suggest a synthesis of the two viewpoints. Although spheres of exchange need not form a hierarchy, rules guiding the flow of goods across boundaries between spheres do express a distillation of indigenous economic principles.

The equivalence ratios within and between separate Longanan spheres of exchange differ from those described by Bohannan for the Tiv. Longanan mat and pig spheres are not ranked in terms of each other, although the media of exchange within each sphere represent a hierarchy of value. In contrast, the goods within each Tiv circuit are homogeneous in terms of value, while the spheres themselves form a hierarchy based on "moral ranking" (Bohannan and Bohannan

1968:251).

Among the Tiv, successful transactions that enhance a man's reputation are conversions in which an individual acquires goods in a higher sphere in exchange for a prestation of goods from a lower sphere. In Longana, a man gains renown, as well as wealth, by investing pigs for profit within a single sphere. Conversions between mat and pig spheres are rare; profit is neither a goal nor a result of such conversions.

As a regular channel for conversion, dure allows heteromorphic reciprocity (Gouldner 1960:172) to occur between spheres in a society where material exchanges within mat and pig spheres require homeomorphic reciprocity. The Longanan belief that exchanges in the dure cycle are balanced is complemented by indigenous assertions of the equivalent value of mats and pigs in non-exchange. Conversions between mat and pig spheres in Longana, like conveyances within each Tiv sphere, are morally neutral. Dure activities involve exchanges not between goods of discrepant values as in Tivland, but between goods of discrepant and restricted utilities. Ranking of items within spheres in terms of value and utility may be interpreted as an indigenous economic principle that supports the persistence of status hierarchies based on exchange of items within a single sphere. Instead of expressing principles of moral ranking,

barriers to conversion in Longana serve to keep separate goods that are viewed as equally valuable. Even in the single border crossing between spheres, mats and pigs are kept apart from each other by time, by tripartite sequences of pigs prestations, and by the two sets of triadic relationships required to give pigs and to balance the gift.

Outside of the two ceremonial spheres, Longanan transactional circuits do display a degree of ranking. Despite interpenetration of exchange circuits by labour and, increasingly, by money (see Figure 4), Longanans believe that the value of pigs and mats exceeds that of items in other spheres. Consequently, conversions in which mats or pigs are used to obtain other items have negative connotations. In addition, acquisition of a pig or mat, except through conveyances within a single sphere, performance of a service, or dure, does not reflect well on the transactor. For example, although a pig can be a monetary purchase, exchange of cash for pigs is a tacit admission that a man cannot control sufficient boars in the complex cycle of hungwe investments.

In Longana, as among the Tiv, negative or downward conversions occur most often in times of famine or other physical hardship. 1970-71 was a period of prosperity. Copra prices were high and food was plentiful; negative

conversions of pigs and mats seldom occurred. However, the price of copra has fallen by more than thirty percent in the last five years. Furthermore, in 1976 a drought has caused food shortages in Longana. Pigs now are being traded to another island for swamp taro (Lovell, personal communication), a negative conversion that contrasts markedly with exchange patterns in the relatively affluent years of 1970-71.

Integration and Spheres of Exchange

For Longanans, as for Tikopians (Firth 1939), Lele (Douglas 1967a), Tiv (Bohannon and Bohannon 1968), Siane (Salisbury 1962), and Tolai (Epstein 1968; Salisbury 1970), barriers demarcate spheres by restricting exchanges between indigenously specified classes of goods. The notions of value underlying the demarcation of spheres of exchange are, indeed, emic concepts of "value in non-exchange" (Sahlins 1972:277). However, the fact that these "theories" of value often involve barriers that express indigenous discrepancies of evaluation has been something of a red herring for exchange oriented economic anthropologists. Concern with the exchanges constrained by barriers has obscured understanding of the barriers themselves. Interpretation of barriers to exchange in terms of discrepancies of evaluation has drawn attention away from other factors that may give

rise to and maintain barriers.

The Longanan material indicates that spheres of exchange may occur in situations where discrepancies concerning the value of goods in different circuits are minimal or non-existent. I suggest that, although barriers have the effect of restricting exchange, in some situations the composition of the barriers may have little to do with criteria of exchangeability. Barth touched on this point by stating that:

'A separation of spheres based on the criterion of exchangeability alone gives an unnecessarily inadequate representation of the structure of the economy. The concept of spheres has much greater analytic utility if it relates to all forms of circulation whether by exchange, production, inheritance, or other means' (1967:157).

In Longana, neither the presence of a regular means of crossing between spheres, nor the equivalent values assigned to mats and pigs appears to diminish the effectiveness of the barriers surrounding each ceremonial sphere. The absence of additional paths for conversion to supplement dure is related to the absence of discrepancies in the worth of mats and pigs. Barth has noted that barriers to conversion frequently are over-ridden by entrepreneurs in search of profit: "the big potentialities for profit lie where the disparity of evaluation between two or more

kinds of goods are greatest" (1966:18). Since Longanans perceive no discrepancy of evaluation concerning mats and pigs, conversions between the spheres offer no promise of profit. Similarly, when exchanges between the circuits do occur, as in dure, conversion does not increase the equivalence of values that already are commensurate. Thus, conversion between mat and pig spheres, unlike innovative linkage of spheres by an entrepreneur, does not cause Longanans to redefine the relative worth of goods in each sphere and does not affect, much less dissolve, the barriers ✓ between spheres.

The composition of barriers that inhibit and channel exchange ensures that comparability of mats and pigs does not lead to a merging of Longanan spheres of exchange. ✓ Like bundles of isoglosses that mark linguistic boundaries, the barriers between spheres represent the coincidence of a number of category boundaries. The separation of pigs and mats is maintained by indigenous estimations of exchangeability that are part of a bundle of social prescriptions and prohibitions for which mats and pigs are one pair of symbols (cf. Douglas 1966:85-86; Codere 1968).

Many social relationships in Longana are expressed in flows of goods and in discontinuities of exchange. Consequently, rules restricting mats and pigs to separate spheres also govern interaction between individuals.

I have demonstrated that the barriers separating mats and pigs also segregate sexes, siblings and ceremonial events associated with status changes (see Figure 10). Maintenance of spheres of exchange in Longana is not contingent simply upon criteria of exchangeability or equivalence, but upon the persistence of social categories symbolized by restrictions on exchange of traditional valuables.

The boundary crossing of dure mediates between each of the categories whose dimorphism is symbolized in the existence of mat and pig spheres of exchange. The gift of food to siblings in dure results from a prestation of mats that, in turn, effects a ceremonial transfer of women. In dure, women and food not only are "two aspects of the same procedure" (Levi-Strauss 1966:109), they are two elements expressed in the same events. The fact that exchanges of food in dure occur twice as often as transfers of women provides data supporting an inverse relationship between exchange frequency and value (Rodman 1976a:37-38). In addition, the delayed, asymmetrical balances of dure illustrate a mechanism for balancing generalized exchanges of women in a Crow system with a sequence of restricted counter-exchanges. The dure cycle may mitigate against the "state of permanent turbulence (in Crow systems) which is quite the reverse of the regularity of function and periodicity of returns which conform with the ideal model

MEDIATORS				
hungwe	B	dure	B	bridewealth
	A		A	
pigs	R	food	R	mats
	R		R	
man	I	child	I	woman
	E		E	
brother	R	FZ-BC	R	sister

FIGURE 10.

BARRIERS AND MEDIATORS IN
LONGANAN EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS

of an 'asymmetric marriage system' (Levi-Strauss 1966:19)" (Douglas 1972:37).

The performance of dure is similar to mediations across boundaries between man and nature in that "if boundaries defining (categories) have regulated crossing points where useful exchanges take place, then the contrast ...takes the imprint of this exchange" (Douglas 1972:32). Dure activities mediate between discrepant male and female statuses as well as between the media of exchange associated with men and women. In the context of dure, women can participate in the essentially male domain of the graded society and can receive pigs that otherwise would be destined for use in male rank-taking activity. Daughters receive evidence that their fathers value female as well as male children; and, through gifts of pork, sisters are shown a brother's esteem as well as his gratitude for the women's mats that allow him to acquire a bride.

Dure and the Future

Although money is becoming part of ceremonial exchanges in Longana, cash has been used, so far, only as a lubricant for traditional exchanges or as a supplement to traditional valuables. With money, a man can buy a dried skull for use in the hungwe; money can be added to, but cannot substitute for, mats at bridewealth exchanges.

Fines for breaches of conduct once required payment of a pig or mat; now fines often are paid with cash in addition to the required traditional items.

In Longana, at least in the prosperous 1970-71 period, money added complexity to social exchanges rather than encouraging increasing objectification of exchange (Simmel 1970; Mauss 1954). To acquire exceptionally large cash incomes, Longanans must ignore or deny many requirements of social relationships; however, as illustrated by patterns of copra production, money has not had an invariably individualizing influence in Longana. The breakdown of networks of obligation through monetization also is impeded by the reliance upon copra as a source of cash. Fluctuations in the copra market and the absence of other sources of monetary income or capital investment restrict the growth of Longana's monetary sector. Much of the cash wealth in the district is converted into pigs and diverted into the traditional investment cycles of the hungwe.

Where barriers to the flow of traditional units of exchange have allowed discrepancies of evaluation to exist, money often leads to a breakdown of the spheres (cf. Bohannan and Bohannan 1968). Since the barriers between mat and pig spheres in Longana are expressed but not defined by criteria of exchangeability, spheres of ceremonial exchange probably will remain insulated from

the increasing monetization of other elements of the Longana economy. In Longana, as in other Melanesian societies, use of traditional valuables may persist in one sphere despite reliance on money in other exchanges. For example, the Tolai "recognize that the use of tabu (shell money) is a keystone to preserving a distinct Tolai identity...only tabu can maintain the fabric of social relationships" (Salisbury 1970:278).

Like tabu, the continuation of mat and pig spheres and of dure as a mediating mechanism are dependent upon maintenance of the social relationships underlying the exchange of material items. As Rutz has stated, ceremonial exchanges tend to be perpetuated where such transactions serve as a "social security system" (1975). In societies where ceremonial exchange also controls distribution of statuses, the coupon function of traditional valuables encourages the retention of spheres of exchange despite the introduction of money (Douglas 1967b:142).

In Longana, the persistence of mat and pig spheres is encouraged by both the social security and coupon aspects of ceremonial exchange. Ceremonial expenditure ensures a fund of social capital that can be drawn upon in times of need. Contributions of mats and pigs from a large segment of district residents effect and affirm changes in status through ceremonial exchanges. No individual can

afford to alienate kinsmen, affines or neighbours if he wishes to marry, to rise in rank, or to maintain a buffer against future hardship. The connection of ceremonial exchanges with hierarchies of status ensures a modicum of control by district residents over entrance to new statuses.

Finally, the boundary crossing of dure contributes to the persistence of spheres of exchange in Longana. Dure links men with women, brothers with sisters, and the graded society with bridewealth through conversions of mats to pigs. In addition, exchanges at dure bridge generations of kin and affines; the dure cycle is a process that balances the loss of a daughter with a wealth of mats from her affines, and the loss of mats by a sister with the benefits of a brother's child. By bridging ceremonial spheres without breaking down the barriers between categories, dure encourages maintenance of the same social distinctions that are integrated by exchanges of pigs and mats. Through mediation between circuits of pig and mat transactions, the dure cycle expresses and helps to perpetuate the social boundaries defining barriers between spheres of exchange.

Appendix A. Relative Values of Longanan Mats and Pigs

nb.: Types of mats and pigs are ranked in descending value. The following are broad categories within which Longanans distinguish many sub-classes of mats and pigs.

Mats:

navuhangavulu

The most valuable Aoban mats--ideally ten fathoms in length (sixty feet)--the mats made today are twenty-four to forty-two feet long and two to three feet wide.

sinogi

Very valuable small mats with raised weaving made by a few highly skilled women--used in exchange only when attached to a navuhangavulu: such combinations of mats are called sawea and are more valuable than are navuhangavulu without sinogi.

qiriqiri

Rectangular white mats--length approximately six feet--width approximately three to four feet.

qana

Sleeping mats that also are exchanged ceremonially--same shape as qiriqiri but slightly smaller overall--usually coloured red with commercial dye in a traditional pattern--blankets and fathoms of cotton cloth are equivalent in exchange value to qana.

sangole

The smallest and least valuable grade of mats used at weddings--in the past these were items of women's clothing--today sangole measure about two feet in width and about three feet in length --the mats are dyed like gana.

tuvegi

Mats similar in appearance to sinogi whose use is restricted to the graded society--each rank-taker receives a tuvegi as part of his hungwe regalia--in the past, tuvegi were used as male loincloths.

Pigs:

ala

Boar with tusks that form a full circle when removed from jawbone.

mambu

Boar with tusks that re-enter the jawbone to form approximately three quarters of a circle when removed from the skull.

teveteye

Boar with tusks that pierce the skin of the cheek to form a half-circle.

votaga

Castrated pig.

duruku

Untusked entire boar.

Appendix B. Flow of Goods at Three Longanan WeddingsWedding A - A Large WeddingDure pigs:

for FZs of bride: 7 pigs
 for Zs of groom: 3 pigs
 for FB of bride: 1 ala pig

Bride's prestation to groom's kin:

6 navuhangavulu mats
 approximately 80 lesser mats
 miscellaneous plates, forks, spoons
 1 teakettle
 2 trunks filled with clothes and yard goods
 13 suitcases filled with clothes and yard goods
 3 cans fuel
 1 small box
 1 large basket filled with new mats
 2 machetes
 1 box biscuits
 1 bag rice
 1 water tank
 1 bull
 cooked pork and pudding
 new mats for bride's personal use

Groom's prestation to bride's kin:

19 navuhangavulu mats
 approximately 100 lesser mats
 16 live pigs including one ala
 5 qatungoro including one ala
 miscellaneous food--pudding, bread, tins of meat,
 taro, chickens.

Wedding B - A Small WeddingDure pigs:

for FZs of bride: 13 pigs
 for Zs of groom: 1 pig
 for FB of bride: nothing--no tusked pigs killed

Wedding B, continued

Bride's prestation to groom's kin:

3 navuhangavulu mats
47 lesser mats
16 blankets
8 fathoms cotton cloth
a few suitcases
1 teakettle
1 bag rice
cooked pork and pudding
20 navuhangavulu and twenty lesser new mats for
bride's personal use

Groom's prestation to bride's kin:

7 navuhangavulu mats
52 lesser mats
2 navuhangavulu mats and miscellaneous lesser mats
to dure donor
5 blankets
19 fathoms cotton cloth
\$A40 cash
6 pigs (2 ala, 2 qatugoro teveteve, 2 piglets)

Wedding C - A Failure of Exchange

Dure pigs:

for FZs of bride: 10 pigs
for Zs of groom: 8 pigs
for FB of bride: 1 ala pig

Bride's prestation to groom's kin:

11 navuhangavulu mats
40 lesser mats
miscellaneous suitcases and store goods
new mats for bride's personal use

Groom's prestation to bride's kin:

7 navuhangavulu mats
approximately 50 lesser mats
8 navuhangavulu and lesser mats to dure donors
6 pigs (1 ala qatugoro, 1 qatugoro teveteve,
1 ala with one broken tusk, 3 piglets)

Appendix C. Glossary of Longanan Terms Cited

- ala The highest major rank in the graded society (see Figure 3)--also, a grade of tusked pigs (see Appendix A).
- bete A gift for which no repayment is required.
- boevundolue An optional rank in the graded society involving the slaughter of 100 tuskless pigs that are elicited through gifts of kava to potential contributors of pigs.
- dure A ceremony in which a female kills pigs--also, a term used for any sow.
- duruku A rank in the graded society (see Figure 3)--also, an untusked pig larger than a piglet.
- halo A form of adoption.
- hungwe The Aoban graded society--(see Figure 3).
- mambu The second highest rank in the graded society (see Figure 3)--also, a grade of tusked pigs (see Appendix A).
- matahalanboe 'the way of the pigs'--term describing proper procedure for investing in the hungwe, for planning a rise in rank, and for conducting graded society ceremonies.
- mate Term used for the ranks in the graded society achieved by the slaughter of pigs--(lit. 'dead').
- moli A low rank in the graded society that may be assumed by males or females (see Figure 3)--(lit. 'wild orange').
- navuhangavulu The most valuable grade of mats (see Appendix A).
- netune A son or daughter (includes MZC and FBC--see Figure 9)--netungu = 'my son or daughter'.
- netungu gakumaresu 'Child who is mine to eat'--Ego's brother's child.
- qana A sleeping mat (see Appendix A).

- qwatungoro A dried, unbroken skull of a tusked pig, including the lower jaw.
- qwatuvanue 'head of the land'--male heir who administers a parcel of land on behalf of other heirs.
- qiriqiri A type of mat (see Appendix A).
- ratahigi Traditional term for 'leader'--implies acquisition of high rank in the graded society as well as exhibition of leadership qualities.
- ratahine A mother (includes MZ--See Figure 9)
ratahingu = 'my mother'.
- ratahingu bulana toa 'my mother of the fowls'--ego's father's sister (see Figure 9).
- sinogi A mat attached to another mat of the most valuable grade--(see Appendix A).
- tambe 'To love, honour and bring up to adulthood.'
- tamai A father (includes FB and FZS--see Figure 9)
tamangu = 'my father'.
- teveteve A middle rank in the graded society (see Figure 3)--also, a grade of pigs (see Appendix A).
- tore Mandatory repayment for a gift.
- vavahegi The ranks in the graded society achieved by the exchange of pigs--also, the exchange between a sponsor and rank-taker that is completed with each vavahegi ceremony.
- vire A low rank in the graded society that may be achieved by some females, as well as by males (see Figure 3)--(lit. 'to flower').
- votaga A middle rank in the graded society (see Figure 3)--also, a grade of pigs (see Appendix A).
- warivundolue An optional high rank in the graded society involving the slaughter of 100 tusked pigs--(lit. '100 teeth').
- woro Performance of a dure ceremony by a male (lit. 'wedding pudding').

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